Thesis submitted for the qualification of PhD in Geography

Faith in action: religious organisations and development in Kolkata, India

Jennifer Claire Lunn

Department of Geography

Royal Holloway University of London

September 2010

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted for the qualification of PhD in Geography at Royal Holloway University of London, is my own original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for any other award. Where other sources of information have been used, they are clearly acknowledged.

Signature

Date

Abstract

Religion has returned to the public sphere after a long absence. Ideas of progressive secularisation, dominant for the last century, have been proved wrong by the revival and spread of religion across the world. Accordingly, religion has emerged as a revitalised topic of enquiry in almost every social science discipline. This includes the field of international development, where religion has appeared on the agendas of academics, policy-makers and practitioners. This research is framed within postdevelopment theory, which seeks to identify alternative approaches to development that are culturally specific and locally rooted; this includes incorporating the religious or spiritual dimension into development.

One significant aspect of religion and development is the role of religious organisations as development actors. Although religious organisations have always been involved in development, their presence has been sidelined and their contribution undervalued: a better understanding is urgently required. There are major questions being asked about religious organisations in terms of the extent of their contribution to development, the ways in which they differ from secular organisations, their effectiveness, and the nature of their relationships with other development actors. This study joins the emerging literature that is seeking to address these questions; it offers a theoretically and conceptually framed analysis of the empirical complexities surrounding the role of religious organisations in development practice.

This thesis is based on data collected from religious organisations in the city of Kolkata, India. The fieldwork was divided into three main stages. A survey of the civil society sector revealed over 220 religious organisations registered in central Kolkata; these were scrutinised by type and activities to identify those engaged in development. A sample of 50 organisations from ten different religions was selected for further analysis; data were collected through interviews with senior representatives and the examination of organisational documentation. Finally, three of these organisations were chosen for in-depth study, involving participant observation over a period of four months.

The findings suggest that religious organisations form a significant part of civil society and play an active role in development. Many religious organisations are motivated to engage in development by their beliefs and values and see religion and development as inseparable. Some religious organisations also utilise particular religious resources and assets in development practice, with apparent effectiveness. Religious organisations tend to be situated within complex webs of interaction with a range of other development actors such as government, secular NGOs and the private sector; however, such relationships tend to be relatively superficial and the evidence of cooperation and collaboration in development is limited.

Contents

List of figures

List of tables

Notes on terminology and spellings

a) Calcutta was renamed Kolkata in 2001. The new name is used throughout the text with three exceptions: i) in reference to organisations that have retained the old name (e.g. Calcutta Blind School); ii) in Chapter 5 and Section 6.3.2 when referring to historical periods such as British colonial rule before the name had changed; and iii) when quoting directly from other sources. The same rule of thumb applies in reference to other Indian cities that have changed their names, notably Bombay/Mumbai and Madras/Chennai.

b) The term developing world is now regarded as politically incorrect. Global South, although not unproblematic or value free, is currently the most widely accepted term and is used throughout the text. While Global North is the natural counterpoint to Global South, its use is not so widespread. Global North is used where possible in the text but sometimes west or western are used where their sense is clear (e.g. western mindset, western-style modernisation) or where citing other authors.

c) There are sometimes variations in the spelling of words which have been transliterated (e.g. Koran or Qur'an) but every effort has been made to use the most widely-accepted anglicised spelling.

d) The most widely-used spelling for organisations are used in the text, even where these are grammatically incorrect; for example, State Minorities Commission is not usually given the apostrophe that it ought to have.

e) American spellings (e.g. center, program) have been retained in the names of organisations, direct quotes and the list of references.

Acronyms and abbreviations

ACFD	Asian Cultural Forum on Development
AFK	Aman Foundation Kolkata
AMAN	Asian Muslim Action Network
ARC	Alliance of Religions and Conservation
ASI	Anthropological Survey of India
BCE	Before Common Era
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
BMZ	Bundesministerium Für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Germany)
CAFOD	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CBO	Community-based organisation
CE	Common Era
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CLPOA	City Level Programme of Action for Street and Working Children
CRS	Cathedral Relief Service
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DDVE	Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics
DFID	Department for International Development
ECHO	European Commission Humanitarian Aid Office
EU	European Union
FBDO	Faith-based development organisation
FBO	Faith-based organisation
FCRA	Foreign Contribution Regulation Act
GOI	Government of India
GOWB	Government of West Bengal
GRO	Grassroots organisation
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Society for Technical Cooperation)
HDFC	Housing Development Finance Corporation Limited
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISKCON	International Society for Krishna Consciousness
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NFP	Not for profit (organisation)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
Non-RO	Non-religious organisation
NPO	Non-profit organisation
OBC	Other Backward Class
ONG	Organisation Non Gouvernementale (Non-governmental organisation)
PC	Planning Commission (Government of India)
PIN	Postal Index Number
PO	Participant observation

PRIA	Society for Participatory Research in Asia
RGS-IBG	Royal Geographical Society with the Institute of British Geographers
RKM	Ramakrishna Mission
RKM LSP	Ramakrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad
RNGO	Religious non-governmental organisation
RO	Religious organisation
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SC / ST	Scheduled Caste / Scheduled Tribe
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SMEs	Small and medium enterprises
TBFF	Tony Blair Faith Foundation
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VO	Voluntary organisation
WCC	World Council of Churches
WFDD	World Faiths Development Dialogue
WHO	World Health Organisation
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Glossary

Acharya	Religious teacher or instructor; the founder or leader of a religious sect; a designation used in Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism.
Akbar (the Great)	Third *Mughal* emperor (reign 1556-1605 CE); known for his policies of religious tolerance and efforts to foster communal harmony between religious communities.
Akali Dal	A religio-political party established in 1920 representing Sikh interests; now an umbrella for several Sikh political parties.
akhara	An organisation which brings together Hindu *sadhus* from a particular sect.
Aligarh movement	Movement led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan following the *Indian Mutiny* focusing on social reform and modern education among the Muslims.
Amidah	An ancient Jewish liturgical prayer recited at each prayer service of the day.
Anglo Indian	Person with mixed Indian and British ancestry whose mother tongue is English; today most live outside India, particularly in the UK, Australia and Canada.
anuvrat	Philosophy of change; a movement started by Acharya Tulsi of the Jain *Swetambar Terapanthi* sect in 1949 aimed at transforming people’s behaviour and creating a non-violent socio-political world order.
arogyashala	Hospital.
Ashoka	Emperor of the Maurya Dynasty (reign 269-232 BCE); regarded as one of India's greatest emperors; known for embracing and propagating Buddhism across Asia.
ashram	Place of religious retreat; hermitage.
atma biswas	Self-confidence; self-faith.
avatar	The incarnation of a Hindu deity in human or animal form.
Baha’u’llah	*Lit.* The Glory of God (Arabic); name for Mirza Husayn Ali (1817-1892) who founded the Baha’i faith.
bait-el-mal	*Lit.* house of wealth (Arabic); a Muslim organisation which collects and distributes religious taxes and donations such as *zakat*.
Baul	A religious sect of wandering minstrels indigenous to Bengal which fuses the *Bhakti* and *Sufi* traditions; few in number but very influential in Bengali culture and arts.
bear witness	Term used in Christianity which means demonstrating through one’s life and deeds that one’s beliefs are true.
Beatitudes	A series of blessings given by Jesus as part of the Sermon on the Mount, as recorded in the books of Matthew and Luke in the Bible.
Bengali Renaissance	An intellectual awakening that took place in Bengal in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, incorporating social reform, religious reform, scientific advancements, creative and intellectual output.
(Bhagavad) Gita	A much-loved section of the *Mahabharata*; the 700 verses are a conversation between Lord *Krishna* and the warrior Arjuna on the battlefield before the Kurukshetra war; regarded as a summary of Hindu philosophy.
bhajan	General term for a Hindu devotional song.
Bhakti	Hindu term meaning loving devotion; a spiritual path that emphasises worship of a deity through active participation rather than ritual.
Bharat	The name for India in *Sanskrit* and other Indian languages.
bhikkhu / bhikkhuni	*Pali* term for a fully-ordained Buddhist monk / nun.
Bhoodan movement	Land Gift Movement; a voluntary land reform movement in India started by Vinoba Bhave in 1951 whereby landlords donated surplus lands to landless peasants.
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party; a centre-right political party in India established in 1980 holding nationalistic and conservative values; experienced a meteoric rise in popularity during the late 1980s and 1990s and was in power from 1998 to 2004; part of the *Sangh Parivar*.
block	An administrative area in India; a subdivision of a *district*.
bonga	Spirit.
Brahmaviharas	Collective term for the four virtues in Buddhism: *metha, karuna*, *muditha* and *uppakka*.

Brahmo	Follower of *Brahmoism*; member of the *Brahmo Samaj*.
Brahmoism	A Hindu reform movement of late eighteenth century Bengal; legally classified as a separate religion in India.
Brahmo Samaj	*Lit.* Society of God; assembly of Brahmos first established in Kolkata in 1828; well known for their social reform efforts.
caste	The complex system of social stratification in India; although predominantly associated with Hinduism, it is also observed among people of other religions.
Catholic Church	One of the major divisions within Christianity.
chakra	A wheel-like symbol used in Hinduism and Buddhism signifying energy and life force; also refers to the spinning wheel of the *swadeshi movement* and used symbolically on the flag of India.
Chief Khalsa Diwan	A Sikh organisation established in 1902 to promote the spiritual, intellectual, moral, social, educational and economic welfare of the Sikh community and to ensure their voice was heard in the political arena.
Church of North India	A *Protestant denomination* in India established in 1970 by uniting six Protestant denominations including Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians; its jurisdiction covers all of India with the exception of the four southern states.
Congress Party	A centre-left political party in India established in 1885 holding largely social democratic values; highly influential in the independence struggle and dominant in the decades since independence.
crore	A unit in the Indian numbering system equal to ten million.
Dara Shikoh	Eldest son of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan who lived from 1615 to 1659; known for his promotion of harmonious coexistence and religious syncretism; while favoured as successor to the throne was defeated in a battle by his younger brother Aurangzeb and murdered as an apostate from Islam.
darwan	Sikh security guard.
Delhi Sultanate	A series of Muslim dynasties that ruled from Delhi over large parts of Northern India between 1206 and 1527; subsequently absorbed by the *Mughal Empire*.
denomination	Term generally used in Christianity for a large subgroup, such as Anglican or Methodist.
Deobandi movement	A *Sunni* revivalist movement started in India in 1866; became an influential school of Muslim thought that influenced the formation of many other organisations including *Tablighi Jamaat*.
dhaba	Informal roadside restaurant.
dharamirapekshata	*Lit.* 'indifference towards religion'; common Hindi translation for secularism.
dharamsala	Shelter or resthouse for pilgrims.
dharma	A term with varying meanings in Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism; in Hinduism it often refers to one's righteous duty (which varies by age, class, gender and occupation) and living in accordance with which influences one's pathway towards *moksha*.
Digambar(a)	*Lit.* sky clad; one of the two main Jain sects whose followers are unclothed.
Din-ilahi	*Lit.* divine faith; a new syncretic religion proposed by Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1581 drawing mostly from Hinduism and Islam but also from Christianity, Jainism and Zoroastrianism.
diocese	Administrative district in the Christian church (particularly Roman Catholic and Anglican denominations) under the jurisdiction of a Bishop.
district	An administrative area in India; a subdivision of a state.
Durga	Hindu Goddess and consort of *Shiva*; an embodiment of *Shakti*; worshipped as goddess of strength and fortitude; one of the most popular deities in West Bengal.
evangelical	Cross-cutting category for Christian groups from different denominations which actively engage in *evangelisation*.
evangelisation	Also spelled evangelism; Christian term for promoting one's beliefs to other people.
fatwa	A legal opinion or ruling issued by an Islamic scholar.
fitra(h)	Muslim concept referring to the innate natural disposition towards submission to Allah and right action.

Ganesh	Hindu God depicted as an elephant; worshipped as the remover of obstacles and also associated with intelligence and wisdom.
Gaudiya Vaishnavism	A *Vaishnavite* movement founded by Chaitanya Mahaprabhu in sixteenth century India which focuses on the devotional worship (*Bhakti*) of *Radha* and *Krishna*.
Gospel	From the Old English and Germanic meaning good news; Christian concept for the writing which describes the birth, life and death of Jesus in the biblical books of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.
Gramdan movement	Village Gift Movement; an expansion of the *Bhoodan Movement* which was started in 1952 and involved land ownership transferred from individuals to the village community.
gramodyog	Rural village industries.
Great Commission	An instruction given by Jesus after his resurrection to his disciples that they should spread his teachings to all nations of the world; used by *evangelistic* Christians as a justification for their missionary work.
gurdwara	A Sikh place of worship, also referred to as a Sikh temple.
guru	Term commonly used in Hinduism, Sikhism and new religious movements to refer to a person regarded as having great spiritual knowledge, wisdom and authority and who uses it to teach others.
Hindutva	A philosophy which promotes the unity of Hindu society; adopted by the *Sangh Parivar* family of organisations and politicised as Hindu nationalism.
imam	An Islamic leader, often of a mosque or a community, who leads the prayer during religious gatherings.
Indian Mutiny	Armed uprising of Indian soldiers against the British in 1857; known by the British as the Indian Mutiny and by the Indians as the First Indian War of Independence.
janapada	A realm or kingdom in Iron Age India.
jatra	Type of folk-theatre in Bengal performed on stages that are open on all sides.
-ji	Suffix added to a name as an honorific, e.g. Gandhiji, Guruji, Swamiji.
kaffir	Arabic term used by Muslims meaning heathen, unbeliever or infidel.
Kali	Hindu Goddess and consort of *Shiva*; fierce and dark version of *Durga*; worshipped as goddess of destruction; very popular in West Bengal.
karma	Fate or destiny; a concept used across Indian religious traditions describing how human actions carry consequences in both this life and the next reincarnation.
karuna	Compassion for others; one of the four Buddhist virtues (*Brahmaviharas*); concept also found in Jainism.
kendra	Centre.
khadi	Indian home-spun and hand-woven cloth; once associated with Gandhi who promoted it as part of the *swadeshi* movement.
Khanda	The main symbol of Sikhism.
Khilafat movement	A Muslim religious movement in India (1919-1924) which attempted to unite the fragmented Muslim community and build up a pan-Indian Muslim constituency to support the nationalist movement; became part of the wider independence movement.
Kingdom of God	Also Kingdom of Heaven; a concept found in the Abrahamic religions but used mostly in Christianity; refers to the anticipated future reign of God on earth.
kirtan	Hindu and Sikh term for the chanting of hymns or mantras in the call-and-response style to the accompaniment of instruments such as harmonium and drum.
Krishna	A Hindu God and incarnation of *Vishnu*; worshipped within *Vaishnavism.*
kutcha	Imperfect, makeshift or ramshackle; the opposite of *pukka*; commonly used in reference to dwellings in India.
lakh	A unit in the Indian numbering system equal to one hundred thousand.
Lakshmi	Hindu Goddess and consort of *Vishnu*; worshipped as goddess of wealth, prosperity, wisdom and fortune.
langar	Sikh term for the free, vegetarian food served in a *gurdwara* to all visitors regardless of their religion; Sikhs assist in the preparation of food as part of their service to humanity (*sewa*).

madrassa Although an Arabic word for any type of educational institution; commonly used to refer to an Islamic school.

Mahabharata One of the two main *Sanskrit* epics of ancient India, attributed to Vyasa; a story of the war between Pandava and Kaurava families.

Mahayana One of the two main branches of Buddhism; originated in India and subsequently spread to Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Taiwan, Japan, Korea, Singapore and Vietnam.

maktab Muslim elementary school.

mandal Organisation.

Mar Thoma Church Formally known as the Malankara Mar Thoma Syrian Church; a Christian *denomination* based in the Indian state of Kerala which traces its origins to the missionary activity of the Apostle Thomas in the first century CE.

Marwari Person from the Marwar region in the Indian state of Rajasthan.

math Monastery.

metha Loving kindness; one of the four Buddhist virtues (*Brahmaviharas*).

moksha Hindu and Jain concept of final liberation from the cycle of reincarnation; known as *nirvana* in Buddhism.

mudit(h)a Joy; one of the four Buddhist virtues (*Brahmaviharas*).

muezzin The crier who calls Muslims to prayer five times a day.

Mughal Empire Rule of the Muslim Mughals from Central Asia over large parts of the Indian subcontinent between 1526 and 1858; the most significant and lasting legacy was the spread of Persian influence in architecture, the arts and literature.

Naam Japna One of the three main pillars of Sikhism; meditation on God by reciting and chanting his name to focus the mind.

naga A serpent deity in Hindu and Buddhist mythology.

namaste *Lit*. I bow to you; traditional Indian greeting, commonly accompanied by a slight bow and the hands in front of the chest with palms pressed together and fingers pointed upwards.

Namdhari movement A Sikh religious reform movement of the mid nineteenth century and an attempt to revive Sikhism following defeat in the Anglo-Sikh wars; rejected the growing militarism and politicisation among Sikhs; focused instead on the virtues of pious and simple living.

nawab Term for a governor or viceroy of a province or region in the *Mughal Empire*; later became a general title for all Muslim nobles.

Naxalite movement A peasant uprising that started in the village of Naxalbari, West Bengal, in 1967 aiming to redistribute land to the landless.

Nirankari movement A Sikh religious reform movement of the mid nineteenth century and an attempt to revive Sikhism following defeat in the Anglo-Sikh wars; rejected the creeping influence of Hindu practices of idol worship and rituals in Sikhism; focused instead on the Sikh belief in the Formless One (Nirankar) and meditation.

nirvana Buddhist concept of liberation from the cycle of reincarnation; corresponds with *moksha* in Hinduism and Jainism.

Ōmoto-kyō A new Japanese religion founded in 1892 originating from Shinto.

Orthodox Church One of the major divisions within Christianity, subdivided into many geographical groups including Greek and Russian.

Other Backward Class Term used by the Indian government for economically and socially disadvantaged castes that face discrimination.

paise Indian monetary unit equal to one-hundredth of a rupee.

Pali An Indo-Aryan language; the language of the earliest Buddhist scriptures and used in religious liturgy of *Theravada* Buddhism.

panchayat *Lit.* assembly of five; village-level council.

Panchayati Raj Term for the decentralised form of local governance in India whereby each village is responsible for managing its own affairs.

pap A concept in Jainism of demerit that is earned from bad deeds which cause suffering to others; the converse of *punya*.

parish	Subdivision of a Christian *diocese* under the leadership of a priest.
Parsee / Parsi	Follower of the Zoroastrian faith resident in India.
pa(a)thshala	Religious school.
pentecostal	Christian groups from different *denominations* which place particular emphasis on a direct personal experience of God through the baptism in the Holy Spirit.
Protestant Church	One of the major divisions within Christianity; various groups that separated from the *Catholic Church* in the sixteenth century Reformation.
puja	A Hindu term for a type of worship involving ritual of giving offerings and gifts to deities; also used in Buddhism with similar meaning.
pukka	Good, proper, correct; the opposite of *kutcha*; commonly used in reference to dwellings in India.
punya	A concept in Buddhism and Jainism of merit that is earned from good deeds and thoughts; the converse of *pap*.
Radha	A Hindu Goddess and incarnation of *Lakshmi*; consort of *Krishna.*
Ramakrishna	Born Gadadhar Chattopadhyay (1836-1886); Bengali saint whose teachings inspired his disciples to form the *Ramakrishna Mission*; remains a very popular figure in West Bengal.
Ramayana	One of the two main *Sanskrit* epics of ancient India, attributed to Valmiki; a story of *Rama*, an incarnation of *Vishnu*.
rishi	A seer, poet-sage of ancient India; composer of Vedic hymns.
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Corps of Volunteers); a volunteer organisation founded in 1925; part of the *Sangh Parivar*, largely engaged in social and charitable work but suspected of militancy and nationalism.
rupee	Principal Indian monetary unit.
sadhu / sadhvi	A common term in Hinduism for a mystic, ascetic or wandering monk / nun; people who have chosen to renounce worldly life in the pursuit of *moksha*.
samaj	Society; congregation; religious body.
samiti / samity	Society; association.
Sangathan movement	Unification or consolidation movement; a religio-political movement of the 1920s that aimed to unify the Hindu community with a political self-consciousness.
sangha	Community; assembly; congregation; association; organisation.
Sangh Parivar	*Lit.* family of associations; collective name for group of organisations following the *Hindutva* philosophy including the *RSS*.
sanskar	Cultural heritage; upbringing.
Sanskrit	Ancient Indo-European language to which many Indian languages are related; the language of the Hindu *Vedas*.
Sarada Ma	Born Saradamani Mukhopadhyaya (1853-1920); wife of *Ramakrishna*; also known as Sarada Devi or the Holy Mother.
sarvodaya	Universal uplift, progress of all, welfare of all; term coined by Gandhi in 1908.
Sarvodaya Movement	A social movement based on Gandhi's ideals promoting popular participation, self-determination and equality; also Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka founded in 1958 by Dr AT Ariyaratne fusing Gandhian principles with Buddhist values.
sati	The ancient Hindu practice of a wife joining her dead husband on the funeral pyre; now illegal but still occasionally carried out.
satsang	*Lit.* true company; the Indian practice of listening to or reading texts, reflecting and meditating on them, discussing them and translating their meaning into everyday life.
Scheduled Caste	Population grouping recognised in the Constitution of India; previously referred to as 'depressed classes' by the British.
Scheduled Tribe	Population grouping recognised in the Constitution of India; previously referred to as 'depressed classes' by the British.
sect	A group with distinctive beliefs; used variously to refer to a major religious subgroup, a break-away religious group, or a marginal religious group outside the mainstream.

seva / sewa	Selfless service; voluntary work offered to God; a concept found in Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism and Sikhism.
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee; an organisation founded in 1920 responsible for the management and upkeep of Sikh *gurdwaras* and religious affairs; also involved in educational, health and charitable activities.
Shaivism	Popular branch of Hinduism where worship is focused on *Shiva*.
Shakti	Mother Goddess in Hinduism; the personification of the divine feminine creative power.
Shaktism	Branch of Hinduism where worship is focused on *Shakti*.
Shari'a	The sacred law of Islam derived from the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed; there is no single interpretation and its implementation varies by country.
Shia	The second largest branch of Islam.
s(h)iksha	Education.
Shikshalaya Prakalpa	Government-funded scheme to ensure compulsory free elementary education for all children up to the age 14 years in India.
Shiva	The Destroyer; one God of the Hindu trinity.
Shuddhi movement	Purification movement; a Hindu socio-religious movement of the 1920s that aimed at reducing conversions to Christianity and Islam; it focused on abolishing untouchability, converting outcastes to Hinduism and elevating their position.
Sindhi	An ethnic group from the Sindh region in Pakistan; while many have adopted the dominant religion of their place of residence their traditional religion is a fusion of Hindu and Sikh elements.
sramana	An ascetic or wandering monk in the Buddhist and Jain tradition.
Sudarshan Kriya	Science of Breath; a rhythmic breathing and meditation technique pioneered by Ravi Shankar with purported physical and mental health benefits.
Sufi	The mystical, esoteric branch of Islam; found across India.
Sunni	The largest branch of Islam to which 90 per cent of the world's Muslims belong.
Sura(h)	A chapter of the Koran.
swadeshi	Self-sufficiency.
Swadeshi movement	Part of the Indian independence movement focused on boycotting British products and reviving domestic products and production such as *khadi*.
Swami	A Hindu honorific title indicating devotion to god, mastery of yoga, spiritual learning; also used in Bengali to mean husband.
swaraj	Home rule.
swasthya	Health; implies self-wholesomeness rather than the absence of disease.
Swetambar(a)	*Lit.* white clad; one of the two main Jain sects whose followers are clothed in white robes.
Tablighi Jamaat	An Islamic revival movement formed in 1926 in north India primarily aimed at spiritual reformation at the grassroots level; rather than conversion the focus was on making existing Muslims better and purer; after 1946 it began expanding beyond South Asia and is now a transnational movement with up to 80 million followers in over 150 countries.
Tantra / Tantrism	An esoteric branch of Hinduism; practices vary but generally use *yoga* and other techniques to enact the internalisation of the divine.
Terapanth(i)	The name of two independent sub-sects of Jainism (Digambar Terapanth and Swetambar Terapanth).
Theravada	One of the two main branches of Buddhism; originated in India and subsequently spread to Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand; played an important role in the twentieth century revival of Buddhism in India.
ulema	In the broad sense refers to any Muslim clergy including *imams* who have completed training in Islamic sciences; more specifically refers to an educated class of Muslim legal scholars who act as arbiters of *Shari'a* law.

Upanishads	Part of the *Vedas*; a collection of more than 200 Hindu texts dating back to 1,000 BCE which form the core teachings of *Vedanta* and are considered the heart of Hindu philosophy.
uppakka	Equanimity or balanced mind; one of the four Buddhist virtues (*Brahmaviharas*).
Vaishnavism	Popular branch of Hinduism where worship is focused on *Vishnu* or his associated avatars such as *Rama* and *Krishna.*
Vaishnavite	A follower of *Vaishnavism*.
Vedanta	*Lit.* End of the Vedas; a group of Hindu philosophical traditions which emerged in the eighth century CE focused on self-realisation as the means of understanding the ultimate meaning of reality.
Vedas	A large body of *Sanskrit* texts from ancient India written between 1,500 and 600 BCE; considered the most sacred scriptures of Hinduism.
vihara	*Sanskrit* and *Pali* term for a Buddhist monastery.
Vishnu	The Preserver; one God of the Hindu trinity.
Vivekananda, Swami	Born Narendranath Dutta (1863-1902); chief disciple of *Ramakrishna* and follower of the *Vedanta* philosophy; founder of the *Ramakrishna Mission*; a major force in the revival of Hinduism in India and in giving Hinduism a status as a world religion; a promoter of interfaith awareness and dialogue; sought to find connections between science and religion; remains a very popular figure in West Bengal.
Wand Chakna	One of the three main pillars of Sikhism; it involves sharing one's wealth with others in the community, giving to charity, helping in the *langar*, and helping those in need.
yoga	Refers to various types of mental and physical meditation practices in Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism.
yogi	A Hindu ascetic who practices *yoga* as part of their spiritual practice.
yuvak	Youth.
zakat	The third of the five pillars of Islam; a religious tax for the benefit of the poor and needy.

Acknowledgements

This doctorate would not have been possible without initial funding from Royal Holloway (College Research Studentship and Departmental Award) followed by a three-year studentship from the Economic and Social Research Council.

Thanks go first and foremost to my supervisor, Prof David Simon, who has been a mentor and friend for the last ten years and whose academic guidance and personal encouragement were invaluable throughout. I particularly appreciated his tolerance of my itinerant lifestyle and his flexible supervision arrangements. I am also grateful to my advisor, Dr Katie Willis, for her thoughtful contributions and cheerful encouragement. I also thank Rinita and Uli, two co-travellers on the PhD journey, with whom I corresponded and shared the ups and downs of doctoral studies.

In Kolkata there are many people to thank. I would not have collected so much interesting material had it not been for the many research participants who welcomed me into their organisations and gave so willingly of their time and resources. Achintya Bhattacharya, Aditi Chatterji, Anuradha Chatterji and Lily Chung were particularly helpful in arranging interviews for me and without them I would have found it very difficult to access particular religious communities and organisations.

Life in Kolkata was made easier with the practical help and kindness of a number of people. Special mention must be made of Bishakha Sen and Reeta Mukherjee, our Indian ‘aunties’, who made every effort to look after our health and well-being; their persistent mothering, generous hospitality and sense of humour were a source of great strength and inspiration. Gratitude goes to Aruna and Alfred Khan for their efforts in searching for suitable accommodation and to Captain Roy for generously leasing his apartment to us. Thanks also go to Aditi Chatterji for regular treats at Kolkata’s famous confectioners, Flurry’s, and to Flower Silliman for her hospitality and fascinating conversations. Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the kindness of the Italian Consul in Kolkata for inviting us to share her family Christmas.

There are numerous other friends in Kolkata without whom we would have not had such a wonderful year including: Judhajit Sen; Baijayanta and Barna Majumdar; Amit and Deena Sharma; Supreme and Rohini Mukherjee; Henry and Alice Wu; Darren Li and many other friends in Tangra; Sanjoy, Joy and Udita Mondal. Through them we discovered many new aspects of Kolkata and had great fun.

Last, but by no means least, I express my deepest heartfelt thanks to those closest to me. My partner, Alex, has been a constant source of encouragement from beginning to end, keeping me on track and motivating me, as well as tolerating my periodic antisocial hibernation episodes. My parents have always been a tremendous support and have taken a keen interest in my research, despite admitting that they don’t always understand the long words I use! I am particularly grateful to my mother for her efficient and thorough proofreading of manuscripts and to my father for his enthusiastic checking of all the pictures. Finally, Sam and Sally came into my life during the writing-up period and have been faithful companions as well as welcome distractions.

Dedicated to my late grandparents

– Edith and Ronald, Kathleen and Clifford –

who were an inspiration in so many ways

and would have been very proud

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Introducing religious organisations and development

Development, in the contemporary understanding of the concept, has existed since the end of the Second World War although its underlying ideas can be traced back much further. During this period, a range of actors have been involved in shaping development agendas, funding development programmes and delivering development activities; these range from supranational institutions and national governments to NGOs and grassroots organisations.

Although they have been present and active throughout this period, religious organisations (ROs) have been almost invisible to the development 'mainstream' and their contribution either ignored or undervalued. The primary reason for this has been the conceptualisation of development as a secular project underpinned by the modernisation thesis, which asserts that the process of economic development makes societies less religious. Religion, however, has persisted alongside modernisation and development across the world, indeed undergoing a particular resurgence over the last twenty years.

Among the development community, attitudes towards religion have changed gradually but noticeably over the last ten years: religion is now acknowledged as an important part of people's lives in the Global South; religious beliefs are understood to shape people's attitudes to development issues; religious values are recognised as being a strong influence in driving development interventions; and religious organisations are practically engaged in a variety of relief, welfare and development activities. A tentative exploration of the connections between religion and development from the turn of the millennium has gathered pace over the last five years into a burgeoning topic of academic enquiry and a new arena in policy-making and practice. This is very much an evolving field with a focus on gathering empirical data in order to develop theoretical understandings as well as to make policy recommendations.

There are multiple linkages between religion and development, but this study focuses specifically on the role of ROs as development actors. I believe that postdevelopment theory, while comprising an unconsolidated range of ideas, has some fundamental concepts that provide a framework for approaching the study of religion and development and the role of ROs in particular. I have utilised this theoretical grounding in postdevelopment for an empirical study of ROs in Kolkata, India.

The overall aim of this investigation is to explore the involvement of ROs in development practice and to understand their contribution in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Based on emerging issues and gaps in the literature, I chose to focus on four themes, two of which look inwardly at the characteristics and activities of ROs, and two of which look outwardly at the positioning of ROs in civil society and their interactions with other development actors. These four themes and their associated research questions are listed below and elaborated further in Chapter 3.

1. Position and presence – How significant are ROs in civil society?
2. Identity and expression – How are ROs different from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development?
3. Impact and effectiveness – Do ROs mobilise particular resources and assets in development practice?
4. Interaction and collaboration – To what extent do ROs interact with other development actors?

These themes and questions are explored using data collected from ROs in Kolkata. Overall, the study builds a picture of the existence of ROs as development actors, their characteristics and activities, and their relationships with other actors. As described in Chapters 2 and 3, this kind of knowledge, based on empirical investigation, is an essential step towards creating a more systematic understanding of the role of ROs in development.

1.2 Some autobiographical reflections

Development first attracted my attention at undergraduate level when it was taught as an optional element in my geography degree. Not only did I find the subject interesting, but it fed my idealistic notions that I could help to make the world a better place. As courses and reading took me deeper, I found evidence that development had been distinctly uneven and not always successful (however success should be measured); in fact in some places conditions had become worse. In the antidevelopment literature of the 1990s by scholars such as Wolfgang Sachs, Arturo Escobar and Gustavo Esteva, I found voices of anger and protest which resonated with my own frustration and disappointments.[1] In a short space of time, I swung from being a naive idealist to a resolute pessimist.

By the time I was studying development geography at Masters level, I realised that the deconstructive attitude of antidevelopment was only valid to an extent. Complaining and criticising are only useful when an alternative is proposed. Thus I began to investigate the then-emerging literature on postdevelopment, where discussions were exploring alternative approaches to conceiving and practising development. One of the themes found across this literature was that if development were to be effective it would need to be sensitive to social and cultural differences, appropriate to each local context and meaningful to those people. Some scholars suggested that one aspect of this contextualisation was to understand the role of religion and spirituality in shaping

[1] As elaborated in Section 2.2.1, this set of literature is sometimes termed postdevelopment rather than antidevelopment. I use antidevelopment in reference to the deconstructive and critical set of writings and postdevelopment in reference to the more constructive and positive set of writings that followed.

culture and I was very interested in this notion. It also resonated with my own reflections at the time on relativism and the dangers of religious absolutism.[2]

I began to search for ways in which religion and spirituality had been applied to contemporary global issues and found numerous interesting and innovative examples. I found a nascent literature on how religious scriptures relate to topics such as economics, environment and gender. Most attention at that point had been paid to religion and environment, with academic scholarship led by the US-based Forum on Religion and Ecology (most notably the book series on *Religions of the World and Ecology* edited by Mary Evelyn Tucker and John Grim)[3] and practical action pioneered by the UK-based Alliance of Religions and Conservation.[4]

Amid this fascinating work, however, were scant references specifically to religion and development and I found that I was not the only person who had identified this gap. Since the turn of the century there had been a small trickle of academic scholarship starting to raise questions about the role of religion in development. In addition, some of the international development institutions such as the World Bank were slowly becoming aware of the potential to involve religious communities and organisations in development practice. This seemed an interesting time to engage with this fledgling field of religion and development.

In fact, during the three-and-a-half years of my doctoral research (2007-2010), the field of religion and development mushroomed and the number of scholars working in this field – albeit from very different academic perspectives – increased dramatically. The Department for International Development (DFID) funded a five-year interdisciplinary *Religions and Development Research Programme* based at the University of Birmingham[5] and the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs at Georgetown University began a *Religion and Global Development* programme.[6] New books emerged including *Visions of Development: Faith-based Initiatives* (Tyndale 2006), *Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations* (Clarke, Jennings and Shaw 2007), *Religion and Development: conflict or cooperation?* (Haynes 2007) and *Religion in Development: rewriting the secular script* (Deneulin 2009a). In addition, journal articles appeared across several disciplines and there were conference sessions dedicated to the topic. At the same time, governments, international agencies and NGOs tentatively engaged in new partnerships with ROs.

Thus my research was carried out within this context of burgeoning academic study and a shifting policy and praxis environment (discussed in detail in Section 2.2). While the academic literature on

---

[2] The way in which my religious positionality affected the research process is discussed in Section 4.7.3.
[3] fore.research.yale.edu/publications/books/book_series/cswr
[4] www.arcworld.org
[5] www.rad.bham.ac.uk
[6] berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/programs/religion-and-global-development

religion and development was growing year on year, much of it lacked practical application and there were calls for empirical studies to fill this gap. I decided to use my theoretical grounding in postdevelopment to shape an empirical study of ROs as development actors.

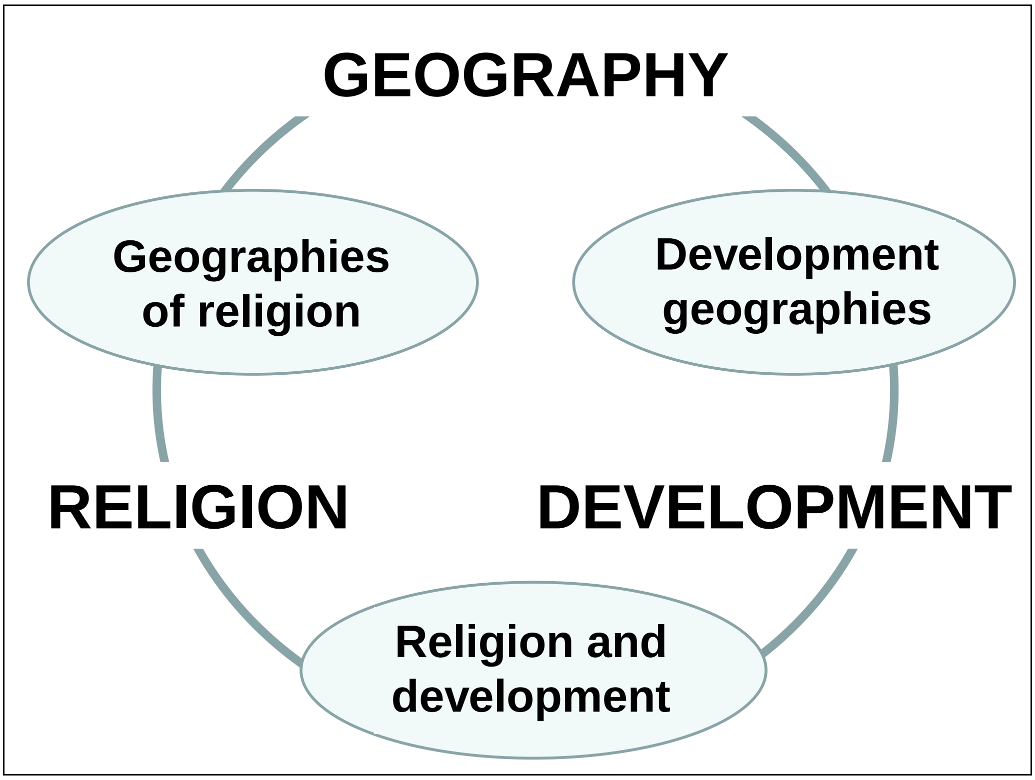
There was an obvious choice of location for my field-based research. In 1999-2000 I spent a gap year in Kolkata (formerly known as Calcutta), India, where I volunteered for several Christian organisations active in providing different welfare, relief and development services for the poor and underprivileged. At the time, I was struck by significant differences between these organisations in terms of their motivation, organisational structure and activities. This was the inspiration for my subsequent Masters dissertation research, for which I returned to Kolkata and undertook a comparative study of 26 different Christian organisations engaged in development (Lunn 2001). The idea of a larger study comparing organisations of different religions lodged in my mind and finally came to fruition as this doctoral research six years later.

Having traced the evolution of my personal and academic interests that led to my choice of research topic, the next section explains how I approach the study of religion and development as a geographer and how my study is situated alongside contemporary themes and debates within the discipline.

1.3 A geographical approach to religion and development

My study is situated at the nexus between geography, religion and development, as conceptualised in Figure 1, and this section explores in turn each of the three interfaces – geographies of religion, development geographies and religion and development – seeking to answer the following questions: i) why is the study of religion/development/religion and development relevant to geography? ii) how is the study of religion/development/religion and development positioned within geography as a discipline? iii) what are the main themes in contemporary geographical scholarship on religion/development/religion and development? and iv) what is the particular contribution of geography to understanding religion/development/religion and development?

Figure 1 – Working at the interfaces of geography, religion and development



1.3.1 Geographies of religion

The academic study of religion covers the existence, distribution and characteristics of religious beliefs, religious places, religious practices, religious organisations and so on. Although religion is a global phenomenon found in all societies, its manifestations vary between different places and on different scales. This spatial dimension makes the study of religion particularly pertinent to geography, but while elsewhere in the social sciences, anthropologists, sociologists and historians have always been comfortable with studying religion as a social phenomenon, geography has had an uneasy relationship. Under the dominant secularisation thesis, which held sway throughout the twentieth century, religion was not seen as a legitimate field of geographical enquiry and was left marginalised. As a result of its sidelining, there was little explicit literature produced for many decades, aside from a few landmark texts such as Sopher's *Geography of Religions* (1967) and Park's *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion* (1994).

Kong's (1990, 2001, 2010a) decadal reviews, which have provided a useful overview of changing trends and emerging issues in the geographies of religion, show that over the last ten years, in line with the increasing recognition of the role of religion in society (see Section 2.1), geographers have started to re-engage with matters of religion, spirituality and faith. There is growing acceptance that it is a legitimate aspect of geographical enquiry and the field has started to consolidate, seen for example in the RGS-IBG *Geographies of Religion, Spirituality and Faith Working Group* formed in

January 2010 and the *Geographies of Religion: a new dialogue* conference held in March 2010.[7]

Despite these developments, the geographies of religion tends not to be regarded as a distinct sub-discipline of geography but rather as a cross-cutting motif.[8] Geographers who study different aspects of religion usually belong to a particular sub-discipline such as cultural geography, historical geography or political geography; indeed, in a straw poll of the approximately 70 participants at the 2010 conference mentioned above, only five or six people considered themselves first-and-foremost geographers of religion.

Since it is not a distinct sub-discipline, the geographies of religion does not have its own discrete set of literature; however, there is considerable relevant literature even if it is not explicitly labelled as such. This can be seen in the list of publications maintained by the German Geographical Society's Working Group for Geography and Religion, which listed 236 publications between 2006 and February 2010 and by no means claims to be exhaustive.[9] The list reveals varying levels of interest in religion among the different sub-disciplines of geography, which Kong (2010b) describes as dominant voices (e.g. social geography, cultural geography), nascent voices (e.g. political geography) and absent voices (e.g. health and medical geography).

When trying to summarise recent and current work by geographers relating to religion, spirituality and faith, some reviewers have attempted to divide scholarship into particular groupings – such as Kong's 'politics' and 'poetics' of space or Henkel's 'old social geography' and 'new cultural geography' – and these are very useful conceptualisations. As I reviewed the contemporary literature, I felt that four overlapping themes emerged, reflecting particular combinations of topic and methodology – spatial distribution, landscape, social and cultural – each of which is described in more detail below.

1. Traditionally, geographers have been occupied with understanding the spatial distribution of phenomena and, in terms of the geographies of religion, this may involve using census data or cartographical techniques to analyse the distribution of religious adherents or religious activities. Examples of such work include Muslims in the 2001 British census (Peach 2006), religious adherence in the United States (Jordan 2007) and Muslims in Russia (Heleniak 2006). There are also studies of religious expression or activity in particular places, such as Methodism in Cornwall (Harvey, Bailey and Brace 2007), Christian missions in Northeast India (Nag and Kumar 2002) and religious organisations in British suburbia (Dwyer 2010).

[7] British geographers have been more reticent than others to engage with religion; for example, the Association of American Geographers has had a Geographies of Religion and Belief Systems Specialty Group since the 1970s and the German Society for Geography has had a Geography of Religion Working Group for over 25 years.
[8] Geographies of religion is currently the most commonly-used term but various other terms are found in the literature, each with particular nuances intentioned by the authors, including religious geography/geographies, geographies of belief, faith geographies and spiritual geographies.
[9] www.religionsgeographie.de/literatur.htm

2. Landscape, whether the natural or built environment, is another conventional geographical interest which in the context of the geographies of religion includes sacred places (their designation, meaning, spatial layout) and religious buildings (their location, symbolism, functions). Examples of recent studies include Mayan sacred landscapes (Bassie-Sweet 2008), Hindu Goddess shrines (Singh and Singh 2010), Masonic lodges (Mackintosh and Forsberg 2009) and Methodist Central Halls (Methodist Central Halls project).[10] Perhaps also to be included in this category is a small body of scholarship, particularly found among American geographers and sometimes known as Bible Geography, which analyses religious scriptures using geographical methods and seeks to identify and map real places in the scriptures; for example the geography of the Holy Land (Dando *et al* 2006).

3. Geographers seek to understand the spatial dynamics of the contemporary world using concepts such as processes, flows and networks, which in the case of the geographies of religion, means the connections between religion and politics, the economy and society. Examples of recent work from within political geography include American evangelical geopolitics (Dittmer and Sturm 2010), Islamic extremism in Russia (Russell 2009), church-state relations in France (Bertrand 2006) and the impacts of fundamentalism (Stump 2008). In social and economic geography, particular attention has been paid to public roles of religious organisations in banking (Pollard and Samers 2007), social welfare (Hackworth 2009), services for the homeless (Johnsen and Fitzpatrick 2009) and urban regeneration (Baker and Skinner 2006).

4. The most significant area of growth in the geographies of religion is that influenced by the 'cultural turn' in geography over the last two decades and which focuses on the cultural dimensions of political, economic and social processes. In this respect, geographers have utilised a range of concepts in the study of religion including: a) identity and representation, specifically the interplay between religion/spirituality and identity, such as young Muslim men's masculinities (Hopkins 2006) and the role of religion in young people's lives and identity (Youth on Religion project);[11] b) experience, particularly the experiences of religion/spirituality among different population groups, such as young people and spirituality (Youth and Religion project)[12] and spirituality and sexuality (Queer Spiritual Spaces project);[13] c) performance and emotion, in this case the performance of religious/spiritual practices, such as veiling of young Muslim women in Britain (Dwyer 2008), performance of the Christian Eucharist (Dewsbury and Cloke 2009) and grief and bereavement (Maddrell 2009); d) mobility, particularly movement in religious spaces or of religious people, for example tourists and pilgrims sharing religious

[10] www.methodistcentrahalls.webeden.co.uk
[11] www.brunel.ac.uk/about/acad/health/healthres/youthonreligion
[12] www.youthandreligion.org.uk
[13] www.queerspiritualspaces.com

space in Haifa (Gatrell and Collins-Kreiner 2006), pilgrimage in Hindusim (RPB Singh 2006) and going-to-work among ultraorthodox Jews (Blumen 2007); e) embodiment and affect, specifically the embodiment of religious/spiritual practices and ideas, such as expression of political conflict in northwest India through bodily references (Smith 2009) and the nineteenth century séance (Holloway 2006).

This description of contemporary scholarship suggests that the geographies of religion is a burgeoning field of academic enquiry but the key concern here is to understand geography's particular contribution to the study of religion. Considering the research topics exemplified above, it is possible that an anthropologist could study the performance of religious rituals, a sociologist could examine the activities of faith-based organisations, a historian could research the impact of missionary activity, a political scientist could analyse religious geopolitics, and a religious studies scholar could apply scriptural concepts to contemporary issues in society.

I suggest that geography's distinctive contribution lies with the discipline's core principles of space, place and scale. The geographies of religion concerns itself with how religious ideologies, sites, institutions, activities, experiences and so on are manifest across space, in different places and on a variety of scales from corporeal and institutional to geopolitical (Holloway and Valins 2002).

1.3.2 Development geographies

The traditional concern of development is the economic growth of nation-states and the improvement in quality of life for their citizens. Development, in the contemporary understanding of the concept, has existed for over 60 years and been a topic for academic study throughout this period. Development studies is not usually considered as an academic discipline in its own right, but rather a cross-cutting field attracting scholars from across the social sciences including anthropology, area studies, economics, environmental science, geography, political science, social policy, sociology and women's studies.[14] Thus those engaged in development research tend to approach it from within a particular disciplinary perceptive, which in turn provides a theoretical framework and methodological tools for enquiry.

Geographers have always taken an interest in development theory, policy and practice, their interests varying over time with broader trends in the field and ranging from national and regional planning, agriculture and rural development, economic policies and aid, to megacities, environmental resources and sustainability, experiences of poverty and gendered perspectives. In

[14] Tribe and Sumner (2004) provide an excellent discussion of the multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature of development studies.

terms of contemporary development geography, I would highlight three overlapping themes which illustrate some of the current topics of debate in the sub-discipline – civil society, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, and political ecology – each of which is described in more detail below.

1. The role of civil society in development has been of interest to development geographers for more than a decade (for an overview see McIlwane 1998, 2007). Significant research themes include the politics of NGOs in development (e.g. Mercer 2002; Mohan 2002; Bebbington 2004), applying the concept of social capital to understand the contribution of civil society to development (e.g. Radcliffe 2004; Mustafa 2005; Holt 2008), civil society as a tool of the neoliberal development agenda (e.g. Laurie *et al* 2005; Carmody 2007; Walker *et al* 2008), exploring notions of a global civil society (e.g. Taylor 2004, 2005; McIlwane 2007; Carr and Norman 2008; Cumbers *et al* 2008), interactions between development donors and civil society (e.g. Townsend *et* al 2002; Howell and Lind 2009) and the role of international volunteering in development (e.g. Simpson 2004, 2005; Baillie Smith and Laurie forthcoming).

2. Transnationalism (the increased economic, social and cultural interconnectivity between people from different countries and global regions) and cosmopolitanism (the sense of shared values, morals and experiences between people from different places) are naturally of interest to geographers because of their strong spatial dimension. These concepts have intersected with development geography in various ways, including: the hybrid identities of migrants, transnational development networks and the contribution of diaspora communities to development (e.g. Mohan 2004, McFarlane 2006; Mercer *et al* 2008); the impacts of transnational migration, the reality of multiculturalism and the aspiration for cosmopolitanism in cities (e.g. Yeoh 2004; Söderström 2006); and expressions of global social justice (see previous paragraph for references).

3. Political ecology, concerned with the human-environment interface, is a core interest of geography and has had a particular pertinence within development geography for several decades, concerned with issues such as unequal access to natural resources, the relationships between poverty and environmental degradation, gender-differentiated access to and control over resources, and conflicts and negotiations over resource use. Some recent research themes include the intersection between political ecology and the notion of environmental justice (e.g. Williams and Mawdsley 2006; Myers 2008), neoliberal agendas and the privatisation of resources (e.g. Laurie and Crespo 2007; Carter *et al* 2008) and the unequal experiences of climate change (e.g. Thomas and Twyman 2005; Barnett 2007).

Having outlined some contemporary themes in development geography, the question is what particular contribution do geographers make to understanding development that economists, political scientists or anthropologists do not. As for the study of religion, I believe that the distinctiveness lies in the application of the concepts of space, place and scale. Development geographies concerns the spatial patterns of development, the causes and consequences of uneven development, and the impact of development processes on scales ranging from the household and village to nation and region.

1.3.3 Religion and development

I feel that geography is increasingly being characterised by a synergy between different sub-disciplines, or "internal interdisciplinarity" (Vira and James forthcoming), producing interesting new topics of enquiry. Sherringham (2010), for example, describes the fields of geographies of religion and geographies of transnationalism and then suggests how the two converge in a new arena: geographical approaches to religious transnationalism. In a similar vein, this section has given an overview of the geographies of religion and development geographies and this final part considers their convergence as a geographical approach to religion and development.

Religion and development has emerged as a new field of scholarship over recent years (see Section 2.2); although it has attracted scholars from across the social sciences, geographers have been poorly represented. The Religions and Development Research Programme at Birmingham University, for example, was a high-profile, international and interdisciplinary research programme but did not recruit a geographer onto its team until the latter stages. They published a series of nine working papers examining different disciplinary perspectives towards religion and development – anthropology (Bradley 2007), development studies (Nkurunziza 2007), economics (Jackson and Fleischer 2007), gender studies (Tomalin 2007a), political science (Singh, Marquette and Alolo 2007), psychology (Martin 2008), public management (Shah, Larbi and Batley 2007), religious studies (Tomalin 2007b) and sociology (Tomalin 2007c) – but geography was conspicuous by its absence.

A few geographers have long called for recognition of the religious and spiritual dimensions in development and their (re)insertion into development geographies (e.g. Singh 1999; Simon 2003) but, until recently, there has been little response. I would divide recent research interests by geographers in the field of religion and development into three overlapping areas. These draw from convergences between contemporary topics in the geographies of religion and development geographies as discussed in the previous two sections – civil society, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism – and are described in turn below.

1. Combining the interest in religious organisations as actors in the public sphere (see Section 1.3.1) and the role of civil society in development (see Section 1.3.2), some geographers have

been exploring the contribution of religious organisations to development. Examples of such research include the role of faith-based organisations in inner city regeneration in South Africa (Winkler 2008) and the development activities and performance of faith-based organisations in Tanzania (Green, Mercer and Mesaki 2010).

2. At the convergence between geographical understanding of religion in the contemporary world using the concepts of flows and networks (see Section 1.3.1) and development geography's interest in transnationalism (see Section 1.3.2), there has been some attention paid to the transnational dimension of religion and development. This includes flows of finances and materials between religious donors and recipients and the politics of these relationships, including the imposition of particular religious or development agendas and responses by recipient communities. Examples of such research (which is reviewed in more detail in Section 3.5) include Kelsall and Mercer (2003), Morse and McNamara (2006, 2008), Olson (2006, 2008) and McGregor (2010).

3. Where cultural geography's interest in religious identity, experience and performance (see Section 1.3.1) meets with civil society, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism (see Section 1.3.2) there has been some research on faith-based volunteering by young people, exploring how it shapes their formulations of global citizenship and social justice (Baillie Smith *et al* 2010; Hopkins *et al* 2010; Laurie *et al* 2010).

Once again, the pertinent issue is to identify what is distinctive about a geographical approach to religion and development compared to other disciplines. As discussed in the previous two sections, I believe that it is the use of the fundamental geographical concepts of space, place and scale. Although this may be the key to a uniquely geographical approach, Knott (2010), a religious studies scholar offering a critique on the geographies of religion, feels that geographers take their spatial perspective for granted and do not always make it explicit in their writings. Consequently, people from other disciplines wonder where the 'place' is that geographers always seem to claim 'matters' so much.

Overall, the number of geographers engaged in the study of religion and development at present are relatively few, although I believe that there is scope for wider engagement. My research joins this select group and makes a contribution towards strengthening a geographical perspective within the growing field of religion and development as well as consolidating the study of religion and development within geography (see Section 1.6).

1.4 A theoretical framework for religion and development

Religion and development is a growing field of scholarship. As noted in Section 1.3, people from a range of disciplines are engaging with the topic and, perhaps as a result of this, there is no single agreed theoretical basis. I decided to use postdevelopment as my theoretical framework and the purpose of this section is to explain my choice and justify its merits in the face of possible alternatives.

My choice of postdevelopment as a theoretical framework for this research grew out of my previous work. During my personal intellectual journey (see Section 1.2), I became interested in alternatives to the dominant development model that were rooted in postmodern ideas of pluralism, relativism and the rejection of grand narratives. More specifically in terms of development, this meant accepting different conceptualisations of development based on a variety of worldviews; ensuring that the development process is sensitive to local cultures; and making development practice participatory, emancipatory and self-determined. Overall, these ideas have been labelled as postdevelopment. Postdevelopment is not a single coherent body of literature or a shared theoretical position, but rather a range of ideas emanating from people from diverse intellectual and ideological positions (Pieterse 1998; Hart 2001; Sidaway 2002; Matthews 2004; Ziai 2004; Simon 2006, 2007; McGregor 2009). As such, postdevelopment ideas range from mild revisions to current practice on the one hand, to radical rethinking and the emergence of new paradigms on the other hand (more detailed discussion in Section 2.3).

The core ideas within postdevelopment provide a perspective from which to explore the place of religion in development; for example, how religious worldviews present alternative visions of doing development; how religious beliefs and values provide a foundation for culturally-sensitive development; and how the involvement of religious organisations as development actors can make the process more participatory (all of which are described in more detail in Section 2.2).

I believe that postdevelopment is a useful framework for studying religion and development for two main reasons. First, the diversity of ideas and perspectives under the umbrella of postdevelopment provides multiple entry points for thinking about the role of religion in development; thus it offers a flexible and inclusive approach. Second, postdevelopment ideas promote a type of development that is appropriate, sustainable and participatory; I believe these to be very positive attributes of development.

Despite my adoption of postdevelopment, I do not claim that it is the only possible theoretical framework that can be used to explore the role of religion in development, nor that its ideas are unique. I consider four other possibilities in turn below – neoliberalism, critical theory, the capability approach and postcolonialism – in each case explaining the core concepts, identifying similarities and differences from postdevelopment ideas, identifying how it could be used as a framework for examining the role of religion in development, and giving examples of such scholarship.

Since the late 1970s, neoliberalism has been the dominant approach to development, centred on economic concepts such as free markets, privatisation and deregulation. Since there must be appropriate institutional conditions for these economic practices to be effective, neoliberal development agendas also include issues of 'governance', which incorporates governments and public administration, as well as private sector actors and an active civil society. Some of the core themes within the neoliberal approach, such as capacity-building, partnerships, participation and empowerment seem very similar to postdevelopment notions of locally-rooted, appropriate, sustainable and bottom-up approaches. It is important to recognise, however, that similar terminology or ideas being evoked by quite different paradigms does not equate to shared purpose or agendas. A classic example of this is the exchange between Slater (1989, 1990) and Rondinelli (1990), where decentralisation was claimed as a tool of both neo-Marxist and neoliberal development agendas. A more contemporary example, highlighted by Baillie Smith and Laurie (forthcoming), is the way in which international volunteering in development can be framed on the one hand as an expression of neoliberal ideas of individual autonomy, improvement and responsibility and on the other hand as an expression of more socialist ideas of collective global citizenship, solidarity, development and activism. Neoliberal development approaches do intersect with religion, particularly in terms of religious organisations either acting as contracted service providers for the state or else filling gaps in state provision. A number of scholars have framed their investigations of religious organisations in development in the context of neoliberalism (e.g. Clarke *et* al 2007; Grills 2009; Heffernan *et al* 2009) but this literature is most developed in relation to religious organisations as social welfare providers in Europe and North America (e.g. Beaumont and Dias 2008; Cloke *et al* 2009; Hackworth 2009, 2010).

Critical theory, with its origins rooted in a particular social, political and intellectual milieu of the twentieth century, is widely seen to have lost its resonance with contemporary social science, including development studies. Schuurman (2009), however, has called for the revival of critical development theory and believes that it can offer new insights; he proposes using the ideas of neoimperialism as the framework and seeking systemic and macro-scale structural explanations for the current state of development. Three of the core concepts within critical theory are: the grounding of knowledge in historical context; critique through dialectical process; and identification of future potentialities for emancipation and self-determination. The latter aspect of critical theory – focusing on the potentialities for an alternative future for society – clearly resonates with postdevelopment ideas of searching for alternative paradigms to development. A critical theory approach has been applied to the study of religion and development by McDuie-Ra and Rees

(2008) in their analysis of the relationships between international development institutions and civil society organisations, specifically religious organisations. I also adopted a critical theory approach in an article about the role of religion, spirituality and faith in development (Lunn 2009) for a special journal issue on critical theory and development but chose not to pursue it in this thesis.

The capability approach (Sen 1985; Nussbaum and Sen 1993; Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2000) has evolved from being a set of ideas about rethinking welfare economics to a new paradigm for human development and has become influential among mainstream development institutions. Instead of economic processes, the capability approach puts the human person and their wellbeing at the centre of development. Rather than being defined as a lack of income, poverty is framed as a deprivation of opportunities in different aspects of life that people value, such as being able to live to old age, to have good health, to have freedom of expression, and to engage in social interaction. This approach has a number of similarities with postdevelopment: the multidimensional framing of welfare and the emphasis on people's freedom to choose what is important to them echo with postdevelopment ideas in terms of the multiple dimensions of development and a pluralistic approach of locally-rooted interpretations of development. Deneulin (2007, 2009b) has proposed the capability approach as a framework for approaching religion and development, including rethinking secular assumptions about development, recognising multiple religious traditions and values, and seeking to find common ground through constructive and creative dialogue.

Postcolonialism is a popular theoretical framework among development scholars, some of the core concerns being the deconstruction of the idea of development, debunking ideas of Western superiority, and prioritising the perspectives of those who were subdued or silenced in the development discourse (e.g. the poor, marginalised and oppressed). Postcolonialism, perhaps more than any of the other three approaches mentioned above, has the closest links with postdevelopment: the postcolonial critique of a single path to development and the search for other voices naturally connects with the pluralism of postdevelopment approaches. Following Simon (2006, 2007), I recognise the convergences between postdevelopment and postcolonialism and believe that there is merit in a synthesis of approaches (see Section 10.4.2 for further discussion). The role of religion in development can certainly be framed within a postcolonial approach, as can be seen in a variety of recent scholarship. Examples from South Asia include: Dalit movements as an example of religious mobilisation for social change (Jodhka and Kumar 2010); Muslim women's networks challenging the notion that Muslim women are voiceless victims (Kirmani 2009a, 2009b, 2009c); religious diaspora communities and their contributions to development (Tatla 2010); and the application of Buddhist values to campaigns for social justice (Bradley and Zamsay 2010).

These four examples have illustrated different theoretical frameworks for studying religion and development, each of which are perfectly valid and have been adopted by other scholars, but I have chosen postdevelopment as my framework. In sum, I see the key themes of postdevelopment as pluralism (culturally-appropriate and locally-grounded visions of development) and participation (the involvement of individuals and communities as key agents in the realisation of these visions), and the greatest asset of postdevelopment being its broad range of perspectives and ideas which allow for a very flexible approach for considering the role of religion in development.

By choosing postdevelopment, I also hope to make two particular contributions to the literature (see Section 1.6). First, I adopt it in response to McGregor's (2008:166) comment that "post-development is yet to explore religious issues in any depth". Second, following criticism that postdevelopment writings are too conceptual and lacking in practical application, my study uses postdevelopment theory as a framework for an empirical investigation, and in the process of doing so provides some much-needed convergence between theory and practice.

1.5 Terminology

At this early stage, it is necessary to explain the terminology relevant to this study and justify the terms that I have selected to use. This section looks at the trio of religion, spirituality and faith; religious organisations; development; and civil society.

1.5.1 Religion, spirituality, faith

In common usage, the words religion, spirituality and faith tend to be used interchangeably but, while they are closely intertwined, there are subtle differences (Verhelst and Tyndale 2002; Agnivesh 2003; Haynes 2005); for example, religion is often the source of spirituality but not all religious people are necessarily spiritual, just as all spiritual people are not necessarily religious (Soedjatmoko 1994; Vaz 2002; Ver Beek 2002; Hutanuwatr and Manivannan 2005).

Religion has a variety of meanings depending on the context in which the term is used. Soedjatmoko (1994) lists some of these: a path towards individual salvation, redemption or enlightenment; a vehicle to carry the believer toward transcendent truth; a kind of cosmology; an element in the cultural identity of a people; an establishment, often with connections to political, economic and social institutions in society; an agent of change or mobilisation (or immobilisation) for people; and a source of moral and ethical values. Referring to the academic study of religion within the social sciences, Rakodi (2007) suggests that a broad distinction can be drawn between substantive definitions (i.e. what religion is: a phenomenon, a set of beliefs and practices etc) and functional definitions (i.e. what religion does: its role in the construction of worldviews, the maintenance of social cohesion etc). Clearly there are multiple dimensions to religion and, equally, many possible definitions but it is not necessary for the purposes of this research to explore this in detail. Suffice to say, I use the term religion with reference to an institutionalised system of beliefs about the spiritual realm and a set of practices, rituals and symbols which facilitate closeness to the sacred or transcendent (Ver Beek 2002; Moreira-Almedia and Koenig 2006).

World religions is used in reference to the established and codified (sometimes referred to as 'organised') religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, Sikhism etc, followers of which are found on multiple continents. This indicates a broad set of beliefs and practices shared by large numbers of people but the term is problematic because it conceals tremendous diversity within religions and excludes some religious systems which are less formalised and institutionalised (e.g. tribal beliefs) or those with a regional rather than global reach (e.g. Shinto which is almost exclusive to Japan). It is also a problematic term with reference to Hinduism; for the purposes of this research, I am considering Hinduism as a world religion but in reality it is a social system underpinning the dominant culture in India without formalised religious institutions and institutional architecture.

Each of the world religions is divided and subdivided into branches with different theological interpretations and practices, although the terminology for these divisions varies. A large and long-established subgroup within a religion is sometimes known as a ***denomination*** (e.g. Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian in Christianity), ***tradition*** (e.g. Theravada and Mahayana in Buddhism) or ***sect*** (e.g. Sunni and Shia in Islam; Swetambar and Digambar in Jainism). A small group that has branched off from a larger group with which it shares some beliefs and practices but not others is sometimes termed a ***sect*** or ***religious movement*** (e.g. the Hare Krishna Movement in Hinduism). A group or movement whose beliefs and practices are considered as outside the mainstream culture or society and are considered strange or even dangerous is usually termed a ***cult*** or a ***sect*** (e.g. Church of Scientology, Transcendental Meditation, Tantrism). A group of people who share common beliefs, engage in collective worship and rituals, and have communal facilities but which are distinct from the dominant group in a particular society are often referred to as ***religious communities*** (e.g. the Bengali Buddhist and the Chinese Buddhist communities in Kolkata).[15]

It should be noted that a group may not ascribe the same term for itself as it is given by others and their legal status may vary between countries. Furthermore, there is fluidity between categories; for example, Baha'i was originally considered a breakaway sect from Islam but is now regarded as a world religion (O'Brien and Palmer 2006). Because of the lack of lexical clarity, I tend to use the term ***subgroup*** to encompass all the types of division described above.

[15] The different ethno-religious communities in Kolkata are described in Appendix G.

Two important characteristics of religion must also be noted here. First, religions are not static and unchanging; they are continually evolving and adapting in response to internal and external influences (Buijs 2004; Holenstein 2005; Deneulin 2007; Haynes 2007). Second, religions are highly diverse and complex with enormous variation across space (Deneulin 2009a). Combining these two factors, all religions need to be understood in their spatial and temporal contexts.

Over recent times, there has been increasing interest in conceptualising ***spirituality***, in particular in making the distinction from religiosity. Seidlitz *et al* (2002) suggest that, historically, the concept of religion incorporated both individual and institutional elements, but popular disillusionment with religious institutions (perceived by some to have hindered the personal experience of the sacred) have caused the split in definition between religion as something institutional and spirituality as something personal and experiential. The concept of spirituality encompasses the personal beliefs by which someone relates to the spiritual or supernatural realm (transcendence), organises the world in terms of what is deemed holy (sacredness), understands the reasons and conditions for existence (ultimacy), and provides a model of individual and social behaviour (values) (Soedjatmoko 1994; Vaz 2002; Ver Beek 2002; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002; James 2004; Haynes 2005; Moreira-Almedia and Koenig 2006).

Faith concerns belief, trust and confidence. In its widest sense it does not necessarily have a connection with religion: you may have faith in your football team to win the cup or faith in your lawyer to defend your case. In theological terms, however, faith is a complex term with various applications and is used both as a noun and verb. Generally, faith refers to the belief in aspects of a religion (such as divine revelation or revealed doctrines) and confidence in them even though they may not have been directly experienced or logically proven. In that context, faith is something personal, but it can also be shared when several people have a belief in the same thing. For the latter reason, faith is often used synonymously with religion to denote a common system of belief, for example the Jewish faith (in this sense it is usually preceded by the definite article).

Religion, spirituality and faith are distinct concepts but at the same time each has multiple definitions and ambiguous usage. It has also been suggested that the very terms themselves are problematic since they are Judeo-Christian and Eurocentric without corresponding terms in some other cultures, either semantically or conceptually; for example, many non-western cultures do not make the Cartesian distinction between the material and spiritual realms (Jeavons 2004; Holenstein 2005, 2006; Deneulin 2007; Haynes 2007; Rakodi 2007; Sanderson 2007). This fact is particularly important to recognise when conducting research in different cultural contexts (see Section 4.7.3).

Throughout the text, I tend to use the word religion, but this is employed as shorthand and I intend it to encompass the breadth and complexity of meaning within the trio of religion, spirituality and faith.

1.5.2 Religious organisations

Originally I set out to conduct research on the role of faith-based organisations in development. Prior to commencing this study I was familiar with the term faith-based organisations (possibly because I was once employed by one); however, once I started telling people about my research, mention of faith-based organisations often drew puzzled looks indicating that the term is perhaps not widely used and even less widely understood. In fact, in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "faith-based" first appears as a draft addition to the 2007 entry on faith, which indicates its relatively recent emergence.

The term faith-based organisations (FBOs) is now used widely in the UK and North America to refer to a type of organisation within the voluntary sector motivated or inspired by religious beliefs or values and largely involved in social service roles such as caring for the sick or dispensing humanitarian aid. There are also variations on the term, such as faith-related agencies and religious non-governmental organisations (described in more detail in Section 3.2). Typical definitions are as follows:

> An organization, with or without nonprofit status, that provides social services and is either religiously-motivated or religiously-affiliated. (Goldsmith *et al* 2006:2)
>
> Formal organizations whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions and which operates on a nonprofit, independent, voluntary basis to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good at the national and international level. (Berger 2003:16)
>
> Any organisation that refers directly or indirectly to religion or religious values, and that functions as a welfare provider and/or a political actor. (Cloke *et al* 2009:5)

When I started my field research, the term FBO seemed inadequate and inappropriate for two main reasons. First, I felt that the term was restrictive. Scholars tend to use FBOs to refer to organisations the *raison d'être* of which is voluntary action or social service, whereas I found that other types of organisation were also engaged in such activities, albeit not necessarily as their primary purpose (e.g. religious congregations whose main activity is collective worship but who also engage in practical social activities for the benefit of both members and non-members). Second, FBOs was not used by most respondents. Many did not understand the term faith-based organisations and certainly would not have used it to describe their own organisation. When I asked interviewees to self-define their organisations, I found inconsistent use of terminology and contradictory interpretations of the role of religion, as the following quotes illustrate.[16]

> It is not secular, it is religious. I am religious. But it is registered as a humanitarian ONG – it is not registered as a religious organisation. (CH/07)
>
> Absolutely secular institute run by the Sikh people... (SK/03)
>
> Our organisation it is an out-and-out spiritual organisation, not a humanitarian organisation, not a philanthropic organisation. (HI/04)
>
> It's a secular organisation but it is religiously-based because we try and help the minority [Muslim] women... (MU/04)
>
> It is owned by the gurdwara so it is a religious institution – a religious institution I would call it. (SK/02)
>
> We cannot say it is a religious organisation because we are not promoting any religion through this organisation. (CH/02)
>
> It is not a religious organisation but adheres to the basic spiritual principles of love, kindness and unconditional service. (HI/11)

Having rejected the term FBO, I decided to use religious organisations (ROs) as an all-encompassing term to refer to all formal groups inspired or guided by religious concepts. This allowed me to capture the diversity of organisations relevant to the study and also allowed organisations to define themselves without me imposing labels or categories upon them.

At this point I also need to mention my choice of terminology for what were not classified as religious organisations. Many people use the term secular organisations but this is problematic because secular has two different meanings: in the western sense, it tends to mean absence of religion, whereas in India it tends to mean equal position of all religions (see Sections 5.3 and 5.5). Thus I use the term non-religious organisations (non-ROs) as the opposite of religious organisations to avoid misunderstandings relating to the word secular.

1.5.3 Development

The term development is highly disputed. Goulet (1992b) and Cowen and Shenton (1995), for example, point out the ambiguity of development being both the goal of social change as well as the means of achieving that goal. Hart (2001) chooses to distinguish between 'big D' development as the formal project of post-war development in 'third world' countries and 'small d' development as the spread of capitalism in geographically uneven and contradictory ways. Without wishing to digress into a deeper debate on this issue, for the purposes of this research I understand development to be a process which seeks to improve the life conditions for individuals, communities and societies.

[16] The system of coding used for interviews is explained in Section 4.3.3.

Since this process does not necessarily occur naturally, it requires certain agency, whether international institutions, governments, NGOs or community groups, each of which have particular reasons for engaging in development. One such type of actor is religious organisations. During the course of fieldwork in India, I found that members of religious organisations rarely used the word development to refer to their activities. Some people talked of philanthropic work, charitable work or voluntary work but the most frequently used terms were social service and social work. Although such terms would not particularly be used in the academic development literature or by mainstream development institutions, they were the most widely used and understood phrases among the research participants.

For the purposes of consistency in writing I use the term development, which I intend as an inclusive term to include activities designed to improve the quality of life and the capacity of poorer, underprivileged or marginalised members of society. As such it includes activities such as welfare and care for the vulnerable; education and training; health care and promotion of well-being; poverty alleviation and income generation; human rights and gender equity; empowerment and human rights. Excluded from this are other aspects of development, such as infrastructure or environment, which also aim to improve the quality of life but which do not deal directly with people.

1.5.4 Civil society

Although this research focuses on ROs as development actors, they are situated within the context of civil society. Civil society has become something of a contemporary buzz word but it is actually a rather ambiguous concept with multiple definitions. Van Rooy (2002) helpfully suggests six (overlapping) ways in which civil society can be framed, which are worth reiterating in order to explain my own application of the term. First, civil society, with emphasis on the word ‘civil’, refers to a particular set of values, morals and ethics being present in society. Second, civil society is a collective noun for the group of organisations, i.e. civil society organisations (CSOs), which belong neither to the marketplace nor the state and in this case is used synonymously with the terms voluntary sector and third sector. Third, civil society is a space for action; this is classically represented as a Venn diagram with overlapping circles indicating the sphere of operation of the state, market and civil society. Fourth, civil society refers to a historical moment, either in real or idealised time, when a set of prerequisites are in place in a society. Fifth, civil society is the antithesis to modern liberalism because many CSOs and movements are mobilised in opposition to the mainstream culture and institutions. Sixth, civil society is an antidote to the nation-state and its limitations, hence the notion of global civil society and the emergence of international activism.

For the purposes of this thesis, I frame civil society primarily in terms of the second definition i.e. a collection of organisations that belong neither to the state nor private sector. Many different types of organisation come under the umbrella term of CSO including: non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and non-profit organisations (NFPs or NPOs); voluntary associations (VOs); community based organisations (CBOs) and grassroots organisations (GROs); membership organisations and people's organisations; religious organisations (ROs) and faith-based organisations (FBOs); social movements and activist groups; cooperatives and savings groups; networks and alliances; trade unions and professional/business associations. These labels, however, conceal various complexities that hinder analysis of the civil society sector. First, there is a lack of consistency with the terms used for different types of organisations in different countries and by different people; for example, in India, the government tends to use the term VOs whereas consultants tend to refer to NPOs. Second, there is an overlap between different categories; for example, a RO may also be a NGO, making it a RNGO. Third, each category is by no means a homogenous group of similar types of organisation (see Section 3.2.2). My particular interest is in ROs collectively as one type of CSO and their positioning alongside other CSOs, particularly those active in development.

Civil society has become an important dimension of development studies and development practice, both in terms of an abstract concept and a material entity (see McIlwaine 1998, 2007 for overviews). There are two broad perspectives on the role of civil society in development. On the one hand, civil society is conceived of as an agent of the development mainstream, whose mantra of "strengthening civil society" has sought to involve NGOs and other types of CSOs actively in poverty alleviation and social welfare. Proponents view this process as enabling popular participation and democratising development; critics see it as a mechanism by which institutions retain power and control over people. On the other hand, civil society is a counterbalance to the development mainstream, providing an arena for protest and resistance against development institutions, policies and practices. Proponents believe that grassroots activism has the power to challenge orthodoxies and change the world; critics feel that radical views undermine genuine institutional democracy. In this thesis, I explore both perspectives to ascertain whether ROs operate as agents of or alternatives to the development mainstream.

My study on ROs as development actors is focused on India, a country with a particularly vibrant civil society sector, including a vast range of types of CSO and a widespread notion of popular political participation (e.g. Tandon and Mohanty 2003; Chatterjee 2006). The long history of voluntary action and social activism are described in Section 5.2 and the relationship between the state and civil society examined in Section 5.3. This is not to claim, however, that there is a single understanding of civil society in India, rather civil society, as elsewhere, is tremendously diverse and complex. Although this thesis is not a study of civil society per se, nor of the contribution of ROs to civil society, it is still necessary to appreciate civil society as the broader context within which ROs exist and operate. This section has explained my interpretation of civil society – as an entity comprising different types of organisations – that shaped the collection and interpretation of data.

1.6 Contribution to the literature

My research, situated at the interfaces between geography, religion and development (as described in Section 1.3), makes a valued contribution to three sets of literature – geographies of religion literature, development geography literature, and religion and development literature – in five different ways.

1. Theoretical framework of postdevelopment

Rakodi (2007) suggests that the neglect of religion in mainstream development has resulted in a lack of conceptual framework for studying the relationships between religion and development. In response to this, I propose postdevelopment as a possible theoretical basis for approaching religion and development. As described in Section 1.4 and elaborated in Section 2.3, postdevelopment is not a single theory, perspective or body of literature but rather a range of ideas with some common threads which I suggest can be conceptualised along a spectrum. I suggest that this spectrum creates a flexible space for exploring the existing and potential role of religion in development.

2. A geographical approach to religion and development

The emergent field of religion and development has drawn scholars from a wide range of disciplines but few geographers. As described in Section 1.3, the convergence between emerging themes in both the geographies of religion and development geographies present new opportunities for geographers to engage with religion and development. A geographical approach – rooted in the fundamental concepts of place, space and scale – is distinct from the approaches of other disciplines and complements the work of other social scientists.

3. Empirical study of Kolkata, India

As discussed in Section 3.2, there has been a recent turn to ‘mapping’ studies of ROs in different countries and regions in order to understand their contemporary distribution and contribution to development, and I have responded to the call for more such empirical work with a study of Kolkata, India. My study contributes to two existing sets of scholarship. On the one hand, it joins the newly-emerging work on religion and development in India including two state-based mapping studies of ROs engaged in development (Mishra 2008a; Jodhka and Bora 2009) and explorations of the contribution of different religious communities to development and social change (Jain 2010;

Jodhka and Kumar 2010; Mahajan and Jodhka 2010). On the other hand, it complements research on different ethno-religious communities of Kolkata and their associated organisations, particularly those of the minority communities (e.g. Ray 2005; Siddiqui 2004, 2005; Chatterji 2009; Diaspora Cities project[17]). It is the first study seeking to map multiple religious communities and their development activities in Kolkata.

4. Convergence at the theory–praxis interface

One of the persistent problems within development is that it spans two separate spheres: theory and practice, as illustrated in relation to religion in Section 2.2. Development academics and theorists operate in a parallel realm from policymakers and practitioners; there has not always been good communication between the two but it is recognised that they have much to learn from one another if development is to be relevant (Edwards 1993; Simon 1997; Närman and Simon 1999; Bebbington and Bebbington 2001; Hulme and Toye 2005). My work, which is both theoretically-grounded and empirically-rooted, demonstrates various points of convergence between the two sides and seeks to increase mutual dialogue.

5. A Southern perspective in the geographies of religion

As discussed in Section 1.3.1, geographers studying different aspects of religion tend to do so from within their own sub-disciplines, such as cultural geography, social geography and political geography, but few from development geography have yet engaged with religion. In terms of the public role of ROs, for example, there is a growing interest among some social and urban geographers about ROs that are engaged in social service provision in Europe and North America. On the other hand, few development geographers have engaged with the similar phenomenon of ROs as social welfare and development actors in the Global South. My study joins a handful of others in seeking to redress the balance within geography and lays the groundwork for arguing for a postcolonial approach to studying ROs (see Section 10.4.2).

1.7 Chapter outline

Chapter 2 starts by describing the general resurgence of religion in society before looking specifically at the growing interest in religion in development theory, policy and practice. The wide-ranging literature on religion and development is described using a postdevelopment framework, which identifies a spectrum of ways of conceptualising and practising development. Chapter 3 focuses on religious organisations as development actors, giving an overview of the existing literature under four pairs of themes and setting out the questions to be addressed in my study. Chapter 4 describes the methodology employed for my fieldwork in Kolkata, which was divided into

[17] www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/diasporacities

three stages. There is also a discussion of ethical issues and researcher positionality, particularly as they relate to my topic and field location. Chapter 5 provides some contextual information on India, the state of West Bengal and the city of Kolkata, focusing on three topics most relevant to my study: the civil society sector, levels of development, and religious diversity and coexistence.

The next four chapters present empirical findings from my fieldwork in Kolkata, comparing them to the results of other studies where possible, and analysing them in the light of issues emerging from the literature, as described in Chapter 3. Chapter 6 considers the presence and position of ROs, assessing their contribution to civil society both numerically and qualitatively. Chapter 7 examines the identity and expression of ROs, focusing on the extent to which religion is evident in organisations and the way in which religious beliefs and values provide a motivation for engagement in development. Chapter 8 looks at the impact and effectiveness of ROs, investigating how particular religious characteristics and assets are mobilised in development practice. Chapter 9 explores the interaction and collaboration between ROs and other development actors, looking at all kinds of relationships and linkages to assess the extent to which ROs are part of wider networks. Finally, Chapter 10 recapitulates the main empirical findings of the study, situates these within the postdevelopment theoretical framework, identifies potential areas for further investigation, and suggests how the research could be disseminated to interested parties.

Chapter 2 – Religion and development

2.1 Religion and society

God Is Back! That is the bold title of Micklethwait and Wooldridge's (2009) book, which describes how religion and faith are on the increase the world over. Institutional religion and personal faith are undergoing dramatic revivals in every region of the world, in domestic politics and foreign policy, in business and academia, in social welfare and environmental activism (see also Berger *et al* 1999; Benthall 2008a; Kaufmann 2010).

It was the ideas of the European Enlightenment that questioned the public role of religion. Progress was envisioned as a linear path from a 'traditional' to a 'modern' society and over time it was believed that religion would become irrelevant and fade away. Indeed, after the Second World War, as wealth, individualism and materialism became more widespread, religion gradually retreated from public life in Europe. The European secular model was emulated across the world in countries such as Turkey, Iran, Mexico and India; America was a notable exception, with religion retaining a strong presence in public life and politics.

The assumptions of secularisation, however, have been proven wrong as religion has coexisted, even strengthened, with modernisation. Now the American model has spread around the world through Asia, Africa, Middle East and Latin America, leaving largely secular Europe as the exception. Ironically, not only is religion thriving, but it is mobilising the attributes of modernity which were supposed to destroy it – such as democracy, markets, technology and reason – to its advantage.

The process of desecularisation and the move to a postsecular society is certainly a new phase, although Ley (2010) suggests that throughout history there have been cycles of public popularity and unpopularity of religion so this recent turn is not unexpected. A range of reasons has been identified for the re-emergence of religion in the public sphere (as noted by Goulet 1980; Marshall 2001, 2006b; Eade 2002; Ebaugh 2002; Berger 2003; Harcourt 2003; Selinger 2004; Ahmed 2005; Clarke 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2010;[18] Ter Haar and Ellis 2006; Deneulin 2007; Rakodi 2007; De Kadt 2008).[19]

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 has been cited as an important moment in terms of highlighting the role of religion in politics, economics and social change. Protestant evangelicalism in the USA began to grow in prominence from the 1980s and since Reagan's election in 1980, many Presidents have had connections to the Christian Right, which has become a significant voting bloc

[18] Clarke's series of publications – 2005, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2010 – are almost identical reproductions in different books and journals and from henceforth are cited simply as Clarke 2005etc.
[19] These references are from the religion and development literature but the topic is also discussed in other bodies of literature.

and influence on government policy. There have been associated changes in legislation that allow the state to fund religious organisations, including those engaged in proselytism. A mirror to this has been the rise of political Islam in the Middle East, Gulf and beyond. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan during the 1980s, there has also been a growth in the number of Islamic political, charitable and development organisations.

Religion contributed to political change elsewhere in the world too: the Catholic Church fronted the challenge to several dictatorial regimes and human rights abuses across Latin America and liberation theology emerged as a motivational framework for social transformation; Catholic social teaching underpinned the Solidarity movement in Poland; faith-based movements challenged governments in Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia; and Christian churches were highly influential in bringing an end to apartheid in South Africa. Furthermore, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism gave people the freedom to express alternative identities such as ethnicity, nationality and religion; this resulted in a resurgence of organised religion in the former Soviet Union and the emergence of politics based on these different identities. During the same era, the rising influence of the civil society sector across the world has included a growth in faith-based social and political activism, such as the Jubilee 2000 campaign.

As a result of immigration, societies of the Global North are now much more multicultural and multifaith leading to religion becoming a high-profile issue in society, politics and the media. Each diasporic community has an attendant range of faith-based institutions catering for their material, social, cultural and religious needs and enabling them to keep connections with their homeland. The incidents of 11 September 2001 and the subsequent ‘war on terror’ are cited as a turning point when the role of religion in national and global affairs was truly recognised. Finally, religion has become acceptable in politics in America, most recently under Bush and Obama, and in the UK under Blair and Brown.

There are many dimensions to the role of religion in public life; for example, religious beliefs guide the behaviour of believers into different acts as diverse as terrorism and environmental protection; religious values are a framework for understanding the contemporary world and are applied to solving problems; religious conviction persuades people to give their money and time for a cause or for the benefit of others; religious leaders use their position of authority and influence to engage in dialogues about social issues; religious communities mobilise their collective identity for social or political change; and religious organisations offer social services alongside their religious activities.

Of these interactions between religion and society, the focus of my research is religious organisations (ROs) which are providing social services and welfare programmes for the benefit of poorer and more marginalised members of society. Scholarship on this topic is divided into two discrete camps, one concentrating on the Global North and the other on the Global South. Although my research is firmly situated within the latter camp, a brief comparison needs to be made between these two parallel sets of literature.

On the one hand is research about ROs in the Global North, currently focused on North America and Europe and heavily biased towards Christian organisations. The main theoretical framework for this scholarship is the idea of postsecularism. ROs are situated within a political and institutional context of neoliberalism and the literature tends to refer to their work as addressing social exclusion and social justice.[20] Although there are scholars from different social science disciplines working in this field, geographers are largely drawn from the sub-disciplines of social geography and political geography. Examples of work by geographers include Hackworth (2009, 2010), Hankins (2010) and Ley (2008) in North America and Beaumont and Dias (2008), Johnsen and Fitzpatrick (2009) and Cloke *et al* (2009) in Europe.

On the other hand is research about ROs in the Global South, which originally focused on Christian organisations in Africa but has now broadened out to all religions and regions. One theoretical framework for this scholarship is postdevelopment (discussed in greater detail in Section 2.3). ROs are situated within a political and institutional context of neoliberalism and the literature tends to refer to their work as addressing the issues of poverty and development. Although there are scholars from different social science disciplines working in this field, geographers are few and are largely drawn from the sub-discipline of development geography. Examples of work by geographers include McGregor (2008, 2010), Olson (2006, 2008) and Morse and McNamara (2006, 2008).

Although the research on the role of ROs in providing social services remains stubbornly bifurcated, I suggest that there are actually many similarities. One might ask, for example, the difference between a Christian church in London operating a soup kitchen for the homeless and a Sikh gurdwara in Delhi running a food distribution programme for pavement dwellers. Both are local religious congregations responding to an immediate social need in their locality with practical action targeting deprived members of society to improve their well-being. These two fictitious cases, however, would be studied by different scholars using different theoretical frameworks. Due to space limitations, my reviews of the literature in Chapters 2 and 3 focus on material relating to ROs engaged in development in the Global South and only give pointers to scholarship on ROs engaged in social welfare in the Global North. I would argue strongly, though, that the similarities between the two sets of literature should not be overlooked and that there is potential for drawing

[20] It must be noted, though, that the socio-political positioning of religious organisations on either side of the Atlantic is not the same. Cloke (2010) suggests that FBOs in the USA operate within the neoliberal system whilst in the UK they are a reaction to the neoliberal system and operate outside it.

comparisons, mutual learning and cross-theorising. I return to this question of convergence and possibilities for dialogue in Section 10.4.2.

This chapter describes the emergence of religion in development, both in theory and practice. Section 2.2 charts a gradual shift from avoidance to cautious acknowledgement, then from tentative engagement to mushrooming interest. Section 2.3 explains how ideas from postdevelopment theory can be used to frame an approach to religion and development. Section 2.4 provides some final reflections on the relationship between religion and development.

2.2 Religion and development

As religion has returned to the public sphere (see Section 2.1), there has been renewed interest in religion as a topic of enquiry in almost every social science discipline, including development studies. It has affected policy-makers and practitioners in development agencies and organisations as well as academics and theorists. This section contextualises my study within these wider trends. Section 2.2.1 describes the shift from neglect to acceptance in development theory and Section 2.2.2 examines the transition from avoidance to engagement in development practice.

Although religion has been systematically sidelined or avoided in much development theory, policy and practice, it is essential to point out that religion has always shaped development in a variety of ways both directly and indirectly, positively and negatively. The many relationships between religion and development have been widely noted in the literature and analysed in my own paper (Lunn 2009) so are merely summarised in the following paragraphs.

In research going back a century, the dominant religion in a society has been shown to influence overall levels of economic development (Weber 1904; Clark 1951; Taft Morris and Adelman 1980; Grier 1997); similarly, the relationship between religion and the state influences national development (Wahid 1985; Deneulin 2009a). In more specific terms, religious values shape attitudes towards particular aspects of development such as economic activity and labour market participation, wealth and poverty, saving and investment, exploitation of natural resources, equality and justice (Wilber and Jameson 1980; Uppal 1986; Goldthorpe 1996; Tyndale 2003; Dugbazah 2009).

Some religious teachings run counter to development goals such as the subordination of women and the use of contraception (Park 1994; Deneulin 2007, 2009a; Pearson and Tomalin 2007), while religious-related violence and conflict has caused development problems such as livelihood destruction, poverty and the displacement of vulnerable people (Küng 1990; Soedjatmoko 1994;

Eade 2002; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002; Tyndale 2003; Alkire 2006; Marshall 2006b; Deneulin 2007). On the other hand, religious leaders and communities have been responsible for preventing conflicts, solving disputes and rebuilding societies after unrest, with a knock-on effect for development (Küng 1990; Soedjatmoko 1994; Mayotte 1998; Marshall 2001; Villumstad 2002; Tyndale 2003; Ellis and Ter Haar 2004; Alkire 2006; Deneulin 2007; Haynes 2007; De Kadt 2008).

Religious organisations have long been involved in delivering development services, particularly in health and education (Park 1994; White and Tiongco 1997; Mayotte 1998; Goody 2003; Tyndale 2003; Clarke 2005etc; Alkire 2006; El Ela Mady 2006; Holenstein 2006; Marshall 2006b; Tomalin 2006; Deneulin 2007, 2009a; Haynes 2007; De Kadt 2008; McGregor 2008), while diasporic communities from the Global South living in the Global North are linked to their home countries through social networks, including religious networks, and are responsible for sending remittances that are used for development-related activities (Ellis and Ter Haar 2004; Ter Haar and Ellis 2006; Mercer *et al* 2008).

Religious beliefs give people meaning and hope; on the one hand these are a source of strength to cope with adverse situations such as poverty, exploitation or oppression; on the other hand these can contribute to a sense of well-being (Alkire 2006; Tomalin 2006). People have resisted the imposition of western-style secular development upon them by returning to their religious roots, with some engaging in fundamentalist movements or religious extremism (Wilber and Jameson 1980; Jules Rosette 1985; Soedjatmoko 1994; Goldthorpe 1996; White and Tiongco 1997; De Kadt 2005, 2008; Haynes 2005; Holenstein 2005; Alkire 2006; Gledhill 2006; Jechoutck 2006; Ndiye 2006; JR Pandey 2006). Religious beliefs also motivate people to engage in development work and sustain them in times of difficulty (Vaz 2002; Alkire 2006; McGregor 2008).

Finally, it has been observed that development, while an avowedly secular project, has many of the characteristics of a religion (Quarles Van Ufford and Schoffeleers 1988; Cowen and Shenton 1995; Rist 1997; Harcourt 2003; Simon 2003; Nuijten 2004; Salemink 2004; Van Harskamp 2004; Holenstein 2005).

2.2.1 Theory

Neglect of religion

Although religion has always had a variety of influences on development, it has been completely marginalised in the academic study of development by the two major theoretical perspectives that provided the framework for the first four decades of development.[21] The first was the modernisation thesis. The explicit goal of modernisation was economic growth and this was believed to go hand-in-hand with secularisation. Modern 'rational' values would replace 'traditional' (therefore assumed as 'backward') worldviews and beliefs. From this perspective, religion was seen as an impediment to economic advancement, irrelevant for modern societies and something that would fade away in time. The second was based on neo-Marxist concepts. Marx saw religion as the main cause of human misery and oppression and therefore something to be removed. According to him, religion was a human invention created to make life bearable (the infamous "opium of the people") but distracted believers from the reality of their lives and meant that they did not have the motivation to change society.[22] Both of these viewpoints legitimised the marginalisation of religion in the academic study of development (Van Kessel and Droogers 1988; Küng 1990; Ebaugh 2002; Selinger 2004; Clarke 2005etc; Haynes 2005; Holenstein 2005; Tomalin 2006; Deneulin 2007; Rakodi 2007).

The sidelining of religion was set to change in 1980 following a special edition of *World Development* on the relationship between religion and development. The editorial by Wilber and Jameson and the paper by Goulet, in particular, were a radical departure from existing scholarship on development; they argued that religion was the moral basis of society and therefore should be the very framework for conceiving development. These ideas, however, did not arouse interest among development scholars or translate into further study and lay inert until relatively recently (Clarke 2005etc; Deneulin 2007, 2009a).

Indeed, Ver Beek (2002) conducted a content analysis of three development journals (*World Development*, *Journal of Development Studies* and *Journal of Developing Areas*) between 1982 and 1998 and found few references to religion. The only instances tended to refer to religion as a descriptive category rather than discuss the relationship between religion and development. Even in the two subfields of development literature that he felt were the most logical places to find discussions on the relationship between spirituality and development – integrated rural development and indigenous knowledge – it was either not explicitly discussed or completely ignored.

Ver Beek's findings do not mean that there was no mention of religion in the academic literature at all during the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, non-western scholars and thinkers such as AT Ariyaratne, Ziauddin Sardar, Rana PB Singh, Sulak Sivaraksa, KC Soedjatmoko, Ashis Nandy and Gustavo Gutiérrez produced some insightful writings. Tucker (1997) suggests that the way in which they

[21] This statement is based on the widely-held view that development, in the contemporary understanding of the term, began with the Truman Declaration in 1949. It is possible, however, to trace the roots of development much further back (see Cowen and Shenton 1995; Watts 1995; Rist 1997; Grischow and McKnight 2003).
[22] Ironically, so widespread was the belief in Marx's views that Marxism virtually became a religion in itself.

crossed disciplinary boundaries – fusing economics with theology or sociology with indigenous philosophy, for example – made some western scholars feel uncomfortable and as a result they were sidelined.

Changing theoretical frameworks

The idea of incorporating religion into academic study became more acceptable in the development mainstream due to a significant shift in perceptions over the last two decades. By the 1990s, the consensus was that the impasse – the deadlock between the two major viewpoints in development theory (neoclassical economics and neo-Marxist political economy) – had passed and a new era for development had begun (Schuurman 1993, 2002; Simon 1997, 1998, 2003, 2006, 2007). This new era was termed postdevelopment.[23]

The early postdevelopment writings were a vehement criticism of development, claiming that it had failed to deliver improvements in standards of living to the majority of people, in some cases actually making the situation worse. This critique – drawing from concurrent postmodernist, poststructuralist, postcolonial and environmental feminist ideas – sought to deconstruct the concept of development and expose the cultural assumptions underlying it (i.e. the western model of 'progress'). Seminal texts included Ferguson (1990), Sachs (1992), Crush (1995), Escobar (1995a, 1995b), Rahmena and Bawtree (1997) and Rist (1997). They called for the abandonment of the development 'project' and the search for alternatives to development.

This so-called antidevelopment literature presented a strong critique of development but it was by no means the first time that the development orthodoxy had been challenged or alternatives called for. In fact, a range of sceptical and critical writing had challenged development over the decades (as noted by Watts 1995; Simon 1997, 1999, 2003; Kiely 1999; Pieterse 1998, 2000; Sidaway 2002, 2007; McGregor 2009). These included critiques from dependency theorists such as Frank (1966, 1969) and Amin (1974, 1976); both pessimistic and visionary texts on environment and sustainable development such as Ward and Dubos (1972) and Schumacher (1973); Streeten's exploration of the concept of alternatives (1974); critiques of the urban and industrial bias of development with models such as Friedmann and Douglass' (1978) agropolitan development; proposals of participatory community-led development by scholar-practitioners such as Chambers (1983, 1997); feminist writings which considered development from a different perspective such as Sen and Grown (1987); and writings highlighting the importance of considering non-western worldviews such as Nandy (1987). With such a long-standing tradition of both criticisms and proposed alternatives, Kiely (1999) feels that postdevelopment was just another wave of criticism

[23] As noted in Section 1.2, the term postdevelopment is used inconsistently in the literature: sometimes generally to refer to the whole post-impasse period, sometimes in reference to the early pessimistic and critical antidevelopment literature, and other times in reference to the more optimistic and radical alternative literature that followed. I use the term in the latter sense.

within development that did not deserve the 'post' prefix which intimates something outside or subsequent to development.[24]

The early postdevelopment writings certainly served to vent frustration about the failures of development, but they were not universally accepted and were criticised for a number of reasons (as noted by Schuurman 1993; Simon 1997, 1998, 1999, 2006, 2007; Corbridge 1998a, 1998b; Kiely 1999; Blaikie 2000; Pieterse 2000; Sidaway 2002; Rapley 2004; Ziai 2004; McGregor 2007, 2009). First, writers were accused of elitist theorising and armchair reflection rather than empirical research; their textual deconstruction was a world away from the lived realities of people in the Global South. Second, it was assumed that people of the Global South wanted something different; in reality the dominant aspirations of ordinary people were for the development orthodoxy (i.e. meeting basic needs and emulating advanced industrial countries). Third, the development project was portrayed as a uniform process which had been imposed across the world; in fact, there had always been a diversity of approaches to development and the impacts differed from place to place. Fourth, development was denounced as a failure when, in reality, real advances had been made in factors such as life expectancy, access to clean water, nutrition and literacy. Fifth, development was blamed as the cause of poverty but in some countries, particularly those affected by long-term war, maldevelopment or absence of development was actually the cause. Sixth, people in the Global South were portrayed as helpless victims whose cultures had been erased by the homogenising forces of modernisation; in fact, empirical research showed that communities were able to influence the development process and to reinterpret development in locally-meaningful ways. Seventh, premodern societies, and traditional subsistence culture in particular, was romanticised. Eighth, there were few efforts to suggest how the theoretical critique could translate into practical alternatives.

In the light of these criticisms, scholarship did shift in tone towards a more positive outlook. As already mentioned in Section 1.4, postdevelopment is not a coherent body of literature or shared theoretical position but rather a range of ideas and perspectives. The breadth of postdevelopment ideas that provide multiple entry points for thinking about the place of religion in development, which are described in more detail in Section 2.3.

Emergence of religion

The range of ideas under the umbrella of postdevelopment has created the theoretical space for religion to be incorporated into development.[25] The remainder of this section describes how the academic profile of religion and development has increased steadily over the last decade and more

[24] The use of the 'post' prefix also raises issues about the nuances of hyphenating or not (see Sidaway 2007). For consistency in style I do not hyphenate postdevelopment and other similar compound words.

[25] Since postdevelopment is not a single body of thinking or theorising, it may be more appropriate to speak of postdevelopment space rather than postdevelopment theory.

rapidly in the last few years.

In addition to individual articles appearing across a range of social science journals that relate to development studies, there have been some special issues on religion and development, such as *Gender and Development* (1999), *Cultures and Development* (1999), *Journal of Religion in Africa* (2002) and *Development* (2003). In the latter, Harcourt (2003) admits that when she accepted the editorial role, she expected that compiling the special issue on religion and development would be difficult because of the development community's traditional avoidance of religious and ethical issues, but reports that she was proved wrong. In addition to journal articles, several books have been dedicated to religion and development including Quarles Van Ufford and Schoffeleers (1988), Giri *et al* (2004), Tyndale (2006), Haynes (2007), Clarke, Jennings and Shaw (2007) and Deneulin (2009a). Religion has also appeared in general development textbooks for students; for example, there was no reference to religion in the first edition of *The Companion to Development Studies* (Desai and Potter 2002) but a chapter on Faith and Development was added to the second edition (Tomalin 2008). There are also a number of dedicated research programmes including the Religions and Development Research Programme (Birmingham University)[26] and Religion and Global Development programme (Georgetown University)[27], as mentioned in Section 1.2, plus the Knowledge Centre Religion and Development in The Netherlands[28] and the Spiritual Capital Research Programme funded by the Templeton Foundation.[29]

All examples mentioned above concern religion and development in general. In addition there is a diverse and rapidly growing literature on many sub-topics within religion and development such as economics, health, gender, environment and humanitarian aid. This is scattered across many disciplines that intersect with development – including geography, anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, area studies and religious studies – that the result is a "diverse and unconsolidated" body of research (Alkire 2006:507).

Finally, it must be noted that interest in religion has not been universal among development academics: "The gusto of development experts who resonate with religion is enthusiastically matched by the repugnance of those who revile it" (Alkire 2006:2). There are perhaps three main reasons for this. First, modernist views prevail that religion belongs to the private rather than the public sphere, thus some people still feel uncomfortable about introducing religion into academic discourse. While issues such as culture, morals and emotions have steady become more mainstream, religion is still 'out of bounds'. Second, atheists object to the religious dimension being elevated to a privileged position or portrayed as something unique or distinctive. They point out, for

[26] www.rad.bham.ac.uk
[27] berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/programs/religion-and-global-development
[28] www.religie-en-ontwikkeling.nl
[29] www.spiritualcapitalresearchprogram.com/about_overview.asp

example, that everyone is equally capable of feeling compassion for those in need and giving generously to charity, although these actions are often attributed to religious people.[30] Third, there is a fear of engaging with religion because of its association with two things in particular: conflict and proselytism. De Kadt (2008), for example, argues strongly for “keeping God out of development” because in many cases strong religious beliefs have been more harmful to development than good.

2.2.2 Practice

Avoidance of religion

The dominant viewpoint within development institutions such as the World Bank in the 1960s and 1970s was that development was delivered by the state. In the 1980s this shifted to the private sector and even when the emphasis turned to the role of civil society in the 1990s, religion was neglected until much more recently (Benthall 2006a, Clarke 2005etc; Marshall 2006b, Jennings and Clarke 2007).

Ver Beek (2002) investigated the attitudes towards religion in three of the largest development agencies in America (USAID, CARE, Catholic Relief Services) and found that they had extensive policies and programme guidelines for dealing with sensitive issues such as gender, indigenous peoples, land reform, violence against women and the environment but no policy about religion and spirituality. In fact, official statements were carefully worded to convey the fact that the topic of spirituality was avoided in their programmes. Similarly, Selinger (2004) used electronic databases and searched the web pages of UN, DFID and World Bank for references to religion and development but found very few articles; those articles that existed were most often concerned with the relationship between religion and development rather than “involving religion in the construction and critique of development strategy” (p.525).

In addition to the secular modernist framing of development as outlined in Section 2.2.1, there are other reasons for the reluctance of development institutions to engage with religion and ROs (highlighted by Tyndale 2002, 2003, 2006; Vaz 2002; Ver Beek 2002; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002; James 2004; Holenstein 2005; Barton and Danan 2006; Tomalin 2006; Bodakowski 2009; Williams 2009). First, some religious groups have used development activities as a front for proselytism (not only Christian missions, as often assumed). Second, in the past and present, religion has often been a source of conflict and oppression rather than a force for development and liberation (the

[30] The set of geographical literature on aid generosity, for example, discusses ethics, morals and values but makes scant reference to religion (e.g. Silk 2004; Clark 2005, 2007; Korf 2006, 2007).

recent wave of fundamentalism and extremism has compounded this).[31] Third, ROs are not a homogenous group (see Section 3.2) and development institutions have a poor understanding of them. Fourth, it is difficult to quantify religion and spirituality and measure their impact on development (see in Section 3.4.2)

Engagement with religion

Clarke (2005etc) suggests that development donors and FBOs have moved from a position of "estrangement to engagement". Three stages of progressive engagement can be identified among development institutions and donors: the recognition of the relationships between religion and development; dialogue with religious representatives to understand how they can contribute to development; and working in partnership with ROs to deliver development in practice. As per Section 2.2.1, the following discussion focuses on general initiatives linking religion and development but there is a plethora of other initiatives connecting religion with specific development-related issues such as disaster relief and humanitarian aid; environment and climate change; conservation and biodiversity; conflict-resolution and peace-building; human rights, social justice and gender.

Several specific factors have been identified as causing a shift in rethinking the role of religion in development at the World Bank (Marshall 2001; Tyndale 2003; Clarke 2005etc; Haynes 2007; McDuie-Ra and Rees 2008). First, the meeting between senior board members of the Bank and representatives of nine world religions in London in 1998, which was chaired by then President of the Bank, James Wolfensohn, and then Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, led to the formation of the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD). Second, the Jubilee 2000 Campaign for debt relief demonstrated that ROs can be a powerful force if united on development issues. Third, the Bank's *Voices of the Poor* project (Narayan *et al* 2000) documented the views and experiences of over 60,000 people from more than 60 countries and revealed that religion was an integral factor in the lives of the poor and that ROs were perceived as important.

Wolfensohn was personally committed to bringing religion onto the Bank's agenda. In preparation for the 2001 *World Development Report* on poverty reduction, he invited the WFDD to contribute perspectives from different religions about poverty and development (Tyndale 1998). In 2001, however, when he proposed the launch of a Directorate on Faith, the executive board voted 24 votes to nil against him (Tyndale 2003; Wolfensohn 2004; Clarke 2005etc; McDuie and Rees 2008). Despite this opposition, a small programme was set up within the External Affairs Vice-Presidency, which in time evolved into the Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics (DDVE). This unit was responsible for a flurry of publications which explored the Bank's position on the role

[31] Ver Beek (2002) points out that gender, class and ethnicity have also been sources of conflict but development policymakers and practitioners have still taken them into account.

of religion in development and its relationship with religious actors (Marshall and Marsh 2003; Marshall and Keough 2004, 2005; Marshall 2006a; Marshall and Van Saanen 2007). Today, the DDVE's activities include organising dialogue with high-level religious leaders, empirical research and publications on the role of ROs in service delivery, and developing partnerships with faith-based and interfaith organisations.[32] The Bank also has a Faiths and Biodiversity programme that supports projects of religious communities addressing both biodiversity and poverty alleviation.[33]

Since 2003, another international development institution, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has joined the World Bank at a series of high-level meetings with the World Council of Churches (WCC) aimed at improving their mutual understandings of development and identifying common interests. The three organisations are committed to continuing dialogue and collaboration where appropriate.[34]

While the UN has long acknowledged the role of ROs in the promotion of development and social welfare, in other areas of activity it has been reluctant to engage too closely with religion. However, there has been a gradual shift towards recognising that collaboration with religious communities and organisations is critical to a wide range of UN activities, not only in development but also in promoting peace and security. In fact, the NGO Committee on Spirituality, Values and Global Concerns, which was accepted in 2004, aims to integrate spirituality and values into all areas of the UN agenda and public policy.[35] Two examples of UN agencies engaging with religion are UNFPA, which suggests that its partnerships with ROs are the key to reaching the most vulnerable and marginalised communities in development efforts (UNFPA 2004) and UNDP, which is collaborating with the Alliance of Religions and Conservation (ARC) to involve the world religions in addressing climate change and development in practical ways.[36]

Turning to the bilateral development donors, DFID started with some tentative steps towards engaging with religious communities (Clarke 2005etc). In 2002, the Secretary of State for International Development, Clare Short, said that:

> Faith groups have an important role to play [in the achievement of the MDGs].... We need to mobilise the core of moral teaching that lies at the heart of each of the world's great religions... We need to mobilise faith organisations in our communities to catalyse public opinions and to sensitise populations to our duty to care for the world's poor... (Short 2003:8-9).

DFID subsequently started to explore the religion and development interface by talking to religious representatives, funding projects run by ROs and working with religious communities in the UK. In

[32] go.worldbank.org/DIHJG5VI70
[33] go.worldbank.org/KD2SDTSLV0
[34] www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-programmes/public-witness-addressing-power-affirming-peace/poverty-wealth-and-ecology/trade.html
[35] www.csvgc-ny.org/
[36] www.arcworld.org/news.asp?pageID=249

2007-8, DFID provided over £21 million to UK-based religious groups and the most recent international development White Paper committed to doubling funding in recognition of "the unique contribution that they can make in both delivering development on the ground and connecting with communities here and abroad" (DFID 2009:134).[37] DFID also funded the five-year Religions and Development Research Programme (2005-2010) mentioned earlier.

Elsewhere in Europe, other development agencies have started to explore their position on religion and engage with ROs; for example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Netherlands, in collaboration with nine Dutch NGOs, initiated a *Knowledge Forum for Religion and Development Policy*[38]; the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) held a series of workshops in 2003 with Swiss relief and development NGOs on the *Role and Significance of Religion and Spirituality in Development Cooperation* (Holenstein 2005); and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) facilitated an international seminar in 2009 on *The Role of Religion in Development Cooperation*, where they met with four Swedish Christian organisations and their Southern partner organisations (Nordung 2009).

USAID, perhaps more than any other bilateral donor, deliberately channels a considerable proportion of aid through ROs, almost exclusively Christian ones. In fact, the Centre for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives was created in 2001 to help faith-based and community organisations compete more competitively for USAID funds.[39] Federal aid money awarded to FBOs nearly doubled under Bush's tenure and shows little sign of changing under Obama (James 2009a; Beeson 2010).

Despite these shifts, development institutions and donors have still been reluctant to engage deeply with religious communities and organisations. Clarke (2005etc) highlights how donors have tended to engage with particular types of ROs, preferring mainstream Christian organisations that they have always funded. Some prominent ROs have taken a proactive stance and told donors why and how they should engage with them; for example, evangelical Christian development agency Tearfund published a report describing why the church is an "essential partner for sustainable development" (Boyd 2009), while Islamic Relief produced a position paper explaining Muslim approaches to development (Khan *et al* 2009).

There are also other initiatives on religion and development worth highlighting. As mentioned above, the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD) was established in 1998 and has sought to bridge the divide between religion and development organisations and advocates that an

[37] At the time of writing, the new coalition government (formed May 2010) had not indicated their stance towards the role of religious groups in development and it remains to be seen whether DFID's spending priorities alter.
[38] www.religion-and-development.nl
[39] www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_partnerships/fbci/index.html

understanding of religious traditions, spirituality and cultural values is essential for sensitive and effective development (Tyndale 2001).[40] One of the WFDD's recent activities was coordinating the discussions on poverty and social justice at the World Parliament of Religions in Melbourne in December 2009. Meanwhile, former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has also been very active in linking religion with development through the Tony Blair Faith Foundation (TBFF), launched in 2008.[41] Among the initiatives are a multidisciplinary Faith and Globalisation programme launched at leading universities across the world that enables students to explore the role of faith, secularism and interfaith engagement in today's world, and a series of high-profile seminars organised in collaboration with DFID, World Vision, Islamic Relief and Oxfam to discuss the role of faith communities in development. Other projects of the TBFF are described in Section 2.3.

Other initiatives of note related to religion and development include: the World Economic Forum's Council of 100 Leaders which is a group of business, political, religious, media and opinion leaders that aims to promote dialogue and understanding between the west and Muslim worlds;[42] the Asian Faiths Development Dialogue, an offshoot of the WFDD, established to promote interfaith dialogue and cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region;[43] the Centre for Interfaith Action on Global Poverty, based in Washington DC, which aims to improve the capacity and effectiveness of the religious community in its collective effort to reduce global poverty and disease, specifically focusing on malaria, HIV/AIDS and gender justice;[44] and the Cordoba Initiative which aims to improve Muslim-West relationships and find innovative, proactive, and positive solutions to shared challenges.[45]

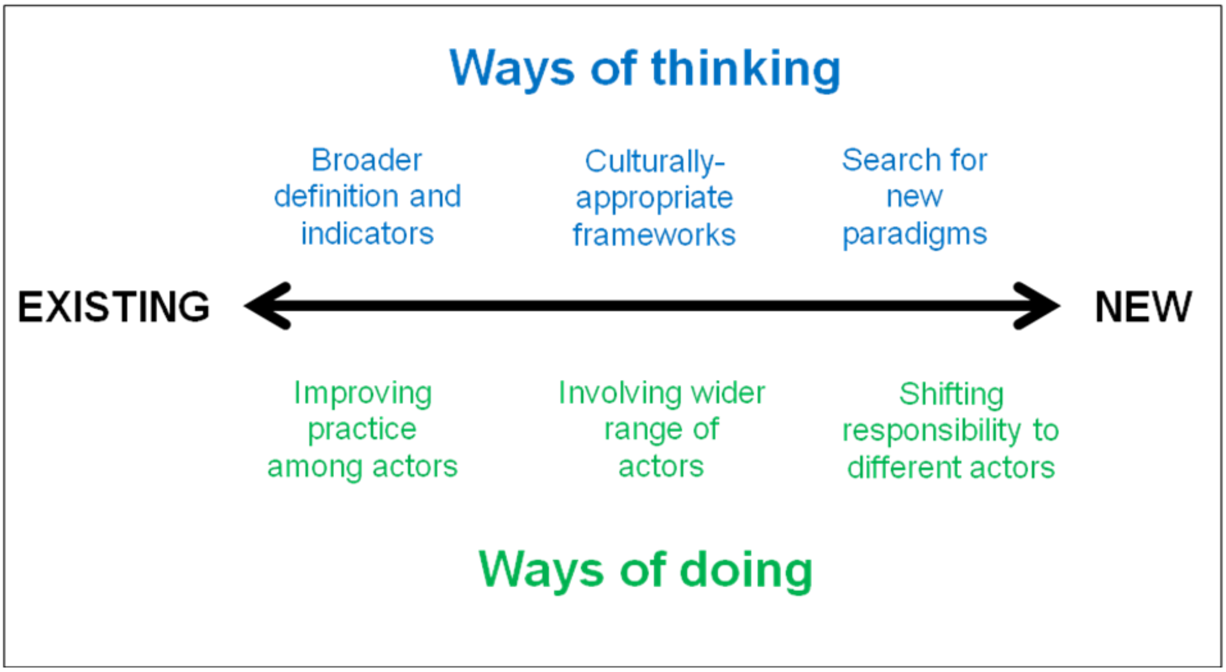
2.3 A postdevelopment framework for religion and development

Having examined the shifts in both development theory and practice, which have seen religion move from a position of obscurity and neglect to involvement and importance, this section explores some of the main themes in the literature on religion and development. In Section 2.2.1, I suggested that postdevelopment is one possible theoretical framework for approaching religion and development; however, I also noted that postdevelopment is an umbrella for a range of theories, writings and perspectives. I propose conceptualising this postdevelopment 'space' as a spectrum of ideas, presented in Figure 2.

---

[40] berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/wfdd
[41] tonyblairfaithfoundation.org
[42] www2.weforum.org/en/initiatives/c100/index.html
[43] www.afdd.org.kh/
[44] www.centerforinterfaithaction.org
[45] www.cordobainitiative.org/

Figure 2 – Spectrum of postdevelopment ideas



At the one end of the spectrum are existing forms of development, where postdevelopment ideas aim to bring new perspectives or approaches to the development mainstream (often termed *development alternatives*). At the other end of the spectrum are new directions, where postdevelopment ideas aim to bring completely different ways of envisioning the process of social change (often termed *alternatives to development*). The centre of the spectrum is a middle ground where postdevelopment ideas are a fusion of mild and radical alternatives. Furthermore, this spectrum can be divided into two main categories: ways of thinking about development and ways of doing development. Obviously this conceptualisation is idealised and there are no such discrete boundaries between sets of ideas, but this spectrum serves as an aid for exploring the vast literature on postdevelopment and for understanding how religion has been and could be incorporated into development, both conceptually and practically. Each of the six points on the spectrum is considered in turn below.

2.3.1 Ways of thinking

Broader definition and indicators

Postdevelopment ideas start at the left side of the spectrum (see Figure 2) with relatively mild revisions to existing development. As far back as the 1970s, it was recognised that development was more than just an economic and technical process. Since religion is a significant aspect of many people's lives, a multidimensional understanding of development should incorporate moral and spiritual aspects alongside economic, social, cultural, political and technological ones (Goulet 1980, 1992a; Singh 1999; Lynch 2003; Haynes 2007, Knowledge Centre Religion and

Development 2008b). This religious dimension was recognised in several fora; for example, the UN Commission on Environment and Development (1987) recognised the role of the world's religions in cultivating the values and behaviour for sustainable development; the UN Conference on Environment and Development (1992) made a commitment to 'spiritual development'; the Habitat Agenda (1996) mentioned initiatives that would require a 'spiritual vision'; the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development (1995) talked about addressing 'spiritual needs'; the Platform for Action (1995) recognised that 'religion, spirituality and belief play a central role in the lives of missions of women and men' (Berger 2003; Ter Haar and Ellis 2006; James 2009a).

Adopting a multidimensional definition of development also requires indices for measuring non-economic factors (Goulet 1992a; Alkire 2002). The UN led the way with their index of human development, first used in 1990, which incorporated broader social indicators. Some aspects of human development, however, are more intangible, which is why the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Institute is creating a new set of indicators grounded in people's experience and values, including measures of empowerment, inclusion, respect and safety.[46] Also worth mentioning is Gross National Happiness, a term first coined by the King of Bhutan in 1972, which has been adopted by the development community as a way to measure overall social and psychological well-being. Creating indicators to measure religious and spiritual aspects of development is discussed further in Section 3.4.2.

Culturally-appropriate frameworks

An appreciation of the multidimensional nature of development, as described above, was a laudable step for the development orthodoxy, but there have been criticisms of this being an instrumental approach (Goulet 1980; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002) and, rather than a dimension to 'add on' to development, some scholars suggest that the cultural dimension is of fundamental importance to development. Thus towards the centre of the spectrum (see Figure 2), postdevelopment ideas suggest that indigenous cultures and traditional value systems should underpin development. Rather than being conceived as western-style progress with its attendant cultures of consumerism and materialism, development should be framed within the context of local cultures and worldviews in order for it to be appropriate and sustainable (Nandy 1987; Goulet 1992a, 1995; Tinbergen 1989; Engel and Engel 1990; Tucker 1997; Eade 2002; Vaz 2002; Haverkort *et al* 2003; Simon 2003; Harragin 2004; Matthews 2004; Radcliffe and Laurie 2006; Cavalcanti 2007). This has been theorised by Sen (1999) and Nussbaum (2000) as the capability approach, which conceives of development as promoting the freedoms that people have reason to value and giving people the opportunities to do what they want (see also Alkire 2002; Deneulin 2007, 2009a). There have also been attempts to explore how culturally-rooted development is

[46] www.ophi.org.uk

manifest in postdevelopment practice (e.g. Curry 2003; Gibson-Graham 2005; McGregor 2007; McKinnon 2008).

Since one aspect of culture is religion, it has been proposed that religious beliefs, teachings and values could provide the framework for creating a more holistic approach to development which is culturally-specific and appropriate (Goulet 1980, 1992a; Wilber and Jameson 1980; Hargrove 1988; Kothari 1989; Van Kessel and Droogers 1988; Engel and Engel 1990; Ross Carter 1992; Norgaard 1994; White and Tiongco 1997; Tyndale 1998, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006; Singh 1999; Marshall 2001; Vaz 2002; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002; Simon 2003; Selinger 2004; Ellis and Ter Haar 2004; Ter Haar and Ellis 2006; Gardner 2006; Deneulin 2007).[47]

An excellent example of the search for more culturally-grounded visions of development and social change is *The Asian Future: Dialogues for Change* (Hutanuwatr and Manivannan 2005), which presents interviews with 14 Asian intellectuals and social activists from different countries and religious traditions. Each give their own critique of the western model of development and its impacts on Asia, explain how particular Asian worldviews and values contain a different vision for society, and suggest practical ways in which this can be realised. Many of the contributions describe how religious values are at the heart of alternative socio-political models; for example, Sulak Sivaraksa's Buddhist socialism in Thailand; Bishop Julio Labayen's Christian interpretation of social justice in the Philippines; Abdurraman Wahid's ideas of Islamic governance in Indonesia; Tu Weiming's explanation of Confucian values in a Chinese context; and holistic spiritual approaches advocated by Vandana Shiva, Satish Kumar and Helena Norberg-Hodge.

Although dating back many centuries, even millennia, the sacred texts and teachings of the world religions address many contemporary global development challenges such as poverty, inequality and resource-distribution because these issues have faced humanity throughout history. Thus a range of literature has emerged in this field, exploring how particular scriptural concepts are relevant to contemporary society and development issues.[48] The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement in Sri Lanka, for example, has used Buddhist principles to build a community-based vision of development; this grassroots movement has been the subject of many studies, many of them predating the turn to religion in development over the last decade (e.g. Kantowsky 1980; Colletta 1982; Macy 1983, 1988; Williams 1984; Jones 1989; Bond 2004; Tyndale 2006).

---

[47] Jones (2000), Vaz (2002) and Quarles Van Ufford *et al* (2003) also contend that rethinking development in a more culturally-appropriate way should apply everywhere, not just to in the Global South (see also Section 10.4.2).
[48] A set of working papers from the Religions and Development Research Programme, for example, examines development concepts in the different faith traditions (Aloho 2007; Dugbazah 2009; Kim 2007; Kroessin 2008; Tatla 2008; Tomalin 2007d; Tomalin 2009).

Search for new paradigms

Taking the idea of non-western worldviews shaping development even further towards the right side of the spectrum (see Figure 2), some postdevelopment ideas suggest completely new ways of thinking. Following the pessimistic and critical antidevelopment literature (see Section 2.2.1) came a wave of optimistic and visionary writing focused on the search for a new paradigm to replace western-style modernity, texts including Norgaard's (1994) coevolutionary paradigm, Esteva and Prakash's (1998a, 1998b) grassroots postmodernism and Pieterse's (1999, 2001) critical holism. Two paradigms can be identified in the literature relating specifically to reconceptualising the place of religion.

The first paradigm is non-dualism. Since the Enlightenment, the western mindset has created a distinction between spiritual and material, sacred and secular, traditional and modern, religion and science. Some argue that this separation has been the cause of global problems such as materialism, consumerism, poverty, inequality and environmental degradation; since the abandonment of religion in the public sphere was the cause, so its reintroduction should be part of the solution (Engel and Engel 1990; Soedjatmoko 1994; Singh 1999; Hutanuwatr and Manivannan 2005). According to this argument, the path forward lies in recognising the similarities and synergies between the sacred and secular and dismantling the pervasive dualisms (Soedjatmoko 1994; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002; Agnivesh 2003; Harcourt 2003; Kumar 2003; Jechoutek 2006; Sanderson 2007). Limburg (2007), for example, is one geographer who not only studies how non-dual thinking shapes development in Nepal and Tibet but also tries to infuse non-dualism in his academic thinking and writing.

The second paradigm concerns commonalities between the world religions and the potential for collective action. There are a number of values and concepts shared by most of the world's religions, such as the so-called Golden Rule (do to others what you would have done to you) and the middle path (the rejection of both poverty and accumulation) that could be a new moral framework for economic and social transformation (Ross Carter 1992; Tyndale 2002, 2003, 2006; Muzaffar 2003; Linden 2004; Barton and Danan 2006; Jechoutek 2006, Haynes 2007). This was used by Küng (1990) in his formulation of a 'global ethic', to mobilise people, both believers and non-believers.[49] Although harnessing the shared values of the world's religions is a potential new paradigm, it is not necessarily a "distant quest" but rather a practical starting point for changing "the direction of the way our world is going" (Wolfensohn 2004). A group of religious leaders, for example, prepared some *Religious Reflections on the Millennium Development Goals* for the 2005 World Summit, which demonstrate how "the shared values and gifts of the world's religions and traditions converge and are embedded in the MDGs" (International Interfaith Network for

[49] Küng, a theologian, was envisaging religious alternatives to development more than a decade before many other scholars.

Development and Reproductive Health 2005).

2.3.2 Ways of doing

Improving practice among actors

Postdevelopment ideas about alternative ways of doing development start at the left side of the spectrum (see Figure 2) with a move towards encouraging existing actors to improve the ways in which they practise development. This includes widening their understanding of development as both a process and objective. The literature discusses, for example, how development professionals should take more time to listen to the voices of beneficiaries; shift from seeing them as passive and submissive development subjects to active and creative development actors; dedicate time and resources to make consultation and participation genuine; and develop a reciprocal relationship for mutual learning (Jones 2000; Vaz 2002; Ver Beek 2002; Verhelst and Tyndale 2002; Quarles Van Ufford *et al* 2003; Holenstein 2005; Simon 2006, 2007; Tyndale 2006).

One aspect of this reorientation could be for development institutions to reconsider and appreciate the role of religion in development, which is a delicate process of exploration and repositioning after decades of antipathy and mistrust. Marshall (2001:22) calls for greater understanding between the two worlds of religion and development "through training, reading, and discussion, and more elaborate efforts to highlight areas of disagreement and delve into the perceptions, experience and thinking that have led to division". The encounter is not only about the development world engaging with religion but also about the religious world engaging with development (White and Tiongco 1997; Deneulin 2009a; Williams 2009).

This process of mutual learning needs to occur at both institutional and individual levels. On the one hand, development institutions need to recognise the role of religion in development, formulate a policy position on religion, begin dialogue with religious representatives, and create a framework for interacting with religious communities and organisations (Tyndale 2001; Clarke 2007b; Knowledge Centre Religion and Development 2008a; Boyd 2009). Several examples were already given in Section 2.2.2 of international institutions and bilateral donors engaging in this process. On the other hand, development professionals need to accept the importance of religion to individuals and communities, even if they do not share such beliefs, before they can begin to work with them (Buijs 2004; Bouta *et al* 2005; Tyndale 2006).[50] Towards this goal, one of the activities of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs is the creation and dissemination of 'religious literacy' materials for development professionals in government, NGOs and international

[50] This has been variously termed 'religious literacy' (Williams 2009) or 'religious empathy' (Knowledge Centre Religion and Development 2008a), or as being 'faith sensitised' (Bouta *el al* 2005), 'faith literate' (Clarke 2007b) or 'faith confident' (Boyd 2009).

organisations. Haverkort *et al* (2003), Lynch (2003), Tyndale (2003), Holenstein (2005) and Knowledge Center Religion and Development (2008b) give further practical suggestions for development professionals and practitioners.

Involving wider range of actors

Moving along the spectrum of postdevelopment ideas beyond mainstream development actors broadening their understanding of the development process is the idea of actively involving a wider range of actors as partners in development (see Figure 2). Since the 1980s, development institutions have increasingly used NGOs to deliver development in practice. There is a danger with this, however, that NGOs in receipt of funding simply do the bidding of their patrons, as illustrated by McDuie-Ra and Rees (2008), who examined the relationship between the World Bank and its carefully chosen civil society partners. Thus if NGOs are going to be real promoters of alternative ways of doing development they need to assert their own vision of development (Drabeck 1987; Clark 1991; Mitlin *et al* 2007). This space for involving a wider range of actors in development creates possibilities for ROs. Development institutions and donors have started to recognise that religious ROs have particular characteristics and assets which enable them to engage in effective and sustainable development. This is discussed in more detail in Section 3.4 so is not elaborated further here.

Shifting responsibility to different actors

Widening the range of actors involved in development is taken a step further towards the right side of the spectrum of postdevelopment ideas (see Figure 2) with proposals for shifting the locus of responsibility for development away from traditional development donors, with NGOs as their delivery arm, towards civil society, with people as the agents of social change.[51]

One possible way of restructuring development delivery is through social movements and grassroots organisations, which was explored in a wave of postdevelopment literature (e.g. Korten 1987, 1990; De Seniollosa 1992; Schuurman 1993; Escobar 1992a, 1995a, 1995b, 2004; Watts 1995; Rist 1997; Esteva and Prakash 1998a, 1998b; Munck and O'Hearn 1999; Bebbington and Bebbington 2001), although these writings varied considerably in their visioning of the scale on which social movements could produce social transformation. Furthermore, Bebbington and Bebbington (2001) caution against seeing civil society as *the* alternative to development: through their case study of the Bolivian highlands, they show that civil society is not homogenous and there are several development alternatives operating at one time.

In this context, religious movements and grassroots ROs hold enormous potential for realising

[51] Grischow and McKnight (2003) suggest that this idea is nothing new, drawing some parallels with a shift towards a community-led model of colonial governance in 1920s Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Uganda.

social transformation and alternative visions of development (Clarke 2005etc; McDuie-Ra and Rees 2008). The classic example is liberation theology movements, particularly influential in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s, which have addressed poverty and social injustice proactively from the grassroots. More recently, perhaps the best example is Tyndale's (2006) compilation of grassroots faith-based initiatives.

Another possible direction for restructuring development delivery is through diaspora connections. Over recent decades, international migration from the Global South to the Global North has increased dramatically. Migrants maintain connections with their 'home' communities in a variety of ways, including financial remittances, social networks and cultural links. Remittances are used to support social welfare and development-related activities such as education, health care and poverty reduction among family and community members in their home countries. Indeed, Mercer *et al* (2008) suggest that remittances sent home by the African diaspora far outweigh 'official' development funding. There is an extensive literature on diasporas and financial flows in the form of remittances, philanthropy and charitable giving (e.g. Dunn 2004; Geithner *et al* 2004; Shiveshwarkar 2004; Doherty Johnson 2007; Merz *et al* 2007; Najam 2007). Some diaspora networks are facilitated through ROs and places of worship and there has been a small amount of scholarship looking at the philanthropy of particular ethno-religious groups (e.g. Dusenbery and Tatla 2009) and the channelling of money through religious organisations (e.g. Tatla 2010).

I would suggest that a further possibility for shifting the responsibility for development to religious actors is interfaith collaboration. Given that there is considerable shared ground between the world religions, as discussed earlier regarding a new paradigm, there is also potential for the religious communities and organisations to work collaboratively as the primary actors in addressing global development challenges (Agnivesh 2003; Linden 2004; Barton and Danan 2006, DR Panday 2006; Bodakowski 2009). There are a number of examples of such collaborations in practice; for example, the Bangkok-based Asian Cultural Forum on Development aims to harness the rich religious and cultural heritage in Asia for development (Hutanuwatr and Manivannan 2005); the Centre for Interfaith Action on Global Poverty's *Global Initiative for Faith, Health and Development: 2010* is an attempt to scale-up global interreligious collaborations on relief and development;[52] and the Tony Blair Faith Foundation's *Faiths Acts* programme mobilises young people from different religions to work together on issues of health and global poverty.[53] There are also cases of interfaith collaborations between individual organisations (see Section 3.5).

[52] www.cifa.org/initiatives/the-global-initiative-for-faith-health-and-development-2010.html
[53] www.tonyblairfaithfoundation.org/pages/faiths-act1

2.4 Reflections on the religion–development interface

Within the spectrum of postdevelopment ideas presented in this chapter are different perspectives on the relationship between religion and development, reflected in the conjunction used between the two words. There are a variety of possibilities: religion <u>and</u> development, religion <u>for</u> development, religion <u>in</u> development, religion <u>with</u> development; or equally development <u>and</u> religion, development <u>in</u> religion, development <u>through</u> religion, development <u>with</u> religion.

The choice of conjunction and word order reflects a scholar's perception of the relationship. Haynes' (2007) book, for example, is entitled 'religion and development' because he is looking at the different ways in which these two different entities interact. He also points out the need to distinguish between the impact of religion on development and the impact of development on religion, although he focuses on the former. Deneulin (2009a), on the other hand, explains that she deliberately chose 'religion in development' rather than 'religion and development' for her book because she feels that it expresses the way in which development work is intrinsic to the fundamental existence of different religions. She also draws parallels with the terminological repositioning of 'women and development' to 'gender in development'. Similarly, Mesbahuddin (2009) defends her use of 'religion in development' with reference to Islam because she feels that the religion has concepts of development within it rather than it being something separate to add on or bring in which would merit the word 'and'. White and Tiongco (1997) chose 'theology and development' for their book because they wanted to emphasise that they have always been related and that the two sides equally need to learn from one another. The literature is also noticeably divided into those who refer to religion or spirituality.

As for myself, I favour religion <u>in</u> development because I feel that religion should be an integrated part of development thinking and practice rather than something equal, separate, additional or parallel. Although some inconsistencies will have accidentally slipped into the text, this is my intentional meaning.

The next chapter looks in more detail at the literature on ROs as development actors, describes existing scholarship and identifies particular issues to be addressed by my study.

Chapter 3 – Religious organisations

3.1 Introduction

My research examines the role of ROs as development actors in the postdevelopment era. While this is a 'new turn' for the development mainstream, it is nothing new for ROs themselves. ROs have an extremely long history of being involved in charitable work, human welfare and social service provision. Understanding this historical context is an important prelude to more detailed discussion about ROs in contemporary development practice.

The concepts of caring for fellow human beings, financial giving to those in need and practical involvement in social causes all have deep religious roots. Such principles have guided people's behaviour for millennia and still do today, although only more recently have been labelled as aid and development. Simply put, "development is what adherents to a religion do because of who they are and what they believe in" (Deneulin 2009a:5). Throughout history, religious institutions have been central to the expression of these principles; for example, Christian monasteries were often a place of refuge and offered hospitality to strangers, while mosque complexes often had a hospital, bath house and place for the care of the poor (Ferris 2005; Hutanuwatr and Manivannan 2005).

The more systematic involvement of ROs in providing charitable assistance and social services in the Global South started in the eighteenth century with European colonial expansion. Christian missionary organisations were particularly active in the fields of health, education and humanitarian aid and in many cases delivered social services on behalf of the colonial state (Park 1994; White and Tiongco 1997; Mayotte 1998; Goody 2003; Tyndale 2003; Clarke 2005etc; Ferris 2005; Alkire 2006; Holenstein 2006; Marshall 2006b; Tomalin 2006; Deneulin 2007, 2009a; Haynes 2007; Rakodi 2007; De Kadt 2008; McGregor 2008). Although the majority of literature sketching the history of religious involvement in social service during this period covers Christian organisations, other religions were also involved in providing facilities and services (e.g. El Ela Mady 2006).

Even after the secular idea of 'development' was instituted after the Second World War, ROs continued to operate. In some newly-independent countries, the government developed state-run service provision and ROs were sidelined; in other countries the state did not have sufficient capacity and ROs continued as major providers (Brown *et al* 2004; Clarke 2005etc; Haynes 2007; Jennings and Clarke 2007; Boyd 2009). ROs proliferated in the 1980s when neoliberal economic policies and structural adjustment programmes led to cuts in government spending; this created space for ROs to provide services in the absence of the state or else act as contracted service providers under privatisation (Clarke 2005etc; Ndiaye 2006; Rakodi 2007; De Kadt 2008). Christian organisations were particularly active in this respect, but there was also an expansion of Muslim charitable and development organisations from the end of the 1970s (El Ela Mady 2006).

Today, ROs are involved in a variety of development-related fields including humanitarian assistance and disaster relief; healthcare and welfare; environmental protection and conservation; conflict resolution, peace-building and reconciliation; politics, governance and social movements; human rights and gender equality; and economics, poverty and debt. While a few ROs have had a long-standing global reach such as the YMCA (est. 1855), the last few decades have seen significant growth in the number of transnational ROs (Berger 2003; Benthall 2006b; Bano and Nair 2007). The sheer size and coverage of some of the largest ROs is akin to multinational corporations and they have a worldwide influence. Given the size of the communities they represent, some religious bodies such as the World Muslim League and World Council of Churches must be taken seriously alongside the UN and other transnational actors (Wilber and Jameson 1980).

This chapter examines the literature on ROs as development actors. It is divided into four pairs of themes, which combine to build a picture of their actual and potential contribution to development. Section 3.2 considers the place of ROs in civil society and examines ways to classify them using different typologies. Section 3.3 looks at how the religious identity of ROs is expressed and how it shapes approaches to development. Section 3.4 explores the advantages and disadvantages of ROs and the way in which these influence the effectiveness of ROs in development. Section 3.5 investigates the relationships between ROs and other development actors. Each section gives an overview of available literature and explains how particular gaps and issues in existing scholarship led to the formulation of my research questions, which are addressed in my case study of ROs in Kolkata and presented in Chapters 6 to 9.

3.2 <u>Position and presence</u>

The first challenge is to understand ROs as a group of actors and find appropriate ways to describe, define and delineate them. Section 3.2.1 considers the position of ROs in civil society alongside other types of organisation, including a discussion of terminology and an overview of mapping exercises that have sought to quantify their presence. Section 3.2.2 explores four different ways to classify ROs, giving examples from the literature as to how this has been applied.

3.2.1 Position in civil society

Civil society comprises a diverse group of organisations, which are collectively termed civil society organisations (CSOs) (see Section 1.5.4). Although I choose to situate ROs as one distinct type of CSO (albeit with the proviso that there are overlaps with other categories), there is disagreement in the literature as to whether ROs should be subsumed under the category of NGOs or afforded their own category. Fust (2006:11), for example, in his opening address at an event on the role of FBOs as political, humanitarian and religious actors acknowledged that they play an important role but said that “we should not deal with them as a separate and distinct category of actors”. At the same event, Holenstein (2006) supported this view but it was contrasted by DR Panday (2006:86) who said that FBOs need to “project a distinct identity and specific set of values as a unique set of organisations...” This latter view is contrasted by Jennings and Clarke (2007), who caution against viewing FBOs as a single ‘sector’ since they do not have a single shared value system.

While the conceptual positioning of ROs within civil society is a source of contention, it is possible to quantify the actual number of ROs and their relative proportion vis-à-vis other CSOs. Referring specifically to ROs engaged in development, I found two studies which presented quantitative data: ten per cent of NGOs associated with the UN’s Economic and Social Council and Department of Public Information have a religious orientation (Berger 2003); and thirty-five per cent of international development NGOs in Australia and thirty per cent in New Zealand have a religious connection (McGregor 2008).

Over the last few years, various scholars have carried out ‘mapping’ exercises to ascertain the presence of ROs in particular locations or sectors. Some purported mapping exercises are actually qualitative descriptions of ROs and their activities rather than quantitative data (e.g. Balba *et al* 2008; Thurston and de la Mata 2009). Other researchers decided that it would be an impossible task to map all ROs within their particular parameters and so settled on surveying a sample (e.g. Jodhka and Bora 2009; Odumosu *et al* 2009). The few studies that have actually generated statistics on all the ROs in a given sector or location are considered alongside the results of my own mapping exercise of ROs in Kolkata presented in Chapter 6.

3.2.2 Typology of organisations

Having identified ROs as one type of CSO and attempted to quantify their overall presence in civil society, the next task is to disaggregate the category of ROs, since it is by no means a homogenous group. ROs include congregations, monasteries and ashrams; mission agencies, development charities and political parties; seminaries, schools and meditation centres; hospitals, homeless shelters and media companies; apex bodies, associations and unions. Furthermore, these organisations vary in characteristics such as religious affiliation, objectives, location, geographical scale of operation, activities, management style, resources and external relationships, so trying to categorise them is no simple task. In this section, I describe four of the approaches to classifying ROs found in the literature, each focusing on a different parameter:

organisation type, activities and methods, position in the aid chain, and levels of organisational religiosity. While I recognise that all typologies are idealised, they are a useful starting point for understanding the diversity among ROs.

i) Classification by organisation type

There are many types of RO, as already mentioned, and this is an obvious starting point for classification but there is no fixed typology used by all scholars, as the following examples show:

- Foster's (2004) study of religious groups in Africa working with children distinguishes four types of organisation: congregations, religious coordinating bodies, faith-based NGOs, and community-based organisations.
- Clarke (2005etc) identifies five types of FBO engaged in development: faith-based representative organisations or apex bodies; faith-based charitable or development organisations; faith-based socio-political organisations; faith-based missionary organisations; and faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organisations.
- Haynes (2007) suggests four types of faith entities active in development: initiatives and coalitions of religious groups, transnational FBOs, pro-development national and local level religious entities, and antidevelopment national and local level religious entities.
- Balba *et al* (2008) identify seven categories of Muslim aid and development institutions – transnational, national, local, women's groups, broader civil society organisations, donor organisations and umbrella organisations.

Clarke's typology has been widely adopted for empirical studies (e.g. Iqbal and Siddiqui 2008; Jodhka and Bora 2009; Odumosu *et al* 2009) although there have also been critiques that it is eurocentric (Benthall 2006a) and lacks separate categories for local religious congregations (Rakodi 2007). I suggest that another category that has been omitted is faith-based commercial organisations (i.e. commercial enterprises such as fair trade initiatives or corporate social responsibility projects that are founded on a particular religious conviction). Furthermore, I agree with McDuie-Ra and Rees (2008) that the classification is also biased towards formal organisations, excluding many informal organisations that are rooted in religious communities – often small organisations operating on a very local level – which are numerous and active. Despite the shortcomings, I feel that Clarke's typology is the more systematic and comprehensive classification system available for analysing ROs by type and I adapted aspects of it for my own uses (see Section 6.4.1). The presence and contribution of informal organisations to development is discussed in Section 6.5.1.

ii) Classification by activities and methods

ROs work across a range of thematic areas (e.g. relief, social welfare, economic development, human rights) and employ various methods (e.g. service delivery, advocacy, research, networking, fundraising, capacity-building). Combining these two dimensions provides a possible classification system. This has been used in the NGO literature; for example, each of Korten's (1987, 1990) four 'generations' of NGOs is characterised by a particular field of activity and method of working while Desai and Preston's (2000) analysis of NGOs in Mumbai revealed four 'clusters' of organisations based on their activities and methods. This type of classification is problematic for two reasons. First, it does not account for complexity within organisations: single organisations can be simultaneously engaged in several activities. Second, it does not capture longitudinal changes: organisations can change the emphasis of their activities and methods over time.

I found only one example in the literature applying this classification to ROs and that was regarding ROs engaged in social welfare in Europe (Cloke *et al* 2009); there were no examples from ROs engaged in development. Although this classification can give some insights, I feel that its usefulness is severely limited by the two main drawbacks mentioned above. A model that classifies organisations by a single activity and method may capture the diversity between organisations but not the complexity within organisations or changes over time, thus this kind of analysis is perhaps better suited to examining individual projects and programmes within organisations. In my own analysis (see Section 6.4.2), I examined activities and methods but allowed for multiple categories for each organisation; on the other hand, longitudinal analysis was beyond the remit of my investigation.

iii) Classification by place in aid chain

ROs engaged in development can be categorised according to their place in the so-called 'aid chain'. Hulme (1994) divides development organisations into three main types – Northern NGOs, Southern NGOs and local membership organisations, each of which tends to engage in development using particular methods and operate on distinctive scales. Northern NGOs are usually donor agencies based in the Global North which operate on an international scale and engage in activities such as fundraising, campaigning and advocacy. Southern NGOs are mostly intermediary agencies based in the Global South which operate on a national or regional scale and focus their activities on channelling funding, capacity-building, monitoring and evaluation. Local membership organisations are generally grassroots organisations which operate on a local scale and are involved in the delivery of development projects.

This three-fold spatial categorisation has been adopted in various studies of ROs engaged in development. Morse and McNamara (2006, 2008), for example, use it in their analysis of the Catholic Church aid chain to examine flows of funds, information and resources between European Catholic donors, the Catholic Church in Nigeria and diocese-level projects. Similarly, Bradley (2009) uses this model for examining power relationships between FBDOs at each of the three levels, drawing on her fieldwork in India and McGregor (2010) uses it to analyse post-tsunami relationships between donors and coordinating agencies in Australia and New Zealand, FBOs engaged in aid and reconstruction in Aceh, and local Acehnese authorities and communities (see also Section 3.5).

In my opinion, this spatial classification of organisations is very useful, particularly (as demonstrated in the studies mentioned) as a framework for examining relationships and dynamics between organisations. I applied it in my own analysis (see Section 6.4.3) and it was also relevant to discussions about interactions between ROs and other development actors (see Chapter 9). The main drawback of this analytical framework is that reality is complex: organisations do not necessarily fit neatly into one of the three categories. Furthermore, it is easy to make assumptions that the chain has an inherent weighting of power towards the Northern NGOs when, in fact, organisations at other positions on the aid chain can exert influence.

iv) Classification of organisations by religious characteristics

Many different factors contribute to an organisation being classified as a RO and there are also variations in the extent to which religious characteristics are manifest. This is known as 'organisational religiosity' and there have been various attempts to measure it, albeit mostly in the literature on ROs engaged in social welfare in America. The ten main variables used to measure organisational religiosity are summarised below (compiled from Jeavons 1998; Smith and Sosin 2001; Goggin and Orth 2002; Search for Common Ground 2002; Berger 2003; Ebaugh *et al* 2003; Monsma 2004; Sider and Unruh 2004; Unruh 2004; Clarke 2005etc; Ferris 2005; Ebaugh *et al* 2006; Bradley 2009; James 2009a).

i) *Identity* – extent to which the public face of the organisation is explicitly faith-based; reference to religion in the name and/or logo; organisation identifies itself as religious.
ii) *Purpose* – mission statement with explicitly religious references; organisational goals of a religious nature; personal and collective faith provides motivation for action.
iii) *Affiliation* – organisation is associated with a religious congregation, denomination/sect or other religious group; organisation claims to represent a particular religious constituency.
iv) *Environment* – location in a religious building; presence of religious objects/images/ symbols.
v) *Resources* – material resources including financial support primarily provided by religious people or organisations.
vi) *Management and staff* – selection of board members based on religious beliefs; influence of religion on strategy and decision-making; hiring of staff based on religious orientation; senior staff have religious authority and power (e.g. ordained).
vii) *Beneficiaries* – participants selected because of religious convictions.
viii) *Activities* – staff involvement in religious activities; beneficiary involvement in religious

activities; extent to which religion is incorporated into other activities.

ix) *Proselytism* – direct communication of a religious message to beneficiaries; aim to bring new converts or advance the faith through various activities; use religious values to encourage beneficiaries to change their behaviour.

x) *Interaction* – external relationships predominantly with other religious organisations.

While there are many different measures of religiosity, no single one gives an indication of the religiosity of an organisation as a whole, thus it is necessary to take a variety of indicators into account. Scholars agree that religiosity is not a simple binary – that an organisation is either religious or non-religious – but rather that religiosity is multidimensional and the different factors comprising it are expressed to varying extents by different organisations. Thus most of the literature proposes that there is a continuum or spectrum of religiosity and there are several different suggestions of how to conceptualise this. Referring to religious social service organisations in the United States, the Search for Common Ground (2002) and Sider and Unruh (2004) use a continuum of organisations: faith-saturated/permeated, faith-centred, faith-related/affiliated, faith background, faith-secular partnership and secular. Benedetti (2006), looking specifically at Christian and Muslim NGOs working within the humanitarian relief sector, identifies two extremes for each faith – Christian secular/Christian militant, and Muslim moderate/Muslim militant – and proposes that organisations can be placed on a scale between these extremities.

Of all the classification systems for ROs in the literature, organisational religiosity has been the most widely used for studies in the Global North as well as the Global South. I also use it to understand the religious characteristics of the organisations in my study (see Sections 7.2 and 7.5.1). There are some limitations of this classification system though, particularly its inability to capture changing levels of organisational religiosity over time and in different contexts. Johnsen and Fitzpatrick (2009), for example, found that FBOs in the UK were flexible about their religiosity; in some circumstances they emphasised their faith credentials (e.g. when applying to a religious body for funding) and in other circumstances they played down their religious connections (e.g. when applying for public funding).

3.2.3 Research questions

The review of the literature has shown that ROs are one category of CSO but for a long time they were ignored or overlooked by scholars and subsumed in other categories such as NGOs. While the potential role of ROs has come to public and academic attention over the last decade (see Section 2.1), there is still a poor understanding of them as a set of actors in development. If other actors are to engage with ROs, they need facts and figures about their presence in civil society.

The 'mapping' of ROs in particular geographical areas or sectors of work is a recent turn in scholarship and new studies are emerging, but there have been calls for more empirically-based mapping and comparative studies which can contribute to a systematic understanding of ROs.

My research contributes to this literature by addressing the question *how significant are ROs in civil society?* I undertook a mapping exercise of CSOs and ROs in Kolkata to ascertain the number of ROs and their proportion relative to other CSOs; I also applied different classification systems to explore the diversity among ROs. Three particular issues also arose from my review of the literature that I investigate: i) what factors influence the presence, prominence and role of ROs in civil society? ii) how useful are different typologies for understanding the diversity among ROs? and iii) what is the contribution of informal ROs to civil society? The findings and analysis are presented in Chapter 6.

3.3 Identity and expression

Section 3.2 considered ROs as a set of development actors so the next issue to investigate is how the religious identity of ROs shapes their approach to development and whether this makes them distinct from non-ROs. Section 3.3.1 describes some empirical studies which investigated levels of organisational religiosity among ROs engaged in development. Section 3.3.2 considers how religious beliefs, teachings and values motivate ROs to engage in development.

3.3.1 Organisational religiosity

The analysis of organisational religiosity (cf Section 3.2.2 iv) was pioneered in studies of social welfare ROs in America (e.g. Smith and Sosin 2001; Ebaugh *et al* 2003) and later applied to studies in the UK (e.g. Baker and Skinner 2006, Johnsen and Fitzpatrick 2009) but there is very little literature on the organisational religiosity of development ROs. The paucity of studies hinders comparative work and the identification of patterns and trends. I came across just six studies.

Two studies compared the religiosity among a particular type of ROs. Kniss and Todd Campbell (1997) identified 57 US-based ROs and denominational agencies engaged in emergency relief and long-term economic development in the Global South. Analysing different factors, they found little difference between the programmes of different ROs in terms of size and activities, but variation in the way that religious tradition was utilised to publically legitimise their activity to their constituents. Similarly, Kroessin (2009) investigated UK-based Muslim NGOs engaged in international relief and development and found that, although categorised as the same type of organisation, they deployed their Islamic faith in different ways. These findings highlight that organisations with a shared faith and similar activities do not necessarily express and utilise their religiosity to the same degree.

Two studies attempted to compare ROs with non-ROs. Looking at Christian development RNGOs in Australia and New Zealand, McGregor (2008) identified two main ways in which religion and spirituality were actively inserted into development practice and which made them distinct from secular organisations: the ‘spiritualising of development’ (including religious motivation for development, a holistic approach to development and the incorporation into religious or spiritual activities into development programmes) and ‘colonising spirituality’ (divided into ‘bearing witness’ and proselytism). In a very different kind of study, Reinikka and Svensson (2003) used quantitative data to compare primary health care providers in Uganda. They found that ROs were more likely than the secular counterparts to provide pro-poor services and services for the public good and to charge lower prices for services, but in terms of quality of care there was no difference between religious and secular organisations.

Two other studies were cautionary about proclaiming the distinctiveness of ROs from non-ROs. Jodhka and Bora (2009) investigated various indicators of organisational religiosity among FBOs in Maharashtra, India but concluded that the orientation of FBOs as a sector was more influenced by the socio-political context than any particular religious factors. James (2009a) highlighted that FBOs and secular organisations are both staffed with human beings and prone to the same organisational issues and challenges; thus treating FBOs as distinct because of their religious attributes runs the danger of underplaying the human element.

3.3.2 Motivation and mission

In the studies mentioned in Section 3.3.1, one of the aspects of organisational religiosity that emerged as having the most influence on development practice was the way in which religious beliefs and values shape an organisation’s identity, vision of development, motivation and ultimate goal, which I collectively term ‘mission’. The literature tends to suggest that particular spiritual and moral values distinguish ROs from non-ROs. This claim could be contested because – at least superficially – ROs and non-ROs engaged in development have the same goal of alleviating poverty and share certain core values such as the dignity of people, non-discrimination and a concern for justice (Berger 2003; Hopgood 2006; Benthall 2008a; Clarke 2008; McGregor 2008; Deneulin 2009a). So the question is how particular religious beliefs, beliefs and values provide a motivation to engage in development that is distinct from non-ROs which are based on humanistic ideals.

Religious beliefs and values shape a RO’s vision of development. In this regard, the factor which tends to distinguish ROs from non-ROs is a multidimensional conceptualisation of development in which the spiritual dimension is incorporated alongside social, economic and other dimensions. The spiritual dimension is seen as an integral part of existence and therefore cannot be separated from development practice; rather than an add-on to development it is an essential and inseparable part. As discussed in Section 2.3.1, this is often expressed as a ‘holistic development’ which seeks to meet both spiritual and material needs (Berger 2003; Dicklitch and Rice 2004; Clarke 2008; McGregor 2008; Boyd 2009; Deneulin 2009a).

Religious beliefs and values provide ROs with a motivation to engage in development, which I suggest can be conceptualised along a spectrum:

- Engagement in development is solely inward-focused – although activities benefit other people the motivation is purely personal, such as receiving a spiritual reward.
- Engagement in development is both inward- and outward-focused – development activities are a way to express faith in action and this gives a sense of personal spiritual satisfaction as well as answering a scriptural requirement to demonstrate faith to others (in Christian parlance ‘bearing witness’); the aim is not to proselytise but there is no objection if people are converted as a result of seeing faith in action.
- Engagement in development is purely outward-focused – development activities are a mechanism for sharing religious beliefs; the primary purpose is to convert others to the faith while development goals are of secondary importance.

The salient issue in this context is how religious vision and motivation is manifest in organisational practice and development activities (Clarke 2005etc; Ferris 2005; McGregor 2008). Clarke (2005etc) suggests a four-fold spectrum of ways in which FBOs deploy their faith for social engagement, development or humanitarian objectives: passive, active, persuasive and exclusive. I will simplify this and suggest that ROs can be divided into three broad camps to describe the relationship between their religious practices and development activities. In the first case, organisations are inspired by religion but they separate religious practice entirely from development activity. In the second case, organisations engage in some religious practices such as collective worship, prayers before events or meditation sessions but these are optional or invitational for staff, volunteers and beneficiaries. In the third case, organisations engage in explicit religious activity such as scripture classes, preaching or distribution of religious literature and this is imposed or made a mandatory requirement of participating in development activities.

An organisation’s positioning on this spectrum can have implications for its legal status, political position and its ability to access non-religious sources of funding (Benthall 2006a; Clarke 2008; James 2009a). James (2009a) suggests that many European development FBOs have deliberately reduced their religious activities and spiritual dimension in order to survive within the predominantly secular development context.

There are a few important caveats to note regarding organisational beliefs and values (these are not necessarily exclusive to ROs but can affect non-ROs too). First, there can be a difference between the ideals and aspirations of an organisation and what the organisation actually does or achieves, a so-called ‘values gap’ (Mowles 2008). Researchers should be aware of this potential disconnect when examining organisational documents and practice. Second, there can be a mismatch between how values are constructed and intended by an organisation and how they are received or interpreted by the beneficiary community (Kelsall and Mercer 2003; Olson 2008; Bradley 2009; McGregor 2010). Researchers should be aware of the variations across space and time in the articulation and interpretation of organisational values. Third, there seems to be an implicit assumption in the literature that faith-based values are by nature beneficial attributes and make a positive contribution to development; however it is important to remember that in some cases values are being imposed on a beneficiary community by an outside organisation and they might be insensitive, harmful or marginalise local views (Kashyap 2006; Bradley 2009). Researchers should be aware that religious values are not necessarily the same as ‘local’ values and are not inherently beneficial. Fourth, non-ROs can also display religious characteristics such as historical narratives or myths, moral and social values and ritual practices (Jeavons 1998).

3.3.3 Research questions

There is broad agreement in the literature that the actual development activities of ROs (e.g. education and health) are no different from those of non-ROs but that certain religious characteristics do make ROs different in the way that they conceptualise development. Since there is great diversity among ROs, no easy generalisations can be made and there has been a call for more empirical work on the relationships between religious identity and development practice.

My research contributes to this literature by addressing the question *how are ROs different from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development?* I assessed the organisational religiosity of 50 ROs engaged in development in Kolkata and investigated the beliefs, teachings and values motivating their work. Three particular issues also arose from my review of the literature that I investigate: i) to what extent is religious identity and expression important to ROs engaged in development? ii) how does religious motivation differ from humanitarian motivation to do development? and iii) how do ROs conceptualise the relationship between religion and development? The findings and analysis are presented in Chapter 7.

3.4 <u>Impact and effectiveness</u>

Section 3.3 considered how religious identity shapes the way in which ROs conceptualise development; this leads to the question of how religious characteristics shape how ROs practice development. Section 3.4.1 considers the main characteristics of ROs – their diverse strengths and advantages as well as their various weaknesses and disadvantages – and how these influence their ability to engage in development-related activities. Section 3.4.2 explores the issue of effectiveness in development, including a discussion of what effectiveness means and how it can be measured.

3.4.1 Characteristics

ROs have a range of strengths and advantages, as well as weaknesses and disadvantages. Before describing these, three caveats should be noted. First, not all the characteristics – whether strengths or weaknesses – are necessarily unique to ROs; there is some overlap with non-ROs. Second, there may be a difference between potential strengths and advantages of an organisation and the actual ability to mobilise them in practice. Third, several characteristics appear under both advantages and disadvantages. The analysis below is drawn from Mayotte (1998), Bashyam (2002), Berger (2003), Goody (2003), Brown *et al* (2004); Dicklitch and Rice (2004), Bouta *et al* (2005), Ferris (2005), Marshall (2006b), Tomalin (2006), Tyndale (2006), Jennings and Clarke (2007), African Religious Health Assets Programme (2008), Bodakowski 2009; Boyd (2009), James (2009a, 2009c) Kessler and Arkush (2009), and Thurston and de la Mata (2009).

ROs are present in every community and operate at all levels of society. In particular, they have unrivalled rural reach and a grassroots presence, even in the most inaccessible areas. A Tearfund report describes the church network as extending “into the darkest city slum and the most remote rural areas, beyond the reach of state structures or even an NGO’s most robust 4x4” (Boyd 2009:12). In addition to remote areas, ROs are also present in troubled areas and have a noticeable resilience in the face of conflict; for example, the church was one of the few formal institutions to survive during the civil war in DR Congo and in the displacement camps of Uganda.

Religion is an integral part of life for many individuals and communities. It is deeply rooted in their history and culture and it shapes their attitudes and values. As such, religion is a source of moral authority. Religious leaders generally have a privileged status in communities; they are usually considered as people of authority, who act with integrity and are worthy of trust. Certainly religious leaders tend to be trusted more than people such as government ministers or foreign experts.

ROs are amongst the oldest civil institutions. In many communities, places of worship are the centre of village life and their long-standing presence means that they are one of the strongest and most widely trusted institutions. A Gallup poll of 31 sub-Saharan African countries, for example, found that public confidence in ROs was 82 per cent, far higher than in other social and political institutions such as the government, judicial system, military or media (Rheault 2008). In some communities, the place of worship is often the only institution with the authority or ability to unite and mobilise people. Benthall (2008b), for example, examines whether Muslim charities have any special advantages or legitimacy when operating in Muslim societies and he concludes that the 'cultural proximity' (i.e. shared faith) between Muslim aid agencies and the local community is a factor in enabling access and good relationships. However, he does caution that this cultural proximity is only one factor in contributing to successful aid delivery and should not be overplayed.

Outside organisations (whether religious, secular or state) can be insensitive to local customs and beliefs and seek to impose their own ideas and strategies, whereas the goals and activities of ROs which are rooted in a community are more likely to be attuned to people's needs. Most religions have a more holistic view of development than the mainstream secular model; they seek to meet people's spiritual and material needs and conceptualise development as a process of social transformation. Furthermore, locally-rooted organisations are more likely to adopt a participatory approach and focus on long-term sustainable development.

ROs are embedded in extensive networks which extend downwards to local communities and outwards to global communities within the religion. These networks facilitate the access to and channelling of financial and material resources. Religious networks channel money from individual givers and umbrella bodies to organisations and congregations in other parts of the world. The networked nature of ROs makes for effective distribution systems, particularly in times of emergency or disaster. It also provides the potential for the replicability of successful initiatives. The availability of funding from religious sources can mean that ROs are less dependent on secular and state donors for funding. In terms of the use of financial resources, ROs are often able to make a small amount of funding go a long way and their impact is often disproportionately large. It has also been shown that ROs will still respond to need regardless of resources available.

ROs also have access to extensive human resources. Volunteers can be mobilised, often at short notice, and they are usually willing to work without payment or material reward. Even very poor people, who face daily pressures to secure basic needs, still tend to make time to be involved in their local religious congregation. On the other hand, as found across the civil society sector, many ROs struggle with organisational capacity. The recruitment and retention of paid staff can be difficult because they cannot offer salaries that are competitive with the state or private sectors. There is a disproportionate reliance on volunteers and while highly motivated, they may lack specific skills in organisational and financial management. Many ROs rely primarily or entirely on financial support from congregations and religious institutions. Poor human capacity can be a bar to writing proposals for obtaining funding from sources outside the religious community. Contrarily, if large amounts of funding become available, ROs might not have the infrastructure and systems to manage the money effectively and accountably, deliver programmes and monitor them. Furthermore, there may be limited capacity to connect or coordinate with the activities of other religious and non-religious actors operating in the same field. The lack of capacity can mean that the activities of ROs, if successful, cannot be scaled up.

For religious individuals and organisations, particular beliefs foster attitudes and behaviour which contribute to development: beliefs can nurture a sense of purpose and zeal to serve people; engender commitment to specific values such as compassion or justice; and motivate people to give money and other resources such as their time. Conversely, some of the beliefs and values underpinning ROs have proved to be a hindrance to development. The perspectives and conservative beliefs of some religious groups and organisations on topics such as women's rights, contraception and female genital mutilation have conflicted with the recommendations of government officials, development professionals and other actors. Furthermore, ROs are sometimes viewed with suspicion because in some cases relief, welfare and development activities have been used to legitimise evangelism and conversion. Ahmed (2005) gives illustrations from Afghanistan, Iraq and Southeast Asia where humanitarian aid was the guise for aggressive Christian proselytism, while Goody (2003) gives the example of literacy programmes, the real purpose of which is to enable people to read scriptures. In a small number of cases, relief and development ROs have been a front for extremist or terrorist activity.

While non-religious development actors are often suspicious or sceptical of the ulterior motives of all ROs and are reluctant to cooperate, contrarily, many ROs fear that cooperation with secular or state partners will compromise their values and beliefs. This mutual suspicion has meant that ROs have often been omitted from being represented in national decision-making and policy forums.

It has been observed that the personal religious commitment of staff and volunteers in a RO leads to a higher work ethic (promoting behaviour such as honesty, transparency and hard work) and better quality of services, although the evidence for this is only anecdotal and not proven. Personal faith also gives individuals the ability to persevere against overwhelming odds, thus ROs have a "high coefficient of commitment" (James 2009a).

On balance, the evidence suggests that the strengths and advantages of ROs outweigh the weaknesses and disadvantages and this tends to be assumed in the literature. The perceived advantages of ROs were summed up well by the World Conference on Religion and Peace:

> Religious communities are, without question, the largest and best-organized civil institutions in the world today, claiming the allegiance of billions of believers and bridging the divides of race, class and nationality. They are uniquely equipped to meet the challenges of our time: resolving conflicts, caring for the sick and needy, promoting peaceful co-existence among all peoples.[54]

As already noted, some characteristics are shared with other types of CSO but others are unique to ROs. Developing the idea of 'social capital', a concept used within social sciences to describe the value of social networks, the particular assets and resources of ROs have been termed 'faithful capital', 'religious capital', or 'spiritual capital' (Malloch 2003, Commission on Urban Life and Faith 2006, Baker and Skinner 2006). To date, this idea has mostly been applied to the literature on ROs engaged in social welfare in the Global North (e.g. Cloke 2010) but is beginning to be recognised in the literature on ROs in development in the Global South (e.g. Ramsay 2010). I use religious capital and spiritual capital to frame my analysis of the impact of ROs in Kolkata in Chapter 8.

3.4.2 Effectiveness

The next issue to consider is how the characteristics of ROs affect their development practice, in particular their impact and effectiveness; effectiveness, however, is a rather opaque topic. In the literature, there is often an implicit assumption that ROs are more effective than their non-religious counterparts and that something connected to their religious characteristics accounts for this greater effectiveness. It is common to see unqualified sweeping statements such as ROs "may even prove to be the most effective and lasting of the development agencies" (Mayotte 1998:66). The effectiveness of ROs, however, has not been proven with widespread evidence and the exact nature of their 'added value' has not been clearly identified.

Perhaps one of the reasons why the evidence remains elusive is the difficulty of defining and measuring effectiveness, which can be assessed from the perspective of the organisation's leaders, staff, beneficiaries, donor, or local community and can be measured through numbers, opinions or feelings. Since ascertaining the effectiveness of ROs is not a straightforward task, very little research to date has strayed into this area. I only found a few studies specifically investigating effectiveness, all relating to ROs in America. Two studies, for example, looked at beneficiary opinions of the services of FBOs compared to government agencies and found that FBOs were perceived as more effective and trustworthy organisations (Wuthnow *et al* 2004) and FBO staff were perceived as being more caring (Goggin and Orth 2002). These findings concern people's perceptions, though, and may or may not reflect the actual reality.

ROs which are funded by governments or other donors to deliver programmes and services are held accountable and required to measure the outcomes and impacts of their activities. For some

[54] www.religionsforpeace.org/initiatives

activities it is relatively easy to identify a quantifiable output or outcome (such as the number of people vaccinated in a year or the number of children enrolled in a school) but for other activities the goals or outcomes are not easily measured (such as showing love and companionship, fostering hope and self-confidence, giving emotional support and spiritual guidance, or building social bonds and transforming communities). The latter are sometimes referred to as 'intangible assets' or 'immaterial goals' (Berger 2003; Knowledge Centre Religion and Development 2008b; Boyd 2009; WHO 2010). The Director of a UK-based Christian development agency said:

> Development can make the mistake of valuing only the things it can measure empirically. The church's version of sustainable development involves things you can't measure – hope, love, self-esteem. How do you measure love on a logframe? (Boyd 2009:32).

Since some of the outcomes of the work of ROs are less tangible and are not among the factors traditionally taken into account when measuring organisational impact, some of the contributions of ROs to development have been overlooked or undervalued. The applied literature calls for a better understanding of these additional development outcomes, a wider definition of effectiveness and the development of alternative mechanisms to measure these intangibles (Baha'i International Community 1998; Berger 2003; Boyd 2009; WHO 2010). One option is to use proxy measures (Goulet 1992b; Knowledge Centre Religion and Development 2008b) while another is to develop new indicators (e.g. WHOQOL SRPB Group 2006). The WHO is one international donor which has proactively responded to this problem. In 2009, it organised a meeting for representatives of governments, NGOs, FBOs, academics and international organisations to discuss how to standardise methods of data collection and mapping to assess, monitor and map religious health services in order that FBOs can have greater visibility with governments, donors and communities (WHO 2010). The challenge, however, is to create indicators which are just as robust as traditional economic indicators, because only then will they be acceptable to mainstream development institutions.

3.4.3 Research questions

ROs have a variety of characteristics, some of which they share with non-ROs while others are unique, and some of which are beneficial for development while others are a hindrance. There is broad agreement in the literature about the list of attributes; what is uncertain is how they influence development outcomes and whether they make ROs more or less effective at development than their non-religious counterparts. It seems to be widely assumed that ROs are more effective but there is a paucity of research to prove this and there have been calls for more empirical research (Berger 2003).

My research contributes to this literature by addressing the question *do ROs mobilise particular* *resources and assets in development practice?* I concentrate on assessing the impact and effectiveness of ROs; it was beyond the remit of my fieldwork to study non-ROs in order to make comparisons about relative effectiveness but this is identified as a topic for future research in Section 10.4.1. I examined 50 ROs in Kolkata looking at what religious resources and assets are mobilised in development practice and assessing the impact of their approaches. Three particular issues also arose from my review of the literature that I investigate: i) which characteristics give ROs a comparative advantage in development? ii) how do ROs contribute added value to development? and iii) what factors make ROs particularly effective at development? The findings and analysis are presented in Chapter 8.

3.5 Interaction and collaboration

Sections 3.3 and 3.4 looked inwards at the internal characteristics of ROs, so the task of this final section is to look outwards at their external relations. ROs are not independent, self-standing entities that operate in a vacuum; they are situated in particular contexts and interact with a wide range of other development actors. The development literature has studied the interactions of NGOs, including partnerships, networks, competition between actors and relationships with the state and donors (e.g. Edwards *et al* 1999; Fowler 2002; Henry *el al* 2004; Bebbington and Kothari 2006; McFarlane 2006a; Stirrat 2006) but there is relatively limited literature regarding ROs (McGregor 2010).

Every organisation is engaged in multiple interactions with different actors in different directions, to different intensities and with different activities, thus it is no surprise that analysing interactions is no straightforward task. Morse and McNamara (2006) identify four models in the literature for analysing partnerships – power relations, discourse analysis, interdependence theory and function/performance – but conclude that they are all problematic because any organisation is simultaneously engaged in multiple partnerships and the nature of the partnerships change over time. Another difficulty with examining interactions is terminology. Morse and McNamara (2006) note that the word partnership tends to be used “indiscriminately” to refer to almost all kinds of relationships between organisations. Conventionally, the word partnership means a relationship between entities which have a shared goal and have agreed a division of responsibilities to reach that goal but this is not necessarily the most appropriate term for some relationships. I tend to use interaction as the umbrella term and then words such as cooperation, coordination, collaboration and partnership to refer to particular types of interaction.

This section looks in turn at the literature on three types of interactions: between ROs and organisations of the same religion (intrareligious), organisations of other religions (interreligious) and development institutions and donors (extrareligious). In each case, the literature is interrogated for empirical studies which reveal the extent and type of interactions, the way in which relationships influence development practice, and successful examples of coordination and collaboration as well as barriers to increasing it.

3.5.1 Intrareligious interaction and collaboration

Intrareligious interaction concerns relationships between organisations of the same religion. All religions and their subgroups have a hierarchy of organisations – for example, in Christian denominations this ranges from congregations and parishes to dioceses, national representative councils and international apex bodies – although the extent to which this system of organisations is institutionalised varies considerably by religion. These horizontal and vertical links provide a natural infrastructure for interaction and collaboration (Berger 2003).

Most of the limited literature on this topic concerns Christian organisations, perhaps because Christianity is the most institutionalised and structured of the world religions and therefore lends itself to studies of links, partnerships and networks. Three particularly interesting studies examine transnational partnerships within particular Christian denominations that are built upon shared beliefs and the premise of equality. Morse and McNamara's (2006, 2008) research in Nigeria reveals the need for a longitudinal approach because development partnerships change over time. Olson's (2006) work in Peru shows the difference in the interpretation and application of development ideas which serves as a caution against having a single understanding of how development is conceived and practised by a particular denomination. Heffernan's (2007) study of parish twinning between the USA and Haiti reveals both potentialities and failures of this as an alternative model of development.

The only example I found in the literature mentioning intrareligious interactions outside of Christianity was Kroessin's (2009) study of UK-based Muslim NGOs engaged in international relief and development. He found that the vast majority of organisations worked in isolation from one another; however, several did work in partnership with Muslim counterparts in the Middle East and Gulf and with international Muslim organisations such as the Islamic Development Bank. He did not suggest any reasons behind these patterns.

3.5.2 Interreligious interaction and collaboration

As discussed in Section 2.3.2, the major world religions share certain values such as charity, compassion, justice and human welfare and this creates a significant opportunity for collaborative development work. Interreligious collaboration is also seen as desirable in countries and regions where religion is a source of unrest because it could contribute to peace-building (Villumstad 2002; Benedetti 2006, Odumosu *et al* 2009).

Some of the largest faith-based agencies have begun to enter high-profile interreligious collaborations; for example, Muslim Aid has developed a global understanding with the United Methodist Committee on Relief and joined with Christian Aid for the *Love Water, Love Life* campaign, while Islamic Relief works in partnership with CAFOD and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints to deliver humanitarian aid (James 2009a; BBC 2010). Kessler and Arkush (2009) also note that Christian Aid appointed an Interfaith Manager in 2005 and CAFOD followed with an Interfaith Officer in 2008 indicating that interreligious collaboration is being taken seriously.

Cases of coordination, cooperation and collaboration between particular organisations of different religions in relief and development are described in the literature; for example, World Jewish Relief channelling earthquake donations through a Muslim partner organisation in Pakistan (Kessler and Arkush 2009), Muslim Aid and United Methodist Committee on Relief providing a combined response to a crisis in Sri Lanka (Clarke 2008), and Christian Aid joint-funding a Muslim and a Catholic organisation to build peaceful communities in the Philippines (Kessler and Arkush 2009). In each case, interfaith collaboration resulted in more successful aid and development interventions as well as having broader impacts on interreligious understanding and harmony. Organisations from different religions may seem very different on the surface but, as Benedetti (2006) notes, ROs working in the same thematic field such as emergency relief not only share particular values, but also have similar operational methods, project types, management styles and technical language, all of which enable cooperation and coordination.

Examples in the literature all involved at least one organisation which was a large, high-profile, western-based organisation with attendant structures, financial resources and human capacity. Smaller organisations tend not to have such assets and may find interreligious cooperation more difficult, as found by Odumosu *et al* (2009) in Nigeria.

Most of the literature showcases successful examples of interfaith collaboration but the picture is not entirely positive. McGregor (2010), for example, uncovered differing priorities and ensuing tensions at three levels of the ‘aid chain’ (see Section 3.2.2 iii) between donors and coordinating agencies in Australia and New Zealand, Christian organisations engaged in aid and reconstruction in Aceh, and local Acehnese authorities and Muslim communities. His case study serves as a reminder that interreligious interaction involves the negotiation of complex religious, social, cultural and political sensitivities.

3.5.3 Extrareligious interaction and collaboration

Extrareligious interaction can be divided into relationships between ROs and i) mainstream development institutions and donors, ii) the state, and iii) the private sector.

Section 2.2.2 described how mainstream development actors have shifted from systematic avoidance of ROs to tentative engagement. This transition has brought attention to the interface between secular and religious development actors, particularly the tensions between their different visions of development and methods of working. There is a small literature on RO interactions with development institutions and bilateral donors. Various studies have examined the relationships between development donors and ROs, some showcasing successful initiatives (e.g. Tyndale 2006) or exploring potential partnerships (e.g. Belshaw *et al* 2001) and others highlighting the tensions that exist when ROs have evangelistic tendencies (e.g. Hovland 2007) or have different priorities from partner organisations (Bradley 2009). Other research has drawn attention to the narrow range of ROs with which development donors tend to engage – notably those which are i) moderate rather than conservative in their beliefs; ii) passive in their expression of religiosity; iii) large, formal and professionalised NGOs; and iv) Christian – and has called for donors to engage with a broader range of ROs (Clarke 2005etc; Bouta *et al* 2005; Benthall 2008b; McDuie-Ra and Rees 2008; Kroessin 2009). McDuie-Ra and Rees's (2008) critique is particularly interesting: while they acknowledge that development institutions have begun to engage with a wider range of actors, "only a limited number of voices emerge from the religious sector on development" (p.14). They suggest that the ROs that are excluded are informal organisations and grassroots movements which actually hold alternative visions of development and social transformation. This resonates with the idea of shifting responsibility to different actors discussed in Section 2.3.2.

There has been recent interest in the relationships between ROs and the state. Odumosu *et al* (2009) looked at FBOs in Nigeria and found that while some obtained resources from and cooperated with government agencies, a much larger proportion did not interact with the government, the main reason being a lack of organisational capacity. Their work (Odumosu *et al* 2010) also included a pilot project to increase the capacity of FBOs to engage in the policy-making process. There are several recent studies exploring the relationships between religious schools (particularly madrassas) and the state in Pakistan (Bano 2007), Bangladesh (Bano 2008), India (Nair 2009a) and Nigeria (Bano 2009a). The same scholars have also conducted some research on welfare arms of religious political parties in Pakistan and Bangladesh (Bano 2009b) and India (Nair 2009b). Finally, research on the interplay between religion, development and politics in South Africa has examined the politicisation of Christian churches (Bompani 2008) and the role of a RO in challenging the local and national government's stance on migration and ethnic tension (Bompani 2010).

I found no references at all in the literature of any relationships between ROs and the private sector. I investigated this in the context of Kolkata (see Sections 9.2.3 and 9.5.3) and suggest it as a topic for further study in Section10.4.1.

3.5.4 Research questions

With such a range and scale of major development challenges around the world, there needs to be concerted and coordinated efforts on behalf of different development actors (Clarke 2005etc; Barton and Danan 2006; Haynes 2007). Indeed, the eighth Millennium Development Goal is a global partnership for development, promoting collaboration between civil society, government and other actors, including ROs (Boyd 2009). In order to explore the potential of ROs to contribute to this, there is a need to understand the way in which ROs currently interact with other development actors and identify particular trends by religion, region and thematic area. Although there is a range of literature on the relationships between NGOs and other development actors, there is very little scholarship on ROs.

My research contributes to this literature by addressing the question *to what extent do ROs interact with other development actors?* I examined the extent and nature of interactions of 50 ROs in Kolkata and also explored the coexistence of multiple development actors in one location looking for incidences of duplication and overlap, coordination and collaboration. Three particular issues also arose from my review of the literature that I investigate: i) how do the transnational linkages of ROs shape development? ii) how does the government view the involvement of ROs in development? and iii) does the private sector support the development work of ROs? The findings and analysis are presented in Chapter 9.

3.6 Summary of main themes and research questions

The literature on ROs as development actors is still fairly nascent, emerging tentatively in the last ten years from academia, development institutions and ROs themselves. Scholars and practitioners seem to assert that ROs have the potential to contribute to more appropriate, sustainable and effective forms of development but there is a paucity of empirical evidence to substantiate this. This chapter has given an overview of existing literature under four pairs of thematic headings: position and presence; identity and expression; impact and effectiveness; and interaction and collaboration. Under each theme, I reviewed the available literature, identified particular gaps or weaknesses that shaped my own research questions, and highlighted three additional questions to be addressed by my investigation. These themes, research questions and emerging issues are summarised in Table 1 and this provides the framework for the presentation and analysis of my own findings on ROs in Kolkata in Chapters 6 to 9.

Table 1 – Summary of main themes and research questions

Chapter	Theme	Research questions	Emerging issues
6	Position and presence	How significant are ROs in civil society?	• What factors influence the presence, prominence and role of ROs in civil society? • How useful are different typologies for understanding the diversity among ROs? • What is the contribution of informal ROs to civil society?
7	Identity and expression	How are ROs different from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development?	• To what extent is religious identity and expression important to ROs engaged in development? • How does religious motivation differ from humanitarian motivation to do development? • How do ROs conceptualise the relationship between religion and development?
8	Impact and effectiveness	Do ROs mobilise particular resources and assets in development practice?	• Which characteristics give ROs a comparative advantage in development? • How do ROs contribute added value to development? • What factors make ROs particularly effective at development?
9	Interaction and collaboration	To what extent do ROs interact with other development actors?	• How do the transnational linkages of ROs shape development? • How does the government view the involvement of ROs in development? • Does the private sector support the development work of ROs?

The literature reviewed in this chapter was drawn from a variety of disciplines within the social sciences. As noted in Sections 1.3 and 1.6, my own approach is from geography, so my investigation of each of the topics listed above is underpinned by three conceptual tools that are fundamental to geography: place, space and scale. The next chapter describes the methodology adopted for interrogating each of these themes and research questions in my empirical study.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

4.1 Introduction

As described in Chapter 3, the literature on ROs as development actors is nascent and, as yet, there is no commonly-accepted methodological approach for studying them. I consulted a range of studies on ROs engaged in social welfare in the Global North and development-related activities in the Global South, examining different aspects of their research design such as sample size, sampling procedure, geographical scale, data collection methods, typologies for categorising organisations and analytical techniques. The main characteristics of a selection of seven particularly relevant studies are outlined in Appendix A. What emerged was a wide range of quantitative and qualitative methods that scholars and practitioners have used to study the distribution of ROs, their characteristics, activities and impact.

Although highly informative, none of the studies I reviewed provided a template of methodology that was appropriate for adoption in my research. Instead I created my own methodology to combine several methods and produce detailed and rigorous data. I developed a three-stage approach to suit my research questions, which started on a broad scale with collecting quantitative data and narrowed down to a selected few representative organisations for the collection of qualitative data. The three stages were:

1. A large scale survey of all ROs in Kolkata using information from secondary sources (databases of CSOs and websites).
2. An investigation of a purposive sample of 50 ROs engaged in development by interviewing organisation leaders and analysing organisational documentation.
3. An in-depth study of three ROs engaged in development involving staff and beneficiary interviews, participant observation and analysis of organisational documentation.

Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 describe the methodological approach for each of these stages in more detail. Section 4.5 discusses ethical research practice and explains how it shaped the conduct of my fieldwork and Section 4.6 considers how researcher positionality influenced the research process. Section 4.7 examines how both ethics and positionality pertain to three key aspects of my research: researching the Global South, researching civil society organisations and researching religion.

4.2 Stage 1 – Survey of religious organisations in Kolkata

The first stage of my field research aimed to gather some baseline information about the civil society sector in Kolkata and quantify the number and type of ROs. This section describes the sources used and the methods of data collection and analysis.

4.2.1 Data sources

My original intention upon arrival in Kolkata was to visit the appropriate state government offices to procure a list of registered CSOs and then extract the data relevant to my interests. However, having read about the experiences of Srivastava *et al* (2002), who visited the Societies Registration Office in Kolkata as part of their nation-wide survey of non-profit organisations, I held out little hope:

> The Registration Office in Kolkata did not appear to [*sic*] very well managed. Most of the registers for yester years were not traceable at all. Some of the old registers were in dusty condition with papers falling apart. It was clear that the Registration authorities did not have a good idea on how many societies had exactly been registered... (p.48)

With no comprehensive list available to the public, let alone an electronic database, I needed to find alternative sources and means of collecting information, just as other researchers studying CSOs, NGOs and ROs in India have been forced to do (e.g. Siddiqui 1997, 2004; Desai 1999; Srivastava and Tandon 2002; Mishra 2008a; Jodhka and Bora 2009).

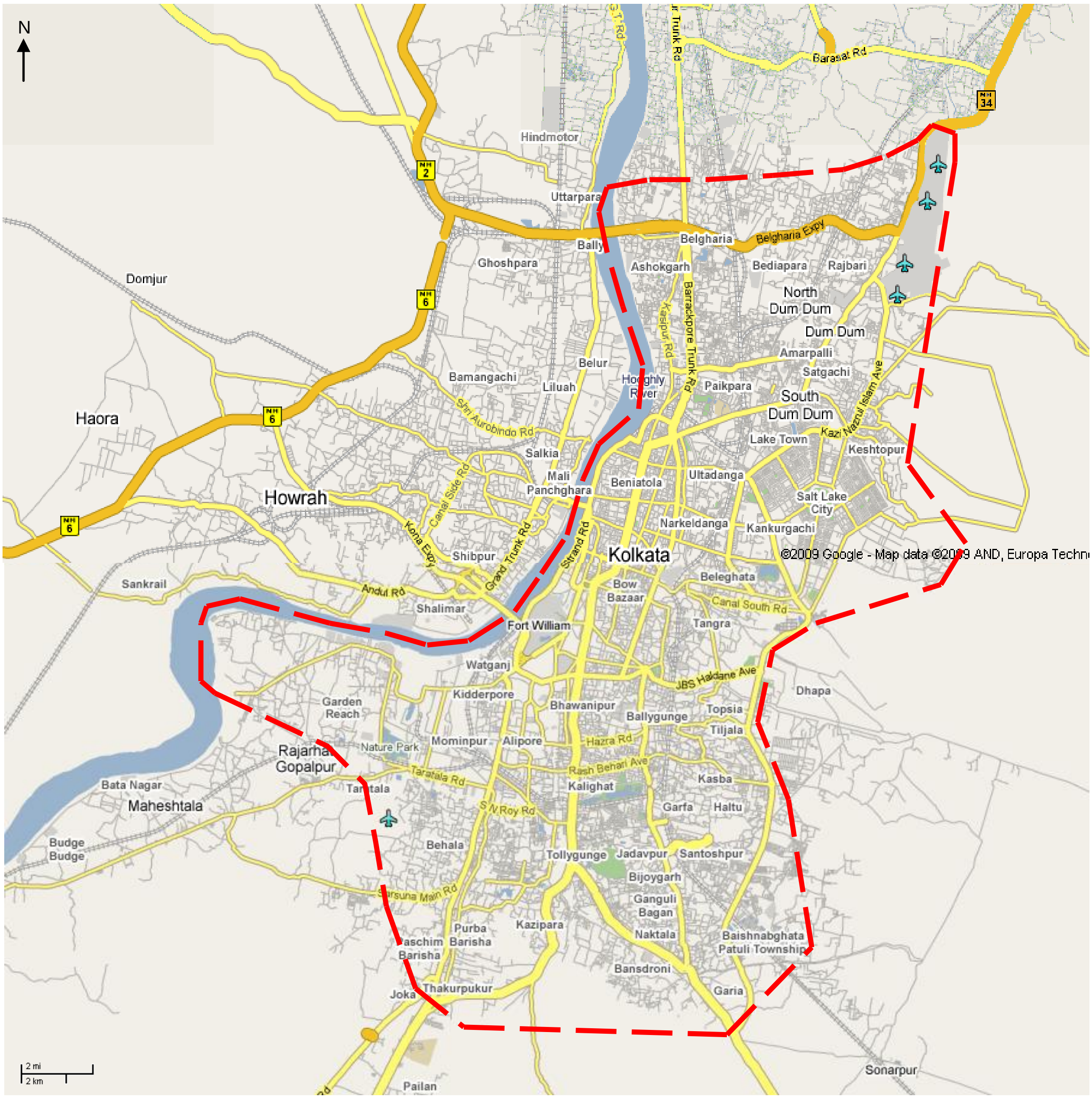
I decided to compile my own database of organisations from a number of different sources. I identified eight online sources such as directories of NGOs and listings of voluntary organisations: ProPoor (www.propoor.org), Idealist (www.idealist.org), Karmayog (www.karmayog.org), Medindia (www.medindia.net), NGOsIndia (www.ngosindia.com), IndianNGOs (www.indianngos.com), Voluntary Organisation Database (pcserver.nic.in/ngo) and WiserEarth (www.wiserearth.org). Five of these websites were national (i.e. Indian), one covered South Asia and two were international. Each database listed some organisations in Kolkata, so I hoped that by combining them I could create a more comprehensive list.

In order to establish a discrete data set, I selected a geographical parameter of organisations with a registered address at a PIN code between 700 001 and 700 100.[55] Figure 3 shows the approximate extent of this geographical area: it covers most of urban Kolkata on the east bank of the River Hooghly. This choice of geographical parameter is not without its limitations; for example, some organisations are officially registered at an address in the city but operate from other sites within and beyond the city.

I worked systematically through each of the eight sources, entering my search parameters and extracting the relevant data, although this was rather time-consuming as each source had different criteria for searching and varying amounts of information available about each organisation. In addition, I found many of the sources to be riddled with duplicated entries; for example,

[55] The Indian postal administration (India Post) introduced the Postal Index Number (PIN) system in 1972. Postal codes, which identify individual post offices, comprise six digits.

Figure 3 – Approximate geographical extent of PIN codes 700 001 to 700 100 in Kolkata



Sources: Google Maps and author's own work organisations entered both under their full name and acronym or under an Indian name and anglicised name. A couple of the sources were of quite poor quality with incomplete entries and spelling mistakes; these inconsistencies suggest a lack of accuracy in inputting the data and the potential unreliability of the sources.

Information was extracted from the sources in April, June and July 2008. With the exception of one, all the websites seemed to be 'live' documents that added profiles of new organisations on a fairly regular basis, although there was evidence that once an organisation's profile had been entered it was never changed or updated. My data, therefore, are a snapshot of all organisations listed at that particular time but are not necessarily a completely accurate reflection of reality.

Having compiled a list of organisations fitting my parameters from each source, I merged the eight lists into one master list and removed duplicated entries. Using multiple data sources was certainly worthwhile because it transpired that there was relatively little overlap between sources; in fact, only one organisation was listed by all eight sources and just six organisations were listed by seven sources, whereas three-quarters of organisations were only listed by one of the eight sources.

Some of the duplicated entries required careful assessment, in particular multiple entries which represented different branches of one organisation within the city. In some cases, where activities in each branch were similar, I consolidated entries under the umbrella of the main organisation (e.g. the Rotary Club had various 'Trusts' in different suburbs and neighbourhoods); in other cases, where each branch had a distinct character and activities, I retained separate entries (e.g. Ramakrishna Mission had several 'branch centres' but these are engaged in different activities).

Having removed duplications, the total number of CSOs on the master list was 1,054, although this figure could not be taken as the authoritative or exact number of CSOs in central Kolkata. It is, however, necessary to reflect on which types of organisations were listed and why. The sources contained information on organisations either that had requested listing or had been selected for listing; thus not all CSOs in existence were listed. Reasons why organisations were not listed could include: lack of formal structure of the organisation; lack of knowledge about the sources; and lack of technical capacity for submitting information. The lists were also more likely to capture formal, registered organisations. The presence and contribution of informal organisations to civil society is difficult to assess but is thought to be significant; in the context of ROs this is considered in more detail in Section 6.5.3.

4.2.2 Data collection

Having created a master list of CSOs registered in central Kolkata, the next task was to gather more detailed information about each organisation and construct my own database. I used the internet as my only source of information for practical and logistical reasons (i.e. I could work from home at convenient times around my other fieldwork activities) although I was aware of the difficulties of using internet sources, including determining authorial positionality, accepting the dominance of certain languages and questioning credibility (Mawdsley 2006).

Proceeding alphabetically through the 1,054 organisations, I searched for any information including the organisation's own website, the organisation's profile on the source website(s), press reports and any other sources. For some organisations there was plentiful information, particularly those with their own websites; in other cases the material was very limited. Despite advanced and persistent searching techniques, in many cases there was absolutely no information on the internet at all, and sometimes only a postal address. In seven cases, the only available information on the internet was in another language and while I was able to understand a sufficient amount from websites in French, German and Italian, the same was not true of one website in Korean. This stage of the process was very time-consuming but necessary in order to construct a useful database.

The primary aim was to identify all CSOs with a connection to religion. I identified 232 ROs and extracted them into a new list. Although I used the label 'religious organisations', this masked great variation (see Section 3.2). The next task was to collect more detailed information about the ROs. I intended to examine the religious characteristics of organisations (such as religious motivation, funding sources, religiosity of staff, religious activities and networking) in Stage 2 of the fieldwork, so at this stage I focused on gathering information on the following general organisational characteristics:

- *Religious affiliation* – the religion to which an organisation is affiliated and, if relevant, the particular subgroup to which it belongs or identifies.
- *Type of organisation* – the type of religious organisation, divided into three main categories: religious institutions, religious missionary organisations and religious charitable or development organisations (see Section 3.2.2).
- *Date of formation* – the year in which an organisation started its work in Kolkata; either when a local organisation was established or when an organisation with a parent body set up its branch in Kolkata. For most organisations an exact date was available; in other cases only the decade was known. For organisations with a parent body, the country of origin of the parent body was also recorded.
- *Activities* – the sector in which an organisation works, such as education, rural development or

vocational training. Since many organisations work in more than one sector, this was divided into primary sector and secondary sector, although this does not necessarily indicate that one is more significant than the other.

- *Beneficiaries* – the main beneficiaries or target group of an organisation, such as children, disabled people or women. Since some organisations had two or more beneficiary groups or their beneficiaries could be categorised in several ways, this was divided into primary beneficiary and secondary beneficiary, although as per activities, this does not mean that one is more significant than the other.
- *Scale* – the geographical scale on which an organisation works. Although officially registered in the city of Kolkata, an organisation may conduct work on a wider scale such as state, regional or national level. In addition to the scale of work of the Kolkata office, the geographical scale of work of an organisation's parent body (where relevant) was also noted.
- *Size* – the organisation's size assessed on the basis of the number of people involved in various capacities such as office/general staff, project/field staff, volunteers, trustees/management committee, beneficiaries and members. I created four size categories: very small (fewer than five staff and fewer than 200 beneficiaries); small (fewer than 20 staff and fewer than 1,000 beneficiaries); medium (up to 100 staff and up to several thousand beneficiaries); and large (over 100 staff and tens of thousands of beneficiaries).

Despite some shortcomings with available information sources, Stage 1 generated sufficient data about CSOs and ROs to undertake some meaningful analysis and build an overall picture of the number and type of ROs in the city and their main characteristics.

4.3 Stage 2 – Investigation of fifty religious organisations in Kolkata

Stage 2 of my fieldwork focused on a sample of 50 ROs in Kolkata for a more detailed investigation about their religious characteristics and development activities. These data were collected primarily through interviews with senior members of each organisation and corroborated by the analysis of organisational documentation. This section describes the sampling methodology used, explains the choice of elite interviewing, and outlines the procedure followed for the interview process.[56]

[56] I refer to the individual participants as 'interviewees', the occasions on which an interview took place as 'interview events' and the sample of organisations in my study as 'organisations'. This distinction is necessary because, for example, one interview event involved three interviewees, while another interview event had representatives from two different organisations.

4.3.1 Sampling

The original intention was to select a sample of ROs for Stage 2 from the database created in Stage 1, but Stage 1 proved a time-consuming exercise and, with limited time in the field, I chose to leave its completion until a later date and adopt a different sampling procedure. I set a target of 50 organisations, which was a practical choice taking into account that I had allocated four months of fieldwork time to interviews. An average of four interviews per week was considered a realistic target. It is important not to be overambitious in scheduling interviews because the logistics of setting up interviews can be time-consuming, particularly in the Global South, sufficient space is needed for the initial processing of interview data, and the process of interviewing can also be tiring for the researcher (Crang and Cook 2007).

My study was, in part, comparative, looking at the approaches of different religions to development. It was my intention to cover ten religions within my target of 50 organisations. In order to ensure that all ten religions were represented, a random sampling approach would not have been appropriate; instead I needed to use strategic sampling. Strategic sampling could have been done in different ways; for example i) select a number of organisations from each religion which is proportional to the number of adherents to that religion; ii) select a number of organisations from each religion which is proportional to the number of registered organisations of that religion; or iii) select an equal number of organisations from each religion. Each of these three obvious methods of strategic sampling was problematic: the first because the size of the religious community is not necessarily related to the proportion of ROs belonging to that religion; the second because not all ROs are registered and therefore did not appear in the survey data; and the third because it would give undue emphasis to some of the minority religions. I therefore had to develop an alternative approach: I decided to design my own deliberate sampling strategy combined with the snowballing method.

I divided the ten religions into three categories of large, medium and small, which reflected a combination of the proportion of adherents in Kolkata and the number of organisations as found in the survey. In the large category were Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, the former two having large populations and a moderate number of organisations and the latter having a small population but a large number of organisations. In the medium category were Buddhism, Sikhism and Jainism, all of which have moderate-sized populations and a relatively small number of organisations. In the small category were Baha'i, Judaism, Taoism and Zoroastrianism, which have very small populations and equally very few organisations. Thus I hoped to achieve a balance within my sample of 50 organisations of approximately 11 organisations from each of the 'large' religions, four organisations from each of the 'medium' religions and one organisation from each of the 'small' religions.

Since I did not have an extensive list of contacts, I chose the snowballing method (also known as chain referral sampling) to identify potential organisations (Burgess 1992; Baxter and Eyles 1997). I started with a list of organisations that I had visited in 2001 for my Masters research on Christian organisations in the city (see Section 1.2); these provided me with easy entry points and my first few interviews. At the end of each interview, I asked whether the interviewee could recommend any other organisations, either of their own religion or another religion. Invariably at least one organisation was named and I was given a name and telephone number. In this way, my list of potential organisations snowballed and I pursued contacts in line with the deliberate sampling targets by religion. This method was also suited to the Indian context, where personal introductions or recommendations are an important part of professional interaction. There are, of course, limitations to the snowballing method: it can have inherent self-selection biases (Baxter and Eyles 1997), the list of potential interviewees can soon grow out of hand requiring clear criteria for prioritising (Burgess 1992) and recommendations may exclude 'rival' organisations necessitating multiple entry points into the field (Herod 1999).

Since all ROs are connected to particular religious communities, I also collected information about the history, composition and beliefs of different religious communities in Kolkata. In addition to secondary sources, I also aimed to interview one person from each of the ten religions who was a representative of their community. This was a vital context for understanding the number, distribution, characteristics and activities of ROs.[57]

Table 2 shows, by religion, the target number of organisational and additional interviews and the actual number achieved.

Table 2 – Target and actual number of organisational and additional interviews by religion

Religion	Number of organisations		Number of additional interviews	
	Target	Actual	Target	Actual
Baha'i	1	1	1	0
Buddhist	4	6	1	1
Christian	11	14	1	2
Hindu	11	11	1	0
Jain	4	4	1	1
Jewish	1	1	1	1
Muslim	11	8	1	1
Sikh	4	3	1	1
Taoist	1	1	1	0
Zoroastrian	1	1	1	2
Non-religious	-	-	0	1
Total	**49**	**50**	**10**	**10**

As noted above, the original intention was to draw the sample of 50 organisations from the database developed in Stage 1; however, the organisations selected through the strategic and

[57] Hereafter these are termed 'additional interviews'.

snowballing sampling procedure did not correlate exactly with the survey data. In total, only 26 of the 50 organisations in the sample appeared in the survey and eight of the 50 organisations were located outside the geographical parameters set for the survey. The geographical distribution of organisations is shown in Figure 4 (the map indicates locations of headquarters or registered offices, which was not always where interviews were conducted nor necessarily the location of the organisation's activities).

I do not feel that this incongruence between organisations in the survey and sample is too problematic. First, it affirms the suspicion that there are many more ROs in existence than are recorded on official listings and databases (discussed further in Section 6.2). Second, it was more important that the sample of 50 organisations were in line with the targets for religious affiliation (see Table 2) than being located within the exact geographical parameters. Third, the organisations lying outside the geographical parameters were still located within the conurbation of Greater Kolkata and therefore urban-based.

It was my original intention to include non-ROs in my field research, such as non-religious CSOs and government agencies, in order to draw comparisons between religious and non-religious approaches to development but my time was insufficient for such additional investigation. This is highlighted in Section 10.4.1 as a possible topic for future research.

4.3.2 Choice of elite interviewing

A study of organisations can be undertaken from different perspectives; my particular interest was in organisational structure, motivation and operation so I needed to consult people who could give me an overview and strategic viewpoint. I therefore decided on 'elite interviewing' of senior people within each organisation. This was in line with other studies of ROs which have based the research on interviews with high-level staff such as directors, trustees, finance managers and other senior figures (e.g. Pipes and Ebaugh 2002; Vanderwoerd 2004; Foster 2004; Jodhka and Bora 2009). Another practical reason for choosing this approach was that in India elites tend to speak English; since I did not have conversational fluency in the vernacular (see Section 4.7.1), this avoided the need for an interpreter.[58]

There is a reasonable amount of literature on the practice of elite interviewing, which discusses theory, methodologies, practicalities and ethics. The literature by geographers mainly features corporate and institutional elites (e.g. McDowell 1998, Herod 1999, Mullings 1999), while the

[58] In fact, some interviewees were not particularly proficient in English but people were always on hand to assist with interpretation (see Section 4.7.1).

Figure 4 – Location of 50 religious organisations in Kolkata

Sources: Google Maps and author's own work literature from other disciplines also includes political, scientific and intellectual elites. Although I found no specific material on religious elites, the other literature provided a useful framework. The following discussion considers the methodological aspects of elite interviewing, while issues relating to positionality and power within elite interviewing are covered in Section 4.6.

While elites can give an overview of the organisation, there is also the possibility that their responses may be the ‘official’ version and lack insightful or critical thought (e.g. Desmond 2004) thus a more balanced view would be obtained by listening to other voices within the organisation such as ordinary staff members, volunteers, and current, former or potential beneficiaries (e.g. Oldfield 2006). There is also scope for listening to voices outside the organisation such as funding bodies, other organisations and members of the local community. Although I recognise that elite interviewing has its limitations, it suited my study of multiple organisations; had mine been a case study of a single organisation, the circumstances would have been more appropriate for a vertical study with multiple interviewees at different levels within the organisation.

Although I use the term ‘elites’ to refer collectively to the people I interviewed that were in senior positions in my sample of organisations, they were by no means a homogenous and clearly-defined group (cf. Desmond 2004; Rice 2010). In my case, the elites came from a variety of types of RO as well as from different religions; in addition they had varied roles within the organisation, different status (paid/unpaid) and religious positionality (lay/ordained). Appendix B gives a more detailed profile of the interviewee group including their organisational position, personal characteristics and professional background.

4.3.3 Data collection

As mentioned above, I started my interviews with known contacts from previous research and then proceeded using the snowballing method. Overall, I had a very good response to my interview requests. Just six organisational contacts (five Christian and one Hindu) did not result in an interview, in each case because I received no response to my enquiries. My success rate was therefore 89 per cent (50 out of 56).

Elites can be difficult to access (e.g. McDowell 1998; Burgess 1992; Smith 2006; Harvey 2010). Had my interviewees been senior members of organisations in the UK, I would have needed to negotiate my way through gatekeepers such as secretaries and book appointments many months in advance. This was not the case in India: in most cases I could telephone people directly and the vast majority of appointments were arranged at very short notice, usually for the same day or following day.

Background preparation before an interview is highly recommended (Crang and Cook 2007) and is all the more important with elite interviewees who may feel irritated if their time is wasted with questions that could have been addressed to a more junior person (Oldfield 2006, Harvey 2010). In preparation for each interview, I familiarised myself as much as possible with the organisation and interviewee. I looked at the organisation's website (where available) and searched the internet for any other information about the organisation produced by third parties, such as press articles or consultant reports. In a few cases, however, I was completely unprepared, either because the interview was set up at such short notice or else no information was available on the internet.

According to the methodological literature, the research topic and setting will determine whether structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviewing is most appropriate (Fontana and Frey 2000; Fife 2005; Crang and Cook 2007). My plan was to conduct semi-structured interviews, which Fife (2005) describes as "structured conversation". This approach would allow me to guide the discussion around broad questions and allow the interviewee the freedom to shape responses rather than a question-and-answer style interview with shorter and more closed questions.

I prepared an interview schedule with my main topics for enquiry (see Appendix C). The interviewees were not shown this document; rather I introduced each interview with a brief description about my research project and started with an easy introductory question. In most cases, the conversation developed naturally and I was able to direct it gently through my topics. Adjustments were made to the schedule as necessary; for example, where the level of English was only moderate or poor I had to simplify questions and where I had detailed documentation about the organisation certain questions could be omitted.

I paid due attention to the various guidelines in the literature for successful interviewing, including preliminary introductions, effective questioning, careful listening and communication through body language (e.g. McCracken 1988; Burgess 1992; Fontana and Frey 2000; Fife 2005; Crang and Cook 2007; Harvey 2010).

Since the location in which an interview takes place can have a significant bearing on the data collected (McDowell 1998; Elwood and Martin 2000; Sin 2003; Crang and Cook 2007; Rice 2010; Harvey 2010), I allowed the interviewee to decide the location for the interview. Of the 67 interview events, 46 took place in an office within the organisation, nine in a place of worship (e.g. temple room or worship hall), eight in the residence of the interviewee, three in an office of another organisation, and one in a car. Three-quarters of the interview events (51 out of 67) were with just one interviewee, 13 involved two interviewees, and three involved three interviewees. In some cases there were other people in the room who were not considered interviewees but nevertheless participated in some way; for example, the translator, the intermediary person who had arranged the interview, or other staff observers.

The use of recording equipment is highly recommended for interviews (Burgess 1992; Crang and Cook 2007) so I recorded most of my interviewees using a digital voice recorder. In accordance with ethical research guidelines, I asked interviewees for permission to record at the beginning of the meeting, although in some cases the interviewee launched into a conversation before I had even sat down or got the machine out of my bag; in such cases I asked permission to record at the first pause in the conversation. I found that the recorder was an unobtrusive presence on the table – many people thought it was just a mobile phone – and I do not feel that it affected the content of the interviews in any way. Seven of my interviews were not recorded and I took full notes by hand instead. One interviewee did not want to be recorded because he felt that it was “not necessary” because I had got the information from other people within his organisation; in fact, he said many useful things that no-one else had said and I was disappointed not to have a recording. In other cases, recording did not seem appropriate; for example, an interview with two orthodox Jain nuns who shun all aspects of the modern world including the use of mechanical devices.

Crang and Cook (2007) suggest that one hour is usually sufficient for a single interview, allowing long enough to establish rapport and to cover a range of issues, but not too long as to tire the interviewer or interviewee. Over half of my interviews were between 30 minutes and one hour in duration, which indicates that this was the most adequate length of time to cover all the topics in my interview schedule. The longer interviews tended to be the additional interviews with representatives of different religious communities who had more time to talk at length.

In addition to interviews, I collected official documents and other literature about each organisation or religious community. At the end of interview events, I was often invited to see the work of the organisation; in some cases this meant a guided tour of the premises where the interview was held and in other cases this meant a visit to projects located elsewhere.

The final stage of interviewing before the data can be analysed is transcription. This can be a time-consuming activity and it is either essential to build adequate time into the research schedule or recruit an assistant. I decided to do the transcriptions myself: first because I had considerable prior experience; and second because of the important advantages of being able to recall words or phrases from memory when the recording is unclear and to use the process of transcribing as a preliminary stage of data analysis. Crang and Cook (2007) suggest that it takes between six and ten hours to transcribe a one hour interview; this tallied with my previous experience when eight hours was my average for transcribing one hour of recording. Of course the pace of transcription varies according to factors including the speed at which the interviewee talks, the number of interruptions in the interview, and the clarity and accent of the speaker.

It was my aim to transcribe each interview within one week of the interview event. I kept up with this target during the first few weeks but this lapsed as my interviews became more frequent and took up more of my time. Since conducting the target number of interviews was more important while in the field, the accumulating transcripts were left for completion at a later date. I tried to avoid tidying up the transcript to remove mumblings, repetitions, contradictions and misunderstandings; such shortcuts make the dialogue easier to read but may misrepresent the interview (Fontanta and Frey 2000; Crang and Cook 2007). At the end of each transcript, I also made a note about the interview setting and atmosphere including the location, type of room, people present, warmth of welcome, ease of conversation, interruptions and distractions. I sent a copy of the completed transcript to interviewees and took the opportunity to ask any questions of clarification that had arisen. I did not ask interviewees to check the transcripts but seven people did respond with some minor corrections or comments.

In order to respect confidentiality (see Section 4.5.3), I use codes throughout the text to refer to each interview. These anonymise the respondent but indicate religious affiliation, since that is relevant to the analysis. Organisational interviews have a two-letter code denoting religious affiliation followed by a sequential number within that code; for example MU/01, MU/02 and MU/03 are the first, second and third Muslim organisations. When I interviewed more than one interviewee per organisation, a lower-case letter is added (e.g. MU/01a, MU/01b). The ten additional interviews have a sequential number followed by a two-letter religion code; for example 01/CH, 02/HI and 03/BU. Appendix D gives full details of each interview including date and location so only the codes are given in the text.

4.4 Stage 3 – In-depth study of three religious organisations in Kolkata

From the sample of 50 ROs selected in Stage 2, I chose three organisations for in-depth study in Stage 3 using the comparative case study method. This section describes the process of choosing the organisations for this last stage of fieldwork, gives a profile of each organisation and its main activities, and describes the range of activities that I undertook in order to collect data.

4.4.1 Sampling

The case study method, employed across the social sciences, allows for in-depth and longitudinal exploration of a subject, whether that subject is human (e.g. an individual, community or group) or non-human (e.g. an organisation, event or programme). Research can be designed as a single case study or multiple case studies (Stake 2000; Gerring 2007; Yin 2009). I decided on a multiple case study approach and my target was three organisations. This was considered a realistic number in the time available: I had allocated four months for Stage 3 and aimed to spend one day per week at each organisation. Stage 2 interviews were still ongoing so I had to leave time every week for scheduled interviews. Crang and Cook (2007) warn that participation in a professional or voluntary capacity can actually take over the researcher's time and "swamp" the research so I wanted to set a fixed and realistic target for my involvement in each organisation.

I wanted to select organisations for Stage 3 from the religious communities defined as 'large' in Stage 1 and 2 (see Section 4.3.1) i.e. one Hindu, one Muslim and one Christian. Although I was choosing organisations from three different religions, this was not designed as a comparative study, thus the organisations chosen did not have to have similar characteristics in terms of historical origins, size or activities; neither were the organisations chosen to be representative of their particular religion.

I needed to choose the three organisations about half way through my year of fieldwork. By then I had conducted approximately 30 interviews, so this was the pool of organisations from which I could make the selection. A few criteria guided my choice and enabled me to narrow down the possibilities: i) organisations engaged in a variety of social welfare and development projects, not just single-activity organisations such as a school or hospital; ii) organisations where I had felt comfortable during the interview, including being made to feel welcome and able to communicate with the senior representative easily in English; and iii) organisations with headquarters reasonably close to my home so that regular visits would not be too time-consuming.

Accordingly, I narrowed the list of possible organisations to a first choice and second choice for each of the three religions. The literature on good practice for participant observation (PO) notes that a researcher cannot arrive in the research setting and immediately conduct PO; rather there is a process of gaining access to the community through gatekeepers (Emerson *et al* 1995; Crang and Cook 2007). My first step, therefore, was to contact the person in the organisation whom I had already interviewed. I sent an email explaining that I had been impressed by the organisation's work during our previous meeting and that I wanted to look at the organisation in more detail as part of my ongoing research. After a few days, I followed this email up with a phone call to discuss the proposition further. I received a positive response from each of my first choice organisations so I did not need to approach the second choice. The three organisations selected were:

- Ramakrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad (RKM LSP) – Hindu
- Aman Foundation Kolkata (AFK) – Muslim
- Cathedral Relief Service (CRS) – Christian

I decided not to anonymise these three organisations, firstly because the material collected was neither confidential nor controversial and secondly because obscuring their identity may have reduced the possible depth of analysis. Throughout the text they are referred to by their organisational acronym and listed in the order shown above.

4.4.2 Profiles of chosen organisations

This section provides a brief overview of the general characteristics of the three selected organisations, including their religious affiliation, date of formation, size and scale of operation, thematic focus, primary beneficiaries and annual financial turnover. Table 3 indicates the range of activities undertaken by the three organisations. This background information assists in appreciating the different characteristics of the organisations and their activities discussed in Sections 7.4, 8.4 and 9.4.

Ramakrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad (RKM LSP)

Ramakrishna Math and Ramakrishna Mission were founded in 1886 by Swami Vivekananda, a disciple of the Bengali saint Sri Ramakrishna. The Ramakrishna movement is based on Practical Vedanta, an interpretation of Hindu philosophy, and is widely-known, well-supported and highly-regarded across West Bengal. The movement is divided into two sister organisations: Ramakrishna Math is for monks and focuses on religious activities; Ramakrishna Mission is for lay followers and focuses on social service activities. Ramakrishna Math and Mission are headquartered near Kolkata but it is an international movement with over 160 branch centres around the world. A large rural campus at Narendrapur south of Kolkata is home to four branch centres each engaged in different kinds of social service activities. One of these is RKM LSP, which focuses on rural development.

The LSP started its work in 1955. I classified it as a ‘large’ sized organisation (see Section 4.2.1). It works in 1,000 villages in twelve of the 19 districts in West Bengal. There are around 1,000 staff but there were no data on the number of local-level functionaries. The organisation’s work covers all rural dwellers with no particular emphasis on any group. The most recently-available annual report (2006-7) gives the number of beneficiaries of each programme, which amounts to over 100,000 people in total. Exact financial information was not available, although the expenditure in 2006-7 was around Rs 110 million (approximately £1.4 million).

Aman Foundation Kolkata (AFK)

AFK is the Kolkata chapter of the Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN). AMAN was founded in 1990 and is headquartered in Thailand. The organisation focuses on applying Islamic teachings to contemporary issues and also promotes interfaith dialogue. There are member organisations across ten Asian countries, one being AFK in Kolkata. AFK was established in 2003.

I classified AFK as a ‘small’ sized organisation (see Section 4.2.1). It works with communities in both urban and rural areas, the thrust areas being health, education and vocational training. Most of the projects (e.g. school and vocational training centre) are in central Kolkata, although the awareness-raising work takes place in all 19 districts of the state of West Bengal. The Secretariat has four staff members, there are around 20 staff working in the different projects (many of them part-time) and volunteers in different districts who help to organise events. Many AFK projects are targeted at children and youth. There is a total of around 450 beneficiaries of the different projects (formal school 150 students, non-formal school 200 students, vocational training centre 100 girls) and thousands of people have been reached through the various awareness workshops and programmes. The turnover according to the most recently-available annual report (2004-2005) was around Rs 100,000 per year (approximately £1,300).

Cathedral Relief Service (CRS)

CRS was founded in 1971 by the then Vicar of St Paul’s Cathedral in Kolkata. It has strong connections with the cathedral (indeed its premises are located in the cathedral grounds), with other organisations of the Kolkata diocese and with the Church of North India (an umbrella denomination of Protestant churches) but it operates as a self-standing, independent organisation without a parent body.

I classified CRS as a ‘medium’ sized organisation (see Section 4.2.1). It works in both urban and rural areas within the fields of education, health and empowerment. The projects are located in 16 urban slums in Kolkata and eight rural villages in the southern districts of West Bengal. There are ten full-time and five part-time staff but there were no data on field and project staff. CRS projects prioritise children and women. There are around 3,000 direct beneficiaries of projects (e.g. schools, vocational training, self-help groups) and many more who benefit indirectly. The annual turnover according to the most recently-available annual report (2008-2009) was around Rs 6.9 million (approximately £90,000).

Table 3 – Activities of the three organisations

Activity	Description	RKM LSP	AFK	CRS
Disabilities	Includes various activities in support of disabled people, such as education, training, income generation			X
Disaster relief	Includes emergency relief, disaster mitigation and disaster preparedness	X		X
Education	Includes formal and non-formal education, and sponsorship for education	X	X	X
Employment	Includes employment facilities such as workshops, job placement schemes and skill support for the self-employed	X		X
Empowerment	Includes formation of community-based organisations and self-help groups, promotion of microcredit and savings	X		X
Health	Includes clinics, dispensaries, health education and awareness	X	X	X
Peace	Includes awareness-raising and activities for peace-building, conflict resolution and interfaith relations		X	
Rural development	Includes agricultural extension, natural resource management, food security, income diversification	X		
Vocational training	Includes training courses for youth, women and men in a variety of trades and skills	X	X	X
Welfare	Includes distribution of food and clothing to the needy, orphanages, night shelters, old age homes	X		

4.4.3 Data collection

The case study method involves the collection of both quantitative and qualitative material from multiple sources. I identified four strategies for information gathering:

- *Interaction* – interviews with members of staff, governing body members and groups of beneficiaries; meetings with other people connected with the organisation;
- *Observation* – visiting different projects and programmes of the organisation;
- *Participation* – acting as a volunteer; helping out with different projects; attending events; and
- *Collection* – gathering documents about the organisation such as annual reports, magazines and newsletters, conference reports, research reports, publicity materials.

Since the three organisations varied in size, scale and activities, the opportunities for information gathering were not equally distributed. Some of the activities that I undertook at the three organisations are illustrated in Appendix E.

The four strategies for gathering information generated different outputs. Individual interviews were conducted following the same procedure as described for interviews in Stage 2 of the fieldwork. Digital recordings were made and full transcripts typed up afterwards. Group interviews were not recorded but full notes were taken during the interview and typed up soon afterwards. For the collection of documents, I kept a log of all materials that I was given. For meetings, visits, events and participation, I kept a field notebook, following the broad guidelines for effective participant observation (e.g. Evans 1988; Emerson *et al* 1995; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002; Crang and Cook 2007). PO field notes include contextual information such as time, place and setting; as much verbatim conversation as possible; nonverbal expression and gestures; and movements, flows and interactions of people within a room. Of course PO notes have their limitations; in particular the notes will be always be selective because the researcher selects what to record based on intuition, interest and bias rather than a specified sampling procedure. Furthermore, what is noted down changes over time as the researcher's relationship with the research community develops; it is important to be aware of these changes and accommodate them (Evans 1988; Emerson *et al* 1995; Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). I also took photographs where appropriate after asking permission from those present. Although I tried to take pictures of activities that were not deliberately posed, this was not always possible.

4.5 Research ethics

Research ethics concerns acting with respect and integrity towards research subjects.[59] The researcher must consider the impact of: i) their presence in the research setting; ii) the extraction of information; and iii) the presentation of that information. Ethical procedures, whether recommended or obligatory, are often laid out by academic institutions, professional bodies or research associations (e.g. Association of American Geographers 1999; Developing Areas Research Group 2003). While guidelines and rules are useful, ethical practice in the field is rarely so clear-cut. No single ethical framework can be applied to every situation because the combination of people, place and time is different; thus most ethical practice becomes a matter of personal decisions and discretion. This section describes five inter-related ethical issues – cultural sensitivity, informed consent, confidentiality, reciprocity and emotional involvement – and reflects on how I attempted to implement ethical practices in the field.

[59] The choice of term for the people being studied in the research – such as subject, respondent, informant or participant – tends to vary by discipline and methodological approach. All are problematic because they infer unequal power relations between the person doing the research and the person being researched. The influence of poststructuralist theories has caused the research process to be viewed as more of a two-way process or dialogue, in which the researcher is intimately connected rather than being completely objective. The terms researcher and researched, while still a subject-object distinction, are increasingly being used because they are seen as less power-laden. I tend to use the terms researcher and interviewee or participant but sometimes also refer to the research subject, research community and research setting.

4.5.1 Cultural sensitivity

Fieldwork in another country entails living and working in a different culture. A researcher should be aware of cultural differences and seek to be sensitive in their behaviour. This includes being familiar with cultural codes, religious norms and local beliefs. Having lived for extended periods in India twice before (see Section 1.2), I was familiar with particular customs such as the *namaste* greeting, taking shoes off when entering a house, eating with the right hand and covering my head in a place of worship. Another factor is dressing appropriately so as to respect the culture and not to cause embarrassment (Burgess 1992; Crang and Cook 2007). Although I decided to wear European dress, I always ensured that it was smart and modest.

Before entering the field, a researcher should also spend time learning about the geography, history, politics and culture of the research setting. This knowledge assists in contextualising the research as well as providing material for conversations with local people. I read extensively a variety of fiction and non-fiction about India, and Kolkata specifically, and watched films and documentaries before, during and after the fieldwork period.

4.5.2 Informed consent

Informed consent is the practice of telling research participants about the research project – including the reasons for it, the methods being used and the intended outcomes for the researcher and the participants – and then asking their consent to take part. Depending on the research methods and the research community, different people may need to be asked consent such as community leaders (e.g. chiefs or elders), gatekeepers, translators/interpreters and individual participants. It is also important to explain the research project in terms that are comprehensible to the participants and avoid academic jargon or abstract ideas (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). How much is revealed to the participants about the research project can influence their responses or behaviour – for example, they may give the responses which they think the researcher wishes to hear – therefore there is a balance between being informed and knowing too much. In some cases, such as ethnographic fieldwork when the researcher is embedded covertly, there may be reasons for the researcher not being honest about their identity and purpose.

My first reflection on informed consent concerns my relationship with the host country i.e. India. Four months before my scheduled departure, I made enquiries about applying for a research permit but found that the process took six months, required an affiliation with a local university and involved negotiating a vast amount of typically-opaque Indian bureaucracy. This was unfeasible within my time scale but I decided to go ahead as planned and spent my year in India on a tourist visa and unregistered with any authorities. Crittenden (1988:373) suggests that geographers who carry out research without an appropriate visa perpetuate neo-colonialism: “Breaking rules because they are inconvenient simply reflects the sentiments of those that donned pith helmet and ventured forth carrying the Bible and the rum bottle”. Of course countries impose visa restrictions and control research for different reasons (some more worthy than others) and there are sometimes circumstances that justify breaking or bending the rules. I suspect that in the Indian case, restrictions are in place partly for postcolonial reasons to protect and promote indigenous research and partly for political reasons to monitor foreign researchers.

Despite this position regarding my presence in India, I attempted to adopt good ethical practice in my relationships with my research subjects. As described in Sections 4.3 and 4.4, my main interaction with the research community was through interviewing organisational representatives, visiting organisational premises and projects, observing organisational activities, and in some cases participating in organisational activities. Following Harvey’s (2010) advice, I was honest about the purpose of my research, explaining it to interviewees at the primary contact (e.g. letter, email, telephone) and giving a more detailed explanation at the beginning of each interview or encounter. This was backed up by a letter verifying my identity and the purposes of my research from my supervisor on university headed notepaper. In most cases the interviewees were confident in my identity and did not wish to check the credentials. For participant observation, I explained the purpose to gatekeepers in the organisation and to managers at individual projects, who transmitted it to others present. I asked permission to record interviews and meetings on my digital recorder and also asked permission before taking photographs.

4.5.3 Confidentiality

In addition to gaining the consent of participants, the researcher also needs to respect the privacy of the research subjects. Data collected by researchers – whether in the form of spoken word, observed actions or documentary evidence – should be treated as confidential and the participant should be assured of this. It is the responsibility of the researcher to keep the collected data (i.e. papers, notebooks, computer files, photographs) stored safely and securely in order to respect this confidentiality. Data presented in the research writing should be anonymised, although some participants might see the research as a vehicle for recognition or publicity for themselves, their organisation or their cause and not want anonymity.

In the first dozen interviews, I asked the participants’ permission to use the responses for the purposes of my research but this generally met with a baffled response. The very fact that they had granted me an interview and were openly talking about their organisation was tacit consent for me to use the material for my research. In fact, most of the subject matter of the interview concerned publicly-available knowledge rather than anything personal or confidential. I therefore stopped asking this question in later interviews but still gave assurances that the information would be treated confidentially and anonymised in my writing (see Section 4.3.3).

Confidentiality and anonymity can protect the research participants from any physical, emotional or other harm that could occur as a result of taking part in the research. Each type of fieldwork and methodology has different possibilities of harm and benefit associated with it, so there is no single strategy for reducing harm (Cassell 2001). This not only concerns fieldwork but also the writing process: a researcher should consider whether what is published will have repercussions for those involved. In reality, it is very difficult to determine the real harm and benefit of research in the short or long term and the researcher may be oblivious to the harm caused. Another issue to consider is what the researcher should do if they see harm being done to the research participants – such as violence or injustice – whether or not it is connected to the research.

My research topic was not particularly contentious or political therefore unlikely to expose participants to potential harm. I was interested in organisations more than individual people so most of the information I collected was public knowledge. Although I do not feel that my research could have harmed anyone, neither am I complacent about this ethical issue.

4.5.4 Reciprocity

The researcher must also consider how to thank and repay the research subjects for their participation, although the reality is that research is usually more beneficial to the researcher than to the researched (Katz 1994). What to 'give back' and who to give back to are negotiable and a researcher must explore what is appropriate in each situation. In some circumstances it is appropriate to give financial incentives to participants to take part but there are some limitations; for example, people may be more likely to say what they think the researcher wants to hear. Individual gifts can be problematic, raising issues of what gift is appropriate, who is the recipient, what expectations does it raise, and the balance between being perceived as generous and having money to throw away. Furthermore, in certain locations, previous researchers may have set a precedent with the giving of gifts.

It may be more appropriate to reciprocate in other material and practical ways to thank individuals or communities, such as the donation of useful materials that the community might require (e.g medicines or school equipment), giving time and labour to a community project (e.g. teaching in a school), or giving skills or services (e.g. lifts in a vehicle). It should be noted, however, that the community's expectations may be very different; for instance, Nuesiri's (2007) participants in Cameroon wanted advice on migrating to Europe. Researchers often make promises to return but these should be realistic and not raise expectations unduly.

Having left the field, another aspect of reciprocity is sharing results; this might include sending interview transcripts, distributing reports of results and publications, or holding a workshop. As mentioned above, each of these should protect confidentiality and seek to avoid harm. For the interviews conducted at 50 organisations in Stage 2, I sent a message of thanks to participants within two days of the interview and also sent copies of their interview transcript once it had been completed. It is also my intention to send all participants a report about the research once it has been completed. For the three organisations selected for Stage 3, I wanted to contribute something more in gratitude for them allowing me access so I asked the organisational gatekeepers how best I could use my time and skills to help the organisation (see Section 4.7.2).

4.5.5 Emotional involvement

Another ethical issue is the possibility that the researcher may become emotionally attached or involved with their research community and this might affect the objectivity of the research and the positionality of the researcher. Some researchers may feel emotional attachment after leaving the field too, and wish to take action to support the community in some way, perhaps financially, through advocating for the group or campaigning for a cause. Despite the trend towards more reflexive research and writing within geography, the articulation of feelings or emotion has largely been avoided with a few exceptions (e.g. Widdowfield 2000; Bennett 2004).

In my case, I certainly developed a fondness for the two classes that I taught at non-formal schools (see Section 4.7.2). I saw the same children week after week and, having observed their resilience and optimism in the face of their living conditions and life opportunities, felt a certain degree of compassion. Some involvement and emotional attachment has continued with other research participants since leaving the field; for example, I have corresponded with a number of interviewees with whom I developed a personal friendship.

4.6 <u>Researcher positionality</u>

Every researcher has a range of personal and social identities including ethnicity, nationality, class, educational background/academic credentials, gender, age, sexuality, (dis)ability, religion and profession. These identities, however, are not simple categories. The ascribing of identities is a two-way process: the researcher ascribes their self identity and the identity of the research community, while the research community ascribe their self identity and the identity of the researcher. Some of the identities that are ascribed may be real (e.g. ethnicity, gender) but others are assumed on the basis of appearance or behaviour (e.g. clothing or diet) thus there may be discrepancies between the identities a person ascribes themselves and the identities that someone else ascribes to them (e.g. Twyman *et al* 1999). Furthermore, reactions to the ascribing of identity can vary from acceptance to manipulation or even resistance (Madge 1993).

What is significant about these identities – both of the researcher and the researched – are how they interplay with one another and thereby create certain positionalities. The literature often talks about the binary between the researcher being either an 'insider' or an 'outsider' to the research community but this is problematic from both sides: it forces the researcher to state a position and intimates a fixed point, and it also assumes that the research subject community is homogenous. The reality, as described above, is that the researcher has multiple identities which vary in significance depending on the setting and which change throughout the research. In effect, the researcher is neither inside nor outside the research community but rather orbiting in relation to the research location and community. As Chacko (2004:53) rather nicely describes: "permutations of these...groupings produce multiple identities which may mesh well or tangle awkwardly in any given setting".

Positionality can affect the research in terms of access to the research location; interaction with research subjects (including presenting oneself and gaining trust); and the collection, interpretation and representation of research data. The positionality of intermediary people such as interpreters can also impact on the production of knowledge (Twyman *et al* 1999). There has been a variety of reflection on the impact of positionality on research in the geography literature (e.g. England 1994; Katz 1994; Rose 1997; Twyman *et al* 1999; Mohammad 2001; Tooke 2000; Tembo 2003; Chacko 2004). Most of the literature gives examples of how identity is positively used to access research setting, but there are also cases of researcher identity and positionality creating barriers to research (e.g. England 1994, De Verteuil 2004).

I had a variety of identities that I mobilised depending on the circumstance (cf. Tembo 2003; Rice 2010). The three identities that I projected and used most frequently were: a research student of the University of London; a former staff member of the RGS-IBG; and a former staff member and volunteer with a Christian development organisation. From the perspective of the research subjects, probably the most significant actual and assumed identities were my ethnicity, nationality, religion and academic credentials. I believe that these were instrumental in gaining recognition and respect and therefore access to research data. Two of my positionalities – my ethnicity/nationality and religion – were particularly relevant and are discussed in more detail in Section 4.7.

My methodological choice to interview elites (see Section 4.3.2) raised a number of additional issues regarding positionality. In standard interviewing, the interviewer is generally in a relative position of power, but in elite interviewing the power relationship tends to be reversed (Smith 2006). The unequal power relations may be used by either side; for example, the interviewee may use their position of authority to shape the research questions and agenda to their own interests (e.g. Rice 2010), while the interviewer may play dumb or ‘supplicant’ in order to elicit more information (e.g. McDowell 1998; Desmond 2004). A further layer of complexity is added when the interviewing of elites crosses cultural boundaries (e.g. Herod 1999; Mullings 1999).

The debate about researcher positionality in geography and the wider social sciences has evolved over the last 20 years from challenging the assumption of objectivity, to reflexivity which acknowledges the role of the researcher in constructing knowledge, and finally to an excessive level of ‘hyper-reflexivity’. The more recent trend towards ever-more paranoid navel-gazing has been criticised and is limited because no one can ever truly know their own and others’ positionality and all its effects. In reality, there are no clear boundaries between the researcher and researched (Rose 1997; Herod 1999; Mullings 1999).

4.6.1 Accompanied fieldwork

One particular aspect of my positionality deserves elaboration, particularly because it has rarely been mentioned in the geographical literature: being accompanied in the field by partners, spouses and children. While there is a dominant image of the solitary researcher doing fieldwork in a foreign country, Cupples and Kindon (2003) suggest that accompanied fieldwork is actually commonplace; however, there is scant reference by geographers aside from explicit discussions by Starrs (2001) and Cupples and Kindon (2003) and brief references in Twyman *et al* (1999).[60] I was accompanied for the entire duration of my fieldwork by my long-term partner and this brief discussion reflects on how this practical arrangement influenced my positionality and the research process.

With the fieldwork departure date approaching, I was emotionally preparing myself for a long separation from my partner, seeing him perhaps once during the year when he came to visit. Since I had not come across any fieldwork guides or literature discussing accompanied fieldwork, I had not even considered it as a possibility, but one day I realised that there were no barriers to it and asked him. He was very keen and within a very short time obtained a one-year career break from his employer.

[60] Anthropologists have reflected more on this issue than geographers.

Scheyvens and Nowak (2003) suggest discussing the partner's role in the field beforehand in order to be clear about roles and expectations. A partner may be able to provide assistance with the tasks of everyday living in a different culture, help the research as a field assistant and offer emotional support. While my partner saw his role first-and-foremost as supporting me in achieving my fieldwork goals, we agreed that it was also important for him to find his own work which would be stimulating and contribute to his career development. In fact, he found a variety of interesting work and had a very rewarding year.

The important factors to consider here are how being accompanied in the field affected my positionality and the research process. For Morrison (Twyman, Morrison and Sporton 1999), on her third visit to her field site in Botswana, the fact that she now had a baby meant that she was perceived as having 'adult' status. I had a similar experience in India, where a woman in her early-thirties would be expected to be married; being with my partner meant that I was respected and treated seriously.[61] My partner influenced the research process in a number of other ways. In terms of the data collection, he identified a number of useful contacts for me through his own work and built rapport with these people prior to me requesting an interview. Without him, I may not have been able to gain access to these informants. In terms of practical help, on my request he accompanied me to some interviews and field visits where I may have felt unsafe or vulnerable on my own. On such occasions he often made a valuable contribution in the form of questions from an angle that I had not considered or by garnering information through informal conversations. Furthermore, we were also able to discuss the content of these encounters afterwards; this is useful because people can have different reactions to, and interpretations of, the same situation. He also ensured that the research was completed within the timeframe by regularly asking me for progress updates and helping me to design realistic schedules for my remaining activities.

Although the available literature invariably concludes that there are both advantages and disadvantages of being accompanied in the field, I agree with Starrs (2001) that doing fieldwork together is exciting and unforgettable; in fact, we both had one of the best years of our lives and that was because we experienced it together. My partner's contribution in intellectual, practical and emotional terms was invaluable and becomes another chapter in our journey through life together. In that respect, I concur with Cupples and Kindon (2003) that there is no separation between one's professional and personal self, but rather a blurring between the field and everyday life.

[61] Although we are not married, we pretended to be so while in India because it is culturally unacceptable for unmarried people to live together there.

4.7 Applying ethics and positionality

This final section considers how research ethics and researcher positionality – discussed in the previous two sections – related specifically to three dimensions of my work: carrying out research in the Global South, doing research on civil society organisations and conducting research on the subject of religion.

4.7.1 Researching the Global South

Conducting fieldwork in or about the Global South, as someone from the Global North, raises several issues relating to ethics and positionality including caring for 'distant others', postcolonial identity and language. Each of these is considered in turn below, combining reflections from the geography literature with my own experiences.

Caring for distant others

From the early 1990s, some geographers started to examine how the discipline intersects with moral philosophy. This 'moral geography' explored both the place of ethics in geography and the place of geography in ethics (Proctor 1998; Proctor and Smith 1999; Smith 2000). One of the major discussions revolved around the ethics of responsibility and care, which has a strong relevance to development geography. The fact is that some people from the Global North have a sense of responsibility and care towards those in the Global South – what Corbridge (1993) termed 'distant strangers' – and scholars have explored why they have a sense of care for those they have never met, who are in another country, and with whom they have little or nothing in common. Smith (1998) distinguishes between caring *about* others (benevolence) which results in charitable feeling or the desire to do good, and caring *for* others (beneficence) which refers to actively doing good or showing kindness. Colonial history is one factor shaping a sense of responsibility and care (Raghuram *et al* 2009), while globalisation and the mass media have altered concepts of distance and the ability to care at a distance (Silk 1998, 2000; Smith 2000).

These are very interesting debates in theory, but of particular interest is how they affect the research process in practice. I acknowledge that I have a sense of care for the lives of 'distant others', which is partly a legacy of my Christian upbringing and the values of benevolence instilled, combined with my academic interest in development that has made me more aware of uneven development, my left-leaning political persuasion and sense of social justice. Through my visits to India and contacts with people there over a decade, I developed a particular sense of benevolence towards India and Indians.

Postcolonial identity

As discussed in Section 4.6, a researcher has multiple identities, but coming to the fore when someone from the Global North conducts fieldwork in the Global South is the combination of ethnicity and nationality positioning them as a member of the former colonial power. Although ideas of postcolonialism started in literary studies and history (e.g. Fanon 1961; Said 1978, 1993), interest later spread to other disciplines including development geography. Postcolonialism within development is a vast field of theoretical reflection and enquiry but there are a few issues particularly pertinent to conducting fieldwork in the Global South.

First, the very act of geographers travelling to the Global South to conduct field research is an expression of postcolonialism and unequal power relations (Katz 1992; Madge 1993). The reality is that most northern academics do research in the Global South for their own benefit and the choice of research location shows certain biases (Sidaway 1992; Potter 1993; Skelton 2001; Kapoor 2004). Smith (2000) suggests that the ability to choose where to research is a privilege and there is therefore a responsibility to choose in a morally-defensible manner. In my case, I chose to do fieldwork in India for a number of reasons including: a desire to do research overseas; the personal bias of previous involvement in the country in which my links with Kolkata had been built and sustained over a decade; the practical issue of going where English is widely spoken; and my financial ability (a research scholarship) to travel and live there for an extended period. Each of these reasons reflects my position of privilege and power in the ability to choose.

Second, postcolonial relationships are expressed in the field in relationships between the researcher and the researched. Sidaway (1992) notes that when northern academics go to a country of the Global South they automatically move to the top of the social hierarchy, thereby putting them in a position of power and influence. Although the northern researcher may not feel that their identity as a member of the former colonial power is particularly important to them, it might be a significant factor for the researched and influence the collection of data (e.g. Besio 2003; Simon *et al* 2003). When in the field, I was very aware that people treated me with heightened respect because I was white and British, in contrast to a friend from another UK university who was conducting her doctoral fieldwork at the same time in Kolkata. Her parents were Bengali and she spent part of her childhood in West Bengal but has lived most of her life in the UK and is British by nationality. She found great difficulty in gaining access to organisations and securing interviews and was constantly given excuses and false promises. Her ethnicity was a barrier to being taken seriously – ironically enough – by her own ethnic group. Our contemporaneous experience led me to conclude that my combined ethnicity and nationality was a strong factor in gaining access to research subjects.

Third, postcolonial relationships also affect the process of writing about field research. One issue is whether a researcher from the Global North should articulate the position of someone who is so different from themselves; the ability to write and publish about ‘the other’ is a position of power and privilege which denies them a voice. Another issue is the use of language. The researcher ascribes categories and labels in order to represent the other and write about them but this very act is only possible because the researcher is in a position of power over the researched. In reference to writing about India, there are also some useful reflections from outside the academic geographical literature worth citing. Although a single nation-state, India is vast and diverse, difficult to define and describe and thus the temptation to generalise, categorise and label should be resisted (Tully 1991; Sen 2005; Varma 2005). An Indian friend reminds Wood (2007:243-4) about the differences between India’s self-identity and the identity ascribed by outsiders:

> India is your name for us...*Our* name for us is Bharat, which has a very different meaning from India. In India time is linear. In Bharat it is circular, mythic. They stand for two different mindsets; and Indian people, even the lowliest move comfortably between the two. Multiple identities have been part of our history for thousands of years. And these identities are perfectly comfortable with both the ancient and the modern. There is no stigma for a nuclear scientist to worship Ganesh, the elephant-headed god...

The final question is whether fieldwork in the Global South should be abandoned altogether since the postcolonialism critique finds so many objections. There have been various suggestions of strategies to mitigate the impacts of the postcolonial position, revolving around how to include different ‘voices’; for example, involving academics from the Global South through collaborative and mutually-cooperative research (Sidaway 1992; Smith 1994; Simon *et al* 2003; Raghuram and Madge 2006) or a dialogic process of planning and designing research (Hodge and Lester 2006; Raghuram and Madge 2006). My own research responds to this critique in a way: one of my aims was to identify different voices in development, in particular trying to investigate culturally-specific ways of conceiving and practising development and de-centre development away from a western and Judeo-Christian worldview.

Language

The issue of language is particularly salient for research in the Global South and is bound up with practical and ethical issues. Though central to successful fieldwork, language learning has largely been overlooked in geography (Gade 2001; Veeck 2001; Watson 2004). If data collection is to be carried out in the local language, the researcher needs to achieve a certain level of fluency which will allow for an appreciation of experiences, values, worldviews and feelings (Gade 2001; Veeck 2001; Watson 2004). If the researcher does not have the time or the opportunity to learn the local language, interpreters or translators can be used, although these have a range of attendant problems (Twyman *et al* 1999; Gade 2001; Watson 2004). Even if not intending to use the local language for data collection, a researcher should still learn some basic phrases and be familiar with the conventions of non-verbal communication as part of cultural sensitivity (see Section 4.5.1) and to assist with daily life in the field (Gade 2001).

In my fieldwork location, Bengali was the official state language and the first language of the majority of the population; Hindi and English were also widely used as *lingua franca* and a variety of Indian and non-Indian languages were used by the many different migrant communities. I did not have time to learn Bengali to a level of proficiency that would allow me to conduct interviews but I did want to learn some rudiments to allow me to exchange pleasantries, live from day to day and have basic conversations. Despite being the fifth or sixth most spoken language in the world (Gordon 2005), however, opportunities for taking lessons were very limited and I was only able to complete one term's course in London.

My inability to communicate fluently in the vernacular did influence my data collection. In terms of documentary analysis, I was restricted to information available in English; for interviews I depended on English speakers; and for participant observation I could make notes of non-verbal observations but was unable to gather data from conversations in other languages. I was also aware of the differences between my British-English and Indian-English (which tends to include some archaic terms from the colonial era) and learned to adapt my own language in order to reduce the potential for incomprehension or misunderstanding. On a few occasions, an interviewee had asked someone else from the organisation to be present in the interview to assist them with communicating in English. In interviews with members of the Chinese community, the person who had arranged the meetings for me also acted as the interpreter. Overall, I do not feel that the language issue was not too problematic in my situation.

4.7.2 Researching civil society organisations

The methodology adopted for studying CSOs and ROs was described in Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 but there are also various ethical and positionality issues relating to researching such organisations. Whether the fieldwork involves collaborating with, being affiliated to, or working for an organisation, the researcher should take care to minimise their impact on both the organisation's staff and beneficiaries. Some organisations receive regular visits from researchers and consultants for the purposes of monitoring, measuring and evaluation so a researcher should be sensitive to the possibility of 'research fatigue' which may stimulate resentment or even resistance to their presence.

Furthermore, many organisations are run on a limited budget with staff working hard to cover their geographical area or beneficiary community. In this busy and pressured environment, a researcher's presence might be seen as an extra burden or distraction; on the other hand the researcher may be seen as an extra pair of hands and be asked to do tasks beyond the remit of the research. It is therefore important that the researcher is clear about their role in the organisation, what they want to gain from their involvement, what they can offer in return and what the outcome of the research will be for the different parties. I tried to minimise my intrusion into organisations and was extremely grateful for the time that people allocated me, given their busy schedules.

As mentioned in Section 4.5.4, 'giving back' is an important dimension of ethical research practice, whether that involves information and knowledge, gifts and material goods, or time and skills. The data that researchers gather from studying CSOs should not be regarded as the intellectual property of the researcher but be shared with the organisation. Organisations may be interested to receive a report or presentation about the research findings and recommendations which, in turn, may help them shape strategy or activities in the future. As noted by Simon *et al* (2003) during fieldwork in Ghana, however, communities or organisations which feel over-researched may desire more tangible outcomes than yet another evaluation report. There are therefore other means of reciprocity for the researcher to engage in, such as offering time and skills to the organisation; for example, writing funding proposals for donors or acting as a volunteer in a project. Since researchers have a reputation for 'helicopter research' (i.e. dropping into a situation and extracting information, never to be seen again) repeat visits to an organisation are another form of reciprocity.

I wanted my reciprocal offerings to organisations to be useful so, as mentioned in Section 4.5.4, I asked how I could best be of use to them. In two cases, I was asked to teach classes in the organisations' non-formal schools. I took weekly lessons in English and Geography over a term; in one of the schools, I also gave the children an exam, handed prizes to the top performers and provided the teachers with final marks and a report on each child's performance over the term. I also showed my gratitude to the project staff and beneficiaries at the end of my time; for example, I distributed sweets to all the children, made copies of photographs for class teachers, and gave small gifts of use to education (e.g. inflatable globe and stationery).

As noted in Section 4.5.5, a researcher may feel emotionally attached to an organisation in the process of studying an organisation; for example, feeling empathy with beneficiaries or sympathy for a cause. If the research involves more than one organisation, a researcher may feel more allegiance or loyalty to one organisation over another. These feelings can limit objectivity and therefore affect data collection (Markowitz 2001); the researcher may also feel uncomfortable writing critically about an organisation that has supported their research and to which they feel a certain attachment (Mercer 2006).

In my own experience, one case of practical engagement which led to longer-term involvement needs to be mentioned. Of all the 50 organisations that I examined in Kolkata, a few stood out as being exceptional in their ethos, activities and impact, including Cathedral Relief Service (CRS) that I chose for Stage 3 of the fieldwork. During this period, I met representatives of the Friends of CRS, the UK-based fundraising arm of the organisation. At my request, I was added to their mailing list and began to receive their newsletters. This was not only to gather further data for my research but also to keep up to date with the organisation out of personal interest. I also decided to make a regular financial contribution. I was subsequently invited to become a Trustee of Friends of CRS: my academic background in development, understanding of ROs and knowledge of Kolkata were perceived as of great value. I accepted the invitation and became a Trustee in September 2009. It is important to openly acknowledge my ongoing personal involvement in this organisation as I am aware that this may influence the way that I represent it in my writing.

Positionality also affects researching organisations. The researcher must consider how different people perceive them, including staff, beneficiaries and other organisations. In the context of the Global South, it may be assumed that a researcher from the Global North has access to sources of funding and this could affect how the staff treat the researcher. Organisational gatekeepers may even try to steer the researcher towards aspects that would portray the organisation in a positive light. Meanwhile, the beneficiary communities may have very different life experiences from the researcher, such as extreme poverty and poor living conditions, and perceive that the researcher may be able to help them.

Positionality is also significant when studying multiple organisations in one location; since each organisation knows that the researcher is in contact with the other organisations they might be selective about what information is divulged. CSOs are notoriously hotbeds of politics, both within themselves and in relationship with other actors. The researcher, as an outsider to this politics, is vulnerable to being recruited by different sides and used, directly or indirectly. I was conducting a comparative study of 50 different organisations and informants were all made aware of this fact; however, there was little sense of competition or guardedness in divulging information to me. The three organisations that I studied in more depth were so vastly different in aims, strategy, size and geographical coverage that I do not think they would not have seen my involvement in the other as affecting our relationship.

4.7.3 Researching religion

Although geographers have paid increasing attention to their positionality over recent years (see Section 4.6), religion has been largely absent from these discussions. There is a widespread sense of “academic theophobia” (Ferber 2006), which asserts that personal beliefs are something private that should not impinge on academic work in any way. Religious affiliation or non-affiliation is one aspect of the personal identity of a researcher, though, and is particularly pertinent when the subject of the research is religion.

A few geographers have begun to discuss religious positionality of late; to borrow Yorgason and della Dora's (2009) phrase, some 'religious geographers' have been reflecting on what happens when they turn into 'geographers of religion'. There are a few key debates, such as whether religious positionality is more or less important or equal to all other positionalities; whether it is an advantage or disadvantage to have a personal faith when studying religion; and the extent to which personal faith affects the research and vice versa.

A researcher may have a belief in the religion being studied, a belief in a religion other than that which is being studied, or no religious belief at all. Furthermore, research subjects may make assumptions about the religion of the researcher based on how they look, what they wear or what they eat. The interplay between personal belief and research must be taken into account because it may affect the relationship with research subjects, access to research locations and data collection, the interpretation of research data and representation of research material in writing. The skepticism about religion among academics breeds the assumption that the researcher's religiosity is negative but it can actually affect the research in positive and productive ways.

The first factor to note is that the researcher, in particular one who believes in a different religion or who has no religious belief, must proceed with an attitude of respect and open-mindedness without making any value judgements. Non-believer Harvey (Bailey, Brace and Harvey 2009) had to "acknowledge that these people really did *believe*" and colleague Brace (*ibid*) had to "have faith that people have faith". Closely related to this is the use of language; for example, Limburg (2007) explores the way that the translations of concepts and use of words and phrases can be implicitly loaded with non-belief. Using the illustration of *nagas* (serpent deities) in Nepal, he explains that this is because the westerner not only does not believe in *nagas* but also does not believe in belief in *nagas*.

For researchers whose data collection is based on fieldwork interactions with a religious community, being an 'outsider' may pose difficulties of access; for example, it may take time to gain the trust of members of a religious community in order to enter religious sites or observe religious practices. Religions differ in how much access they permit to outsiders. The Christian community is one of the easiest to access since outsiders are welcomed into places of worship as part of the Christian desire to bear witness to their faith to non-believers, whereas Parsees (the Zoroastrian community in India) do not allow non-members into their places of worship reflecting the promise that they made when first settling in India in the tenth century not to seek to convert anyone. In contrast, a researcher who is an 'insider' to a religion is likely to gain access more easily and also bring prior knowledge of appropriate behaviour and language. Even a researcher who no longer practices a religion can find knowledge gained from previous involvement useful for the research (e.g. Clough 2006). Religious positionality may also intersect with other personal and social identities such as gender; for example, a female researcher may have difficulty in entering a religious setting that is exclusively male.

For researchers working with secondary sources, religious positionality can also affect the collection of data. Bailey, Brace and Harvey (2009) found that their different personal beliefs influenced how they selected and interpreted material from historical archives, while Laurie's (2010) personal memories of religious festivals influenced the way in which she read and analysed documentary accounts of the events twenty years later.

The discussion above has focused on how personal faith can affect the research in different ways but conversely the research process can also affect personal faith; for example, Bailey *et al* (2009) found their personal beliefs shifting through the course of their project relative to the research material and to their fellow researchers, while Johnsen (2010)'s research on FBOs served to strengthen her own faith.

Whatever the method of data collection, a researcher may find that some religious terms and concepts do not translate easily across linguistic and cultural divides. This was already alluded to in Section 1.5.1 with reference to difficulties with the terms religion, spirituality and faith and is well illustrated by a comment from a young Indian living in Singapore being interviewed by a sociologist:

> You have asked me to tell you how I understand myself as a Hindu. I have responded to this request to my very best. But, please, do not understand all that as if I have talked to you about my 'religion'. I have passed through a Western system of education here in Singapore, and I think I know quite well how you Western people are used to think about man and God and about 'religion'. So I talked to you as if 'Hinduism' were my 'religion', so that you may be able to understand what I mean. If you were a Hindu yourself, I would have talked to you in quite a different fashion, and I am sure both of us would have laughed about the idea that something like 'Hinduism' does even exist. Please, don't forget this when analysing all the stuff you have on your tape. (Holenstein 2005:8)

It is therefore vital that the researcher takes care to find appropriate language, acceptable translations and sensitive interpretations because this is an expression of the power of the researcher to represent the subject (see Section 4.7.1). If a research subject reads the researcher's work, they may not even recognise their own religion being described and the interpretation may seem meaningless or even incorrect. McDaniel (2001) suggests that whether the researcher is willing to show the published results to the participants is a good test of whether the researcher has maintained integrity in describing the religious beliefs and practices of others.

When writing about religion, there are two other caveats worth mentioning. First, every religion is divided, subdivided and subdivided again into many different groups, each of which may have distinctive theological understandings, rituals, practices and organisational structures. Any comments about a particular religious community should therefore be made with caution and due reference to the appropriate subgroups. Second, religion is only one aspect of an individual or a community's identity. Ethnicity, class, caste, gender, language, political beliefs and other identities are also important; each identity varies in relevance according to the context and people select different identities that they wish to mobilise for different reasons and occasions. With reference to India, Sen (2005) feels that westerners have tended to assume that religion is the most significant identity for Indians, but this is not necessarily true. Therefore religion should be considered as one of a suite of identities operating within a matrix of other identities.

Having discussed the potential impacts of religious positionality on the research, another issue is the most effective approach to researching religion. This will depend on discipline of the researcher and the methodologies selected. McCutcheon (1999) suggests that there are four options for studying religion: the empathetic approach where the researcher can experience some of what the subject is feeling and experiencing; the explanatory approach where the researcher conducts empirical work by making observations and explains patterns observed; the agnostic approach where the researcher makes descriptions and observations but refrains from making any value judgements; and the reflexive approach where the researcher's own experience is central to the observation and analysis. In a similar effort to identify ways of being neutral in the study of religion, Donovan (1999) identifies four strategies: observer neutrality where the researcher is not involved but merely records observations; participant neutrality where the researcher is involved but is completely impartial; role neutrality where the researcher is both an observant and participant but has clear rules guiding his behaviour; and language neutrality where the researcher seeks to use adequate, appropriate and non-prejudicial names and terms.

Various aspects of my identity and background certainly influenced my religious positionality. I had a Protestant Christian upbringing, did a gap year with a Christian development NGO and worked for several years for the same organisation after postgraduate studies. For almost ten years, however, I have not held any religious belief or practiced religion in a formal way. In fact, academic research strongly shaped this: my Masters fieldwork on Christian organisations prompted me to re-examine my beliefs and led to me stepping back from institutional religion. Despite a current lack of religious affiliation, previous experiences of religion certainly influenced my intellectual journey and choice of research topic (see Section 1.2) and my knowledge of Christianity from my upbringing was useful in the research process. Furthermore, being white and British in India, my research subjects assumed that I was a Christian, thereby projecting a particular positionality onto me and, at times, I used this assumed positionality to gain access to organisations. Regarding my approach to the study of religion, my research falls most closely into the 'agnostic approach' of McCutcheon (1999) and the 'role neutrality' of Donovan (1999) described above.

As a European, certain perspectives are ingrained into my psyche and subconsciously influence the way that I think. Much as I am interested in different philosophies and worldviews, such as non-dualism, they can be difficult to truly comprehend. Thus a final note in this chapter is devoted to some warnings about the complexity of studying religion in India, particularly the danger of thinking in binaries. After a lifetime in India, Tully (2007) concludes that one of the lessons that he has learned is to avoid thinking in black and white. Varma (2005) suggests that westerners not only tend to assume that the spiritual tradition is the most important facet of Indian culture and society but also that it is by nature inimical to materialism. Instead he explains how the Hindu mindset allows for the coexistence of both spirituality and materialism; two things that are diametrically opposed in the western mind can be mutually reinforcing in the Indian mind.

Varma (2005) and Dalrymple (2009) identify a whole series of myths about religion in India that have resulted from western observations and logical deduction including: i) several important religions were born and flourish in India therefore Indians are essentially spiritual in their outlook; ii) religions of India are ancient and therefore unchanging; iii) people of different faiths have found a home in India therefore Indians are basically tolerant by nature; iv) Hindu philosophy considers the real world as transient and ephemeral therefore Hindus are other-worldly and non-materialistic in their thinking; v) India has nurtured a great deal of diversity therefore Indians are of an eclectic and catholic disposition. While these statements are logical and examples can be found to illustrate each, so is the opposite true for each and there is evidence to prove it.
This serves as a word of caution against making generalisations about religion in India, which is a topic addressed in more detail in the next chapter as I provide some contextual information on the fieldwork location of West Bengal and Kolkata.

Chapter 5 – India and West Bengal

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 suggested that ROs are active in providing services and facilities for the benefit of poorer and marginalised members of society, but also that their contribution in this respect is poorly understood. My study responds to the call for more empirical studies to build a comprehensive picture of ROs in different countries and regions. It is inappropriate to make generalisations about ROs from the range of existing studies because each country provides a unique context – comprising political, legal, geographic, historical, religious, economic, cultural and social factors – that influence ROs, their activities and interactions (Tyndale 2006; Rakodi 2007; Deneulin 2009a; James 2009a; Thurston and de la Mata 2009).

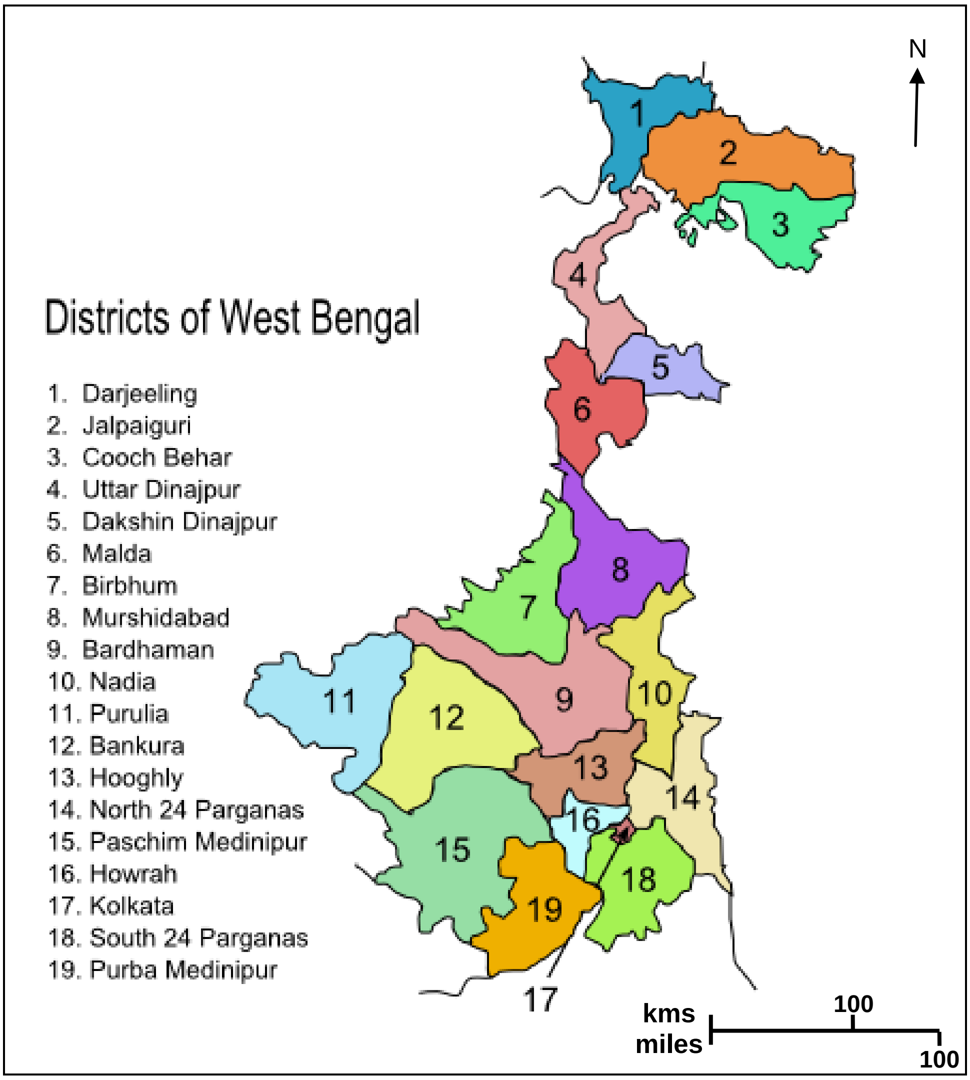
Prior to the presentation and analysis of empirical findings in Chapters 6 to 9, this chapter explores the context in which ROs in Kolkata operate by examining the state of West Bengal. I chose state-level analysis for three reasons. First, India is such a vast and populous country that generalisations about the national context are almost meaningless; instead the state level is more appropriate. In any case, Bengal has always been “a place apart” from the rest of India, with a unique history, development, language and ethos (Roberts 2000:x). Second, my study focused on organisations registered in central Kolkata but analysis at the city level would be limiting because many organisations carried out activities elsewhere in the state, in both urban and rural areas. Third, the urban conurbation of greater Kolkata spans several administrative districts; while data from the census and other sources are available by district, there is a lack of specific data about the entire city. For these reasons this contextual overview focuses on the state level; however, where appropriate, comparisons are drawn with the national context in order to highlight particular similarities or differences.

West Bengal is one of India’s 28 states and is located in the east of the country (Figure 5). A brief account of the evolution of the region of greater Bengal into the current territorial demarcations is given in Appendix F. West Bengal is divided administratively into 19 districts (Figure 6) and each district is further subdivided into blocks, which consist of *panchayats* (rural village councils) and urban municipalities. Familiarity with West Bengal, including administrative districts, principal cities and towns, as well as names of neighbouring states, enables a clearer reading of the remainder of the text. The city of Kolkata is the capital of West Bengal and the metropolitan hub for eastern and northeastern India.

Figure 5 – Location of West Bengal within India and South Asia

(Source: Wikicommons and author's own work)

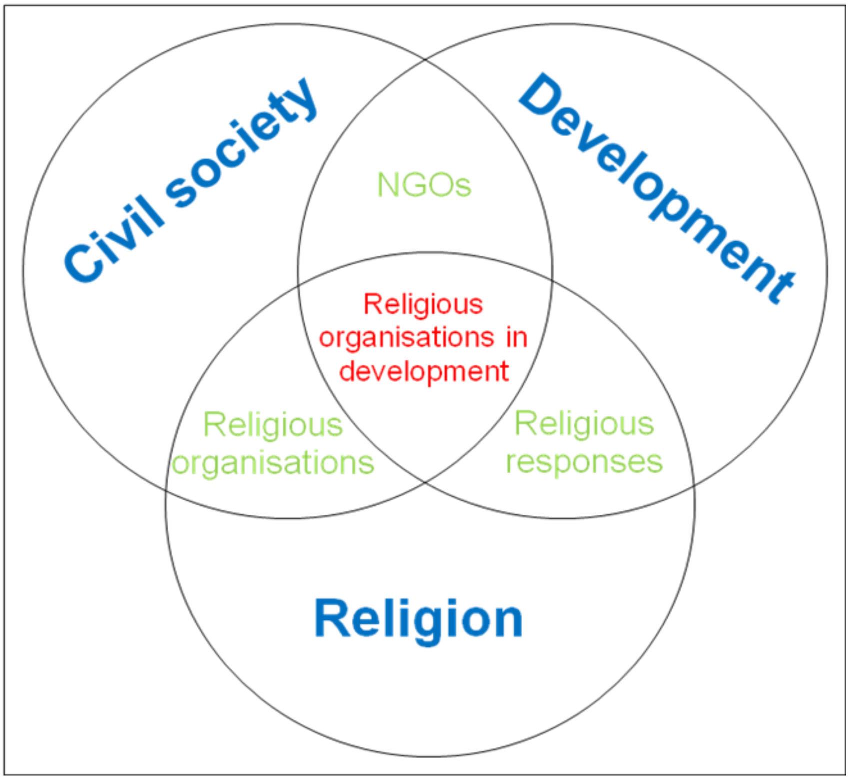
Figure 6 – Administrative Districts of West Bengal



(Source: Wikicommons and author's own work)

Three interfacing contextual factors are particularly pertinent to my study: civil society, development and religion (Figure 7). At the intersection of civil society and development, NGOs are engaged in development activities. At the intersection of civil society and religion, each religious community has a number of organisations serving a range of functions, whether religious, cultural, educational, social, charitable or sporting. At the intersection of religion and development, the scriptures and teachings of each religion contain a particular stance towards charitable giving and social action. These three intersections converge at the heart of my enquiry – ROs as development actors.

Figure 7 – Intersections of civil society, development and religion



This chapter considers these three contextual factors as they relate to the state of West Bengal and the city of Kolkata. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 examine civil society, first in terms of its historical evolution and second in terms of the political and legal framework underpinning it. Section 5.4 explores levels of development according to a range of socio-economic indicators. Section 5.5 investigates religion, including patterns of adherence, the tradition of religious tolerance, the legal framework for freedom of religion and the history of communal relations. These strands come together in Chapter 6 as I begin to present my empirical findings on the presence of ROs in Kolkata and their contribution to development.

5.2 Historical overview of the civil society sector in India

Civil society organisations (CSOs) have increased in prominence over the last two or three decades, but such organisations have actually existed for centuries, even millennia.[62] In India, philanthropy, voluntary action and charitable giving have long histories, indeed are integral to Indian culture and society (Sen 1993; Mohanty and Singh 2001). An appreciation of this historical context is important for understanding the contemporary nature of the civil society sector, and of ROs within it, which is the subject of Chapter 6. This section examines the characteristics of CSOs in different phases, from ancient times to the contemporary period, looking at the overall situation in India as well as giving particular examples from Bengal.[63] What becomes clear is that the types of organisation and their activities were strongly influenced by the political, economic and social milieu of each era. Much of the literature on the civil society sector in India was unavailable in libraries or online so the following review is based on limited references. Unless otherwise stated, the main sources were Mohanty and Singh (2001), PRIA (2001b), Srivastava and Tandon (2002), and Srivastava *et al* (2002) with specific information on ROs also drawn from Bano and Nair (2007) and Mishra (2008a).

5.2.1 Ancient India to Mughal period (c.1000 BCE to mid 1700s CE)

In ancient India, the land was divided into kingdoms and republics. In some places kings and rulers provided social welfare for their subjects; in other cases the poor and needy depended on mechanisms such as joint family, village communities, caste solidarity, trade guilds and religious philanthropy. Over time, the individualistic and unorganised approach to charity and social welfare gave way to an institutional approach. The first type of CSO to emerge was *ashrams* (hermitages) in the late Vedic age (eighth century BCE). These were centres of religious thought and learning where *rishis* (sages) and their students studied Sanskrit, philosophy, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, all of which were essential for understanding the *Vedas* and *Upanishads*.[64] In the subsequent Buddhist period (from third century BCE), religious *sanghas* (organisations) were engaged in both spiritual and social service, while *viharas* (monasteries) were important centres of religious learning that attracted students from across the Buddhist world including China, Burma and Sri Lanka. Buddhist monks also developed ideas about traditional medicine and within a

[62] As noted in Section 3.2.1, a wide range of labels are used for different types of CSO and, while each has a particular nuance, they are often used interchangeably in common parlance. The two most commonly-used terms in India are non-governmental organisation (NGO) and voluntary organisation (VO). Although I have chosen to use CSOs as my umbrella term, I maintain the author's terms when citing from particular sources.

[63] The subject of CSOs, particularly those engaged in relief, welfare and development activities, is closely entwined with the subject of charity and philanthropy. This analysis focuses on the former but there is a set of literature on the latter, largely divided into two main themes – religious philanthropy and business philanthropy. See Sundar (2000), Bano and Nair (2007) and Mishra (2008a) for overviews and Kozlowski (1985), Haynes (1987, 1992) and Kapoor and Sharma (2000) for more specific studies.

[64] Hinduism does not have a single holy book but there are a number of important texts, among them the *Vedas* (see Glossary for details).

monastic complex was often an *arogyashala* (hospital). Likewise, the Jain *sramanas* (wandering monks) set up organisations for charitable and welfare activities and were also involved in medicine. Thus ROs have always been central to education, health and social welfare in India.

The literature makes scant mention of CSOs during the medieval period, although ROs undoubtedly played a central role. Under Mughal rule (from thirteenth century CE) came a variety of Islamic institutions including mosques and *madrassas* (Islamic schools). The Mughal state was also a great patron of art, culture, trade and industry so associated organisations were established. In terms of Hindu culture, many *ashrams* had evolved into *pathshalas* (religious schools) while the Vaishnava sect that emerged in Bengal in the sixteenth century established *Vaishnava akharas*, which acted as residential institutions for education, art and culture. Towards the end of the Mughal period, a number of community-based organisations emerged that were neither religious nor state-sponsored; for example, the *jatra* (open-stage drama) groups, *Bauls* (wandering minstrels) and handicraft masters in Bengal.

5.2.2 Early to mid colonial period (late 1700s to 1900)

In the early days of colonial rule, the British were concerned primarily with consolidating their power and administering their territories but over time they began to engage in socio-economic development activities. In the same period, Protestant Christian missionary organisations began to establish bases in Bengal, starting with the Baptist Missionary Society (1793) and followed by others such as the Church Missionary Society, London Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Although the primary objective of missionary organisations was usually the propagation of the Christian faith, their contribution to development was significant and lasting, particularly in the fields of education and health but also in relief and social welfare. In addition, some Christian missionaries worked for social reform to eradicate ‘social evils’ such as untouchability and *sati* (self-immolation of widows).

The development and social reform undertaken by Christian missionaries was emulated by some members of the Indian elite who had received a western-style education in Christian missionary schools. Some focused on increasing literacy and establishing educational institutions, while others instigated reform movements that challenged social and religious practices such as child marriage, polygamy, *sati*, prohibition of widow remarriage, untouchability, caste rigidity and human bondage. Among the organisations that emerged during this period were Atmiya Sabha (1815), Unitarian Committee (1822), Brahmo Samaj (1828), Dharma Samaj (1830), Widows Remarriage Association (1850), Friend In Need Society (1858), Arya Samaj (1875), National Council for Women in India (1875), Indian National Social Conference (1887) and Ramakrishna Mission (1898).

Some other religious communities felt threatened by the dominance of western ideas and wanted to assert their own position. Among the Sikhs, for example, two religious reform movements – Nirankari and Namdhari – started in the 1860s and 1870s and sought to revive Sikh teachings and practices. This was followed by a number of Sikh social reform organisations that established schools, colleges, orphanages and historical societies. The Muslim community also sought to protect its culture and interests in the face of British rule; for example, the Aligarh movement (1858) and the Deoband movement (1866) started as educational movements but later became more political. In the 1870s, a number of caste associations also emerged with the purpose of promoting the social and political mobility of the lower castes.

Business associations also emerged during this period. European businesses were largely the members of the Chamber of Commerce, the first one being established in Calcutta (1834), soon followed by ones in Madras and Bombay. The first for Indian businesses was the Bengal National Chamber, established in Calcutta (1887). This period also saw the emergence of workers' organisations – starting with the Bombay Millhands Association (1890) that promoted labour legislation and worker welfare – which in time evolved into formalised trade unions.

There are two more types of CSO in this era worth mentioning. First, organisations to promote the professions, arts, culture and research, many of which were open only to the European elite; for example, Calcutta Phrenological Society (1825), Royal Asiatic Society (1834), Geological Survey of India (1851) and Bombay Natural History Society (1883). Second, nationalist newspapers which thrived between the 1870s and 1920s; they were seen as a public service rather than a business enterprise and their main aim was to educate people and mobilise public opinion; papers in Bengal included *Bengalee*, *Som Prakash*, *Banganivasi* and *Sadharani*.

5.2.3 Late colonial period (early 1900s to 1947)

In the first half of the twentieth century, voluntary action in India took a distinct turn. Protest against the British decision to partition Bengal in 1905[65] came in the form of the *swadeshi* (indigenous) movement. Voluntary *samitis* (associations) promoted self-help and constructive work at village level as a means of socio-economic development. This included *swadeshi* industries, agriculture, cooperative banks, community grain stores, sanitation measures and arbitration courts. Another dimension of this movement was the promotion of 'national education', which meant realigning education away from the British schools towards institutions modelled on *ashrams*, two of the prime examples in Bengal being Santiniketan (1901) and Bengal National College (1906).

[65] See Appendix F for details about Partition.

By the 1920s, Bengal's zealous religious and social reform movements gave way to more politicised forms. Bengal was a hotbed of resistance to British rule, where the masses – under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose – believed in armed struggle and organised revolution. This stood in contrast with the rest of the country, which had been swept up by Gandhi's non-violent resistance to British rule.

Given that the population was predominantly rural, Gandhi envisioned national development as rural development in which each village was self-supporting, self-governing and self-reliant. In such communities, people would live in harmony and cooperation and everyone's needs would be satisfied. He had a holistic conceptualisation of development which encompassed social, political, economic, cultural and spiritual aspects of life. Key to this development model was volunteering, sharing, cooperation and mutual aid. Gandhi started the Constructive Work programme between 1922 and 1928, which involved *chakra* (spinning wheel), *khadi* (handwoven cloth), *gramodyog* (village industries), basic education and the removal of untouchability. Gandhi formed organisations such as Harijan Sevak Sangh, Gramodyog Sangh, Hindustan Talim Sangh and Adivasi Seva Mandals; in turn his ideology inspired many people and led to the establishment of a large number of voluntary associations such as All India Spinners Association (1925) and All India Village Industries Association (1934). A number of experimental rural projects were also set up by other people across the country, including Marthandam Project in Tamil Nadu (1921), Gurgaon Project (1927) and Firka Development Scheme in Madras Province (1943).

This period also saw new forms of communal, religious and separatist movements and organisations emerge as India campaigned for independence. The Khilafat movement (1919) was an attempt to unite the fragmented Muslim community and build up a pan-Indian Muslim constituency to support the nationalist movement. The Hindu Shuddhi (purification) movement aimed to proselytise converted Hindus and borderline Muslims as well as abolish untouchability, while the Sangathan (unification) movement aimed to unify the Hindu community with a political self-consciousness. Out of the latter grew the fundamentalist organisation Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), or National Corps of Volunteers, which still exists today. In reaction to these Hindu revivalist movements, various Muslim organisations emerged calling for a Muslim volunteer corps, charitable institutions and banks; among them was the Tablighi Jamaat (1926), which aimed to renew Muslim identity and promote an Islamic lifestyle. The Sikh community also started their own movements and organisations during this period: the Chief Khalsa Diwan (1902) aimed to promote the spiritual, intellectual, moral, social, educational and economic welfare of the Sikhs; the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) (1920) managed gurdwaras and religious affairs as well as educational institutions, hospitals and charitable organisations; and the Akali Dal (1920) gave political voice to Sikh issues.[66]

[66] All three organisations are still active today in a variety of religious, social, charitable and political activities.

5.2.4 Early Independence period (1947 to late 1950s)

After Gandhi's death in 1948, many of his followers continued with their voluntary work; a fellowship of brothers emerged called the Sarvodaya Samaj and voluntary activities were coordinated by the Sarva Seva Sangh. There were some notable characters, such as Vinoba Bhave, who sought to realise Gandhi's ideals for rural development. Bhave started the Bhoodan (land gift) Movement (1951), whereby landlords donated surplus lands to landless peasants, and the Gramdan (village gift) Movement (1952), which involved community action and land ownership vested in the village community. He subsequently widened the concepts to include *shramadan* (gift of labour), *sampatidam* (gift of wealth) and *buddhidan* (gift of mental abilities), which all together worked towards *sarvodaya* (welfare of all). Through his work, Bhave built a powerful voluntary movement which demonstrated a model for the peaceful transformation of rural society.

To date, social welfare and development had largely been the preserve of voluntary organisations but with independence, the state took on many such responsibilities. Although the government launched massive relief, welfare and development programmes, the voluntary sector was not completely sidelined but rather was used by the state (discussed further in Section 5.3.3). The Central Social Welfare Board (1953) and State Social Welfare Advisory Boards (1954) were set up as government agencies to distribute funds through voluntary organisations. This gave a new lease of life to Gandhian organisations which now had access to government funds to implement projects. Thus decentralisation and an emphasis on voluntary action were central to the nation-building project throughout the 1950s, seen in the National Community Development Programme (1952), National Extension Service (1953) and introduction of a three-tier Panchayati Raj (1958).[67] This period also saw the formation of farmers' unions, cooperative movements and federations such as the Association for Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development (1958).

5.2.5 Post-Independence period (1960s to 1980s)

As in many other countries, the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in India saw growing numbers of organisations in the voluntary sector; greater differentiation in types of organisations working in welfare, development and empowerment; and increased specialisation and professionalisation. Older types of organisation continued during this period but new types of organisation emerged including welfare-oriented organisations; indigenous NGOs formed by international NGOs; welfare wings of churches; NGOs formed by middle class professionals; action groups with non-party political motivation; community-based organisations formed by the poor; corporate philanthropy; and developmental NGOs formed by the government (Sen 1993), some of which are described

[67] The Panchayati Raj is a decentralised form of governance where each village is responsible for its own affairs.

below in more detail.

A large number of welfare-oriented NGOs emerged in the 1960s and early 1970s, which can be attributed to two factors: first the need for relief work because of the regular occurrence of disasters such as droughts, floods, cyclones and famines as well as the Bangladesh War and aftermath in 1971; and second the considerable increase in western funding for relief work during this period. The same period also saw the emergence of a diverse range of indigenous non-profit organisations. Sen (1993) identified six types of social action groups: i) educated middle class and lower middle class youth dissatisfied with the model of development adopted by the state; ii) officials of existing NGOs who became disillusioned that modernisation projects were not alleviating poverty; iii) young followers of the *Sarvodaya* movement which focused on the voluntary redistribution of land; iv) former members of the Naxalite movement[68] who, after the fragmentation of their movement, turned to social action; v) new left academics influenced by western Marxist thought; and vi) Indian Christians influenced by liberation theology.

All over the world, student movements came to the fore in the late 1960s. India launched the National Social Service Scheme (1969) through which young students engaged in voluntary work for the benefit of backward sections of society[69] and this motivated many people towards a career in social work and the voluntary sector. Rural youth were also enabled to participate in community service through Nehru Yuvak Kendras (youth centres).

After gaining considerable momentum, the voluntary movement experienced a serious set-back during the State of Emergency (1975-1977).[70] The new government established after the crisis visualised a special role for voluntary organisations in the delivery of its programmes such as Adult Education, Integrated Rural Development and Antyodaya Scheme. In this period, industries and businesses were also given tax exemption to support voluntary organisations in rural development work. For rural development, the government provided funds to the voluntary sector through People's Action for Development of India (1973) and Council for Advancement of Rural Technology (1983), which were merged in 1986 to form the Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology. This became an apex development agency for voluntary action in rural development and since then there has been significant growth in voluntary organisations working in the rural sector.

[68] The Naxalite movement, inspired by Mao, was a peasant uprising which started in the village of Naxalbari, West Bengal in 1967 and aimed to redistribute land to the landless; it also gained a following among radical students in Calcutta. The movement failed in its objectives and disintegrated into disputing factions in the 1970s but still exists today, engaged in both formal politics and armed insurgency.

[69] The phrase 'backward sections of society' would probably be regarded as politically incorrect in the UK but it is commonly used in India. 'Other Backward Classes' is the official government term for certain population groups and thus 'backward' is commonly used in reference to those who fall behind on socio-economic and educational indicators.

[70] After Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was indicted on corruption charges in 1975 and ordered to leave parliament, she declared a State of Emergency and continued to rule by decree, during which time political opposition was suppressed and civil liberties suspended. Confident of re-election, she relaxed the emergency in 1977 and was overwhelmingly defeated by a grand coalition in the elections.

In West Bengal, however, there was a different story. The Left Front came to power in 1977 and believed strongly that socio-economic development was the responsibility of the state government; thus at a time when the central government was implementing more of its programmes through voluntary organisations, it was a time of constriction for such organisations in West Bengal. Although voluntary organisations were not delivering development on behalf of the state, they still existed. As Thomas (1999) describes, community-based organisations have always been strong in Calcutta. A significant proportion of the city's population were migrants and many lived in overcrowded slums; here they established a range of local resident committees and community associations for recreational, charitable, religious or welfare purposes. The latter, such as the United Bustee Development Association (1978), provided education, health and other services to the people in the absence of government provision.

This period saw a resurgence of identity-based separatist and fundamentalist movements. The Sikh separatist movement, with its origins in the pre-independence period, was revived in the early 1980s, and Kashmiri separatists increased their activities in the 1980s under the umbrella of various organisations. Hindu fundamentalism led by the BJP came to the forefront after the 1989 elections and found expression in a variety of organisations such as the Great Hindu Assembly, National Defence Committee, Forum for Hindu Awakening and Vishwa Hindu Parishad.[71]

One RO in particular should perhaps be mentioned in relation to this historical period: Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity, one of the most famous charitable organisations associated with Calcutta. Having gone to India in 1928 as a teacher, she felt called to work for the poor in Calcutta and established an Order for that purpose in 1950. She gradually began to care for people such as orphans, abandoned children, the elderly, blind and crippled people, lepers, the sick and dying. Today, there are around 60 homes in the city and another 50 elsewhere in West Bengal, as well as many more around the world.

5.2.6 Contemporary period (1990s to present)

The non-profit sector in West Bengal remained fairly stagnant until the late 1980s, when the state government's stance softened as they realised that there were competent organisations that could deliver development projects successfully and at lower cost. In line with trends elsewhere, NGOs emerged as the predominant form of NPO. Sen (1993) suggests that this is because of the government's stricter control of the sector, the disintegration of action groups, and the

[71] Collectively, these organisations are known as the Sangh Parivar (family of associations), and share the philosophy of Hindutva. The overall aim is to unite Hindu society – which they feel is plagued by caste, regionalism and passive religion – and make society fairer for the majority Hindu population. They believe in the Indian ideal of secularism (the equality of all religions) and therefore oppose special laws and privileges for minority religious groups.

professionalisation of the sector, offering more viable employment opportunities. There has also been an increasing volume of funding from international donor agencies to NGOs and other voluntary organisations. Continuing in the contemporary period is India's long history of corporate philanthropy, particularly trusts and foundations for social welfare and development.

As noted earlier, grassroots organisations at community level are particularly strong in Kolkata. Every slum or group of lanes has a variety of neighbourhood associations and clubs, whether for youth, culture, recreation or social welfare (Thomas 1999). Tiny club houses are often the heart of a community, used at different times of day by toddlers in a crèche, mothers taking post-natal classes, young men lifting weights, elders watching television, students borrowing books, girls practicing dance routines and so on. It is impossible to quantify these organisations or their contribution to society and development but it is undoubtedly significant (see Section 6.5.3).

A final word on contemporary civil society from a financial rather than organisational perspective: the Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium (n.d.) identifies three main types of charitable giving prevalent in India today: a) corporate philanthropy, which supports an array of initiatives spanning welfare, education, socio-economic development, environment and culture; b) faith-based giving through religious communities, institutions and organisations, much of which is channelled into social welfare and development activities; and c) diaspora philanthropy given through formal and informal channels, which is variously given to support religion, politics, culture and development.

5.3 <u>Relationship between government and civil society sector in India</u>

As already described, the Indian government relies heavily on the voluntary sector, standing in contrast to other places, such as in Latin America, where the relationship is often antagonistic (Mohanty and Singh 2001). According to official statistics, more than 20 different government ministries and departments implement an estimated 250 schemes through voluntary organisations (GOI 2002b). This institutional context is important for understanding the interactions between the state and ROs, which is addressed in Chapter 9. This section looks in more detail at the relationship between state and civil society sector in terms of the legislative framework, institutional support, and the government's changing attitudes to the civil society sector as seen in the country's successive Five Year Plans.

5.3.1 Legislative framework

There is no single piece of legislation which comprehensively governs the civil society sector in

India and no single regulatory body, such as a Charity Commission, as exists in other countries (Copal 2006). Societies, associations, trusts and organisations generally fit within one of five legal categories: Societies Registration Act (1860), Indian Trusts Act (1882), Cooperative Societies Act (1904), Trade Union Act (1926) or Companies Act (1956) (Sen 1993; PRIA 2001a; GOI 2002b; Srivastava *et al* 2002; Sampradaan 2004; Copal 2006). The act under which an organisation is registered is driven less by the law and more by those establishing the organisation, with organisations using particular laws “creatively” in order to register (Sen 1993). One of the consequences of this complex and unconsolidated legal framework is that it is difficult to gather data on the civil society sector in India (see Section 4.2). Furthermore, many informal groups and organisations, often those working at grassroots level, are not legally-registered but still comprise a significant part of the civil society sector (see Sections 4.2 and 6.5.3).

There are three fiscal laws of particular relevance to CSOs in India: the Income Tax Act (1961), which provides fiscal benefits to non-profit organisations (e.g. tax exemption for the organisation and tax deduction on donations); Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) (1976), which regulates the flow of funds from outside India; and the Financial Act (1983), which limits the funds that non-profit organisations can receive from private industries. Of these, the FCRA perhaps affects CSOs and ROs the most. It was established in the wake of allegations that money from abroad was being used to destabilise the government. It was intended to keep surveillance on fundamentalist, separatist or extremist groups but not a single case of anti-national activity has ever been filed against any organisation. Instead the law is used to regulate the receipt and spending of all foreign funds going to non-profit organisations and ROs of minority communities in particular feel that it has been used to harass them unnecessarily. A Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Bill has been proposed, which CSOs hope will lead to a relaxing of the controls on the receipt and utilisation of foreign contributions.

5.3.2 Institutional support

The legal framework for CSOs in India, as described in Section 5.3.1, has been widely recognised as inadequate. In fact, the laws have hardly changed at all during the last hundred years, despite enormous economic growth and social change (Sampradaan 2004). However, over the last ten years, the government’s relationship with the civil society sector has been overhauled.

In 2000, the Planning Commission (PC) was established as the ‘nodal agency’, acting as the interface between voluntary organisations (VOs) and the Indian government (GOI 2002b). One of the first tasks of the PC was to create a database of VOs and NGOs which were in receipt of grants from government departments. The PC also set up a Task Force to review the legal framework for VOs, which reported lacunae in the laws and inconsistency in the ways that laws are interpreted, implemented and enforced by various agencies. Despite concrete suggestions, very little change resulted from this review (Sampradaan 2004).

The Steering Committee responsible for including the voluntary sector in the Tenth Five Year Plan (2002-2007) set out the need for an “enabling environment” that would promote and facilitate the work of the voluntary sector. They picked out five key issues: simplification of procedures for involving VOs and NGOs in government programmes; capacity building of the voluntary sector (individual workers and organisations); facilitating partnerships between VOs, private sector and local government; encouraging the spirit of volunteerism; and improving methods of monitoring and evaluating the work of the voluntary sector (GOI 2002b). In 2004, Sampradaan Indian Centre for Philanthropy was sponsored by the PC to conduct *A Review of Charities Administration in India*, which also made some very clear recommendations for policy and institutional reform.

Finally in 2007, the *National Policy on the Voluntary Sector* published by the PC (GOI 2007a) set out the ways in which the government would create this “enabling environment” for VOs. This included promises to: simplify, liberalise and rationalise laws and rules relating to the charity sector; enact a simple central law for registration of all VOs; review the FCRA; open the voluntary sector up to greater public scrutiny; review the tax incentives available to VOs; set up an independent, national-level regulatory agency; improve government staff’s understanding of the voluntary sector through training; update databases on VOs; redesign government websites; and encourage volunteerism. The 2007 policy also set out three ways in which government and VOs would be in partnership: i) consultation, ii) strategic collaboration and iii) project funding. The implementation of this new way of working was part of the Eleventh Five Year Plan and is discussed further in the next section.

5.3.3 Five Year Plans

A clear indication of how the Indian government has perceived the importance and role of CSOs over time is seen in national planning documents i.e. Five Year Plans.[72]

The role of the voluntary sector has been recognised ever since the First Five Year Plan (1951-1956), when emphasis was given to public cooperation in national development. This was reiterated in the Second Plan (1956-1961), which noted the willingness and enthusiasm of people to freely contribute labour and local resources to national and community projects. The Third Plan

[72] The following overview is drawn from The Report of the Steering Committee on the Voluntary Sector for the Tenth Five-Year Plan (GOI 2002b), the Tenth Five Year Plan (GOI 2002c) and the Eleventh Five Year Plan (GOI 2008).

(1961-1966) recognised that the concept of public cooperation was related to the wider sphere of voluntary action, whereby people and their leaders take action to improve the lives of poorer members of society. The government particularly sought cooperation from VOs in rural development programmes.

The thrust on public cooperation and the role of VOs was lost in the Fourth and Fifth Plans (1969-1974, 1974-1979) because of a period of instability due to war,[73] recession and the Emergency[74] but recognised again in the Sixth Plan (1980-1985), which highlighted some successful examples of voluntary action such as Bharat Agro Industries Foundation and Self-Employed Women's Association.

The Seventh Plan (1985-1989) announced that serious efforts would be made to involve VOs in development programmes in order to supplement government efforts. By the Eighth Plan (1992-1997) it was acknowledged that development activities undertaken with people's active participation had a greater chance of success and were more cost-effective than the government's efforts. The emphasis was therefore on developing institutions to tap into the potential of the voluntary sector. The Ninth Plan (1997-2002) sought to promote and develop participatory bodies such as the Panchayati Raj institutions, cooperatives and self-help groups, in particular working to ensure the involvement of certain sections of the population which had previously been disadvantaged.

The Tenth Plan (2002-2007) was billed as the "people's plan" as it sought the cooperation of political parties, social organisations, voluntary agencies and the media in the process of national development. Voluntary agencies were placed at the interface between national planning and the general public to play a key role in implementation. Among the particular aims were to develop professionalism in the voluntary sector, broaden the base and scope of voluntarism, and improve mechanisms for funding VOs.

The focus of the current Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) is "inclusive growth". This plan was ground-breaking for India in that civil society representatives took part in consultations about the formulation of the plan and it was intended that they would also have a role in monitoring and implementing it. VOs are seen as having a particularly important role to play in the socio-economic development and empowerment of disadvantaged and underprivileged sections of society, such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, minorities, the disabled and older people. In another section of the plan, VOs are identified as key partners in the effective delivery of appropriate technologies for rural development. The plan also mentions the implementation of the

[73] The Bangladesh War of 1971, during which the Indian army fought with East Pakistan against West Pakistan, resulting in the formation of Bangladesh.
[74] See previous footnote and Glossary.

National Policy on the Voluntary Sector (see Section 5.3.2), which aims to create a more efficient and transparent working environment for VOs and there have been concrete developments in this respect. In July 2009, the Planning Commission launched the NGO Partnership System to improve coordination between the government and voluntary sector; VOs and NGOs have been requested to register their details on a new online portal that will act as a database of all organisations.[75] The long-term impact of the planned improvements in the government's interaction with VOs, however, remains to be seen.

5.4 Levels of socio-economic development in West Bengal

The previous two sections explored the historical and institutional context in which the civil society sector in India operates and showed that CSOs have long been highly active in the fields of relief, welfare and development. This section explores why CSOs continue to be involved in such activities by describing the levels of socio-economic development and highlighting particular challenges facing the West Bengal population. This context is important for understanding the involvement of ROs in development, which is addressed in Chapters 7 and 8. All data, unless otherwise stated, are from the most recent census in 2001,[76] National Human Development Report 2001 (GOI 2002a) and West Bengal Human Development Report 2004 (GOWB 2004).[77]

West Bengal is highly and densely populated. The population was just over 80 million in 2001 and was projected to rise to around 89 million by 2010. It is the fourth most populous state in India and contains five of the ten most populous districts in the country. The state comprises 2.7 per cent of India's land area but 7.8 per cent of its population. It is the most densely populated state in the country, with 903 people per square kilometre, compared to the national average of 325 people. Twenty-eight per cent of West Bengal's population are classified as urban dwellers, which is in line with the national average.

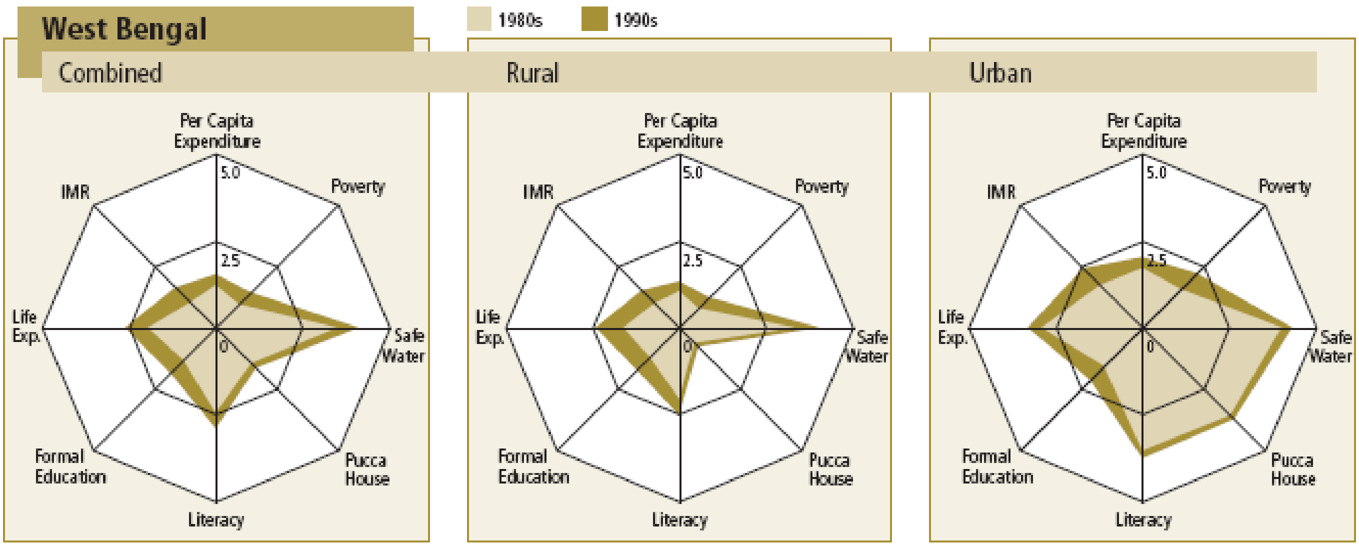
West Bengal is classified as a 'middle income state'. It experienced below average economic growth from the 1950s to the 1970s but there was a reversal of fortunes in the 1980s and by the 1990s West Bengal had one of the fastest growing economies of any state in India. Although the indicators suggest good economic performance, poverty is still widespread. West Bengal was ranked ninth of the fifteen major states in India[78] in terms of per capita income and per capita consumption expenditure. Although incomes increased and the poverty rate declined throughout

[75] ngo.india.gov.in
[76] www.censusindia.gov.in
[77] This brief analysis focuses on a few salient indicators; fuller descriptions of the economic, development, environmental status of Kolkata and West Bengal are also available (e.g. Banerjee 2005; Chaudhuri 2008).
[78] Smaller states and union territories are excluded from the rankings.

the 1990s, one-third of the population still lived below the poverty line in 2000, average consumption was low and there were particular concentrations of deprivation.

On the overall Human Development Index,[79] West Bengal's value has risen from 0.302 in 1981 to 0.381 in 1991 and 0.472 in 2001, but the state has remained ranked eighth out of the fifteen major states in all three periods (GOI 2002a). The Development Radar for West Bengal, which captures change over time as well as differences between urban and rural areas for eight social indicators, is shown in Figure 8.[80] Attainments on the different indicators have a value between 0 (least achievement) and 5 (highest achievement); thus a greater shaded area indicates higher attainment and a more symmetrical pattern suggests balanced development. Some of the features that stand out from the diagram are: i) attainments in urban areas are higher on all indices, considerably so on economic and educational measures; ii) there is a large urban-rural disparity on access to *pukka* housing;[81] and iii) access to safe drinking water has improved in both urban and rural areas.

Figure 8 – Development Radar for West Bengal



(Source: GOI 2002a:22)

Life expectancy at birth is 69 for women and 65 for men, which is well above the national average, although there are distinct variations within the state, including four predominantly-rural districts where life expectancy is under 60. In terms of infant mortality, West Bengal's performance in terms of absolute magnitude and rate of reduction has been better than the national average, although the rate remains high in some rural districts.

[79] The HDI used in India has some slight variations from the UNDP's version. It is a composite of the following indices: life expectancy at age 1; infant mortality rate; literacy rate among over 7s; intensity of formal education; per capita real consumption expenditure adjusted for inequality; and worker-population ratio.
[80] The indicators used on the Development Radar are: per capita consumption expenditure; incidence of poverty as captured by the head count ratio; access to safe drinking water; proportion of households with *pukka* houses; literacy rate age 7 and above; intensity of formal education classes; life expectancy at age 1; and infant mortality rates.
[81] A house is classified as *pukka* if the walls and roof are made of burnt brick, metal sheets, stone, concrete, tiles or slate and *kutcha* if the walls and roof are made of grass, leaves, reeds, bamboo, mud, unburnt brick or wood.

Nutritional data show an above average incidence of anaemia among children in West Bengal but below average on other indicators of malnutrition. The nutritional status of women is lower than the national average in several variables; for example, the state ranked 8th out of 9 in chronic energy deficiency; 24th out of 25 in Body Mass Index and 19th out of 25 in prevalence of moderate and severe anaemia.

Data on morbidity of the total population indicate a very high incidence of asthma and jaundice, as well as diseases significantly influenced by atmospheric pollution and the availability of safe water and sanitation. The prevalence of malaria and tuberculosis is lower than the national average but still significant. As a result of geological stratigraphy, West Bengal also experiences a high level of groundwater contamination by arsenic, giving rise to various health problems which are thought to affect at least 1.7 million people.

While there are over 47 million literate people in West Bengal, there are almost 33 million illiterates (41 per cent), a proportion significantly higher than the national average.[82] Of the literate population, 61 per cent have achieved primary level education or less, while under seven per cent have achieved graduate level and above. The school dropout rate is highest between the ages of ten and 14. Twenty-seven per cent of rural households and 12 per cent of urban households do not have a literate adult.[83]

The work participation rate is 37 per cent, which is slightly lower than the national average.[84] Forty-four per cent of workers in the state are engaged in agriculture (of which 43 per cent own the land that they cultivate while 57 per cent work as labourers on other people's land). A further seven per cent of workers are engaged in household industries. The remaining 48 per cent of workers are classified as 'other workers', which includes those engaged in government service, teaching, factory work, trade and commerce, construction and social work. The census recorded almost 860,000 children (500,000 male, 360,000 female) in West Bengal aged between five and 14 years old who are economically active. Of these, 69 per cent work in agriculture and allied sectors, 22 per cent in the service sector, and nine per cent in hazardous occupations such as manufacturing, mining and construction.

The average household size in West Bengal is five people (slightly under the national average). In the census, 42 per cent of houses were judged to be in good condition, 49 per cent in liveable condition and nine per cent in dilapidated condition. Over half of dwellings had only one room and

[82] The census considers the entire population in terms of literacy; all children aged 6 and under are counted as illiterate, regardless of school attendance and ability.
[83] In this case, adult is classified as over 15 years of age.
[84] In other countries, the work participation rate is usually calculated as a percentage of the *adult* population who are working but in India it is calculated as the percentage of the *total* population who are working, perhaps because of the significant numbers of children who are employed, as will be described.

almost a quarter of houses had roofs covered in grass, thatch, bamboo, wood, mud, plastic or polythene. Over four million people (five per cent of the population) lived in slums and 110,000 people had no home at all. The census also revealed that less than one-third (32 per cent) of households had a water supply within their dwelling, less than one-quarter (24 per cent) had a latrine facility (just nine per cent in rural areas) and over one-third (38 per cent) were lit by electricity. Thirty per cent of dwellings had both latrine and electricity; 49 per cent had neither.

West Bengal is prone to various kinds of natural disasters, most commonly floods and cyclones. It has been estimated that 45 per cent of villages and 40 per cent of land in the state is susceptible to flooding. Five to six cyclones form in the Bay of Bengal every year, particularly threatening the people living in the low-lying delta area. On the other hand, some of the western districts of the state are prone to drought.

These statistics paint a general picture of the overall conditions of living and levels of development in West Bengal but reveal particular patterns of poverty and prosperity when disaggregated by religious community (see Mahajan and Jodhka 2010). This is discussed in more detail in Appendix G, which provides an overview of each religious community including its socio-economic status.

5.5 <u>Unique ethno-religious landscape in India and West Bengal</u>

India's history has been shaped by "a constant interaction between the indigenous and foreign" (Wood 2007:117). Over the millennia, Dravidians, Aryans, Greeks, Turks, Afghans, Mongols, Mughal, British and many others have brought new languages, cultures, foods, ideas and religions which have fused together into the complexity of India today. An understanding of the ethno-religious landscape[85] is an important background to understanding the diversity and coexistence of ROs, which is discussed in Chapters 6 and 9. This section gives an historical overview of the arrival of different religious communities in India and some statistics on contemporary religious affiliation; examines the tradition of religious harmony and tolerance in India that stretches back to ancient history; describes the legal and institutional framework to support religious freedom and diversity; and outlines communal relations in West Bengal over the last century.

5.5.1 Religious diversity and coexistence

An appreciation of the origins of different religions in India is an essential background for understanding the diverse religious communities found in West Bengal. Four of the world's major

[85] I use the term 'ethno-religious' because in the Indian context ethnicity and religion are intimately entwined.

religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism) originated in India. Hinduism evolved from indigenous tribal practices into a complex and diverse set of beliefs and traditions, although it was only labelled as a world religion in the nineteenth century. Buddhism and Jainism emerged at a similar time in the sixth century BCE: Buddhism was the dominant religion in India for a thousand years but subsequently waned; Jainism retained relatively low numbers of followers but a strong identity and enduring presence in India. Sikhism is the most recent of Indian religions, developing in Mughal India between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries CE.

Other religions arrived in India with traders, invaders, colonists, migrants and refugees. Jews arrived shortly after the fall of Jerusalem (70 CE), although theories of earlier arrivals exist, and continued to migrate in waves from Arabia and Persia in the fifth and sixth centuries and from Iraq and Syria in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Christians also arrived very early – there are legends that Jesus was in India but St Thomas was most likely the first arrival in the first century CE – and by the fourth century there was a large Christian community in Kerala. Christianity grew from the fifteenth century with the presence of European traders and was actively spread by missionaries throughout the subsequent colonial period. The settlement of Muslim Arab traders on the west coast of India began in the eighth century CE and was followed by waves of Muslim invasions from the northwest. Muslims held power over large parts of India for several centuries (thirteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries) and many people converted either by choice or coercion.

When the persecution of Zoroastrianism began in Persia in the late seventh century CE, followers sought refuge in India; though numerically small they have made a significant contribution to Indian society. The Baha'i faith arrived in India, also from Persia, in the late nineteenth century CE and actively sought converts. The Chinese have been visiting India for centuries, but the economic migrants arriving from the late eighteenth century CE brought their syncretic religion which fused elements of shamanism, Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, although many converted to Christianity.

Each of these religions has adherents in contemporary West Bengal and Kolkata. Table 4 compares the national and state-level census data on religious affiliation. There are a couple of salient observations to make about these data. First, West Bengal has a considerably higher proportion of Muslims than the population of India as a whole and a smaller proportion of Hindus; in all, West Bengal contains 14.65 per cent of India's Muslims but only 7.02 per cent of India's Hindus.[86] Second, the proportion of people belonging to the smaller religious minorities – Buddhist, Christian, Sikh and Jain – is lower in West Bengal than the national average.

[86] The historical reasons for the higher prevalence of Muslims are explained in Appendix G.

Table 4 – Religious composition of the population of India and West Bengal

Religion	All India		West Bengal		Percentage of All India population in West Bengal
	No. people	Percentage	No. people	Percentage	
Hindu	827,578,868	80.46	58,104,835	72.47	7.02
Muslim	138,188,240	13.43	20,240,543	25.25	14.65
Christian	24,080,016	2.34	515,150	0.64	2.14
Sikh	19,215,730	1.87	66,391	0.08	0.35
Buddhist	7,955,207	0.77	243,364	0.3	3.06
Jain	4,225,053	0.41	55,223	0.07	1.31
Other religious communities[87]	6,639,626	0.65	895,796	1.12	13.49
Religion not stated	727,588	0.07	54,895	0.07	7.54
TOTAL	**1,028,610,328**	**100**	**80,176,197**	**100**	**7.79**

(Source: Census of India 2001)

The comprehensive *People of India* project by the Anthropological Survey of India (ASI) documented all ethnic communities in the country.[88] In West Bengal, researchers found a total of 203 distinct ethnic communities of which 161 were Hindu, 38 followed tribal or folk religion, 21 were Muslim, ten Christian, seven Buddhist, two Sikh, one Jain and one Jewish (ASI 2008).[89]

Although the city of Calcutta is relatively young in Indian history – officially founded in 1690 when Job Charnock, an English trading agent, arrived at the tiny hamlet of Kalikata to establish a factory – it comprises diverse ethnic, religious and linguistic communities. Because of its status as trading port then colonial city, Calcutta was a magnet for merchants, entrepreneurs, administrators, travellers, intellectuals, peasants, refugees and many others from India and further afield. As Moorhouse (1971:182) reflects: “there may not be another city containing such a hotchpotch of people as this one...” One of my interviewees, a Jewish lady, recalled her thoughts as a child of nine or ten:[90]

> Standing silently during the *Amidah* (part of the prayer service), I listened intently to the noises all around us. Drums and cymbals beat loudly from the puja processions, church bells tolled from the Portuguese Catholic Church near the Neveh Shalome (the synagogue where we worshipped), the muezzin called from the big mosque in Zachariah Street, which was in the Muslim neighbourhood of the synagogue. All these insistent impassioned entreaties to God filled me with awe. I used to wonder why we all had to beseech Him at the same time, and figured He must have trouble heeding all of us at once! (Silliman 2001:103)

---

[87] The category ‘other religious communities’ incorporates four of the religious communities in my study (Baha’is, Jews, Taoists and Zoroastrians) as well as other non-mainstream religions and spiritual movements. Unfortunately no disaggregated data is available for these groups.

[88] The Anthropological Survey of India launched the *People of India* project in 1985. Between 1985 and 1992, a team of 600 researchers collected data on every ethnic community in India. The material was published in an 11-volume national series and a 32-volume state/union territory series. Publication proceeded alphabetically by state and West Bengal, being last in line, finally had its volume published in 2008. Consequently, by the time of publication, many of the statistics were considerably outdated, as they had been based on the 1981 census and data collected in the late 1980s.

[89] The total does not tally because some ethnic communities have members who profess different religions and thus were counted more than once.

[90] Quoted in a biographical book written by her daughter.

Contemporary geographical analysis (e.g. Chatterji 2009) reveals that communities with a shared identity – whether based on ethnicity, religion, language or occupation – often group together in particular neighbourhoods within the city. Ethno-religious identity is manifest in people's distinctive physiognomy, names, dress and language, and while each community retains its distinctiveness, the city also has a cosmopolitan culture.[91] For my empirical study of ROs, I chose to look at ten of the religious communities present in Kolkata; Appendix G presents a detailed description of each of these communities, including their historical origins, number of adherents, geographical distribution, levels of social integration and attitudes towards philanthropy and social action.

5.5.2 Tradition of religious harmony and tolerance[92]

India has "a long tradition of accommodating and integrating different cultures" (Sen 2005:333), which can be traced as far back as far as ancient India. Ashoka the Great, the Buddhist emperor (reign 273-232 BCE) had an early career marked by war and conquest but ten years into his reign went on a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Buddhism and from thenceforth was a changed person. He tried to incorporate Buddhist ideas of compassion and self-possession as well as Jain ideas about non-violence into his personal morality and politics. A record of his thoughts and actions survives in a series of edicts carved on rocks across his empire; these reveal that he thought all the religions had the same essential aim and that he promoted interaction and mutual learning.

In the medieval period, one of the migrants into the Indus Valley was Abu al-Rayhan al-Biruni, a scientist, astronomer, philosopher and historian. Earlier Muslim historians had understood that religion in India was very different from that of the 'People of the Book' (Jews, Christians and Muslims) but after studying Sanskrit and consulting with Hindu holy men, al-Biruni asserted that the fundamental religious beliefs of Indians were the same as those of Islam. By the time that Europe was embroiled in the bitter religious Inquisition, the great Mughal emperor Akbar (reign 1556-1605 CE) "paid particular attention to relations among religious communities and to the need for peaceful coexistence in the already multicultural India" (Wood 2007:273-4). Although the Mughal empire was Muslim, it was a time of extraordinary Indo-Islamic synthesis. Previous Muslim rulers had been intolerant towards indigenous religions but Akbar wanted to move towards reconciliation. He abolished the hated tax on Hindus and then examined each religion and its claims. Akbar not only made pronouncements on the priority of tolerance but also laid the formal foundations of a secular legal structure and of religious neutrality of the state. He also insisted on free choice: "no man should be interfered with on account of religion, and anyone is to be allowed to go over to a

[91] Tangentially related to this is a variety of scholarship on contemporary cities, including literature on their complexity (e.g. King 2004, Pieterse 2008; Cinar and Bender 2007), multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism (e.g. Appadurai 1996; Breckenridge *et al* 2000; Binnie *et al* 2005; Hall 2006) and postcolonial perspectives on cities and urban culture including by Bengalis (e.g. Sen 2005; Chakrabarty *et al* 2007; Spivak 2008).

[92] This historical overview is largely drawn from Sen (2005) and Wood (2007).

religion that pleases him".

In the sixteenth century, Akbar arranged public dialogues involving representatives of all the religions in his empire: Hindus, Sunni, Shia and Sufi Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians, Jains, Jews and atheists. At seminars, they discussed the basic premise of each faith, as well as the positive and negative features of each. At one stage Akbar even made a brief attempt at launching a new religion, Din-ilahi (God's religion), based on the combination of good points he chose from different religions. Akbar's championing of religious tolerance was one of the major building blocks for modern secularism in India (see Section 5.5.3). Wood (2007:199) reflects that: "Akbar went about as far as a ruler of East or West could possibly go in the sixteenth century in matters of religion. Indeed, one suspects it would be too far for any political or religious leader today."

The favourable attitude of the Mughals towards other religions continued after Akbar under emperors Jahangir and Jahan but went even further under Dara Shikoh. Dara was educated in the Islamic and Hindu texts and concluded that the core of all religions was divinely given. He argued that it was the moral duty of all Muslims to learn from other religions. He translated the *Bhagavad Gita*, some of the Vedic hymns and the *Upanishads* into Persian to show how they revealed a koranic revelation.[93] In 1653, Dara held public meetings with Baba Lal, a great Hindu renouncer of the Vaishnavite sect[94] in Lahore. In seven sessions over nine days, they discussed Hindu sacred texts, the works of Persian mysticism, the theory of the avatars of Vishnu, and a symbolic exegesis of the Ramayana.[95] After this, Dara composed a treatise on comparative religion in which he tried to prove the equivalence of Sufi and Hindu mysticism; it was a groundbreaking book for its time but Dara's syncretistic ideas did not go down well with other members of the royal family, the ruling class or the Muslim orthodoxy. His younger brother Aurangzeb felt that he had become a *kaffir* (infidel) and the siblings battled for the throne (Aurangzeb won and Dara was killed).

During the colonial era, the British created a legal framework for equality of all religions but, somewhat contradictorily, instituted separate laws for Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Zoroastrians and Jews. This period also saw the emergence of key religious and social reformers who propagated ideas of religious pluralism (see Section 5.2.2). Of particular note is the Hindu priest, Ramakrishna, who studied different schools of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity before evolving his own philosophy based on equal validity of all religions and the oneness of God. His ideas were carried forward by his disciples, most notably Swami Vivekananda, who spoke eloquently about universality and religious tolerance to a western audience at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893.

---

[93] As noted earlier in this chapter, Hinduism does not have a single holy book but there are a number of important texts (see Glossary for details).
[94] Vaishnavism is the Hindu sect devoted to the god Vishnu.
[95] The *Ramayana*, along with the *Mahabharata*, is a Sanskrit epic.

The bloody partition of India on religious lines at independence was never the original intent of the political leaders at the time. Gandhi's political programme was built upon harmony and cooperation between India's Hindus and Muslims. The Muslim League, led by Jinnah, originally campaigned for fair political representation of Muslims in a united India; only much later did they raise demands for a separate Muslim state. The Congress Party under Nehru also envisioned a united independent India. When Nehru became independent India's first Prime Minister, he was firmly committed to creating a secular state; not an anti-religious state or a theocracy, but one which would allow space and respect for India's different religious traditions. Thus independent India was established as a secular republic.[96] India's long tradition of religious diversity and inclusivity are perhaps unique: in 2007 the country had a Muslim President, a Sikh Prime Minister and Catholic woman leading the ruling party in a majority Hindu nation. "Where else on earth could that happen!" (Wood 2007:246).

5.5.3 Legal and institutional framework for religious freedom

The Preamble to the Constitution states that India is a "sovereign socialist secular democratic republic" (GOI 2007b). The word 'secular' was inserted by the 42nd Amendment Act (1976) and mandates equal treatment and tolerance of all religions.[97] Within the Constitution, Part III concerns 'Fundamental Rights". Under the section entitled "Right to Equality", Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the basis of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Under the section entitled "Right to Freedom of Religion", there are four articles:

i) every person is equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to profess, practise and propagate religion (Article 25);
ii) every religious denomination has the right to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes, to manage its own affairs in matters of religion, to own and acquire movable and immovable property, and to administer such property in accordance with law (Article 26);
iii) no person is compelled to pay any taxes which are used for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination (Article 27); and
iv) government education institutions will not provide any religious instruction (Article 28).

Although the Constitution suggests a uniform civil code under which all citizens are subject to the same secular laws regardless of their religion, this has never been implemented. Many of the British-instituted 'personal laws' for the different religious communities are still enforced, which is somewhat at odds with the secular ideal. The Hindu nationalists' call for reform is firmly rejected by

[96] Indian secularism has not been without its critics; see Sen (2005) for a full discussion.
[97] There are two main approaches to secularism – neutrality where the state is equidistant from all religions and prohibition where the state has no relation with any religions (Sen 2005). India's secularism is the first type; the Hindi word that is commonly used for secularism is *dharmanirapekshata* and translates as 'indifference towards religion'.

the Muslim community and there is currently an impasse.

Sen (2005), however, makes the salient point that legal and political equality does not automatically guarantee social and economic equality. Of particular note here is the National Commission for Minorities, created in 1992, whose role is to safeguard the constitutional rights of religious minorities.[98] As one interviewee told me:

> The fact that there is a Minorities Commission required in itself shows that there is a certain degree of inequality. I mean after sixty years of independence one should not be having a Minorities Commission. The fact that it is there indicates that there is a need for it, but again at the same time it also indicates that this need is recognised by the government... (10/ZO)

Every state has a State Minorities Commission following the model of the national body comprising representatives of five religious communities: Buddhists, Christians, Muslims, Parsees and Sikhs.[99] In 2007, the West Bengal government voted to recognise Jains as a minority so they also have a seat on the state commission. The Minorities Commission in West Bengal is particularly active and the state government has allocated more money to minority development than any other state.[100] According to the Commission member whom I interviewed, the main issues in West Bengal concern the Muslim community (particularly regarding land in rural areas, discrimination on the basis of madrassa education and access to government jobs) and the Christian community (particularly regarding encroachment on cemetery land and the independence of Anglo-Indian schools). The Commission, however, is a statutory rather than constitutional body – meaning that it can investigate problems and issues but cannot take any action – thus its effectiveness and impact is limited.

5.5.4 Contemporary communal relations[101]

The fact that secularism and religious tolerance are enshrined in the constitution does not guarantee peace and harmony between different communities. This section gives a brief overview of communal relations in West Bengal over the last century.[102]

The first Partition of Bengal in 1905[103] along religious lines prompted Muslims to start to organise

---

[98] The National Commission for Minorities is one of a family of bodies which protects the rights of minority groups; others include the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the National Commission for Backward Classes.

[99] Other minority religious communities, such as Jews, are not included on the Commission because they do not have a legal status as a minority.

[100] West Bengal's outstanding performance in this respect is probably related to its dominant politics. The communists, who were in power from 1977 to 2009, were always sympathetic to minorities (particularly since they drew a significant proportion of their votes from minority groups) and opposed to communal violence.

[101] By definition communal is not the same as religious, but in India the two are often indistinguishable (Engineer 2005).

[102] This overview was compiled from Moorhouse (1971), Dutta (2003), Winchester and Winchester (2004), Wolpert (2006), Guha (2007) and Wood (2007).

[103] See Appendix F for details.

themselves politically. In 1906 they formed the All India Muslim League which pledged loyalty to the British government, supported partition and denounced the nationalistic movement. By 1907, the goal of *swaraj* (home rule) had captured the mind of most Hindus but had left most Muslims unmoved, apart from a tiny Calcutta-based group called the Bengal Mohammedan Association. This group tried to persuade Bengali Muslims to unite with Hindus in the cause of national freedom. Trouble broke out between Hindus and Muslims in 1907 and mistrust grew between the communities. The British did little to discourage communal friction.

The Partition of Bengal was rescinded in 1911. The Muslims, who felt that they had gained the most from Partition, now felt that they had lost the most. At the same time, the price of staple goods rose dramatically during the First World War, which hit poor Muslims particularly hard and increased their sense of resentment. This set the stage for antagonism between Hindus and Muslims that would lead to communal tension and periodic riots over the next three decades. The first main riots were in 1918, targeted particularly at the Marwari community.[104] Then riots in 1926 lasted for two weeks before the army quelled them, only to erupt again a few weeks later. Mosques and temples were desecrated and torched, dozens killed and hundreds injured. The third major riot came after Direct Action Day in 1946 when Muslims planned to stop business in protest against the plans for the partition of India. Calcutta descended into violence between Hindus and Muslims, which became known as the Great Calcutta Killings. An estimated 100,000 people fled the city and the dead probably numbered 7,000. Gandhi came to Calcutta in the days leading up to independence to try to bring calm and was successful: on the eve of independence the mood in the city changed and Hindus and Muslims united to celebrate freedom from the British.

At independence, India was divided and Bengal underwent Partition for a second time: the western part became West Bengal, a state of India, and the eastern part became East Pakistan, later Bangladesh.[105] The British did not reveal the exact demarcation line until the day after independence and as many as 11 million people then moved across the invisible borders – particularly in the Punjab and Bengal – the largest migration in human history. Communal violence between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs ensued; the death toll will never be known but is estimated at between one and two million.

Since independence, however, there has been very little communal violence in West Bengal. Occasional instances of tension are isolated events – often reactions to incidents elsewhere in India – and there have been no significant riots as in other states. The reasons for the good relations between the majority and minority ethno-religious communities in West Bengal possibly lie in a combination of: the cosmopolitan nature of the city throughout its history; the peaceful

[104] People from the Marwar region in the Indian state of Rajasthan; primarily a trading and business community.
[105] See Appendix F for details.

coexistence of different religious communities in the rural areas for generations; the dominance of communist politics;[106] and the naturally tolerant nature of the Bengali people. Not only is there a lack of tension between religious communities but Bengalis positively embrace religious diversity; festivals of majority and minority religions are enthusiastically celebrated by everyone.

Since my first visit to Kolkata more than a decade ago, I have been fascinated by the ethno-religious diversity among the people of West Bengal and heartened by the way in which differences are seen as a positive asset rather than a source of tension. Each ethno-religious community has an array of organisations serving different purposes and it was the coexistence of such ROs engaged in development activities that prompted this study (see Section 1.2). Drawing together the three contextual themes presented in this chapter – the civil society sector, levels of socio-economic development, and religious diversity and coexistence – the next four chapters present my empirical findings on ROs engaged in development in Kolkata.

[106] The communists became a significant political force in West Bengal in the 1960s and the Left Front coalition was in power for 32 years from 1977 until its defeat in the 2009 elections. Strikes, protests and tensions were a feature of West Bengal society during this period but these were largely related to politics and trade unions. The Hindu nationalist movement and the rise in popularity of its political arm, the BJP, which swept across much of India in the 1980s and 1990s did not have a strong following in West Bengal.

Chapter 6 – Position and presence

6.1 Introduction

Section 3.2 described the growing literature that explores the presence, prominence and role of ROs in civil society. Although they are increasingly recognised as a distinct type of CSO, there is still relatively poor understanding of ROs as a set of actors. There have been calls for more empirical studies and comparative work to understand the contribution of ROs to civil society in both quantitative and qualitative terms. In response, scholars have been conducting case studies around the world of individual ROs, particular types of ROs, or ROs in particular locations and I contribute to this growing literature with the first systematic multi-religious study of ROs in Kolkata. I assess the overall presence of ROs, the diversity among them and investigate three particular questions arising from the literature (as identified in Section 3.2.3):

i) What factors influence the presence, prominence and role of ROs in civil society?
ii) How useful are different typologies for understanding the diversity among ROs?
iii) What is the contribution of informal ROs to civil society?

The findings are analysed within the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3. The data presented and analysed in this chapter are drawn from two main sources: my survey of CSOs in central Kolkata which identified 232 ROs, hereafter referred to as the survey, and my study of a sample of 50 ROs engaged in development activities, hereafter referred to as the sample (see Sections 4.2 and 4.3).

In order to explore the extent to which my findings in Kolkata are typical within India and comparable to other countries, I also present data from seven other relevant studies, as follows.[107] There are two studies of CSOs in India: Desai's (1999) study of a sample of grassroots NGOs working with the urban poor in the city of Bombay; and Srivastava and Tandon's (2002) systematic survey of NPOs across India including state-specific findings from West Bengal (Srivastava *et al* 2002). There are three studies of ROs in India: Jodkha and Bora's (2009) survey of a sample of FBOs working in two cities in the state of Maharashtra; Mishra's (2008a) survey of religious trusts in the states of Bihar and Jharkhand; and Siddiqui's (1997, 2004) survey of all Muslim institutions in Kolkata and specifically Muslim voluntary organisations. There are also two studies of ROs in other countries: Iqbal and Siddiqui's (2008) nationwide survey of FBOs in Pakistan; and Odomusu *et al*'s (2009) selective survey of FBOs in two cities and two states of Nigeria.

Section 6.2 presents the findings of my survey in terms of the number of ROs in Kolkata and their relative proportion in civil society. Section 6.3 looks at the diversity among ROs in terms of their religious affiliation, when they started their work in Kolkata, and the country of origin of their parent bodies. Section 6.4 cross-examines the data on ROs using three different classifications: type of

[107] Although CSOs and ROs are my preferred terms, when referring to the work of other scholars I adopt their chosen terminology such as VOs, NPOs, NGOs and FBOs.

organisation, activities and place in the aid chain. Section 6.5 investigates the three issues emerging from the literature. Section 6.6 reflects on the findings in the light of the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development.

6.2 Presence of religious organisations

The first task is to estimate the overall presence of ROs as a type of CSO. This section presents some quantitative data and compares my findings to other studies in India and elsewhere.

Having set particular parameters, I used eight different sources to compile a database of CSOs registered in central Kolkata and this generated a total of 1,054 organisations (see Section 4.2). There were various shortcomings with the data sources so the figure is not definitive; for example, it only represents organisations which chose to be, or were chosen to be, listed on the various sources and such organisations were likely to be those that were more formalised (e.g. legally registered), had some motivation for being listed (e.g. to attract funding or to recruit volunteers) or were engaged in activities for the public good (e.g. welfare, consumer rights, conservation, community development).

There are two other studies with which to compare these findings. Srivastava *et al* (2002) calculated that there were 87,086 NPOs in West Bengal in 1999/2000 and that 37 per cent of these (32,222 organisations) were based in urban areas. There were no data specifically on Kolkata but since it is the biggest urban centre within West Bengal, it can be inferred that a significant proportion of these urban-based organisations were located there. A decade later, a government report estimated that there were 170,000 NPOs in West Bengal in 2009, noting an exponential rise in organisational registration since 2000 (Shukla 2010).[108] These two sources suggest that the true number of organisations might be many orders of magnitude greater than my findings; possibly only a fraction of CSOs are registered on online listings. Unregistered and informal organisations are discussed at greater length in Section 6.5.3.

Although my survey data are unlikely to reflect the exact number of CSOs in Kolkata, with over one thousand entries, there is enough information to analyse trends and patterns in the types and characteristics of CSOs. I was particularly interested in identifying ROs and found that of the 1,054 CSOs, 232 had a connection to religion, 275 were non-religious, 318 did not specify whether they were religious or non-religious, and there was no information available for a further 229. Excluding the organisations for which no information was available, this means that 28 per cent of CSOs

[108] The findings of this government study were described in the national press but the source was not named. I surmise that the study is ongoing therefore as yet unpublished and only preliminary findings were released to the media.

were ROs. It is possible that some of the organisations which did not specify their orientation could indeed be religious; therefore it can be concluded from these data that in Kolkata between one-quarter and one-third of CSOs are ROs. This is very similar to the findings of Srivastava *et al* (2002), who estimated that 23,454 (27 per cent) of NPOs in West Bengal were religious (although their data deliberately excluded religious institutions such as temples, mosques and churches only engaged in religious activities).[109]

Given the discrepancies between my findings and the two other studies, I considered alternative ways to calculate the actual number of ROs. I tried to make projections about the potential total number of ROs but, as the following three examples demonstrate, this was highly problematic.

i) Through web searches, interviews, observation and word of mouth, I came across many ROs that were not captured in my survey and I kept a list of these. Three organisations of the Brahmo Samaj (a Hindu reform movement), for example, appeared in my survey but I found reference to a further 13 during the course of my fieldwork. From this I could infer that my survey uncovered only 19 per cent of existing Brahmo organisations. This could then be projected onto organisations of other religions; for example, my figure of 137 Christian organisations would be revised to 721.

ii) Siddiqui's (2004) study of Muslim voluntary associations in Kolkata is considered to be exhaustive, therefore his figure of 466 organisations can be considered as fairly accurate. Since I recorded only 19 Muslim organisations, I could infer that my survey captured just four per cent of all Muslim organisations. This percentage could be used to project a more realistic number of organisations of other religions; for example, my figure of 137 Christian organisations would be revised to 3,425.

iii) It was possible to ascertain the exact number of ROs for the very small religious minorities. The Jewish community, for example, has just seven organisations currently in existence in Kolkata: two synagogues, three schools, one hospital and one community trust fund. Since just one Jewish organisation (one of the synagogues) appeared in my survey, this ratio of 1:7 could be used to project figures for organisations of other religions; for example, my figure of 137 Christian organisations would be revised to 959.

Although each of these projections presents interesting alternative data, they are very problematic for a number of reasons. First, different religious communities do not have the same organisation-forming habits; for example, the two projections based on the numerically very small Brahmo Samaj and Jewish communities may not be valid for other communities. Second, different religious communities do not register their organisations in the same way; for example, Siddiqui (2004) found almost half of Muslim organisations not legally registered and therefore less likely to appear

[109] Although my search parameters did include religious institutions, very few were listed on the sources used to compile the database.

on listings and databases of NGOs. Overall, I do not believe that any of these projections could be used to generate an accurate number of ROs in Kolkata but this discussion of different projection methods serves to indicate that my figures could be underestimated by many orders of magnitude.

The final consideration is whether these findings from one Indian city and state are representative of India as a whole and comparable with other countries. Srivastava and Tandon (2002) made nationwide projections based on a sample of five states (one of which was West Bengal) and estimated that there were nearly 1.2 million NPOs in India in 1999/2000. The recent unnamed government report (see previous footnote) put the total number of NPOs in India in 2009 at 3.3 million, one for every 400 people, with West Bengal having the seventh-highest number of any state (Shukla 2010). Mohanty and Singh (2001), looking specifically at VOs and NGOs that are registered to deliver government programmes, suggest that there are about 100,000 in India, of which only 25,000 to 30,000 are active, and the largest numbers are found in Maharashtra, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu. It is difficult to infer from these other studies whether Kolkata is typical or atypical within India. The only comparable data from another country are from the nationwide survey of FBOs in Pakistan by Iqbal and Siddiqui (2008). They identified a total of 16,720 organisations and estimated that FBOs constituted approximately one-third of non-profit organisations in the country, which is in line with my estimate for Kolkata.

6.3 Diversity of religious organisations

Although I attempted to estimate the total number of ROs in Kolkata and their overall proportion as one type of CSO, these statistics mask the tremendous diversity within the category of RO. As Bano and Nair (2007) point out, all religions have a common feature in that they emphasise social service to fellow human beings but it is manifest in very different ways in terms of charitable giving and service organisations. This section describes the variation between ROs in terms of religious affiliation (by religion and subgroup),[110] date of formation, and existence and origin of parent body. Where possible, the findings from my own survey are compared to other studies in India and elsewhere.

6.3.1 Religious affiliation

The affiliations of the 232 ROs identified in the survey are shown in Table 5.

[110] See Section 1.4.1 regarding use of the term subgroup.

Table 5 – Religious affiliation of religious organisations in Kolkata

Religion	No. organisations	Percentage
Buddhist	5	2.16
Christian	137	59.05
Hindu	66	28.45
Jain	2	0.86
Jewish	1	0.43
Muslim	19	8.19
Shinto	1	0.43
Sikh	1	0.43
TOTAL	**232**	**100**

Although almost 60 per cent of the organisations were Christian, 28 per cent Hindu and eight per cent Muslim, these proportions in no way reflect the religious composition of the population, which was 0.9 per cent Christian, 78 per cent Hindu and 20 per cent Muslim in central Kolkata in the 2001 Census.

The fact that the majority of organisations were Christian could be ascribed to different factors. On the one hand, Christians could be more prone to forming organisations perhaps due to the missionary nature of Christianity. On the other hand, Christian organisations could be more likely to be legally registered and submit their organisational information to national and international listings of NGOs, perhaps for reasons of bidding for foreign funding. The highly subdivided nature of Christianity could also account for the large number of organisations: each subgroup has their own churches, schools, social welfare and development projects. Contrarily, the fact that very few Jain, Jewish, Shinto and Sikh organisations and no Baha'i, Taoist or Zoroastrian organisations appeared in the survey does not mean that few or no organisations of these religions exist in Kolkata, rather that such organisations are not listed in the sources used for my data collection.

There are some comparable data from other studies in India. Jodhka and Bora's (2009) sample of 133 FBOs in Maharashtra had a distribution of 52.6 per cent Christian, 22.6 per cent Hindu, 13.5 per cent Muslim, 4.5 per cent Buddhist, three per cent Jain, three per cent Sikh and 0.8 per cent Zoroastrian. These proportions are broadly comparable to my own, although the minority religions have a slightly stronger presence, perhaps due to a different population composition in that state. Unfortunately Mishra's (2008a) study of Bihar and Jharkhand is not directly comparable because of the absence of any data on Christian organisations. According to his data, of the 6,587 registered religious trusts in the two states, 56 per cent were Hindu, 41 per cent Muslim, two per cent Sikh and one per cent Jain.

The fact that the affiliation of ROs in India does not reflect the religious composition of the population stands in contrast to other countries. Iqbal and Siddiqui (2008) describe how the territory which is now Pakistan was subject to a variety of influences including Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam and Christianity over a long period of history but when the British divided India on religious lines, the new nation of Pakistan was established as an Islamic Republic. In the years since independence, Muslim organisations have flourished, often actively encouraged by the state. They particularly increased in number and scope during General Zia-ul-Haq’s military rule (1977-1988) and his drive for Islamisation. Today, 96 per cent of the population is Muslim and 94 per cent of FBOs are Muslim.

Historical factors also shaped the religious distribution of FBOs in Nigeria, according to Odumosu *et al* (2009). Islam and Christianity were introduced to Nigeria and, over time, almost completely replaced traditional religious beliefs. Hand in hand with the spread of Islam and Christianity was the evolution of ROs, particularly during the colonial period. Christian missionary organisations combined religious activities with education, health and other social work. Muslim organisations emerged in response and were strongly oriented towards winning converts, the sponsorship of koranic schools, and political engagement to promote an Islamic state. In the years since independence, both Muslim and Christian FBOs proliferated. Today, the religious affiliation of the population is currently estimated to be approximately 50 per cent Muslim and 48 per cent Christian and FBOs are similarly balanced.

Considering the affiliation of ROs to a major religion is a useful starting point, but since each religion is divided into many subgroups, a further level of analysis is necessary. The religious affiliation of organisations in the survey by subgroup is shown in Table 6.[111] Splitting the data in this way is most interesting for the religions that have the greater number of organisations, i.e. Christian and Hindu.

The figures show that 37 per cent of Christian organisations are Roman Catholic, 27 per cent are Protestant[112] and 19 per cent are Evangelical or Pentecostal, while the proportion of adherents to these groups is 29 per cent, 39 per cent and 27 per cent respectively.[113] This suggests that Catholics have proportionally more organisations than adherents while Protestants and Evangelicals/Pentecostals have fewer. I cannot establish a reason for this trend. Of particular note in the affiliation of Hindu organisations is the fact that over half of those in the survey follow Practical Vedanta, a philosophical approach inspired by the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna, Sarada Ma and Swami Vivekananda. Though this trio of Hindu saints have inspired people in India and across the world, they were originally from Bengal and retain a prominence and loyal following in Kolkata and West Bengal. Such organisations may not be so numerical or dominant in other states of India.

[111] Although each major religion has numerous subgroups, only those found in the survey are included in the table.
[112] This is a combination of Anglican, Church of North India and Protestant categories.
[113] Census figures on religious affiliation were only available for India, not for West Bengal or Kolkata.

Table 6 – Religious affiliation of organisations in Kolkata by subgroup

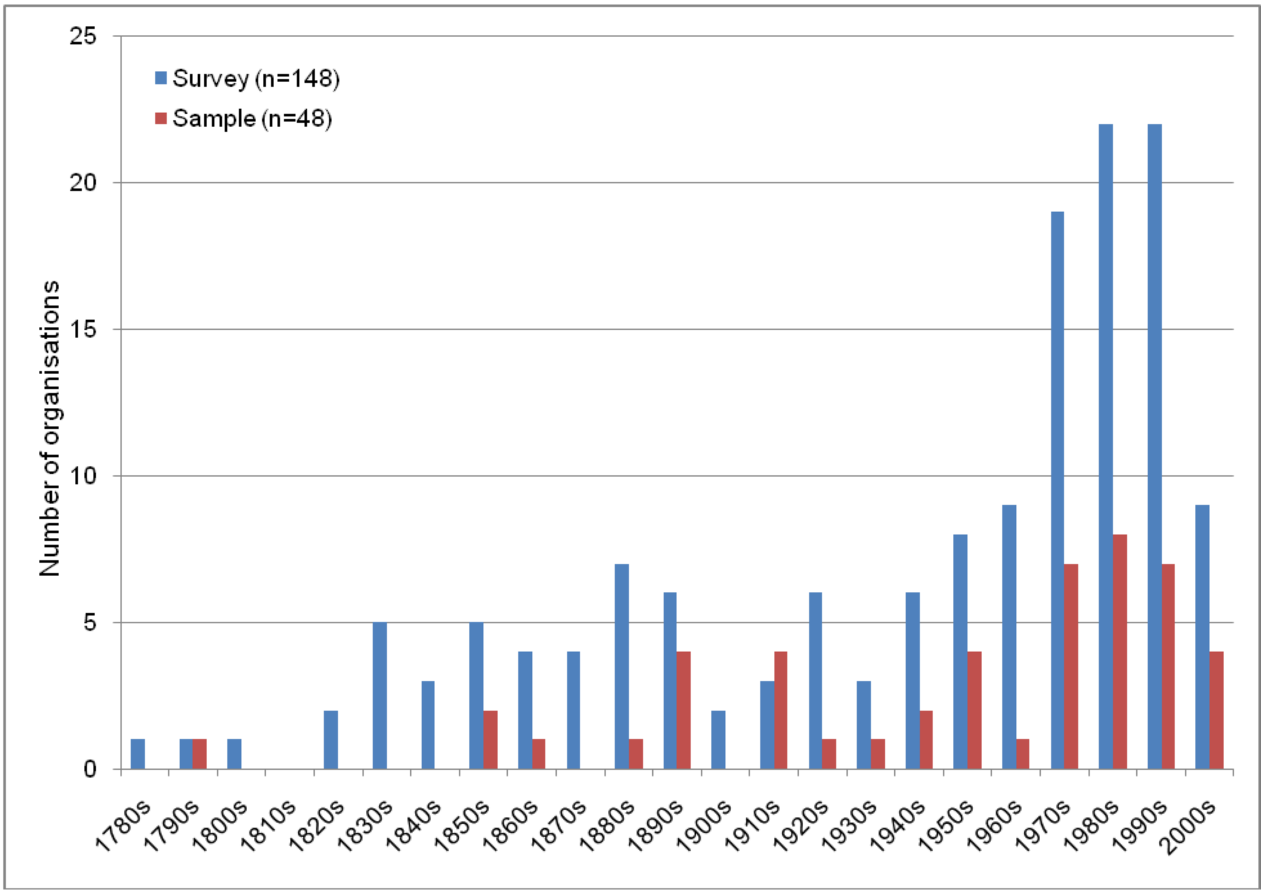
Religion	Subgroup	No. organisations
Buddhist	Mahayana	1
	Theravada	2
	No information available	2
Christian	Anglican	2
	Church of North India	17
	Evangelical	21
	Greek Orthodox	1
	Mar Thoma Syrian Church	1
	Non-denominational/inter-denominational	4
	Pentecostal	5
	Protestant (Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist)	18
	Roman Catholic	51
	No information available	17
Hindu	A tradition or movement based on the life and teachings of one of the Hindu saints/gurus/yogis	9
	Brahmo Samaj	3
	Gaudiya Vaishnavite	4
	Hindutva	2
	Practical Vedanta	35
	Tantra	1
	Worship of the Goddess Kali	1
	No information available	11
Jain	Digambar	1
	Swetambar	1
Jewish	Sephardic	1
Muslim	Sufi	1
	No information available	18
Shinto	Ōmoto-kyō	1
Sikh	Sindhi	1
TOTAL		**232**

6.3.2 Date of formation

The date of formation refers to when a local organisation was established in Kolkata or when an organisation with a parent body set up its branch in Kolkata.[114] Figure 9 displays, decade by decade, when organisations in the survey and sample originated.[115] The historical development of the civil society sector in West Bengal was described in Section 5.2 but some of the trends specific to ROs are discussed below.

[114] The year in which the work started was occasionally different from the date when the organisation was formally established or registered; in such cases I used the earlier date.
[115] Of the 232 ROs in the survey, data were available for 148 organisations; of the 50 ROs in the sample, data were available for 48 organisations.

Figure 9 – Date of formation of religious organisations in Kolkata



Of all the organisations in the survey, the earliest to be founded in Calcutta was a Christian school in 1789. In fact, the 25 earliest organisations (from 1789 to 1876) were all Christian. Indeed, from the 1830s onwards, a steady number of Christian organisations was formed each decade. This period saw the rise of Calcutta into a city of global importance, initially under the administration of the East India Company, with control transferred to the British Crown in 1858. Along with traders and colonial administrators came Christian missionaries who established many places of worship and organisations in Calcutta, such as St Joseph's College (1853), Young Men's Christian Association (1857), the Bengal Regional Conference of the Methodist Church (1873) and the Salvation Army (1882).

The first Hindu organisation to appear in the survey was established in 1878 and was followed by a further five in the 1880s and 1890s. This was the period of the Bengali Renaissance, when social and religious reforms to Bengali society were led by a small but influential westernised intelligentsia. Among the most prominent organisations were the Brahmo Samaj (established 1828, revived 1878) and the Ramakrishna Math and Mission (1886).

The first half of the twentieth century saw a shift in organisation-forming trends. There was a decline in organisational formation in the 1900s and 1910s, with just five organisations in the survey (three Christian, two Hindu) being established during this period. This was a period of unrest relating to the British decision to partition Bengal, which triggered boycotts, protests and terrorism. In the subsequent decades up to independence, the nationalist movement was in the ascendant while British influence was waning, seen in the fact that only a handful of Christian organisations were formed during this period.

The post-independence period again saw the establishment of Christian organisations. In the 1950s and 1960s, 13 of the 17 organisations formed were Christian, many motivated to respond to extreme suffering among the populace of Calcutta. The Partition of India (1947) led to a huge influx of refugees to Calcutta from East Bengal; during this period the city grew in size but conditions of housing and living deteriorated significantly. It was in response to these conditions, for example, that Mother Teresa established her religious order, the Missionaries of Charity (1950) and opened her first home for the destitute and dying (1952).

A sharp jump in organisation formation occurred in the 1970s and increased through the 1980s and 1990s. The Bangladesh War (1971) caused another massive influx of refugees into Calcutta; once again civic amenities could not cope and the city became overcrowded and dysfunctional. The rapid growth of the city's population, together with the city's image in the popular western mind as a place of horror and desperation, motivated further charitable intervention. Thus a large number of welfare organisations was established in this period to meet the needs of the refugees and those inhabiting the mushrooming slum and squatter communities. In the two decades of the 1970s and 1980s, 28 per cent of all organisations in the whole survey were established. Just over half of these were Christian organisations including Cathedral Relief Service (1971), Lutheran World Service India (1974), Emmanuel Ministries (1978) and The Leprosy Mission (1980). Six of the ten Muslim organisations in the survey were also formed in this period, including United Bustee Development Association (1978), Tiljala Bustee Development Society (1981), Islamic Educational and Welfare Trust (1984) and Al-Ameen Mission (1986). None of these organisations were established by outsiders; all were efforts by the local Muslim community to improve their situation.

By the 1990s, the role of CSOs in providing social services where government provision was insufficient was widely recognised. The world over, this decade saw a mushrooming in the number of NGOs established, as well as their growing professionalisation. In the survey, 22 organisations were formed in the 1990s, equalling the number formed in the previous decade, with a further nine organisations formed between 2000 and 2004 and these organisations were spread across the religions (16 Christian, ten Hindu, two Buddhist, two Muslim, one Shinto).

These trends in the establishment of ROs in Kolkata are similar to the findings of other studies. Also in Kolkata, Siddiqui (2004) gathered data on the period of formation of Muslim voluntary organisations. Just three per cent were established before 1950, six per cent in the 1950s and 12 per cent in the 1960s but greater numbers were formed in the following three decades: 25 per cent in 1970s, 27 per cent in 1980s and 27 per cent in 1990s. This mirrors the findings from the limited number of Muslim organisations in my survey. Siddiqui suggests two main factors for the increase: the natural urge to form associations after freedom from foreign rule and the multiplication of problems in the city since independence, coupled with rising social consciousness.

Elsewhere in India, Jodhka and Bora (2009)'s study of FBOs in Maharashtra found that more than a quarter of organisations, from across all the different religions, were established during the colonial period. In my survey, a greater proportion (39 per cent) of organisations in the sample were established during the years of British rule; the higher figure for Kolkata compared to Maharashtra could be because Kolkata was the capital of India for most of this period and therefore a hub of organisation-forming activity. Jodhka and Bora also note that no organisation in their sample was established in the immediate post-independence era of the 1950s, which they attribute to the secularisation agenda being promoted by the new government under Nehru. Almost half of their organisations – compared to 36 per cent of my own – originated since the 1980s, which they correlate with the global proliferation of FBOs in that period.

6.3.3 Parent bodies

Of the 232 ROs in the survey, 98 were classified as local (i.e. formed in Kolkata), 91 had a parent body (i.e. the Kolkata office was a branch of a national or international organisation) and there was no information available for 43 organisations. The 50 ROs in the sample were split between 21 local organisations and 29 with a parent body. Of particular interest is the country of origin of parent bodies for those organisations with one; the global distribution is shown in Table 7.[116]

Table 7 – Religious organisations in Kolkata by country of origin of parent body

Country of origin	No. organisations	
	Survey	Sample
India	40	16
South Asia (excluding India)	0	1
Southeast Asia (Thailand)	0	1
East Asia (China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan)	7	2
Middle East	0	1
Mainland Western Europe (France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Sweden)	18	3
United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland	17	3
USA and Canada	9	2
TOTAL	**91**	**29**

[116] In a few cases, the country of origin of the parent body as not the same as the country in which the parent body has its headquarters; the former information is given in the table.

The fact that 44 per cent of parent bodies in the survey and 55 per cent in the sample are from India demonstrates the strong tradition of CSOs in the country (see Section 5.2). Of the remainder, there are many more organisations from Europe and North America working in India than from elsewhere in Asia. This can be explained by several factors, including the diversity of Christian subgroups each establishing their own branches in India and – in the case of the United Kingdom – postcolonial feelings of responsibility towards the former dominion.

It might be expected that the religious affiliation of parent bodies would mirror the dominant religion of their home country. While all of the parent bodies from Europe and all but one from North America were Christian, the parent bodies from East Asia were mixed: four Christian (three from China, one from Hong Kong), two Buddhist (one from Japan, one from Taiwan) and one Shinto (Japan). Similarly, the parent bodies from India are also of mixed religion (24 Hindu, 13 Christian and one each Buddhist, Jain and Sikh). The phenomenon of Asian Christians establishing organisations in India is a recent trend which reflects the growth of evangelistic Christianity in Asia and the establishment of missionary organisations. The vast literature on Christian missions documents this shift from traditionally missionary-receiving countries to missionary-sending countries (e.g. Neill 1986; Barrett and Johnson 2001; Pocock *et al* 2005).

6.4 Classification of religious organisations

Describing the diversity among ROs using different factors, as in Section 6.3, is useful but analysis may be assisted by the division of organisations into different categories. Section 3.2.2 described four different classification systems that have been developed for ROs: organisation type, activities and methods, place in the aid chain and organisational religiosity. In this section, I use the first three to cross-examine my data (the fourth is considered in Section 7.2). One criticism in the literature that was levelled against the various classification systems was that they have been developed from a European perspective with Christian organisations in mind and that they may not be appropriate for data sets comprising many non-Christian organisations. I test this criticism by applying them to my data from India on organisations belonging to multiple religions. Where possible, the findings from my own survey are compared to other studies in India and elsewhere.

6.4.1 Classification by type of organisation

The first classification system discussed in Section 3.2.2 was by organisation type. The most commonly used classification, certainly within development studies, is Clarke's (2005etc) five-fold typology of FBOs: faith-based representative organisations or apex bodies; faith-based charitable or development organisations; faith-based socio-political organisations; faith-based missionary organisations; and faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organisations. As noted in Section 3.2.3, it has been widely praised and adopted in other studies, but also criticised for missing certain categories. I planned to adopt Clarke's typology but found it problematic; in particular, my survey and sample contained no organisations in two of the five categories and I felt that there was one major category missing (local congregations).[117] I felt that squeezing my data into a pre-existing classification system may distort the findings and lose some of their richness so I created my own classification.[118] I divided my data into three categories, each with several subcategories as described below.

- *Religious institutions* – Organisations the main emphasis of which is religious activities for its own members. This category can be subdivided into: places of worship (e.g. temple, church); religious orders (of monks, nuns or lay equivalents); religious or spiritual movements; places of professional religious training (e.g. Bible College); and associations or apex bodies. Although the primary activity is religious, this does not preclude missionary or charitable activity.

- *Religious missionary organisations* – Organisations the main goal of which is spreading or promoting a religious belief or practice. This category can be subdivided into those seeking to spread their beliefs in order to gain new converts and those seeking to strengthen the beliefs and practices of existing members. Although the primary activity is missionary, this does not preclude religious or charitable activity.

- *Religious charitable organisations* – Organisations the main emphasis of which is social action, through funding, managing or running programmes for the poor and other social groups who may or may not be members. This category can be subdivided into: organisations founded, run or managed by a religious institution (such as a school founded by a church or an NGO run by monks); organisations founded by the members of a particular religious community; organisations founded or inspired by a religious person (e.g. a trust fund named after a saint); and organisations founded on the basis of religious teachings or spiritual values. Although the primary activity is charitable, this does not preclude religious or missionary activity.

The distribution of organisations in the survey and sample according to this three-fold typology is shown in Table 8. No information was available for 12 of the 232 organisations in the survey so the total number of organisations shown in the table is 220.

[117] This was related to my wider concerns about the limitations of the term FBO (see Section 1.4.2).
[118] Most researchers go through a similar process and create their own typology but unfortunately this renders comparisons between different studies more difficult because of a lack of standard classification methods.

Table 8 – Religious organisations in Kolkata by type

Type of organisation	No. organisations			
	Survey		Sample	
Religious institution				
- Place of worship	15		5	
- Religious order	21		1	
- Religious or spiritual movement	3		1	
- Place of professional religious training	2		0	
- Association or apex body	7	**48**	3	**10**
Religious missionary organisation				
- Spreading or promoting a religious belief to gain new converts	10		1	
- Strengthening the religious beliefs and practices of own members	3	**13**	2	**3**
Religious charitable organisation				
- Founded, run or managed by a religious institution	73		24	
- Founded by members of a religious community	5		1	
- Founded or inspired by a religious person	58		8	
- Founded on the basis of religious teachings or spiritual values	16		4	
- Unknown	7	**159**	0	**37**
TOTAL		**220**		**50**

Seventy-two per cent of the organisations in the survey and seventy-four per cent in the sample were classified as religious charitable organisations but it cannot be inferred that in reality this proportion of ROs is charitable organisations because the data sources were skewed. First, the sources used to collect the data for the survey were mostly directories of voluntary organisations and listings of NGOs; such organisations tend to be those engaged in some kind of charitable work whereas religious institutions, such as places of worship, are much less likely to appear on such lists. Second, the sample was chosen on the basis of organisations engaged in development activities, hence most of them were categorised as charitable organisations.

Of the charitable organisations, the most common type was those founded, run or managed by a religious institution; for example, Calcutta Girls' High School, which is an English-medium school owned by the Methodist Church in India; the Philanthropic Society of the Orthodox Church which is the charitable arm of the Greek Orthodox church in West Bengal; and Ramakrishna Mission Seva Pratisthan which is a branch centre of the Ramakrishna Mission focusing on health activities. In the survey, 81 per cent of these organisations were Christian and 18 per cent Hindu.

The dominance of Christian organisations in this category is probably a reflection of the subdivided nature of Christianity combined with religious motivation to engage in social action. As mentioned in Section 6.3.1, Christianity has many subgroups, each of which has their own places of worship; since Christians feel a particular call to social action, so each subgroup tends to establish its own services and programmes. In contrast, Islam, also with subgroups, each with their own places of worship, has a different model of charitable giving and service. Muslims are obliged to give financial donations to the poor but this is generally channelled through mosques or *bait-el-mals* which administer and distribute the funds and there is not the same tendency to establish organisations. Certainly there was no evidence in Kolkata of mosque-based social welfare projects in the same way that there are church-based projects.

The second most common type of charitable organisation was those founded or inspired by a religious person; examples include Ankur Kala, a women's vocational training centre founded by a Catholic lady who was inspired by the work of Mother Teresa and Brother Roger of Taizé; Lokenath Divine Life Mission, founded by a Hindu and dedicated to the saint Mahayogi Baba Lokenath; and Sir Syed Group of Schools, named after the nineteenth century Muslim reformer and modernist, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

In the survey, 55 per cent of these organisations were Hindu, 31 per cent Christian and 12 per cent Muslim. The skew towards Hindu organisations is due to the number of organisations inspired by Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Sarada Ma, who are particularly popular and inspirational characters in Bengal (see Section 6.3.1). Despite this, there was more balance in this type of organisation between the different religions, probably because all religions have characters – whether saints, monks, priests or reformers – whose lives and teachings have inspired believers.

Around one in five organisations in the survey and sample were religious institutions, although the actual number is likely to be much higher since many would be unlikely to be listed on the sources used to collect the data, as discussed earlier; for example, there were just 12 Christian churches in the survey but the actual number in the city is likely to number several hundred. Seventy-one per cent of the religious institutions in the survey were Christian; for example, Ling Liang Chinese Church (place of worship); Franciscan Sisters of Mary (religious order); Calcutta Bible College (place of professional religious training); and Council of Baptist Churches in North India (association or apex body). Once again, the skew towards Christian organisations reflects the subdivided nature of Christianity.

Religious missionary organisations are also present in Kolkata; in the survey, 11 were Christian (e.g. Bengal Christian Literature Centre and India Evangelistic Crusade), one Hindu (Gaudiya Mission) and one Buddhist (Bauddha Dharmankur Sabha). Many of the Christian organisations categorised as charitable organisations are strongly evangelistic in their orientation and could therefore be labelled as missionary organisations but I judged social action to be their primary emphasis, therefore classified them as charitable. The fact that most missionary organisations are Christian reflects the scriptural call for believers to share their faith and while other religions have missionary elements, none are perhaps quite so structured and organised as Christianity.

As already noted, drawing comparisons with other studies is fraught with difficulty because of a lack of standardisation in classification systems. Jodhka and Bora (2009) also started with Clarke's typology but adapted it slightly for their study in Maharashtra. Of their 133 organisations, 67 (all Christian) were faith-based missionary organisations, 55 (almost half of which were Hindu) were faith-based charitable/development organisations, six were faith-based cultural organisations and four were faith-based socio-political organisations. There is a more even balance between missionary and charitable/development organisations than in my findings but there is a reason: the researchers asked organisations to classify themselves into one of the five categories and many Christian organisations identified themselves as missionary organisations despite their primary activities being charitable/development. In fact, only two of their 55 faith-based charitable/ development organisations were Christian. Odumosu *et al* (2009) also adapted Clarke's typology for their study in Nigeria, identifying five different types of RO (interfaith organisations, apex bodies, development organisations, socio-political organisations and mission organisations), the most common being development organisations and mission organisations.

Siddiqui (1997) divided the Muslim organisations in his survey into seven different types: mosques, *maktabs* (elementary Islamic schools), *madrassas* (Islamic schools), primary schools, secondary and higher secondary schools, *bait-el-mals* (associations which collect and distribute *zakat* and other charitable funds) and voluntary associations. This typology of organisations is specific to the organisations of the Muslim community and could not be directly transferred to other religions without adjustments. By grouping his categories according to mine, I found that 66 per cent were religious institutions (43 per cent places of worship; 23 per cent places of religious training) and 34 per cent were religious charitable organisations (including 23 per cent schools), with no religious missionary organisations. Although these proportions are quite different from my own findings they are useful in painting a picture of organisations belonging to a particular religious community.

6.4.2 Classification by activities

The second classification system for ROs suggested in Section 3.2.2 was by activity and methods but the main difficulty associated with this was the fact that most organisations are simultaneously engaged in multiple activities and use several methods of working. This makes it difficult to fit each organisation into a typology, such as Korten's (1987, 1990) four 'generations' of NGOs. I overcame this by allowing organisations to be counted in more than one category.

For my survey of all CSOs and ROs, each organisation was categorised according to the two main sectors in which it operated; for example, Calcutta Blind School, which runs a school for blind children and undertakes other activities connected to visual disabilities, was categorised as 'disabilities' for its primary activity and 'education' for its secondary activity. As noted in Section 4.2.2, primary and secondary do not necessarily denote that one is more important or dominant than the other. Figures 10 and 11 show the primary and secondary sectors of work for all CSOs and ROs respectively (excluding organisations for which there was no information). When combining the primary and secondary activities, welfare emerges as the most dominant activity of CSOs followed by education, health and community development. For ROs, welfare is also the dominant activity, followed by religion, education, community development and health. These figures suggest that the activities of ROs mirror CSOs as a whole.

Although they used different categories and methods, Srivastava *et al*'s (2002) study of NPOs in West Bengal contains the most comparable data. They counted only the primary activities of organisations and found 34.5 per cent engaged in sports/culture; 27 per cent in religion; 23.5 per cent in education; seven per cent in community service, four per cent in health and four per cent were classified as 'other'. These state-wise figures differ from the results for India as a whole (Srivastava and Tandon 2002): while religious and education organisations were about the same proportion nationwide, community service was considerably more and sports/culture considerably less in India compared to West Bengal. These findings are also different from my own, mainly because the sources I used were oriented towards organisations engaged in charitable and development activities.

For the sample of 50 organisations, I wanted to consider activities in more detail so I noted all the activities in which organisations were engaged rather than just selecting the two main ones. Some of the most common activities found in the survey also featured in the sample: 33 of the 50 organisations provided education, followed by welfare (26 organisations), health (22 organisations), religion (20 organisations), vocational training (17 organisations) and disaster relief (12 organisations).

My method of counting multiple activities means that direct comparison with other studies which counted only primary activities is difficult. Mishra (2008a) divided 872 FBOs in Bihar and Jharkhand into four activity categories: 43 per cent were primarily engaged in education, 29 per cent in health, 20 per cent in religion and eight per cent in welfare. Jodhka and Bora (2009) chose a different four categories for the activities of FBOs in Maharashtra and found 32 per cent involved in general social development, 31 per cent in health, 22 per cent working for socially marginalised groups and 15 per cent in education. Allowing some flexibility for different use of categories, there are still significant differences between these data on different Indian states. Without further data and analysis it is impossible to say whether the spread of activities found among organisations in Kolkata is typical or atypical of the situation elsewhere in India.

I also disaggregated the data on ROs by religion and found Christian and Hindu organisations working in a broader range of fields than Buddhist and Muslim organisations. Similar trends were

Figure 10 – Primary and secondary sectors of work of civil society organisations in Kolkata

Data were not available for all organisations; number of responses recorded on chart is 1,047.

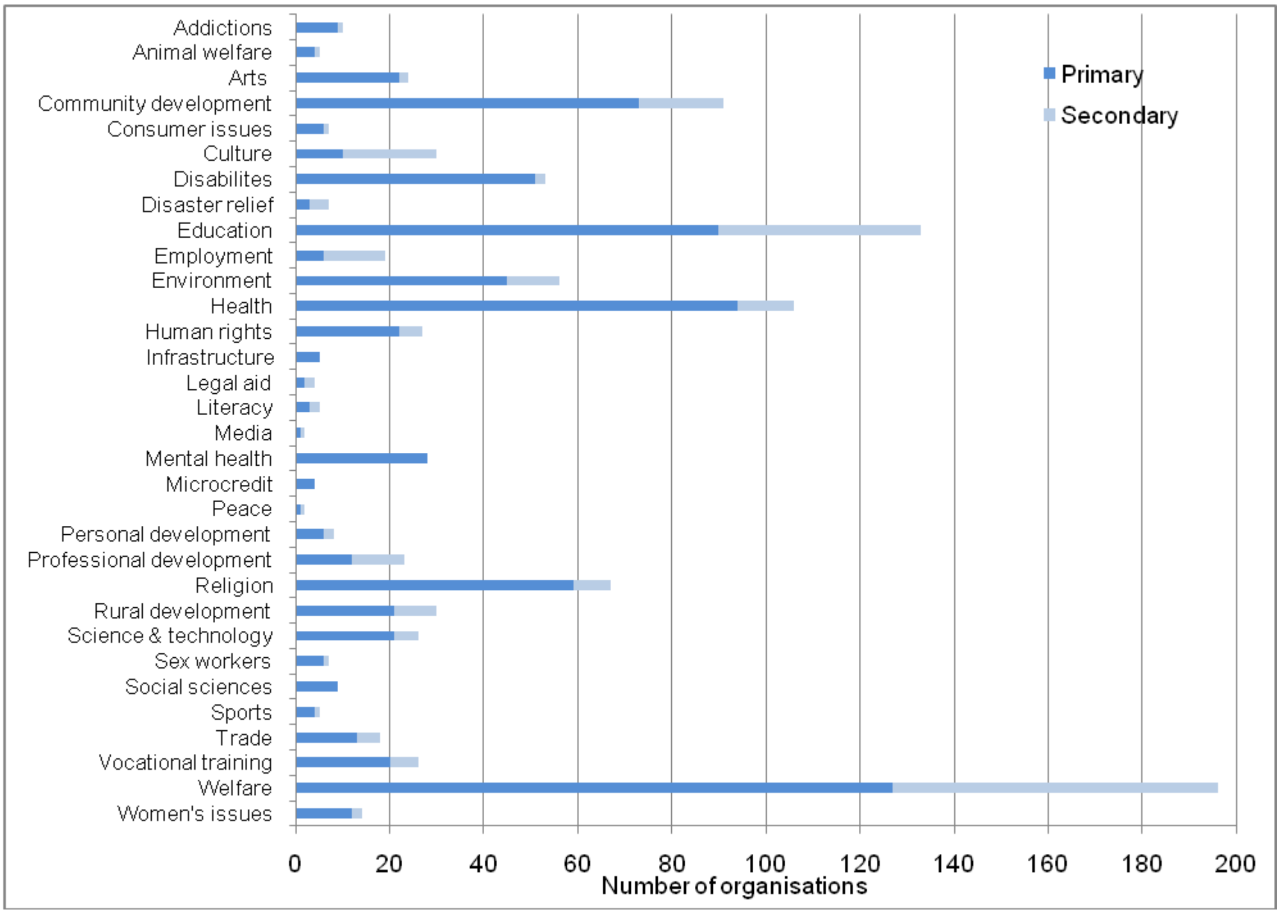
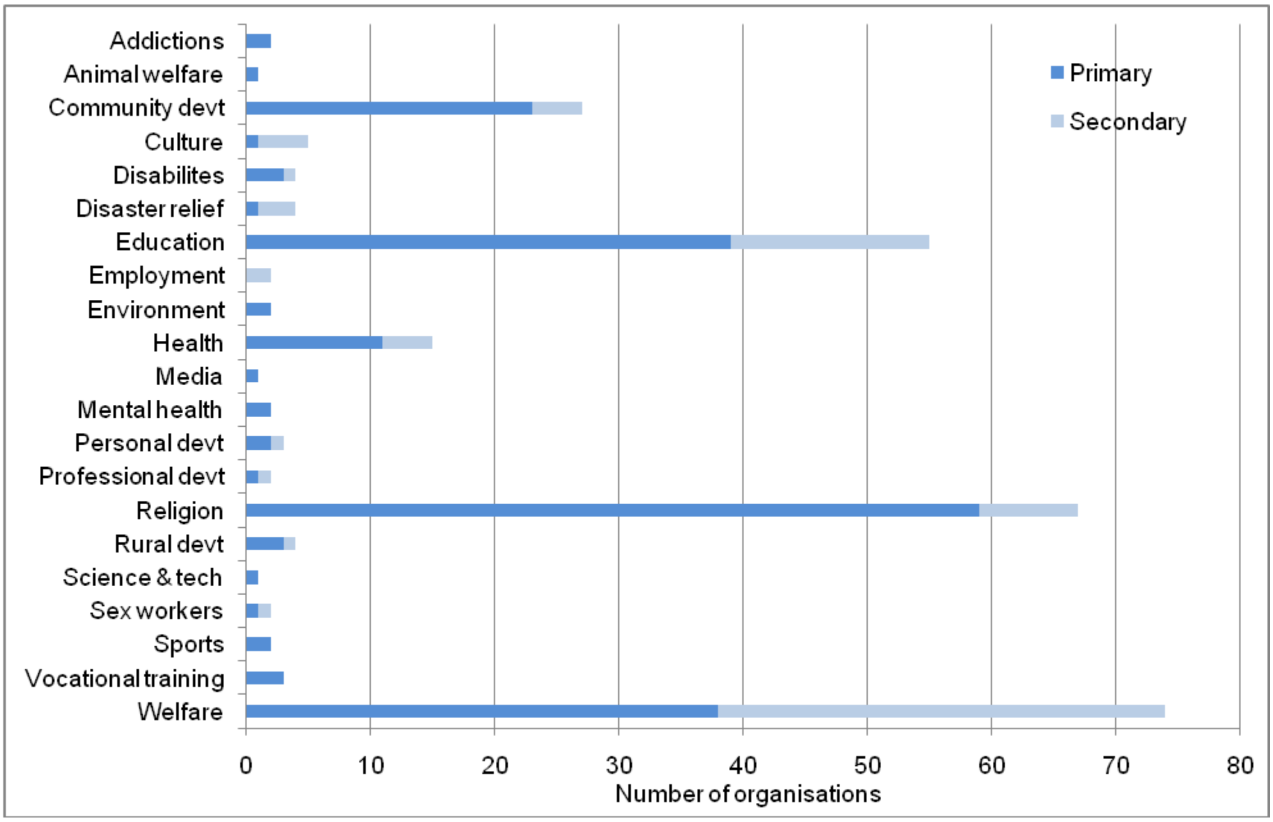


Figure 11 – Primary and secondary sectors of work of religious organisations in Kolkata

Data were not available for all organisations; number of responses recorded on chart is 278.



also noted by Jodhka and Bora (2009) in Maharashtra, where Christian organisations were most diversified in their activities whereas Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim organisations, as well as organisations of the smaller minority groups tended to focus on particular activities. The reasons for this possibly lie in the scriptures and teachings of each religion, which place particular emphasis on certain activities and social groups; this is discussed at the end of this section.

Siddiqui's (2004) detailed analysis of Muslim voluntary organisations reveals a much broader spread of activities: he found over 43 per cent involved in social welfare, 37 per cent in sports and recreation, 13 per cent in educational and literary activities, five per cent in religio-cultural activities and one per cent were professional or trade associations. In comparison, Iqbal and Siddiqui's (2008) analysis of Muslim organisations in Pakistan found that 83 per cent were madrassas and the remainder were welfare wings of religious political parties; large, medium and small charities; welfare trusts and relief organisations; and faith-based research and academic institutions. These are rather different findings to Siddiqui in Kolkata but may be accounted for by different definitions of what organisations were included in their respective surveys.

In the literature, the classification of organisations by activity is usually paired with methods but I could not collect data on the latter because most organisations used multiple methods and insufficient information was available to disaggregate these. Instead I used another indicator related to activities: the intended beneficiaries, target group or clients of the activities. As per activities, each organisation was categorised according to the two main types of people for which it operates; for example, Calcutta Blind School (the example given in the previous section) was categorised as primary beneficiary 'disabled' and secondary beneficiary 'children'. Again, primary and secondary do not necessarily denote that one beneficiary is more important or more dominant than the other. Figures 12 and 13 show the primary and secondary beneficiaries for CSOs and ROs respectively (excluding organisations for which there was no information). When combining the primary and secondary categories, children/youth (children, boys, girls, youth) are the most common group together comprising almost 29 per cent of beneficiaries of CSOs and 42 per cent of beneficiaries of ROs in the survey. For CSOs the next most common beneficiaries were women, the sick and the disabled; for ROs the next most common beneficiaries were the sick, women and slum dwellers. These figures suggest that the activities of ROs largely mirror CSOs as a whole.

There is very little comparable data on beneficiaries aside from Desai (1999) who looked at organisations working with the urban poor in Bombay. While some organisations worked with the urban poor in general, others targeted their activities at certain groups and among the latter she found 33 per cent targeting women and children, 21 per cent focusing on street children and 15 per cent targeting women, followed by six or seven per cent each focusing on drug addicts, sex workers, youth and tribal people. These findings suggest that she found an even higher proportion

Figure 12 – Primary and secondary beneficiaries of civil society organisations in Kolkata

Data were not available for all organisations; number of responses recorded on chart is 830.

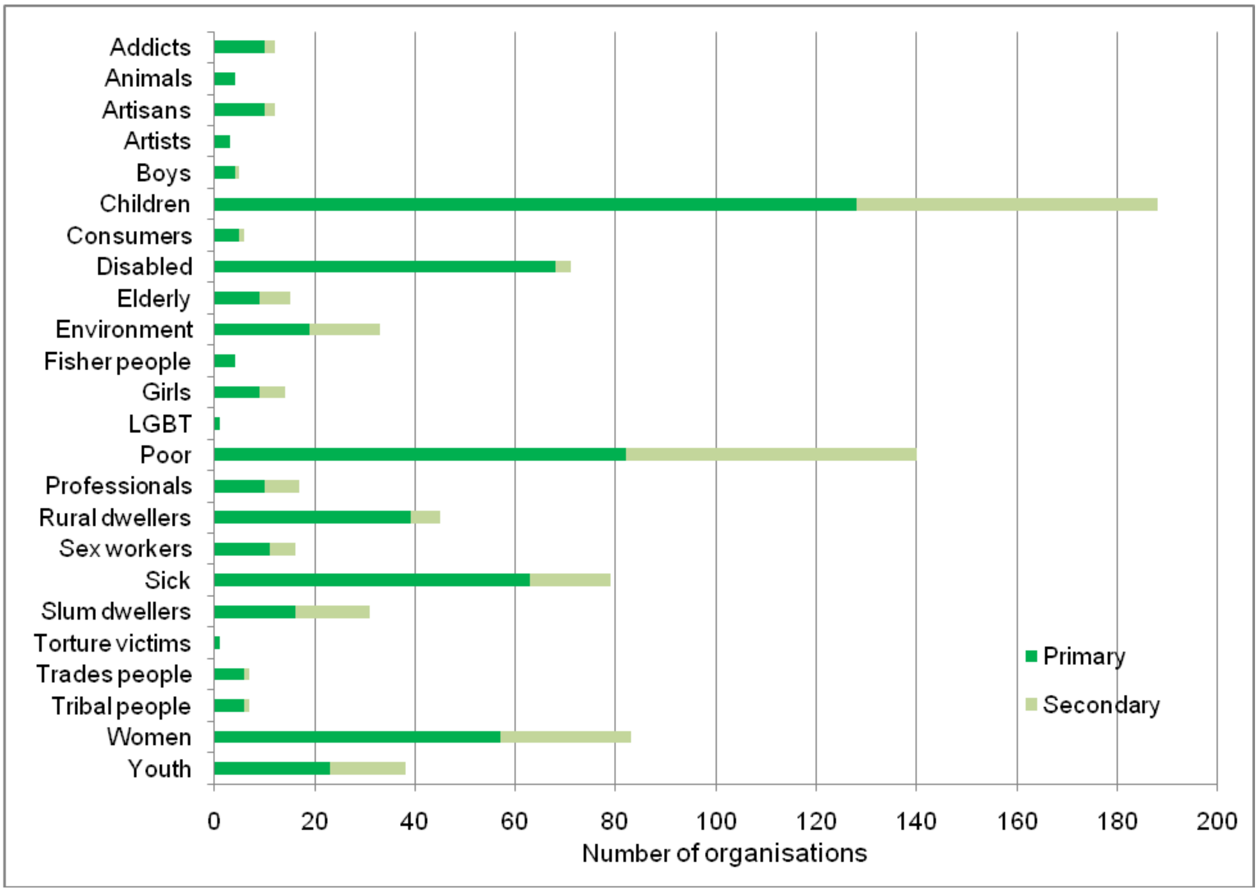
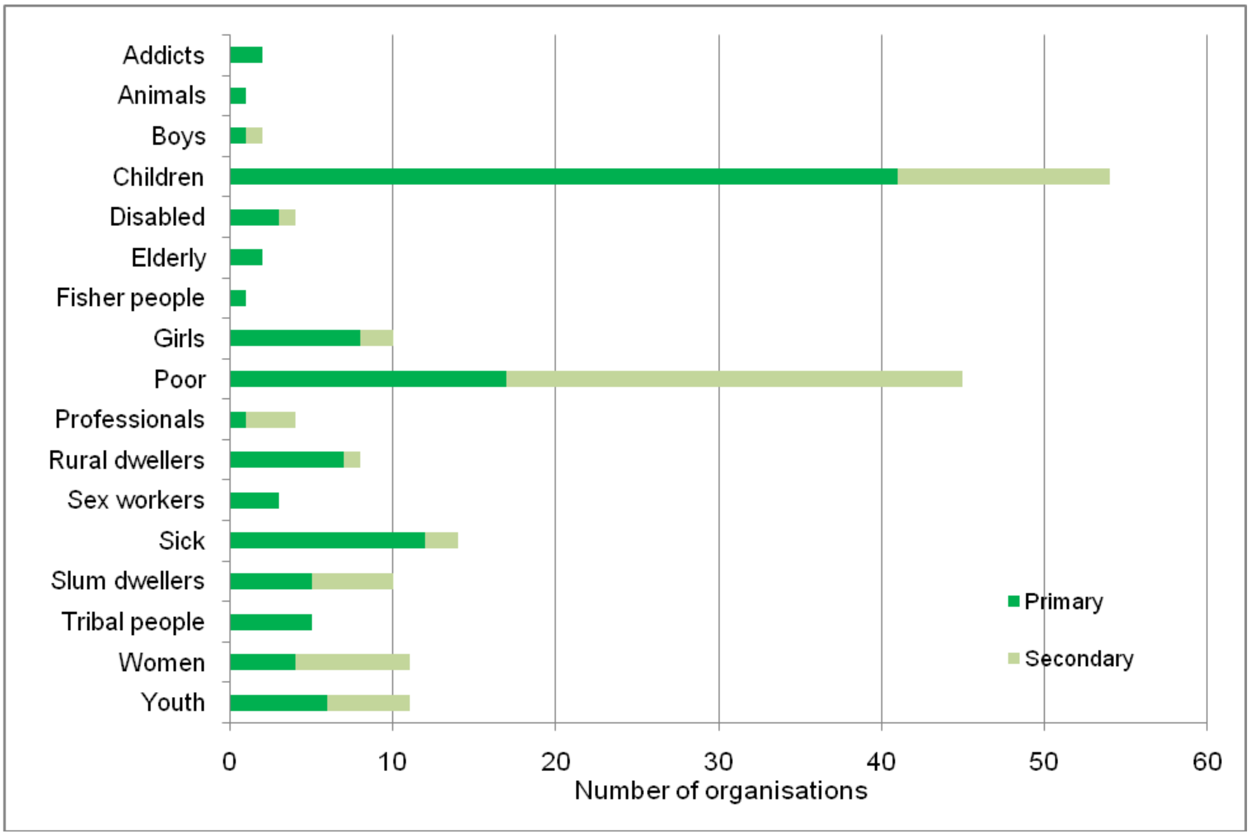


Figure 13 – Primary and secondary beneficiaries of religious organisations in Kolkata

Data were not available for all organisations; number of responses recorded on chart is 187.



of organisations focusing on children and women than in my survey.

I disaggregated the data by religion for the four most common beneficiary groups (children/youth, sick, women and slum dwellers) and, as per activities, found particular patterns which can be correlated with particular scriptures and teachings. Christian organisations served all four types of beneficiary, although children/youth were by far the most common category, perhaps explained by the fact that Christians feel a particular calling to serve vulnerable members of society and Jesus made a particular point of caring for children. Equal numbers of Muslim organisations served children/youth and slum dwellers, but only one organisation served the sick and women, perhaps explained by the fact that a significant proportion of the Muslim community of Kolkata is economically disadvantaged and large numbers live in slums.

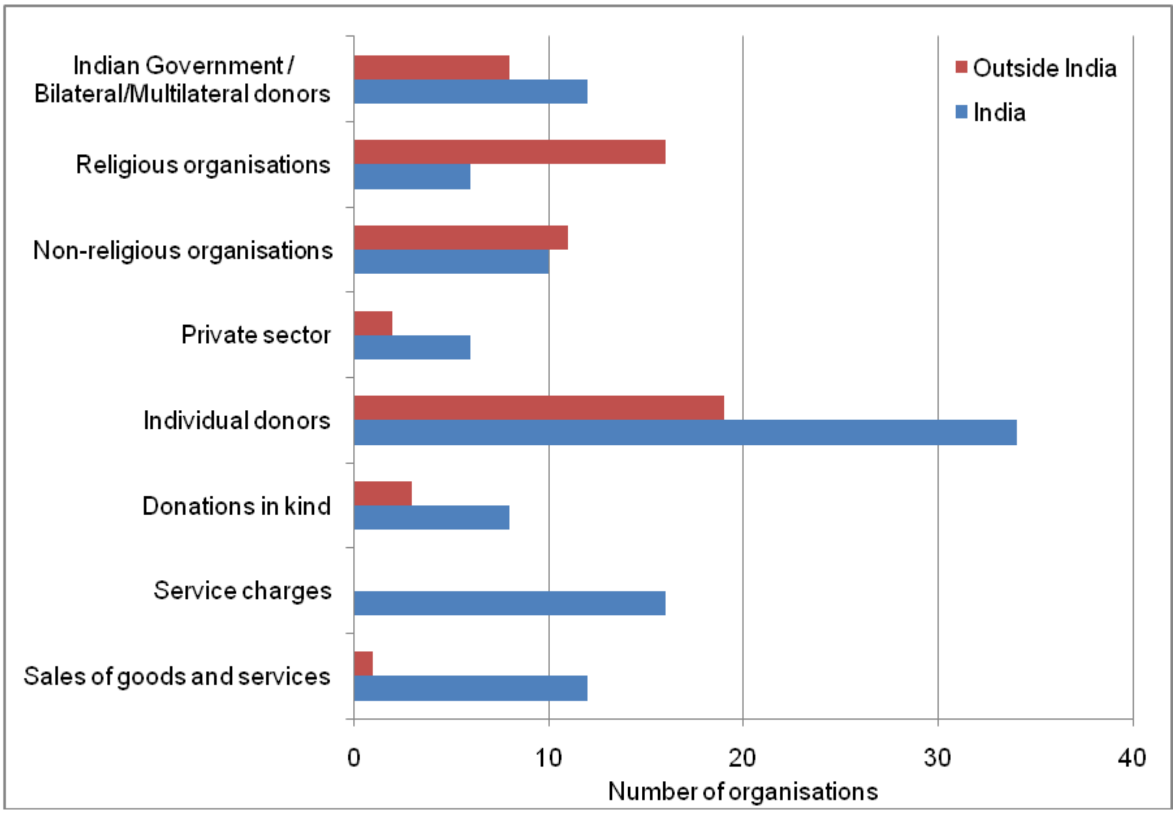
In contrast, Hindu organisations were divided between those working for children/youth and the sick but were not found working for slum dwellers. The explanation for this probably lies in the caste system, the hereditary social structure of Hindu society, in which a person is born into a particular caste and which determines factors including their social status, occupation and marriage. Although social mobility now enables people of lower castes to rise up the class system, by and large, lower castes are also lower classes and therefore poorer and more likely to comprise the majority of the slum population. There are perhaps two key reasons why the caste system would influence the reluctance of higher caste Hindus to intervene in the lives of poorer and less privileged members of society. First, the twin concepts of *karma* and *dharma*: a person is born into a particular caste as a result of actions in a previous life (*karma*) but the only way to be reincarnated in a better position in the next life is for a person to follow the duties of his particular caste (*dharma*). Intervening to improve people's living conditions is therefore futile, since current social position is pre-destined and future social position is self-determined. Second, the twin concepts of purity and pollution: complex rules determine intercaste interaction, including physical distance between different groups in the hierarchy, and there are various rituals to undergo when someone from a higher caste comes into contact with someone from a lower caste. This reduces the willingness to intervene directly in someone else's life since it may require a series of purification rituals afterwards. Higher castes can obtain spiritual merit by giving service and gifts to the poor but this can be done without physical contact.

6.4.3 Classification by place in the aid chain

Using Hulme's (1994) classification of organisations based on their relative positions in the aid chain, as described in Section 3.2.2, I divided the 50 ROs in my sample as follows: nine were India / Kolkata branches of Northern NGOs, 23 were Southern NGOs, and 18 were local membership organisations. As noted in Section 6.3.3, the strength of national and local organisations is testimony to the strength of the civil society sector in India.

Other than these headline figures, I did not feel that this analytical framework could offer enough insights into my set of ROs in Kolkata without some additional data. I therefore decided to enrich the findings with information that I collected on the financial and material resources that ROs receive. Figure 14 shows the number of organisations in the sample receiving funding from different sources, both domestic and foreign, although there are a few caveats to note. First, the financial data available for each organisation varied considerably; thus the data give an indication of trends but should be treated with a little flexibility. Second, the information presents a snapshot in time of the data collected from interviews and annual reports and does not take into account changes in funding patterns over time. Similarly it does not reflect the differences between one-off or occasional donations and regular or long-term programme funding. Third, these data constitute the overall number of funding sources, not the amount of funding received from each source which obscures certain trends (for example, one organisation may receive a donation of £100 from ten sources and another organisation may receive a single donation of £1,000); the reason for this was that detailed accounts were unavailable for most organisations.

Figure 14 – Sources of financial and material support for religious organisations in Kolkata



Some notable features emerge from the data as presented in Figure 14. First, more funding comes from inside India than from outside India, perhaps explained by the long tradition of charitable giving and philanthropy in India (see Section 5.2). In order to receive funding from outside India, organisations need to be registered under the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA) and some ROs feel that this law has been used to harass them and monitor their activities (see Section 5.3.1). Perhaps this, plus the complexity of any bureaucratic process in India, explains why few organisations are permitted to receive foreign funds. Indeed, Srivastava *et al'*s (2002) study revealed that just seven per cent of NPOs in rural areas of West Bengal and five per cent in urban areas were registered under the FCRA.

Second, the predominant type of funding was individual donations, which ranged from membership fees, door-to-door collections and child sponsorship to alumni fundraising, supporter groups and memorial benefactor funds. This is corroborated by Srivastava *et al* (2003), who looked at patterns of charitable giving in West Bengal and found that 52 per cent of donations to organisations went to ROs (places of worship or religion-related associations). Although charitable giving is strong within India, the chart also shows a significant proportion of individual donations from outside India, which is primarily money given by the Indian diaspora. Some of this diaspora giving is channelled through organisations such as Blind Foundation for India in the USA and the India Club Dubai (see also Section 9.5.1).

Third, a significant amount of funding for Christian organisations comes from ROs and non-ROs outside India. Eleven of the 14 Christian organisations in the Kolkata sample received funding from a total of 69 different foreign Christian donors, two-thirds of which were European. Although some Christian organisations in the sample also received funding from non-religious donors overseas, the majority was from Christian organisations to Christian organisations. There are several reasons for this, including the biblical mandate to spread the faith, which motivates people to give to organisations working in majority non-Christian countries, and the organisational structure within the subgroups of Christianity that enables the channelling of resources.

Fourth, around one in five ROs in the sample received funding from the government in India (including central government ministries, state government departments and government-sponsored agencies), bilateral donors (such as CIDA, DFID and Irish Aid) or multilateral agencies (such as UNDP, UNICEF and WHO). The ROs in receipt of such funding were all of a similar type: long-established, well-organised and highly-reputed organisations run in a professional manner akin to mainstream development NGOs. This suggests two things: first that government bodies and international agencies are willing to engage only with particular types of RO; second that few ROs have the organisational capacity to manage funding contracts with formal bodies (see Sections 9.2.2 and 9.5.2).

Fifth, many ROs receive income from service charges (e.g. course fees, accommodation charges, user charges) and sales of goods and services (e.g. rent from properties, hiring of venues, sale of handicrafts). This indicates that organisations are in a position of, or working towards, self-sufficiency whereby their programmes and projects fund themselves rather than being dependent on donations and grants.

6.5 Emerging issues

This section reflects on how my findings address the three issues emerging from the literature concerning the number and proportion of ROs that exist, the usefulness of particular typologies to classify ROs and the contribution of informal ROs.

6.5.1 Presence of religious organisations in civil society

I found that there were just over 1,050 CSOs registered in central Kolkata and between one-quarter and one-third of these had some connection to religion, but the religious affiliation of organisations was dramatically out of proportion to the number of adherents of each religion. Other studies of CSOs and ROs in India showed similar findings, suggesting that my survey in Kolkata was broadly representative of the situation in India, certainly in large metropolitan areas. The only other research on ROs which collected similar types of data were studies in Pakistan and Nigeria. By comparing the findings from all these studies, some observations can be made about the variations in the presence, prominence and role of ROs in civil society.[119] Three factors emerge as being of particular influence.

1. Religious composition of population: The studies in Pakistan and Nigeria found that the proportion of organisations of each religion mirrored the proportion of adherents of each religion. India, on the other hand, showed quite different characteristics. The vast majority of Indians are Hindus by faith but only a relatively small proportion of ROs are Hindu. There are two possible significant factors that influence this. First, Hinduism is not a formalised, structured religion with an architecture of institutions and therefore does not naturally engage in organisation-forming. Second, unlike most other religions, Hinduism lacks an altruistic element because of the philosophies of *karma* and *dharma*. Thus there is often a strong correlation between the religious composition of the population and affiliation of religious organisations but India is atypical in this respect.

[119] It would be useful to have other studies to compare, particularly from countries where religions other than Islam and Christianity are dominant, countries with much smaller populations, and countries with a non-British colonial heritage.

2. Historical circumstances which have shaped a country's ethno-religious balance: In India, almost two-thirds of ROs are Christian, which is a direct legacy of the British colonial period; although missionaries in India were less successful in converting people, they still established a vast web of organisations. In Nigeria, competition for converts between Christianity and Islam in the colonial period prompted the formation of organisations, whether for religious, educational, welfare or political purposes. Thus there is often a strong correlation between the religious affiliation of successive waves of people who came to a country (whether traders, migrants, colonists or missionaries) and the establishment of ROs, particularly when the religion has proselytising tendencies and India is typical in this respect.

3. The dynamic between the state and religion: This includes the constitutional stance towards religion, the legal framework governing ROs, and the extent to which religion is an active force in politics. India's secular constitution emphasises the equality of all religions and the state allows relative freedom for organisation-forming but is cautious of proselytising organisations; thus Christian organisations in significant numbers are tolerated. Pakistan was established as an Islamic Republic and in the decades since independence successive political leaders have asserted the religious orientation of the nation; in fact during certain periods the state actively encouraged the formation of Islamic organisations. In Nigeria, where the religious affiliation of the population is split almost equally and the constitution stipulates a secular state and freedom of religion, both Muslim and Christian organisations receive government funding and collaborate with government agencies in the delivery of social services. Thus the state's attitude towards religion can create an enabling or disabling environment for religious groups and determine whether the formation of religious organisations is encouraged or quashed.

Clearly no generalisations can be made about the presence and position of ROs; various historical, legal, social and cultural factors combine to create particular country contexts in which ROs operate. The status of ROs in India has some similarities to some other countries but also various differences.

6.5.2 Usefulness of different typologies for classifying religious organisations

There is considerable diversity among ROs and no simple method for categorising and describing them. Different classification systems have been used, each of which have particular advantages and disadvantages.

1. Classification by organisation type is the most obvious way to divide ROs, since every major religion has a similar set of organisations including places of worship, centres for religious

training, schools, social welfare associations, apex bodies and political parties. Despite this, there is no standard typology which is used by all scholars; instead each researcher tends to develop a unique typology that suits their own data set. Indeed, when I attempted to use the most popular typology in the development literature, I came across various problems and, like everyone else, resorted to creating my own. Another challenge is whether the researcher should judge an organisation's aims and activities in order to allocate a type or allow the organisation to define the category to which they belong. I feel that classification by organisation type is both important and insightful.

2. Classification by activities and methods is difficult because most organisations are simultaneously engaged in multiple activities and use a variety of methods. Most researchers have generated data based only on primary activities, but I feel that this simplification masks the diversity within organisations. I attempted to capture a sense of the range of activities, although methods proved more difficult and I substituted it with an analysis of beneficiaries. This classification method also fails to capture changes over time in the emphasis of organisations' activities and the longitudinal perspective was beyond the remit of my study. Overall, I feel that classification by activities is very useful for understanding ROs but analysis must allow for complex data.

3. Classification by place in the aid chain was much more problematic. Many of the ROs that I found engaging in development-related activities were not traditional development organisations which fitted into the typology; for example, local congregations which are based around a place of worship and are primarily engaged in religious functions but also conduct some social service activities. Such organisations may run all their activities entirely on donations from their congregation and not be connected to any international aid chain. Thus I tried to explore the diversity of ROs by looking at all financial and material resource flows. I feel that the aid chain idea is useful for studies of relationships and flows between individual organisations but not a particularly helpful tool when considering multiple organisations.

Clearly no single classification system is adequate for understanding the diversity among ROs; any analysis must use multiple measures and consider ROs from different perspectives. Most typologies for ROs have been developed using data on Christian organisations and some scholars have expressed reservation whether they are compatible with other religions that have different institutional architecture (Jeavons 2004; James 2009b). I was able to apply different typologies to organisations of different religions in a majority non-Christian country so I feel that this is unfounded.

6.5.3 Significance of informal religious organisations

Empirical studies suggest that many ROs engaged in development do so in an informal way, operating at a local level and on a small scale, such as congregations based around a place of worship (Foster 2004; Iqbal and Siddiqui 2008; Bodakowski 2009; Boyd 2009). Their informality renders them invisible to the state and other actors and means that their impact is un/under-counted despite their cumulative contribution being significant (Benthall 2006b; Kashyap 2006; African Religious Health Assets Programme 2008; Bodakowski 2009). Quantifying the presence and contribution of informal organisations is further hindered because 'informal' can mean at least four different things:

1. Unregistered – In India there is no compulsion for groups intending to do non-profit voluntary or charitable work to be legally registered (Srivastava *et al* 2002). Srivastava *et al* (2002) found that over half of NPOs in West Bengal (52 per cent) were unregistered: a total of 28,500 in rural areas and over 16,500 in urban areas, which are by no means insignificant numbers. Of the 23,454 ROs in their study (which excluded those only engaged in religious activities such as places of worship) 72 per cent were unregistered and only 28 per cent registered. Among the Muslim voluntary associations in Kolkata, Siddiqui (2004) found 244 (52 per cent) registered and 222 (48 per cent) not registered. So it is possible to quantify unregistered organisations and their number transpires to be significant.

2. Small-sized – Of course the size of an organisation can be measured in different ways, such as number of staff, number of beneficiaries, geographical scale or financial turnover. I decided to combine the number of people involved in the organisation (such as office/general staff, project/field staff, volunteers and managing committee members) with the number of people affected by its activities (i.e. beneficiaries). I created four size categories[120] and of the 50 organisations, six were classified as very small (fewer than five staff and fewer than 200 beneficiaries), 23 small (fewer than 20 staff and fewer than 1,000 beneficiaries), 15 medium (up to 100 staff and up to several thousand beneficiaries) and six large (over 100 staff and tens of thousands of beneficiaries). Srivastava *et al* (2002) also measured the size of NPOs by the number of paid staff: among those classified as ROs in West Bengal, the average was 0.3 employees and 3.8 volunteers per organisation, which suggests that most organisations are very small. With these contradictory figures, I do not think it is appropriate to measure informal organisations according to size.

[120] This was a rather crude judgement of size but the inconsistencies in the data available and the wide variation in types of organisation prevented more accurate judgement; for example, some organisations state the current number of beneficiaries in a project, some state the number of beneficiaries per year, and others state the number of beneficiaries since a project started. Thus it is difficult to compare a school which has a fixed number of pupils for a year (maybe in the hundreds) with a hospital which records the total number of patients seen in a year (maybe in the tens of thousands).

3. Community-based – Thomas (1999) suggests that there are vast numbers of organisations in every neighbourhood of Kolkata, such as youth clubs, slum committees, welfare associations, mutual benefit societies and sports clubs. In Section 6.4.3, when classifying organisations according to their place on the aid chain, I calculated that 36 per cent of organisations in my sample (18 out of 50) were 'local membership organisations'. Exact numbers of community-based organisations could only be ascertained through very detailed fieldwork in situ; however, their contribution to human welfare, social bonding and community development are undoubtedly significant.

4. Local-scale – Sixty-one per cent of organisations in my survey and 42 per cent in the sample worked only at local level, i.e. within a particular neighbourhood or within the city of Kolkata. The figures were higher in other studies; for example, 70 per cent of FBOs in Jodhka and Bora's (2009) survey worked in the city where they were located, while Iqbal and Siddiqui (2008) found that 82 per cent of Muslim FBOs worked on a local scale, either in the neighbourhood or at town/city level.

None of these four perspectives for understanding 'informality' is entirely satisfactory and there will always be numerous exceptions. With these difficulties of definition, it is almost impossible to quantify informal organisations. Although my survey captured just over 1,050 CSOs registered in central Kolkata, I suspect that the actual number of organisations is many orders of magnitude greater because of the presence of informal organisations which remain largely invisible in surveys. Though hidden, their contribution is probably significant and further research into informal organisations would be helpful (see Section 10.4.1).

6.6 Concluding reflections

This chapter has explored the place of ROs in civil society, looking at their overall presence in numerical terms and their relative position vis-à-vis other CSOs. The findings from Kolkata suggest that ROs comprise between one-quarter and one-third of all CSOs and many are engaged in development-related activities. This resonated with the findings of other studies, although a range of country-specific factors influence the prominence and public role of ROs. The chapter has also investigated the complexity of the category of ROs, uncovering tremendous diversity in type of organisation, historical origins, activities and so on. This serves as a warning against making generalisations about ROs as a single group.

In the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3, the left side of the spectrum under 'ways of doing' concerned improving practice among existing development actors. Key to this was multilateral institutions, bilateral donors and other non-religious development organisations acknowledging the relevance of religion to development, including the role of ROs as development actors. There have been calls for more empirical studies in different country contexts to quantify the presence of ROs, map their distribution, and understand their past and present contribution to development. This chapter represents one such place-based investigation and complements several contemporaneous studies in other contexts. Together they create a consolidated picture of ROs that can be communicated to mainstream development actors in order to increase their understanding of the role of religion in development.

Having identified that ROs are significant development actors, the next task is to examine whether ROs are any different from other development actors. Chapter 7 proceeds with an exploration of how ROs express their religious identity and how religious beliefs shape attitudes to development.

Chapter 7 – Identity and expression

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6, I identified that ROs comprise a significant proportion of CSOs and that many of them are engaged in development-related activities, but there is a poor understanding of the relationship between religion and development. There have been calls for empirical studies which explore how religious beliefs shape an organisation's development practice and how religious activities are integrated into development activities. I contribute to the limited literature on this topic with an analysis of the organisational religiosity of a sample of ROs in Kolkata. I explore the ways in which religious identity and religious beliefs shape attitudes and approaches to development and investigate three particular questions arising from the literature (as identified in Section 3.2.3):

i) Is religious identity and expression important to ROs engaged in development?
ii) Is there anything unique about religious motivation?
iii) How do ROs conceptualise the relationship between religion and development?

The findings are analysed within the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3. The data presented and analysed in this chapter are drawn from two main sources: my sample of 50 ROs engaged in development activities and my in-depth study of three of these organisations (see Sections 4.3 and 4.4).

Section 7.2 assesses the levels of organisational religiosity among the sample of ROs according to ten different organisational characteristics. Section 7.3 explores how religious beliefs, teachings and values provide the motivation for organisations to engage in development. Section 7.4 looks in more detail at three representative organisations in Kolkata, describing their levels of organisational religiosity and the religious motivation behind their development work. Section 7.5 investigates the three issues emerging from the literature. Section 7.6 reflects on the findings in the light of the postdevelopment framework for religion and development.

7.2 Organisational religiosity

Many different factors contribute to an entity being classified as a RO and each chooses to express its religious characteristics to a different extent. This is known as organisational religiosity and was identified in Section 3.2.2 as one means of classifying ROs. This section utilises this classification system to explore a sample of 50 ROs in Kolkata. Ten different variables are considered in turn – identity, purpose, affiliation, environment, resources, management and staff, beneficiaries, activities, proselytism and interaction – and are combined into an overall measure of organisational religiosity in Section 7.5.1.

Before proceeding, there are a few caveats to note. First, there can be internal contradictions in an organisation's religiosity, perhaps showing high levels of religiosity on some measures and low levels on others. Second, the data reflect levels of religiosity at the time of enquiry but organisations are not fixed entities and their religiosity can change over time in response to internal factors (e.g. change in leadership) or external factors (e.g. funding conditionality). Third, the religiosity of an organisation can vary across space – for example, an organisation's branch in India may exhibit different levels of religiosity to its branch in Uganda – which again can be due to internal or external factors. Fourth, the publicly available information about the characteristics of an organisation reflects how the organisation wishes to be perceived but certain characteristics may be deliberately obscured from public view;[121] for example, organisations that fear persecution for their activities or organisations engaged in terrorist activities. Investigating each of these factors was outside the scope of my investigation but they should be borne in mind to appreciate the complexity of organisational religiosity.

7.2.1 Identity

The way in which an organisation presents itself in the public domain gives an indication of its identity. I examined three features – name, logo and motto – to assess the extent to which religion is visible in the public profile of each organisation.

Name

Most organisations (47 out of 50) had a religious reference in their name. I divided these into different types, listed below in descending order of frequency.

- Generic religious word e.g. Manav *Seva* Pratisthan (*seva* = service)
- Name of a saint or religious person e.g. *Guru Tegh Bahadur* Medical Service Centre
- Name of a religion e.g. Calcutta *Muslim* Orphanage
- Religious/scriptural concept e.g. *Good News* Children Education Mission
- Name of denomination or sect e.g. Philanthropic Society of the *Orthodox Church*
- Place of worship e.g. *Cathedral* Relief Service
- Name of religious order e.g. *Loreto* Day School Sealdah

The fact that the majority of organisations in the sample demonstrated their religious connection or orientation in their name indicates that it is seen as a positive attribute. In the west over the last decade, there has been a trend of rebranding organisations, both in the commercial and non-profit sectors.[122] Some ROs have rebranded themselves in order to modernise their image and minimise

[121] This resonates with Scott's (1990) idea of 'public' versus 'hidden transcripts'.
[122] There is plenty of academic literature on rebranding organisations within Management and Business Studies, including some on rebranding in the non-profit sector, but very little specifically related to development NGOs or religious organisations; exceptions include Amon (2004) on CARE International and Abreu (2006) on the Sanctuary of Fátima in Portugal.

the obvious religious connection thereby appealing to a wider audience or attract funding from non-religious sources. I came across only one case of rebranding among the sample, which was the Kolkata office of a UK-based organisation.

Of the three organisations without a religious reference in their name, one was founded by a Christian person, who was strongly inspired by several Christian figures, but run as a non-religious NGO; one was a social service programme established and run by priests of a Roman Catholic order but entirely non-religious in its activities; and one was established by a Muslim person for the benefit of the Muslim community and included some religious activities. I suggest that these organisations chose not to acknowledge religion in their name not because religion was irrelevant to their motivation but that it was irrelevant to their development work.

Logo

Most organisations (44 out of 50) had a logo or emblem. I examined them for religious symbols and words, excluding the name or acronym of the organisation if it was incorporated into the logo. Three-quarters of logos contained a religious reference, which I divided into different types, listed below in descending order of frequency.

- Religious symbol – e.g. lotus flower (Buddhist and Hindu), dove (Jain and Christian), wavy waters (Hindu), elephant (Buddhist), hands with palms together (Buddhist and Hindu).
- Recognised symbol of the religion – e.g. Cross (Christian), Star of David (Jewish), Dharma Chakra (Buddhist), Om (Hindu), raised palm (Jain), Khanda (Sikh), Faravahar (Zoroastrian).
- Religious word or phrase – e.g. service (Hindu), witness (Christian), dharma (Hindu), in Jesus' name (Christian).

As for organisation names, the fact that the majority of logos had a religious reference indicates that religious identity is important to most organisations.

Organisations belonging to the indigenous Indian religions (Buddhist, Hindu, Jain, Sikh) used religious symbolism heavily in their logos, as illustrated in Figures 15 and 16. This may be because symbolism is integral to Indian culture and deeply entwined with beliefs and rituals. In contrast, seven of the eight Muslim organisations had no religious reference in the logo and the other had no logo at all. Their designs tended to comprise organisational acronyms, as illustrated in Figure 17. I suggest that the lack of religious inference in Muslim logos is due to the prohibition of symbolism and pictorial representations in Islam. The logos of Christian organisations were mixed in the extent of religious references, as illustrated in Figure 18. A few organisations had obvious religious symbols such as a cross; most had more subtle religious imagery, the symbolic meaning of which is not necessarily obvious to those outside the organisation or the religion. There could be several possible reasons for the moderate use of religious symbolism. First, Christian organisations in India are widely perceived to engage in proselytism and, although only a small proportion of

Figure 15 – Logos of Hindu organisations

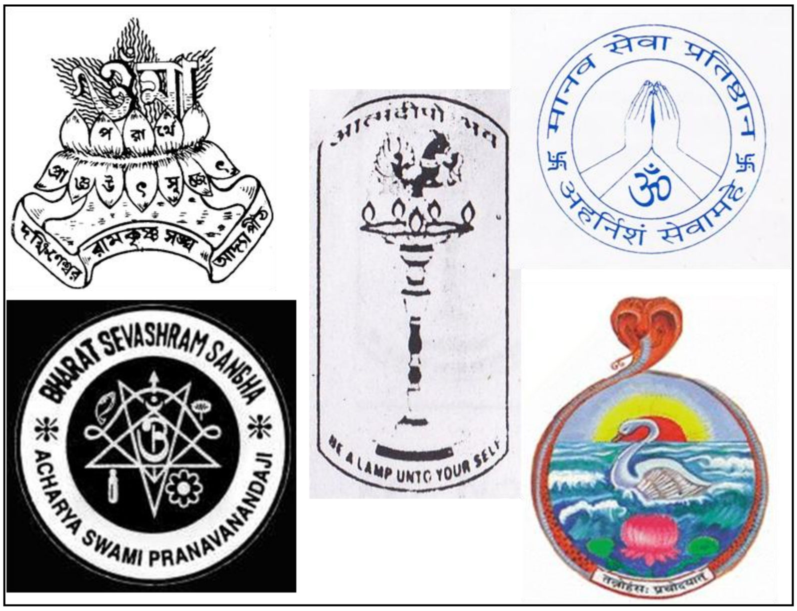


Figure 16 – Logos of Buddhist, Jain and Sikh organisations

Figure 17 – Logos of Muslim organisations

Figure 18 – Logos of Christian organisations

organisations actually do so, the suspicion and tension have persuaded some organisations to minimise their religious identity. Second, many Christian organisations in Kolkata are local branches of international organisations and, as mentioned previously, some in Europe and North America have been rebranded to be more politically-correct or attractive in their home countries and this has often meant the reduction or removal of religious symbolism.

Motto

Many organisations (38 out of 50) had some kind of motto or strap line incorporated into their logo or used in promotional materials and almost three-quarters of these had a connection to religion. Most of the mottos made reference to a religious concept; some Christian and Muslim ones were quotes from scripture; others were a quote from the organisation's founder. Examples of some of the mottos are given below.

- *Cruci Dum Spiro Fido* (Latin) – While I Live, I Trust in the Cross (CH/08)
- *Atmano Mokshartham Jagad-hitaya Cha* (Bengali) – for one's own salvation and for the good of the world (HI/10)
- *Nischay kar apni jeet karo* (Punjabi) – Victory with Determination (SK/02)
- *Humata, hukhta, huvarashta* (Avesta) – Good thoughts, good words, good deeds (ZO/01)
- *ICXC NIKA* (Greek) – Jesus Christ Conquers (CH/07)
- *May the Buddha's Light shine upon the ten directions. May the Dharma stream continuously flow towards the five great continents* (BU/06)

Once again, religion featured prominently in the mottos of organisations but when disaggregated by religion it transpired that, while most Christian and most Hindu organisations had a religious motto, very few Muslim organisations did; I found this a little surprising since Islamic design often incorporates quotes from the Koran.

7.2.2 Purpose

Twenty-nine organisations had a stated organisational purpose that was explicitly religious, as the extracts below illustrate:

> ...demonstration of the gospel imperatives... (CH/01)
>
> ...the message of Love and Compassion of the Buddha... (BU/01)
>
> ...seeks the evolution leading to the ultimate goal of human life (HI/10)
>
> ...enabling them to know Christ... (CH/10)
>
> Upliftment of socio-spiritual values (JA/02)
>
> ...engaged in a process of individual and social transformation... (BA/01)
>
> ...where the gospel values of love, equality and peace are nurtured... (CH/02)
>
> Our initiatives aim at uplifting humanity by globalising spirituality... (HI/11)
>
> In the spirit of service and sacrifice of Christ... (CH/14)

Having a statement of purpose, sometimes known as a mission statement, is standard organisational practice in Europe and North America, whether in the public, private or non-profit sector, but it is not so common elsewhere. Indeed, most of the organisations in the sample with a stated purpose had strong links to the west, either through parent bodies (particularly in the case of Christian organisations) or funding agencies.

7.2.3 Affiliation

Thirty-eight organisations had a formal affiliation with another religious institution, whether the relationship was as a parent body (e.g. JA/01 is the national apex body for lay members of one of the Jain sects), sister organisation (e.g. BU/04 is one of a trio of Buddhist organisations all housed in the same premises) or a branch organisation (e.g. CH/14 is a local diocesan branch of a national body within the Church of North India).

Of particular note was the fact that most of the Muslim and Buddhist organisations in the sample were unaffiliated. I suggest two possible reasons: first because these religions do not have a well-established institutional architecture, unlike some other religions such as Christianity; second because they were mostly local, community-based organisations formed without external assistance.

7.2.4 Environment

Half of the organisations operated in a religious environment, such as being physically located in a religious building, on a site shared with a religious building, or with a place of worship incorporated into the premises; for example, the offices of CH/01 are located within the grounds of a major church in Kolkata; most development activities of HI/02 operate from the main campus, which is a famous temple and popular pilgrimage site; and BU/03 is a temple and monastery which runs social service activities at the back of the main temple room. These data again indicate that explicit religious association is relatively significant, although there was perhaps a slight skew in these findings because some of the organisations were religious congregations conducting development work from their place of worship.

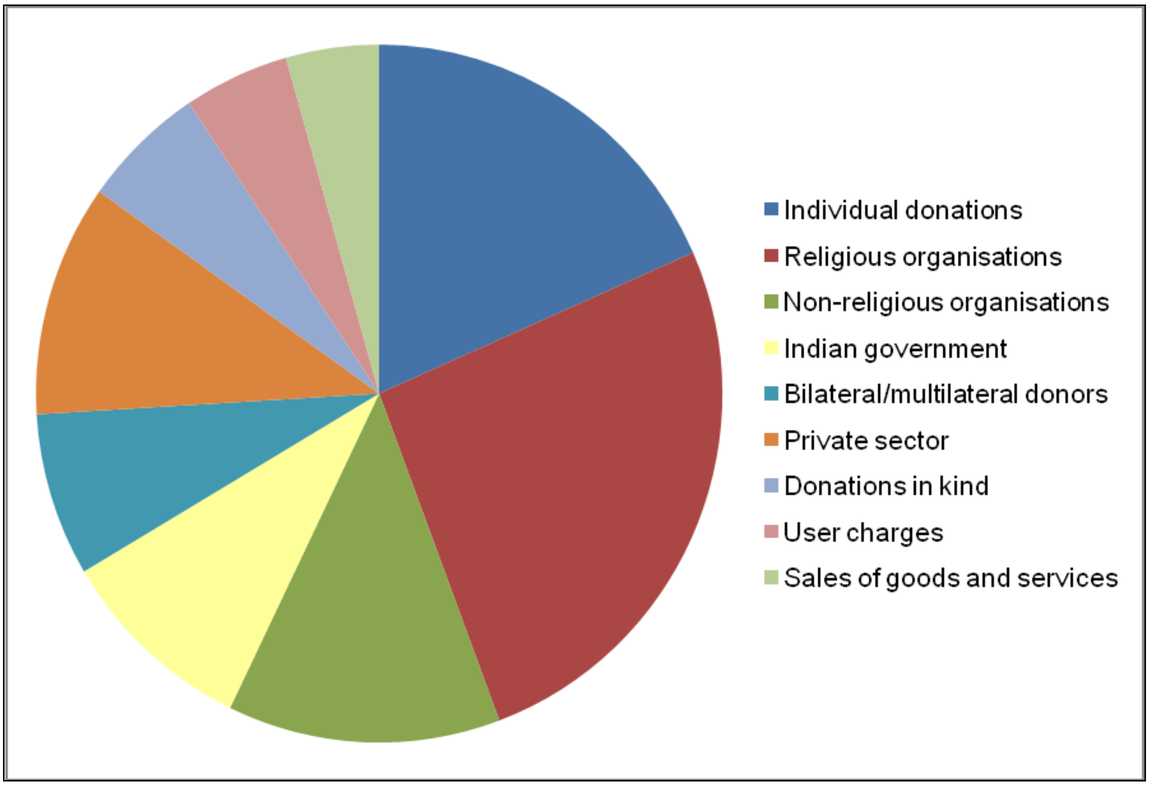
7.2.5 Resources

The sources of financial and material support for ROs were examined in Section 6.4.3; here I consider specifically the extent to which ROs receive financial resources from religious sources as opposed to non-religious sources. It was impossible to obtain sufficient data on actual flows of funds, so I focused on the number of instances of exchange of financial resources reported in organisational documentation and the findings are shown in Figure 19.

Many of the individual donations were by religious people such as devotees, members, well-wishers or supporters of the organisation or the religion to which it belongs. The exact proportion of individual donors who were religious or non-religious was not possible to ascertain because of insufficient data availability but it is estimated to be over three-quarters. Combining religious individual donors and religious organisations, around one-third of all reported instances of financial giving to ROs were from religious sources.

Another possible way to analyse the data is to examine each organisation for what proportion of funding it receives from each source. In the sample, seven organisations received funding exclusively from donors within the same religion (three Jain, two Muslim, one Buddhist, one Taoist) and 18 organisations received funding mostly from sources of the same religion (eight Christian, four Buddhist, three Hindu, one Muslim, one Jain, one Baha'i). The remaining 25 organisations received funding from mixed sources (eight Hindu, six Christian, five Muslim, three Sikh, one

Figure 19 – Origin of financial and material resources for religious organisations in Kolkata



Buddhist, one Jewish, one Zoroastrian). These findings suggest that there are no particular trends by religion; the type of organisation is more likely to influence funding sources.

There were several other characteristics in terms of the religiosity of funding found among the sample. First, the majority of ROs providing funding were Christian organisations. This could suggest a few possible factors including: the higher proportion of Christian organisations in the sample; the proliferation of Christian giving to charity; the highly structured nature of the Christian denominational network; and the awareness of availability of foreign funds.

Second, there were no examples of a RO receiving funding from an organisation of a different religion and funding given within a religion tended to be within a subgroup; for example, CH/02 is a Catholic organisation that received financial support from 30 NGOs in India and overseas and almost every one was Catholic. Similarly, CH/04 owes its origins to the Lutheran denomination, which is particularly strong in Scandinavia, so it was no surprise to find most of its named support came from Scandinavian church organisations and development agencies such as DanChurch Aid, FinnChurch Aid, Church of Sweden, Norwegian Church Aid and Normisjon.

Third, there is a perceived connection between doing work in the name of religion, as an expression of a religious belief, or for religious purposes, and the divine provision of funding, as illustrated in the following comments from interviewees:

> Actually our funding policy is very strongly faith on God…so whatever we need and necessary we pray. And til now every moment we received everything. Didn't happen yet single chance we missed that we asked about the necessary thing… Whatever we feel is God's work and we obey it and we start it and we pray, he gave us and full of the money. (CH/05b)

> Finance is not an issue – when you are doing a good work it is not an issue – we don't go to anybody for funds...whoever sees good work is always ready to contribute. For that particular programme there is no dearth of funding. (SK/01)

> There is no dearth of money if you really work. If you establish yourself that you are really serving the humanity then everyone will come and offer you. (HI/04)

> The funding is really the providence of God because there is no big societies who are funding. Sometimes it is difficult – sometimes I think everything is finished. But that time that I say everything is finished, donation comes, something comes up that I'm not waiting of. And then I say: how small is my faith! How small I am! God provides – his love and providence is great – and this I witness every day here in India. (CH/07)

7.2.6 Management and staff

I considered whether personal conviction and affiliation to a particular religion, or to a subgroup within that religion, was relevant to involvement or employment in an organisation, either as a trustee, manager, staff member or volunteer. In almost every case, trustees and members of the executive committee all belonged to members of the same religion as the organisation but there was a mixed picture for staff and volunteers. The data become clearer when disaggregated by organisation type (as per the three-fold typology described in Section 6.4.1).

For those classified as religious institutions and religious missionary organisations, all staff and volunteers tended to be members of that religious community (whether ordained or lay) and people from another religious community would be unlikely to consider working there. There were a few exceptions; for example, a Muslim doctor volunteered for the health work of a Sikh organisation (SK/01). Among religious charitable organisations, there were four attitudes towards staff: i) mandatory for all staff to profess the same religion as the organisation; ii) highly preferred but not mandatory that all staff profess the same religion as the organisation; iii) mandatory for senior staff to profess the same religion as the organisation but not for lower-level workers; and iv) no policy at all. Organisations in the first three categories were almost all Christian organisations, indicating the perceived importance of shared beliefs and values, whereas organisations in the latter category included Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Sikh organisations. Since I was interviewing organisational elites, it was unsurprising that most were personally affiliated to the same religion as their organisation, although four interviewees belonged to a different religion (one Christian worked for a Hindu organisation and three Hindus worked for a Jain, Jewish and Sikh organisation respectively).

The issue of personal religious affiliation raises questions about the boundary between professional and personal life and how this might shape attitudes, behaviour, priorities and commitment.[123] For some people, their professional work in a social service organisation is intimately connected with their personal convictions, whereas for others there is no connection.[124]

The difference is illustrated through two comments from Christian interviewees. The director of an evangelical organisation said: "...most of our school teachers they know that they are not only teachers, but they are missionary teachers" (CH/05a), whereas the leader of an orthodox organisation said: "when I take personnel I try to see the character and the honesty of the person no matter their religion" (CH/07). I asked the director of another Christian organisation why non-Christians were attracted to working for his organisation and he gave three main reasons: they have a commitment to this kind of social work; the job gives them a sustainable income; and they like the ethos of the organisation (CH/01a). This was corroborated in an interview with one of the organisation's project managers, who told me that although Hindu, she was familiar with Christian teachings from going to a Christian school and she liked working in a Christian environment; she always knew that she wanted to do social work and has been with the organisation for the last 26 years.

7.2.7 Beneficiaries

I investigated whether ROs worked for beneficiaries with a particular religious affiliation and identified three types: i) organisations open to people of all religions; ii) organisations working primarily for people of the same religion; and iii) organisations working exclusively for people of the same religion.

The majority of organisations (36 out of 50) belonged to the first category and ran their projects and services for beneficiaries regardless of religious affiliation. Most made this clear in their publicly-available materials; for example, HI/06 is open to students "irrespective of caste, creed and religion". On the other hand, eleven organisations operated primarily, and three exclusively, for beneficiaries of the same religion. These latter two cases – predominantly found among Muslim organisations and small religious communities – are interesting, particularly in terms of whether the targeting is incidental or deliberate, as discussed below.

Six of the eight Muslim organisations worked primarily for Muslim beneficiaries and the other two worked exclusively for Muslim beneficiaries. In the case of the former, each organisation was, in principle, working for people of any religion but the geographical location of their projects and

[123] There is a small literature on the personal/professional interface in development NGOs (e.g. Ahmad 2002; Yarrow 2008; Govinda 2009).
[124] Closely related to this is the difficulty of distinguishing between personal and organisational motivation, which is considered in Section 7.3.

activities in Muslim-dominated neighbourhoods meant that almost all the beneficiaries tended to be Muslim. This can be seen on Figure 4 in Section 4.3.1, which shows the location of RO headquarters (although in a few cases projects were carried out at other sites too). All eight Muslim organisations are headquartered in predominantly Muslim neighbourhoods: a cluster of four in the Elliot Road/Ripon Street/Taltala area, three near Park Circus and one in Kidderpore.

The two organisations working exclusively for the Muslim community justified their strategy. MU/05 was established specifically to help Muslim orphans; any non-Muslim orphans are referred to orphanages run by other religions. The General Secretary explained in an interview: “If they have their own homes, they will find their own culture – they will feel misfit here – so we avoid it”. MU/07 runs schools only for Muslim children, seeking to give them an opportunity for a quality education and put them on an equal footing with children from other religious communities. The Founder explained to me in an interview that many Muslim children have received a poor quality of education in madrassas and this has been a disadvantage later on when trying to enter the highly-competitive school and higher education systems. He explained how the government’s Sachar Report (GOI 2006) highlighted how the Muslim community are systematically disadvantaged economically, socially and educationally; this has motivated the Muslim community to respond by forming organisations specifically for the uplift of their own community.

The organisations of small religious minorities (two Buddhist, two Jain and one Zoroastrian) also worked primarily or exclusively for their own community; in fact, one of their primary roles was to support, represent and unite members of that particular community, therefore it was unsurprising that their work is targeted. A different reasoning lay behind one Hindu organisation (HI/01) which targeted its work at economically and socially backward members of the community in order to strengthen their Hindu beliefs.

There were no examples of organisations deliberately targeting their work at people of another religion. One interviewee explained why:

> ...suppose a Hindu organisation goes to the Muslim community – it may not be accepted – or a Christian organisation may not be accepted. Similarly the Hindu organisation in the area where the most Hindu concentration is there, the Muslim organisation cannot reach or the Christian organisation cannot reach, so there are Hindu organisations we support so that we can help to these people…we can easily be working with the Christian community but not with other communities. (CH/02)

7.2.8 Activities

The religious activities conducted by the 50 organisations are shown in Table 9, disaggregated by religion. All reported instances of religious activity are recorded on the table, and since most ROs engage in multiple religious activities, the total number shown on the table is much greater than 50.

Table 9 – Religious activities of 50 religious organisations in Kolkata

Category	Activity	BA	BU	CH	HI	JA	JW	MU	SK	TA	ZO	Total no. instances	Total by category
Worship/celebrations	Place of worship part of premises of organisation		5	1	6	1		2	1	1		**17**	**87**
	Regular worship conducted (daily, weekly, monthly)	1	5	3	5	1			1	1		**17**	
	School assembly (generic for children of all faiths)			1			1	1	1			**4**	
	Start and end meetings/events/lessons with a prayer			5	1		1					**7**	
	Regular prayer meetings			1					1			**2**	
	Daily prayer		2	3	3	1		2	1	1		**13**	
	Daily meditation			1								**1**	
	Regular singing of hymns/devotional songs (kirtans, bhajans)			1	2	1			1			**5**	
	Celebration of annual festivals and anniversaries		5	3	6	3			2			**19**	
	Celebration of life cycle events (births, marriages, deaths)					1			1			**2**	
Teaching	Religious or moral classes/camps for children	1	1	2	2	4		2	1			**13**	**63**
	Religious or moral classes/camps for youth	1			2	2			1			**6**	
	Religious or moral classes/camps for students				2							**2**	
	Religious or moral classes for adults / Study Circle	1		1	3	1				1		**7**	
	Religious or moral classes for women				1	1						**2**	
	Religious classes (unspecified)		1		1			1				**3**	
	Conferences, meetings and seminars		1	1	2	1				1		**6**	
	Lectures by eminent religious speakers				2	1				1		**4**	
	Values Education taught through school/college curriculum			2	5	1		3	1			**12**	
	Religious Studies taught through school curriculum					1		3	1			**5**	
	Religious examinations				1	1			1			**3**	
Religious practices	Meditation classes / programmes		2		2	2						**6**	**24**
	Yoga training / centre / classes		2		4	1			1			**8**	
	Satsang (religious discourses)				5	2						**7**	
	Ashrama / spiritual retreats			1	1							**2**	
	Performance of religious songs and dances		1									**1**	
Religious resources	Book stall/shop for sale of religious books				2							**2**	**17**
	Library with religious and cultural texts		3		2	1						**6**	
	Publications	1	3		2	2						**8**	
	Sale of religious items		1									**1**	
Evangelism	Distribution of religious literature									1		**1**	**5**
	Preaching									1		**1**	
	Support organisations doing preaching and church planting			1								**1**	
	Hosting of missionaries			1						1		**2**	

Continued over

Table 9 continued

Category	Activity	BA	BU	CH	HI	JA	JW	MU	SK	TA	ZO	Total no. instances	Total by category
Accommodation and care	Guest house for visiting religious missionaries			1								**1**	**10**
	Guest house for visiting religious scholars		1		1							**2**	
	Guest house (general)		1									**1**	
	Pilgrim facilities at places of worship and religious fairs				1							**1**	
	Serving food to visitors / pilgrims				1							**1**	
	Accommodation for pilgrims		2		2							**4**	
Training	Training of religious leaders		1	1								**2**	**8**
	Training of lay religious workers					1						**1**	
	Training for class / study group leaders				1	1						**2**	
	Training of youth for religious service			1								**1**	
	Sanskrit education / training				2							**2**	
Research/Scholarship	Research		2		1	1						**4**	**12**
	Postgraduate courses				1	1						**2**	
	Financial support for religious scholarship		1									**1**	
	Facilities for religious scholars		1									**1**	
	Publication of religious research		2		1							**3**	
	Translation of religious texts and books		1									**1**	
Religious people	Monastery with resident monks and/or nuns		3									**3**	**14**
	Working with religious leaders							2				**2**	
	Working with madrassas							1				**1**	
	Working through religious congregations			5				1				**6**	
	Working through religious organisations			2								**2**	
Administration	Coordination / administration of religious community			1		1						**2**	**6**
	Networking with other religious organisations		1	1								**2**	
	Management of religious properties					1					1	**2**	
Other	Promotion and preservation of religious and cultural heritage		2		1							**3**	**6**
	Promoting and asserting the rights of religious group		1									**1**	
	Conferring honours and awards for religious activities					1						**1**	
	Matrimonial service		1									**1**	
TOTAL		**5**	**52**	**40**	**74**	**36**	**2**	**18**	**15**	**9**	**1**	**252**	**252**

Considering that the sample of organisations was selected on the basis of being engaged in development, these data indicate a remarkable range of religious activities taking place alongside development activities. The amount and type of religious activity did vary considerably by organisation, with a few organisations only registering one or two religious activities, while others recorded more than a dozen.

In order to understand the data better, I divided the religious activities into three major types:

- 43 of the 50 organisations were engaged in activities for the participation or benefit of members of the religious community (e.g. worship, spiritual retreats, pilgrim facilities);
- 32 of the 50 organisations were engaged in activities for sharing the values and teachings of the religion without necessarily trying to convert people (e.g. moral classes, publications, conferences);
- Four of the 50 organisations were engaged in activities to spread or promote a particular religious belief, philosophy or practice (e.g. preaching, distribution of literature, training of religious workers).

While three organisations engaged in all three types of activities (one Christian, one Hindu, one Taoist), two organisations did not engage in any of the three types (one Christian, one Sikh). When cross-examining the table by religious affiliation, the data suggest that Hindu organisations engage in the widest range of religious activities, closely followed by Buddhist, Christian and Jain organisations.

Overall, these data suggest that religious activities which express religious belief, teach religious practices, share religious values and support the religious community are important to ROs engaged in development, although the expression of religiosity through these activities is primarily for the benefit of the community and to share values without proselytism. Section 7.5.2 reflects on the integral relationship between religious activities and development activities.

7.2.9 Proselytism

As seen in Section 7.2.8, four of the organisations in the sample engaged in proselytism with the aim of spreading a religious message and converting people:

- CH/10 is the Kolkata branch of a UK-based evangelistic organisation. It deliberately chooses to work with local partner organisations that are engaged in church-planting and evangelism alongside their development activities. The organisation also has a resource centre in Kolkata used for Christian meetings and training programmes that prepare people for missionary work.
- CH/13 is the Eastern India branch of a US-based evangelistic organisation. It delivers its work

through local church partners (see Section 8.2.2) and there is a strong evangelistic emphasis in their development activities with stronger religious beliefs one desired outcome for beneficiaries.

- HI/01 is under the umbrella of the Sangh Parivar family of Hindu nationalist organisations. It targets its work at poor and backward members of society, mostly tribal people and scheduled castes, with the aim of bringing them into mainstream Hindu society away from the temptation to convert to other religions such as Christianity and Islam.
- TA/01 is a new religious movement and regarded as a sect within Taoism. The focus of the Kolkata branch is spiritual coaching and promoting moral behaviour; all followers are expected to bring new members to the sect.

The fact that only four of the 50 organisations engage in activities to promote their religious beliefs actively indicates that proselytism and social action tend not to be combined in the Indian context. Of course there are many other organisations for which the sole purpose is proselytism but these did not appear in the sample because they were not engaged in development activities.

7.2.10 Interaction

ROs interact with a range of other organisations, including other ROs, in the course of their development activities. Forty-five of the 50 organisations interacted with other ROs, of which one-quarter interacted with ROs and no other types of organisation. While the nature of interaction varied from superficial relationships to working in partnership, the findings indicate that religious connections and interactions are very important. This is examined in more detail in Chapter 9 so there is no further discussion here.

7.3 Organisational motivation

One particularly interesting aspect of organisational religiosity to consider in more detail is how religious identity, purpose and affiliation combine to shape the motivation of ROs to engage in development. This section investigates four different types of religious motivation – scriptural teaching, spiritual incentive, community strengthening and proselytism – and reflects on whether these make ROs distinct from non-ROs. There are, however, two particular caveats to note before presenting the findings. First, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between the organisational and personal level; for example, some interviewees were the founder of the organisation and their personal motivation for engaging in development was intimately entwined with that of the organisation. Second, while I interviewed organisational leaders it cannot be assumed that ordinary members of staff share the same vision and motivation, or if so, to the same extent.

7.3.1 Scriptural teaching

For many ROs, the scriptures and teachings of their religion give a clear command or mandate for engaging in development. In some cases, the scriptures specify particular behaviour or attitudes to be followed; in other cases, the life-examples of deities or saints are something to be replicated by adherents. The following examples from interviewees illustrate this kind of scriptural motivation:

> ...Sikhism is based on the philosophy of the sacrifice for the others...Whether you are sacrificing some money, some Rupees you are donating, or even you are donating yourself or sacrificing your life – the whole thing is based upon that. (SK/03a)
>
> ...we are driven by is God's love for humanity and therefore our work is to make God's love visible to others. (CH/04)
>
> Charity is one of the biggest teachings in our religion...our religion talks on the principles of truth, righteousness, charity – good life. Enjoy life! Be a wealthy man if you must but share that wealth afterwards... (ZO/01a)
>
> Following the way of Jesus is terribly important...and I think that's what drives most people to do what they do. Why else would you leave your home community to live somewhere else if there isn't a strong desire to make difference...? (CH/06b)
>
> Go ye, O Bhikkhus [monks], and wander forth for the benefit of the many, for the welfare of many, out of compassion for the worldly beings, for the benefit, good and happiness of men and gods... (BU/01, BU/03, BU04)
>
> Guruji told as you have come into the world leave some mark behind. Otherwise what is the difference between you and the stone and the trees? I try this way to serve the people like is God – in this way I try to serve the people. (HI/02)
>
> The substance, the centre of Christianity is love and love not with tongue – as St John says – but in action...I cannot say that if I save one hundred orphan girls I save all the orphans of Kolkata, but this little what I can do as a witness of my Christian faith in action and the Christian love in action. (CH/07)
>
> ...in my own way, not by preaching but through my action – that's what I believe – let people see you are willing to go that extra mile, you are willing to serve, to care, to share – live the Beatitudes... (CH/11)

Religious scriptures and teachings clearly provide a strong motivation for engaging in development-related activities for people across different religions. Some of the values, however, are not exclusive to religion – such as charity, love for humanity and self-sacrifice – and can equally motivate non-religious people and non-ROs.

7.3.2 Spiritual incentive

Most religious teachings provide some kind of spiritual incentive for engaging in development, whether the reward is something to be experienced in the present (e.g. an experience of closeness to the divine, feeling of happiness) or the future (e.g. it effects post-death destiny). The following examples from interviewees illustrate the perceived spiritual incentives:

> ...this religion is not just like throwing some flowers to any deities, is it not; it is doing something sincerely, doing something with devoted heart. And for our workers, we think that if we can work very, very sincerely, devotedly, that is worship; that is the way to reach the God. (HI/05a)
>
> That is one thing is in our religion: what you give comes back to you multiplied... Do you have any concept of punya/pap?...Pap is sin; punya is good deeds. Because of good deeds we impart those karmic particles in our soul. If we perform good deeds we'll get a better future, our next birth will be...we believe in next birth. So that is one of the motivating reasons. And if we do any sin we'll have to suffer in our next life. (JA/04)
>
> Our Koran says whoever supports or gives any time to orphans he will get a special reward from the Almighty God. (MU/05)
>
> I don't like doing NGO work for name's sake, just to get foreign aid – that's not my aim – my aim is to please my Almighty...if He wills my organisation grows and I get aid then I get it; if He doesn't will then [it] drops.. (MU/03)
>
> ...I also look forward to the last judgement when I hope Jesus will say to me: come ye, blessed of my Father, when I was hungry you fed me, when I was naked you clothed me, when I was a stranger and had no place to stay you let me in. That's what I pin my hopes on because I don't think there's any other reason why I might get into heaven! (CH/08)
>
> To help the people is to help the God – you are going nearer the God. (HI/03)
>
> I was inspired from this koranic verse [in Sura Bakara]. Allah says the man or the community who do not change their life, Allah will not change their life. First they have to change, try to change. The community who try to change their lives then Allah will also change their lives and status. (MU/07)
>
> So we are not only doing it for the other [person] but we are doing it for ourselves also. I mean when you're giving happiness, you're gaining happiness...whoever's undertaking socio-religious activities it is also for their own benefit – of course you are doing good for others but you feel good yourself. (SK/01)

The prospect of spiritual reward evidently provides a purpose for engaging in social service and it is perhaps this more than any other type of motivation which sets ROs apart from non-ROs. A transcendental dimension, eternal timescale and accountability to a non-worldly source of authority is unlikely to frame the philosophy and actions of a non-religious person. Of course the wealth of evidence of spiritual motivation does not discount the possibility of some people also being motivated by non-spiritual reasons (mentioned further in Section 7.5.2) but this was not the focus on my questioning and did not emerge in the investigation.

7.3.3 Community strengthening

Some ROs engage in development work for the purpose of strengthening or consolidating their own religious community. This is particularly the case for minority religions, as the following examples illustrate.

SK/02 is part of a family of education institutions seeking to preserve Sikh heritage and culture by teaching Sikh youth about the cardinal principles of Sikhism. These institutions emerged in the nineteenth century after the Sikh Empire fell to the British; the colonial administration introduced mandatory education in English and there was a fear that Sikh youth would fall prey to western culture and abandon Sikh values (see Section 5.2.1). The school's Religious Education curriculum teaches the history and customs of the Sikh tradition; daily morning prayers are conducted in the Sikh manner; there are special music classes which teach traditional religious hymns; and the school arranges for pupils to sit national religious exams and competitions. As the headteacher explained to me in an interview:

> ...that is an effort to inspire our students to be traditionally rich, to be culturally aware of what their religion is all about, because if we don't make a conscious effort to make our children learners in this aspect then all will be lost. Because we are minorities we have to be very careful in imparting what we know to our progeny also. (SK/01a)

There was a similar motivation behind the formation of JW/01, a school for Jewish girls that opened in the late nineteenth century. Although the Jewish community in Kolkata originated from Syria and Iraq and were Arabic-speaking, most Jewish children were sent to elite English-medium Christian schools. There was, however, a fear that they would fall prey to Christian proselytism and abandon their Jewish culture and heritage so the community set up schools for Jewish children where, alongside a British-style curriculum, they were taught the Hebrew language, had classes on the Old Testament and observed various Jewish customs. Although there are no Jewish pupils in the school today (in fact, over 90 per cent are Muslim), some of the Jewish traditions are maintained and serve to preserve the legacy of the Jewish community in Kolkata.

As already mentioned in Section 7.2.9, HI/01 is a local organisation under the umbrella of the Sangh Parivar.[125] The organisation works primarily for backward sections of society such as tribal people and scheduled castes. They believe that over time these people have deviated from the main family of Hinduism and, as one of the Trustees explained to me, "due to poverty, ignorance, illiteracy, the people of these areas fall prey to alien faiths" (HI/01). The organisation runs projects for these people in the fields of education and healthcare to improve their economic and social situation but also incorporates *sanskar*, translated as cultural education or awakening. The interviewee went on to explain that they aim "to strengthen their areas of their deficiency so that Hindu society can be strengthened".

A different kind of organisation in this category was BU/04, which exists to support Bengali-speaking Buddhists across India. The organisation engages in a variety of activities to support, promote and showcase their community; for example, it offers legal, political and social support to members; provides a matrimonial contact service; and undertakes field research and produces

[125] This was possibly the only organisation among my sample which had a 'hidden transcript' that was not immediately obvious in the organisational documentation or the interview that I conducted with a representative.

publications on the history of Buddhism in Bengal. The President explained to me in an interview that they had a successful High Court case to have Bengali Buddhists recognised as a Scheduled Tribe so that they could make use of government benefits and quotas.

These examples show that religious identity – particularly in the case of minority communities – can galvanise collective action, including development-related activities. This kind of motivation, however, is not necessarily unique to ROs associated with particular religious communities; there could equally be non-ROs that seek to strengthen the unity, further the cause, or improve the well-being of a particular group. Group identity can be based on a range of factors including ethnicity, place or residence or language and in Kolkata, for example, there are caste associations, slum committees and cultural associations all seeking to consolidate their own community through a variety of activities.

7.3.4 Proselytism

For some organisations, the motivation behind development activities is the desire to demonstrate or share religious beliefs with the aim of winning converts (see Section 7.2.9). The majority of such organisations in the sample were Christian, as the following examples illustrate:

> ...it is not a secular organisation, it is not a NGO – we are not doing social work – but our main reason and main purpose – let people know that Jesus is Lord and he is only one way and he's the truth... (CH/05a)

> Is development work mission? No – it's just development. Just as medical care is medical care and writing books is writing books. Development need not be Christian. Many secular organisations do excellent work, improving the lives and opportunities of the world's poor... Christian development can demonstrate the love of Christ. But just as medical care and writing books are each capable of not only producing good ends in themselves, in the hands of God's people each can become the means whereby Christ is made known. Development is always about improving the quality of life for the poor and Christian development has a greater vision: that through the love shared and the dignity offered by development activity, each person might come to experience life in all its fullness and be reconciled to God. (CH/10 website)

> In response to the Great Commission, [the organisation] exists as an advocate for children, to release them from their spiritual, economic, social and physical poverty and enable them to become responsible and fulfilled Christian adults. (CH/13 website)

The use of development for proselytism could be claimed as one type of motivation which definitely sets ROs apart from non-ROs, but the desire to share and spread certain beliefs is not unique to religion. Other organisations also use development-related activities to propagate their messages and gain people's support, such as politicians and political parties that are trying to win votes.

7.4 Case studies – three organisations in Kolkata

This section considers the levels of organisational religiosity for the three organisations selected for in-depth study and their religious motivation for engagement in development.

7.4.1 RKM LSP – divinity of human beings

RKM LSP demonstrated religiosity in six out of ten variables: identity, affiliation, environment, management and staff, activities and interaction. This expression of religiosity relates to the philosophy behind the formation of the organisation and the way in which spiritual activities permeate all activities and all levels of the organisation.

The parent body of RKM LSP, Ramakrishna Mission (RKM), was founded by Swami Vivekananda in 1897 as an organisation that would express Practical Vedanta. Vedanta is a philosophic school within Hinduism based on the premise that human nature is divine and that the aim of human life is to realise that human nature is divine. Practical Vedanta aims to apply this understanding to life in the modern world. According to this philosophy, if each human being has the divine within them, then they should be treated as one treats the divine: i.e. by worshipping them and offering service to them.

RKM has many branch centres (one of which is RKM LSP), each giving different kinds of service to society as a form of worship; if this is done in the correct attitude of selflessness it will bring a person's salvation. This is expressed in the motto used by all branch centres, which in the original Bengali is *Atmano Mokshartham Jagad-hitaya Cha*. *Atmano Mokshartham* refers to the concept of self-emancipation and *Jagad-hitaya Cha* is service to humanity. The whole phrase is usually rendered in English as "for one's own salvation and for the welfare of the world" or "service to man is service to God'.

For RKM LSP, spirituality and social work are inseparable and indistinguishable. This applies at all levels from ordained monks who lead the organisation and paid staff in the headquarters to local level volunteers and beneficiary communities. All my interviewees were well versed in the philosophy behind the organisation, as illustrated in the following comments:

> Service and sacrifice – if you render service you cannot expect anything from whom you are in service – so it should be sacrifice, selfless and dedication should be there. (HI/05d)

> Our belief is that without any spirituality no one can render any selfless service – that is the main thing...Swamiji used to tell that if you want emancipation then you shall have to render services to the people...Don't sit in the temple, don't sit in the church, don't sit in the mosque – serve the people – they are the living God. (HI/05c)

Overall, spirituality is integral to the development activities of RKM LSP. The organisation has a strong religious identity and the religious teachings of its founder provide the theological framework for operations and the motivation for all staff and volunteers.

7.4.2 AFK – applied Islam

AFK demonstrated religiosity in five of the ten variables: identity, affiliation, beneficiaries, activities and interaction. The history of the organisation and the orientation of its activities indicate why religious identity is important.

AFK is a local chapter of the Asian Muslim Action Network (AMAN). The founder of AMAN told me in an interview (MU/02b) how he was motivated by his personal observations of fellow Muslims. As part of his work for the Asian Cultural Forum on Development (ACFD), he visited many Asian countries and saw how Muslims were significant in number but that they were engaged in very little development work such as health, education, welfare and emergency relief. This stood in contrast to Christians, who were very small in number but very visible in terms of development activities. Even though Islamic teaching and Muslim tradition gives a clear inspiration for social work, he found few people engaged in such activities and those there were acted independently and were disconnected from one another. Similarly, he observed that interfaith forums and conferences in Asia were generally organised by Christians and while Muslims were invited as guests and observers they were never the leaders or the hosts.

He had the idea of creating a network to provide a forum for Muslim individuals, scholars, institutes and organisations to come together, share experiences, learn from each other, challenge each other, and be more equipped to play a more active part in interfaith conferences and meetings. Thus AMAN was founded in 1990 by a small group of progressive Muslim scholars and practitioners from different countries in Asia. The aim of the network is to respond to the contemporary challenges facing Asia using values that are central to the Islamic faith. The rationale is as follows:

> Muslims constitute a large proportion of the Asian population. This region is faced with numerous challenges ranging from mass poverty and elite corruption on the one hand and domination by the North and materialistic life-styles due to rapid development and social change, on the other. The situation calls for a response from Muslims who are concerned about their identity and the destiny of Asia as a whole... Since Islam embodies eternal values and principles of Truth, Justice, Compassion, Freedom and Equality, it is only right that Muslims seek guidance from their religion in order to meet the challenges of our time. At the same time AMAN seeks active collaboration with other faith communities in order to promote human dignity and social justice for all. (AMAN website)

At a local level, AFK is seeking to apply Islamic principles to contemporary challenges facing communities in Kolkata and West Bengal. Over recent years, the organisation has run three thematic programmes – peace and communal harmony, HIV/AIDS and climate change – that have sought to raise awareness about these issues, persuade Muslims that they have a duty to respond, and identify action strategies. In a series of workshops held in different districts, the religious basis for addressing these issues was discussed, drawing on scriptures and teachings from all major religions, not just Islam. The training was targeted at key community figures such as religious leaders, community elders and school teachers, who were encouraged to inform their communities and motivate them to take action (see also Section 8.4.2).

Overall, religion underpins the activities of AFK. Although the organisation has a religious identity and religious teachings are the framework for how the organisation conceives and approaches development, the Founder and General Secretary did not consider it a RO. He explained to me in an interview that "...serving to human being is the most important priority for me...it looks like AMAN Foundation is a Muslim name but I always mention this that this is initiated by Muslims but it's not only for Muslims" (MU/02a). As described in Section 9.4.2, AFK is also engaged in interfaith work, which perhaps accounts for this apparent contradiction between targeted work among Muslims at the same time as engagement with non-Muslims.

7.4.3 CRS – building the Kingdom of God

CRS demonstrated religiosity in seven of the ten variables: identity, purpose, affiliation, environment, resources, activities and interaction. The reasons for this lie in the history of the organisation, in particular the religious convictions behind its formation and operation.

CRS was established in 1971 in the aftermath of the Bangladesh War. Thousands of people who were displaced by the conflict converged on the city of Kolkata, where they swelled the existing slums and established new squatter settlements. Initially the organisation engaged in emergency relief work, such as providing food, water and medical assistance. As the refugees showed no intention of returning to their homes, the organisation sought to support them on a more permanent basis through initiating schools in the slums and squatter colonies and providing medical care.

The founder of CRS was the then vicar of St Paul's Cathedral in Kolkata. When he saw the refugees arriving in Kolkata from eastern Bengal, he was moved by his Christian compassion for the poor and needy:

> We build for a new tomorrow when the new man will rise out of a new Calcutta. A man who will be equal with every other citizen, for he will take responsibility for his city. He will not be a pawn in the hands of his fellow men, who in the name of charity or stability or peace, exploit him, by denying him his basic right to mould his own destiny. (quoted on CRS website)

Today, the organisation's aim is "to usher in a just, participatory and sustainable society" (extract from mission statement). Both the original goal and the contemporary mission of the organisation are grounded in the Christian concept of building the Kingdom of God, which is a place where values such as justice, peace and prosperity flourish.

The organisation is also driven by the idea of putting faith into action. The mission statement claims that CRS's work is a "demonstration of the gospel imperatives", which intimates that the organisation carries out its activities of helping the poor and marginalised as a way of showing it Christian beliefs. As the Director said to me in an interview:

> I believe very strongly that the Bible, or the word of the Lord, needs to be put into action...I very categorically say this to people that you don't need to take the Bible and preach; you need to do it in action. (CH/01a)

Overall, CRS regards itself as a RO, is inspired and motivated by religious scriptures and values and seeks to use development work as a way to demonstrate faith in action.

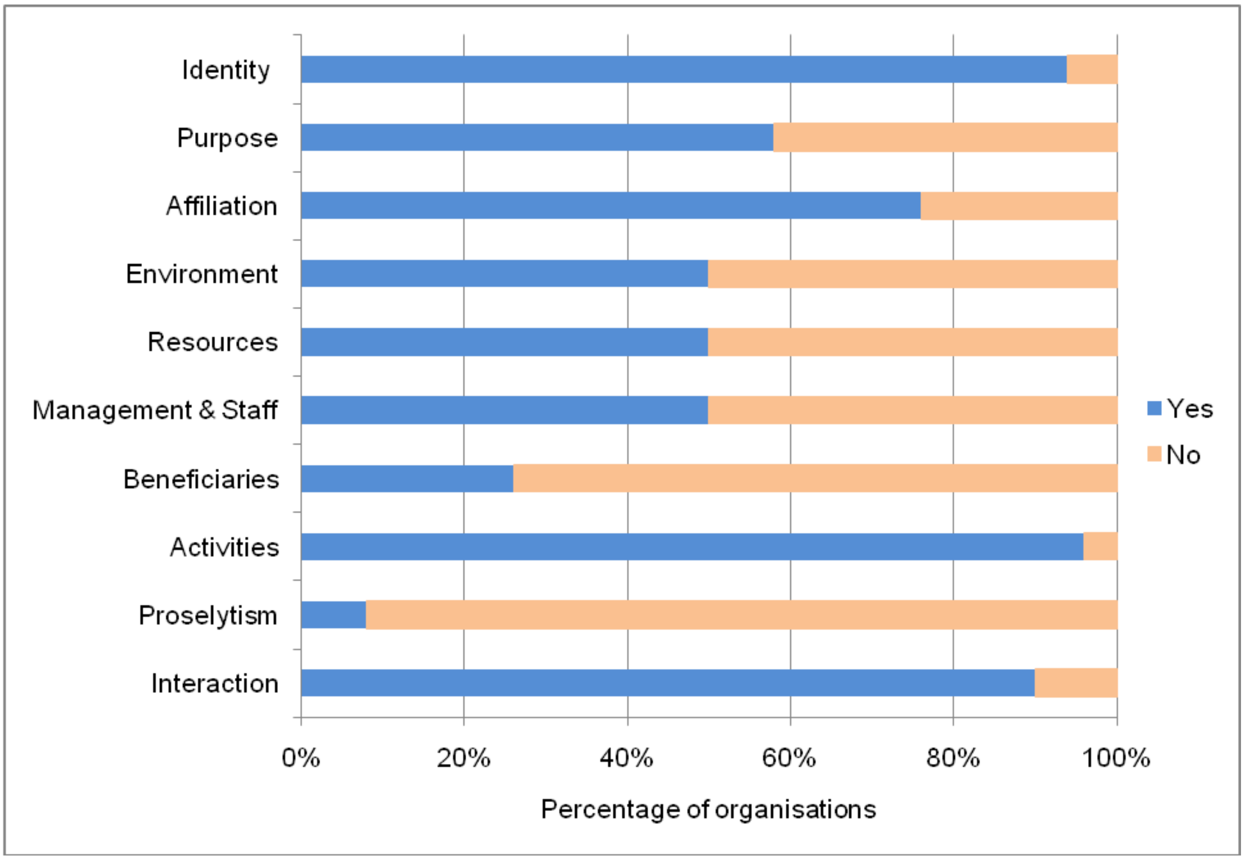
7.5 <u>Emerging issues</u>

This section reflects on my findings in the light of three issues emerging from the literature concerning organisational religiosity, the religious motivation for development work, and the interplay between religious activities and development practice, all of which seek to answer determine whether ROs are different from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development.

7.5.1 Levels of organisational religiosity

The ten variables of religiosity analysed in Section 7.2 revealed some interesting patterns in religious identity, expression, activities and connections but the challenge is to consolidate these data into an overall assessment of organisational religiosity. Section 3.2.1 explained that there is no clear cut distinction (i.e. an organisation is either religious or not) but instead suggested that there is a spectrum or continuum of religiosity. While the methods used by other scholars are useful for analysing the religiosity of individual organisations, they were unsuited to my task of comparing 50 organisations and understanding the diversity among them. I therefore developed my own method for measuring overall religiosity. I assessed every organisation on each of the ten variables: evidence of religiosity scored one point and no evidence scored zero, hence the total possible score was ten. Figure 20 shows the proportion of organisations demonstrating religiosity on each of the variables. Looking overall, only two of the 50 organisations scored three or less (low religiosity) whereas 39 organisations scored between 4 and 7 (moderate religiosity) and nine organisations scored 8 or more (high religiosity). Both the mean and median were 6.

Figure 20 – Organisational religiosity for different variables



The striking differences between different measures of religiosity – for example, between the majority of organisations having a clear religious identity but just a few organisations engaged in proselytism – reinforce the need for this kind of multidimensional analysis that tries to capture the complexity of religiosity. Of course there are limitations with these data (as noted earlier, they do not consider changes over time, variations across space, or differences between the public and actual characteristics) but overall, this analysis indicates that religious identity and expression are important to ROs engaged in development.

7.5.2 Motivation and mission

Religious beliefs, teachings and values provide a strong motivation for ROs to engage in development, as seen in Section 7.3. While there were some thematic trends, it is difficult to make generalisations; even among a small sample of 50 organisations, motivations varied along a spectrum from selfish to altruistic and from worldly to transcendent. Several factors complicate analysis of religious motivation. First, organisations of the same religion – which therefore have a shared holy text and common doctrine – can be motivated by quite different things. Second, many of the motivational concepts – such as compassion for the poor or the desire to use one's life for good purpose – are not exclusive to religion but are general humanistic values that can be equally exhibited by non-religious organisations and individuals. Third, non-religious factors can also motivate people; for example, an individual may do development work for prestige, recognition or social status. Fourth, it should not be assumed that religious motivation is, by very nature, noble, pure and selfless; sometimes it is for personal gain. Fifth, as already noted, it is very difficult to separate personal and organisational motivation.

If there is a lack of consistency in motivation within religions, if many motivational factors are not unique to religious organisations, and if religious organisations can also be motivated by non-religious factors, then the question remains of how ROs differ from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development. I suggest it is their sense of mission. I use the word mission to encapsulate all the factors that contribute to an organisation's purpose and objectives including the historical origins of the organisation, religious convictions and the inspiration of a particular leader. I argue that the actual development activities of an RO are ancillary to its mission and are determined by exogenous factors – what I term local need – and which combines location, geography and environment. Thus:

MISSION + LOCAL NEED → ACTIVITIES

My argument is that an RO will always have the same mission but not always the same activities. If the local need changes, the organisation will continue to exist but adjust its activities in line with its mission. Thus location is fixed but activities are flexible. In contrast, a non-RO has a fixed set of activities and if the local need diminishes it will move to another location to continue with its activities. Thus activities are fixed but location is flexible. If, for example, India became suddenly as prosperous as the USA overnight, many non-ROs would relocate and continue to carry out their development work in countries where it is needed, whereas ROs would remain in situ and adjust their activities to meet new needs. The following four examples from among my 50 organisations illustrate this.

CH/08 is a school whose primary purpose is to provide high-quality education. For many decades, the school served wealthy and elite students until the Principal recognised that there were poor and underprivileged children living on the streets and in the slums near the school who were not being educated at all. The mission of the school to provide quality education combined with local need has shaped the activities of the school. The main primary and secondary school takes 700 girls from privileged backgrounds and 700 girls from underprivileged backgrounds; all are given the same high-quality English-medium education and by the time of graduation it is impossible to tell the original socio-economic background of each student. Furthermore, the school also runs out-of-hours schooling for working children, non-formal education for street children and a ‘barefoot’ teacher training programme to train people to set up small schools in the slums (further details in Section 8.3.2). There are many other schools worldwide run by the same parent body but they do not engage in such activities as the local need is different.

One of the core practices of the Sikh community is the *langar*, a free communal kitchen run in every gurdwara, which feeds members and visitors alike. The idea of the *langar* was initiated by the first of the Sikh gurus. On the one hand it is an active demonstration of the Sikh belief in equality, as people sit together and share food regardless of religion, caste, gender or social status; on the other hand it is an expression of the Sikh concept of service to humanity (*sewa*), as volunteers give freely of their time to prepare and distribute food. When SK/01 raised funds to build a new temple building in 1998, naturally a *langar* was incorporated into the design of the building. Since this is located in the centre of Kolkata in an area where many pavement dwellers congregate, the organisation decided to make use of their mission to serve all people without discrimination and respond to this local need by initiating a feeding programme for the homeless. Every Sunday morning, between 600 and 700 people are fed for free. If the premises of the organisation were located in an affluent suburb of Kolkata, there would not have been the local need to drive this activity.

Charity is one of the fundamentals of the Zoroastrian faith (the Sanskrit for Parsee means ‘one who gives alms’) and followers are encouraged to work hard and amass wealth, but also to share that wealth with others. The Parsee community in Kolkata – although small, shrinking and ageing – has always been a wealthy community, with its members particularly influential in industry and commerce in the city. Consequently, many Parsee benefactors used their fortunes to establish legacies and trust funds for the benefit of less fortunate members of their community and ZO/01 is the organisation responsible for managing these funds in Kolkata. Several benefactors, for example, invested in property and donated buildings to be used to provide subsidised housing for poorer members of the Parsee community. Thus the Parsee mission to be charitable combined with the local situation where the majority of the community were wealthy and the minority poor has shaped their activities. Had the Parsee community in Kolkata been poor and marginalised, the activities of its organisations would have probably been quite different.

CH/09 is a Roman Catholic order with a particular sense of mission to serve children and young people. The founder of the order was a priest in Italy; in the early nineteenth century at the time of the Industrial Revolution, he saw many children living in the streets and spending their life uselessly. Following biblical teachings about care for the young, he started to look after them, educate them and teach them skills. Members of the order still draw their inspiration and sense of purpose from their founder and his experiences. The organisation began its work in Kolkata in 1985, when a priest started befriending children living in Howrah railway terminus. He offered them a place to stay for the night and, over time, this developed into a network of night shelters and rehabilitation homes. These children also receive non-formal education or technical training and are assisted for entry into mainstream schools or employment. In view of the large numbers of children who live on the streets, are forced to work at a young age, and are abused, the organisation also engages in a variety of other support and advocacy work. Thus the distinct mission of the organisation to care for young people combined with the local need has shaped its activities. Priests of the same order located in other countries share the mission to work with young people but engage in different activities because the local needs of young people are different.

Overall, this analysis indicates that a RO's sense of mission, which is influenced by its history, convictions and leadership, shapes its development activities and I suggest that this is one of the factors which make ROs distinct from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development.

7.5.3 Inseparability of religion and development

For most ROs engaged in development, their religious identity and expression is intimately connected with their development activities. Organisations vary, however, in their conceptualisation of the relationship between religion and development. Among my sample I identified four types, which are explained and illustrated below.

First, there were organisations which conceptualise the religious or spiritual dimension as one of several different components that are addressed through their programmes and activities. The work of HI/01, for example, is divided into three fields – *shiksha* (education), *swasthya* (health care) and *sanskar* (cultural education) – the first two contributing to the welfare and social advancement of people and the third concerned with spiritual awakening and religious consolidation. Similarly, CH/13 envisages a multidimensional process:

> We commit to holistic development — developing minds, bodies and spirits. All of our child development programmes provide opportunities that encourage healthy development in four areas — spiritual, physical, social and economic. (CH/13 website)

Second, there were organisations which viewed religious activities and development activities as two equally-present and equally-important dimensions of their work. An interviewee at JA/04 described how religious activities and social activities are "not separate; they go side by side", while the interviewee at HI/03 described his organisation's "two tier system – one religious, one is social. From dawn to dusk is social service and dusk to dawn is religious!" Another interviewee described the role of social work in complementing religion:

> ...without the social service and service, religion has no place actually, has no meaning also. Without the service to the society...so religion is just a book then, just for reading. So when you incorporate or integrate with social activities so the religion has a life and it becomes a living religion not like a dead religion. Then the knowledge of religion also – what you learn after reading the holy books – the knowledge itself becomes an active knowledge rather than a passive knowledge. (BA/01b)

Third, there were organisations which conceived religion and religious activities as the foundation or inspiration for all other activities. JA/02, for example, adopts a multidimensional approach with four key elements – spirituality, education, service and cooperation – but states in a promotional leaflet that “spirituality serves as the root and sprout of all other activities”. Similarly, HI/10 engages in five types of service activities – educational, medical, vocational training, welfare, and spiritual and cultural – but the website states that “spirituality is the basis of our activities”. The approaches at BA/01 and HI/11 were similar in that the core activity of the organisation was religious – members attend spiritual programmes involving meditation, reflection and discussion – and as a result are motivated to engage in service projects for the benefit of others. Similarly, a Christian respondent described how developing people spiritually must precede developing other aspects of people’s life:

> ...what is the real meaning of development? It is develop means have good bus, good house, good car – is that really developed? Or big heart is really developed? ...I strongly believe that faith is the most important to develop as human beings. Without faith, socially-economically we can develop but that will not solve the problem...we are having – that problem will be more and more if we develop socially-economically – the problem will be more and more because the social-economic will make us more selfish... But faith is the main key for human development. Without faith you cannot develop human. As I told you, by money you can develop so many things but you cannot develop human beings. So faith is the most important. (CH/05b)

Fourth, there was one organisation that stressed the complete integration of spirituality into every aspect of its structure, operations and activities. In such cases, talking about the spiritual dimension of an organisation can be difficult because it is not a separate or distinguishable entity in their conceptualisation. As noted in Section 4.7.3, the absence of a binary between the material and spiritual is one attribute of the Indian mindset that westerners can struggle to comprehend. One interviewee tried to explain the relationship:

> Entire activity is blended, you know – there is a blend of spiritualism – so it is entirely integrated. No activity is there where spiritualism is not there – total blended. (HI/05d)

This analysis indicates that for most ROs, religious identity and expression are strongly connected to their development activities. There are various ways in which the relationship is conceived – multidimensional, equal, fundamental and integral – but the common feature is the inseparability of religion from development. I suggest that this is one factor that makes ROs distinct from non-ROs in their conceptualisation of development.

7.6 Concluding reflections

This chapter has explored the way in which religion shapes and influences ROs engaged in development. The findings from Kolkata suggest that religious identity and expression are important to ROs and that religious activities often take place alongside development activities. Although some aspects of religiosity are not unique to ROs, certain characteristics were identified as making ROs distinct from non-ROs, in particular being motivated by a perceived spiritual reward, the sense of mission which shapes organisational activities and the integration of religion into the conceptualisation of development.

In the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3, the left side of the spectrum under 'ways of thinking' concerned a broader definition of development which includes the spiritual dimension. The evidence from Kolkata showed that many ROs view development as a holistic process with spiritual aspects integrated alongside material ones; in fact, many organisations viewed religion and development as integral and inseparable. The centre of the spectrum concerned culturally-appropriate approaches to development grounded in different religions and worldviews. The examples from Kolkata demonstrated how religious beliefs, teachings and values provide a strong motivation for engagement in development; this religious motivation produces high levels of commitment and dedication and can also make development more meaningful to people both on the giving and receiving end.

The left side of the postdevelopment spectrum under 'ways of doing' concerned improving practice among existing development actors. As seen in Section 6.6, this means mainstream development institutions recognising the role of religion in development. One factor which has always kept them at a distance is a fear that ROs express their religious nature explicitly and conduct religious activities alongside development activities, or even use the latter as a convenient cover for the former, and that this in some way can interfere with the secular development project. There have been calls for objective research on the connection between religious beliefs and values and development practice. The evidence presented in this chapter contributes towards a better understanding of how ROs conceptualise development and the extent to which this differs from non-ROs. It should assist mainstream development actors in improving their appreciation of the role of religion in development.

Having explored how religious identity and expression make ROs different from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development, the next task is to examine whether any aspects of their religious nature make them particularly effective as development actors. Chapter 8 turns to examine how ROs mobilise particular religious resources and assets in development practice.

Chapter 8 – Impact and effectiveness

8.1 Introduction

In Chapter 7, I suggested that ROs are distinct from non-ROs engaged in the same kind of development activities in terms of religion shaping conceptualisations of development. This chapter moves on to consider the impact of the development work of ROs. As mentioned in Section 3.4.1, there is broad agreement in the literature on the main characteristics of ROs – advantages and strengths, as well as disadvantages and weaknesses – but there is a poor understanding of how these influence development activities and outcomes. There have been calls for more empirical studies that investigate whether particular religious characteristics make ROs more effective at development than their non-religious counterparts. Framed within the concepts of religious and spiritual capital (described in Section 3.4.1), I contribute to the limited literature on this topic with an investigation of a sample of ROs engaged in development in Kolkata. I concentrate on assessing the impact and effectiveness of these ROs while comparing their performance relative to non-ROs is a potential topic for further study (see Section 10.4.1). I explore which religious resources and assets are mobilised in development practice and investigate three particular questions arising from the literature (as identified in Section 3.2.3):

i) Which characteristics give ROs a comparative advantage in development?
ii) How do ROs contribute added value to development?
iii) What factors make ROs particularly effective at development?

The findings are analysed within the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3. The data presented and analysed in this chapter are drawn from two main sources: my sample of 50 ROs engaged in development activities and my in-depth study of three of these organisations (see Sections 4.3 and 4.4).

Using the concept of religious capital, Section 8.2 investigates three assets of ROs that are mobilised in development practice: religious leaders, religious congregations and religious networks. Using the concept of spiritual capital, Section 8.3 explores the conceptualisation of development as a process of personal and social transformation and gives five examples of how ROs translate this into practice. Section 8.4 looks in more detail at three representative organisations in Kolkata, describing how they mobilise particular religious characteristics in development practice. Section 8.5 investigates the three specific research questions from the literature. Section 8.6 reflects on the findings in the light of the postdevelopment framework for religion and development.

8.2 Religious capital

I use the term religious capital to refer to the concrete assets of ROs such as people and their skills, financial and material resources, and institutional infrastructure. As discussed in Section 3.4.1, some of these are shared with non-ROs but others are unique to ROs. This section considers three particular characteristics: religious leaders, religious congregations and religious networks. Giving examples from my sample of organisations in Kolkata, I show how these characteristics are mobilised in development practice and with what impact. The objective is to explore whether different types of religious capital make ROs particularly effective as development actors.

8.2.1 Religious leaders

One of the strengths of ROs identified in Section 3.4.1 was their leaders. Religious leaders have particular attributes that can be mobilised in development practice and which could contribute to effectiveness. The following discussion examines one of these: their position of authority and trust. Religious leaders generally have a privileged status in communities; they are usually considered as people of authority who are worthy of trust. Certainly religious leaders tend to be trusted more than other types of leaders and people in positions of power and influence, such as government ministers or foreign experts. One reason may be that religious leaders are perceived as being divinely appointed or having a sacred mandate and therefore are imbued with a higher level of authority than other types of leaders.

The position of authority and trust can be mobilised in development practice by using religious leaders to communicate development messages to communities and congregations, particularly in contexts where the religious leader is considered the highest authority. Among my sample, several Muslim organisations took this approach by using imams (mosque leaders) and ulemas (religious clerics) as partners in development. One example is given below and another in Section 8.4.2, while Section 8.5.1 considers why this is a strategy particularly used by Muslim organisations.

MU/01 works in the fields of health, education and poverty elimination, particularly in rural and remote areas of West Bengal. Rather than service delivery, their approach to development is focused on social mobilisation and community participation. Social mobilisation means training people who have influence at state, district and local level, such as political leaders, social leaders, community leaders and religious leaders. They are educated about the facilities and services available to communities, particularly government schemes. These leaders are requested to disseminate the information to the communities over which they have influence. For religious leaders, this means including development messages in their religious teachings. Imams, for example, generally give a sermon at Friday prayers every week and so the organisation asks them to incorporate information messages about immunising their children, enrolling their children in school and so on. One interviewee explained:

> We are not faith-based organisation but really we consider that we have been utilising our religious leaders instrumentally for the well-being, for the sake of the nation, for the sake of the community. (MU/01b)

Using this strategy, MU/01 has been particularly successful in its polio immunisation campaign, resulting in a dramatic reduction in incidence of the disease from 28 cases in West Bengal in 2003 to none in 2005 and just one in 2007. Also successful have been mother and child immunisation drives and the *School Cholo Avijan* (Go to School) campaign. This example suggests that using religious and other community leaders to communicate development messages is a potentially effective strategy for development.

8.2.2 Religious congregations

Another of the strengths of ROs identified in Section 3.4.1 was that they are often connected to the grassroots level through congregations, i.e. communities of people based around a place of worship. These congregations have particular attributes which can be mobilised in development practice and which could contribute to effectiveness. The following discussion highlights two of these: rootedness in a locality and human resources.

First, congregations are rooted in a locality and therefore familiar with the community's needs. In terms of development practice, this means that they can establish projects that are appropriate and targeted at specific needs. Second, congregations represent a pool of labour which may be willing to dedicate time, skills and personal resources to activities. In terms of development practice, this creates a participatory approach whereby community members are empowered to engage in development. Put together, these two attributes should lead to development being sustainable in the long run. Among my sample, I found five Christian organisations and one Baha'i organisation with a deliberate organisational strategy to work through local congregations. Two examples are given below, while Section 8.5.1 considers why this is a strategy particularly used by Christian organisations.

CH/14 is a diocesan-level organisation but rather than delivering development activities directly, it promotes local-level delivery through its Church Mission Engagement programme. CH/14 believes that local churches should work for their immediate neighbourhoods and communities and in this way be a change agent to transform society. At the time of investigation, this programme was being piloted in five churches (two in the city, three in rural areas) with the intention to roll-out to all churches in the diocese. The first step is for staff of CH/14 to meet with the Pastoral Committee, Youth Committee and Women's Committee of a church and explore its 'mission' (see Section

7.5.2). Through discussions and dialogues, members of the congregation come to understand that the role of the church, following biblical teachings, is to serve the community and put their faith into action. The second step is for members of the church to receive training from CH/14 and plan programmes of activity. Since this approach is still at the pilot stage, no results were available to assess its impact and effectiveness.

A similar approach is used by CH/13, an organisation supporting children. As an international NGO headquartered in the USA and operational in 25 countries, delivery through local church partners is seen as the most appropriate approach. The Kolkata office is a regional branch which covers seven states in Eastern India; its role is to support local partners, train their staff, manage the flows of funding and act as the intermediary between donors and beneficiaries. The first stage in recruiting new partners is the Potential Partners Workshop, which brings together about a hundred local pastors and evangelists from one geographical area. Staff from CH/13 give a presentation about child issues and participants are asked to discuss whether it is the church's role to respond; for example, they are asked whether the Bible talks about caring for children. The Director told me in an interview that many pastors have never thought about this issue but soon want to be involved in children's work once they see the clear scriptural basis.

The second stage is to set up a formal partnership, which involves the church registering as an organisation, obtaining an FCRA licence to receive funds from overseas, preparing a building to cater for 250 children, and recruiting twelve staff from among their congregation to act as the project staff who are given full training by CH/13. It is a deliberate strategy to make the local church partner provide the physical infrastructure and human resources in order to create a sense of ownership. The church is also responsible for identifying potential children who could become beneficiaries; though they are drawn from the geographical area around the church, the children are not necessarily from Christian families or from families who are members of the church congregation. At the time of investigation, CH/13 managed 140 partnerships across its Eastern India region, largely in remote tribal areas, catering for 30,000 to 35,000 children.

These two examples suggest that using religious congregations as development partners can be an effective strategy because congregations are rooted in their local community, can create appropriate programmes to meet people's needs, are able to identify suitable beneficiaries, employ staff from among their group, and can manage and monitor activities because they are in situ.

8.2.3 Religious networks

Another advantage of ROs identified in Section 3.4.1 was their embeddedness within extensive networks. These networks have particular attributes that can be mobilised in development practice and which could contribute to effectiveness. The following discussion highlights one of these: the access to resources.

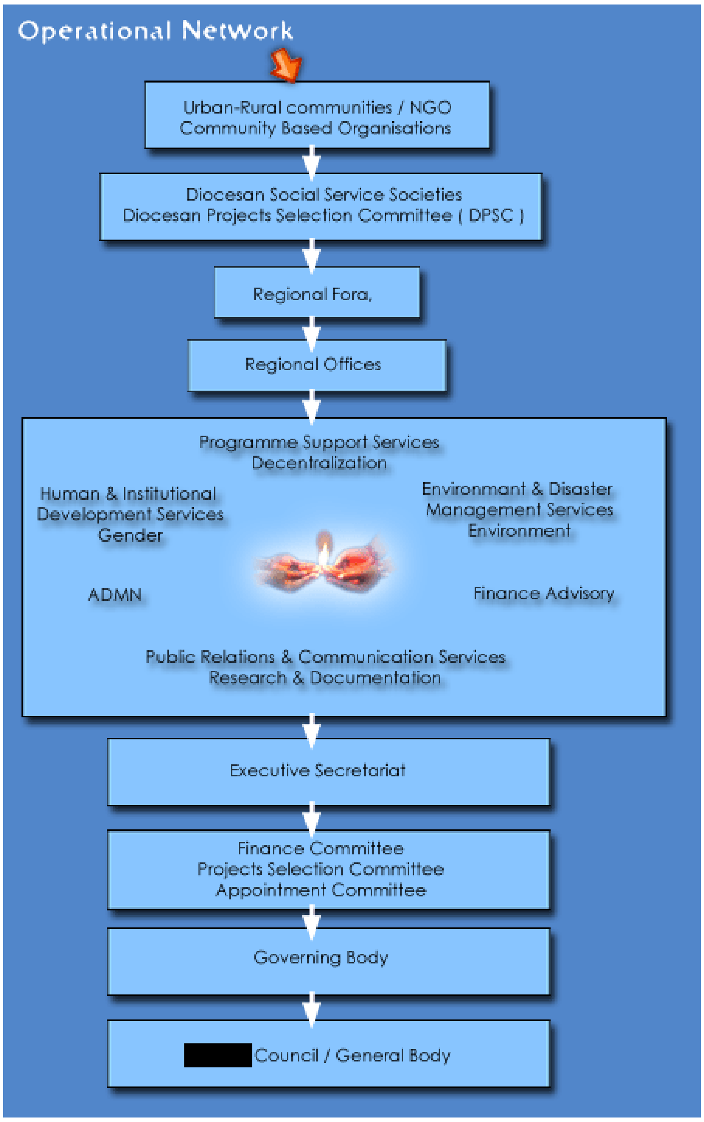
Networks can be utilised to facilitate the channelling of human, financial and material resources for development. The extent of some religious networks is seen as eclipsing the capacity of NGOs or government to reach both downwards to local communities and upwards to national and international bodies. Among my sample, 23 organisations were associated with national and/or international religious networks (one Baha'i, one Buddhist, ten Christian, seven Hindu, two Jain, one Muslim, one Taoist). One example is given below, while Section 8.5.1 considers why this is a strategy found among some religions more than others.

CH/02 is a Catholic organisation situated within a network of other Catholic organisations. Looking upwards and outwards, it is a member of an international confederation of sister organisations serving almost 200 countries and territories. Most of the funding for the organisation in India comes from sister organisations in England, Belgium, Germany, Spain, Japan, Hong Kong and Australia. At national level, the India organisation has a headquarters in Delhi but the work is divided into five 'zones' and is highly decentralised. The Eastern Zone managed by the office in Kolkata covers the states of West Bengal, Sikkim, Orissa, Jharkhand, and Chhattisgarh. This office has only four members of staff, who are responsible for pre-funding studies, monitoring of programmes and reporting. All programmes are implemented by local partner organisations. The Eastern Zone has around 30-35 church-related NGOs (diocesan organisations) plus around 10 non-church NGOs and focuses its work in rural areas.

Figure 21 shows the operational network of CH/02 in India. Interestingly, grassroots partner organisations are depicted at the top of the chart while the national council is at the bottom, indicating the importance given to the local level. This is a conspicuous inversion of the Eurocentric modernisation approach, which invariably privileges educated elites and formal institutions in a top-down model. Although the arrows are shown flowing down (which is actually upwards within the structure of the organisation), this does indicate the absence of flows passing the opposite way. International flows are not shown on this diagram but they are also an important part of the organisation's network. Without this denominational network, CH/14 would not have access to financial resources from sister organisations worldwide nor access to local communities through diocesan organisations.

This example suggests that religious networks can be an asset for development because they can facilitate the flow of financial, material and human resources, rather than draining resources from below.

Figure 21 – Operational network of CH/02



(Source: CH/02 website)

8.3 <u>Spiritual capital</u>

I use the term spiritual capital to refer to the conceptual assets of ROs such as beliefs, values, ideas and motivation. As mentioned in Section 7.3, some of these are shared with non-ROs, particularly humanitarian values such as care and compassion for fellow human beings, but others are unique to ROs. This section considers one particular characteristic which seems to be particular to ROs: the conceptualisation of development as a holistic process of personal and social transformation. Across different religions, the basic idea is the same: making changes in the life of an individual – in terms of thought, behaviour and morals – will be multiplied in many individuals and have a knock-on effect to transform society. This different way of conceiving development could be seen as part of creating culturally-appropriate approaches to development or even new paradigms for development, as outlined in Section 2.3.1 and Figure 2. Giving five examples from among my sample of organisations in Kolkata, I show how the idea of personal and social transformation is applied in development practice and with what impact. Reflections on whether this spiritual capital contributes added value to development is considered in Section 8.5.2.

8.3.1 Individual blossoming

The founder of HI/11 had a vision of a violence-free and stress-free society achieved through the reawakening of human values. “The goal of the organisation is to bring peace at the level of the individual, society, nation and the world as a whole...” (HI/11 website)

The core activity of HI/11 is the spiritual programme. There is a range of activities on offer including courses, conferences and mass rallies, but the centre piece of each of these is *Sudarshan Kriya*, the Science of Breath, combining breathing techniques, meditation and yoga “that facilitates physical, mental, emotional and social well-being” (HI/11 leaflet). Interviewees explained the organisation’s objectives in their own words:

> ...what we in [HI/11] propagate is the Science of Breath... Breath is universal, breath knows no religion and all our practices are focused around the breath, around breathing and meditation and this special process called *Sudarshan Kriya* – it’s a bio-rhythmic breathing process. So when you are going deeper with your own breath you can relate the inner world and the outer world and then once our inside is focused here – calm and de-stressed – then you automatically share with the world what your true nature is, which is love, peace and happiness. (HI/11b)

> This is not a religion; it’s a spiritual path where a technique is taught called the *Sudarshan Kriya*. When you do the *Sudarshan Kriya* all your other faculties start blossoming. So Guruji believes that once the individual is strengthened then the society automatically gets strengthened... This programme completely de-stresses a person so once the person is de-stressed he is more peaceful, he can take care of the society then... By doing the course, when once we are de-stressed, when we don’t have any problem of our own, then we want to take responsibility of everybody around us. So that way we cater to the society better. Because if you are stressed you only think about yourself. (HI/11a)

Devotees who have undergone the spiritual programme are often motivated to spread their sense of peace and love in wider society and do so through establishing projects to help the poor and needy. Projects established by devotees from the Kolkata centre include a drug rehabilitation centre, slum schools, tribal and rural schools, tribal welfare programmes, projects for street children, rural development programmes, zero budget farming, conflict resolution and disaster relief. These programmes are reaching tens of thousands of beneficiaries.

The majority of service programmes incorporate training in *Sudarshan Kriya*, so that beneficiaries are taught about the philosophy of the organisation and in turn are changed from the inside out. The organisation has a worldwide brand name in English, but in India also has a Hindi name which translates as ‘centre for individual blossoming’.

8.3.2 Human rights education

CH/08 is an English-medium girls' school headed by a Catholic nun. The order to which she belongs has run several schools in Kolkata for over 150 years and these have focused on imparting quality education to privileged children (see also Section 7.5.2). In 1979, the Principal of CH/08 felt that her Christian call was to the poor rather than the privileged so she started an experiment to open up the school to underprivileged children living in the slum areas and on the pavements around the school. Today, the school's 1,400 pupils are from mixed social, financial and religious backgrounds: half of these are classified as poor and do not pay fees.

The Principal believes that the UN's list of fundamental human rights is an expression of the mandate in the Bible to love one's neighbour as oneself. She explained to me in an interview (CH/08) that if this value of love were lived out then there would be no corruption, exploitation, discrimination or injustice; however, the reality of the world is that there is not love and thus people are denied their rights. To the school's pupils in central Kolkata, injustices are played out right outside the school gates and in the communities where they live; for example, children who live without permanent shelter, who work rather than go to school, who scavenge for food from empty train carriages, or who are abused by relatives and strangers.

In response, the school pioneered value education, which has since been renamed human rights education. The aim is not only to teach children about their rights but to get them actively involved in ensuring that everyone has their rights, especially other children around them. Human rights was introduced into the curriculum, both as a theoretical subject based on classroom discussions and as a practical subject with hands-on activities. There are a number of programmes – under the categories of education, child labour, nutrition, shelter, love and belonging – that the school runs and in which the pupils are the project staff. Four of these are described below.

The first programme to start was Rural Child to Child in 1981. Every Thursday, one-quarter of the secondary pupils travel by bus to government primary schools in villages around Kolkata (i.e. every pupil goes once a month). In these schools, the teacher-pupil ratio is often 1:120 and drop-out rates are high. The girls prepare lessons in advance and teach small groups, ensuring that all children get intensive tuition.

The Rainbow programme for street children has been running since 1985. All school pupils from age 10 years onwards have two periods per week on their timetable to attend the Rainbow programme and teach the children there. This means that at any one time there are 50 potential teachers free and ready to teach whoever comes in off the street. In addition, there is a rotation system for students to stay after school hours to teach those children who must work during the daytime. Some of the Rainbow children have been successfully mainstreamed into the school and this model has been copied in other schools.

Some children in India are forced to work to earn money and thus miss out on education. Since 2001, pupils at CH/08 have made investigations in their own residential neighbourhoods to identify children who are employed as domestic workers. Through these field surveys almost 5,000 children have been identified. The students then lobby the child employers about human rights and encourage them to send the children to school. Several hundred children are now in school as a result of the campaign and others have been rescued from abuse.

Every day, the school kitchen not only prepares a meal for the 1,400 pupils and staff but also for destitute people who do not have regular meals. At lunchtime, groups of pupils go outside the school to deliver food parcels to street children, children in the nearby railway terminus, homeless widows and other vulnerable people.

The human rights education curriculum pioneered by CH/08 has been an outstanding success and has been introduced in government schools and private schools all over India. Its goal is not only to teach children about human rights, but also to instil certain values to make them "a vibrant, living instrument for human change" (CH/08 website).

8.3.3 Force of transformation

Baha'is are committed to creating a peaceful global society that fosters both individual and collective well-being:

> At the heart of the writings of Baha'u'llah is the force of transformation, both of the individual and of society. The transformation of the individual is not an isolated process, centred wholly on one's self-fulfilment. In Baha'i terms, the process of one's individual development and fulfilment is tied to the centring of one's energies on the betterment of humankind and serving the needs of the community and the larger society. (BA/01 parent body website)

The Baha'i faith has no priests or leaders; instead the emphasis is highly participatory: local assemblies have elected representatives who do the administration and make decisions, while all activities are run by volunteers. The core activities of Baha'is are threefold: i) Devotional Gatherings; ii) moral and spiritual empowerment (divided by age group into Children's Programmes, Junior Youth Empowerment Programme and Study Circles); and iii) education and socio-economic development projects. One interviewee (BA/01b) described how one activity leads to another: the Devotional Gatherings are a "gateway" because it is as a result of attending them that people decide to run moral and spiritual empowerment programmes for different age groups and, in turn, these groups are inspired to engage in socio-economic development projects. In terms of the latter, local Baha'is undertake projects appropriate to their locality; activities mentioned in the West Bengal area included blood donation camps and eye camps.

In this way, the outcome of individual moral and spiritual transformation is social and economic development. The improvement of an individual's well-being has a knock-on effect in improving well-being for others in society.

8.3.4 Character building

HI/07 is a secondary school for boys and HI/06 is an associated undergraduate degree college for boys. Both institutions are under the umbrella of the same parent body and have a shared philosophy towards education. Education has been chosen as the primary activity because the "right type of education is considered to be the best and most effective means of doing lasting good to the nation" (HI/06 website).

The "right type of education" referred to was set out by the founder of the parent body: education is not "merely book learning" but rather "life-building, man-making, character-making assimilation of ideas". He said: "what we want is that education by which character is formed, strength of mind is increased, the intellect is expanded and by which one can stand on one's feet" (HI/06 website). With individual people transformed through this type of education they then have the values to behave correctly and influence society.

In practice, this means that while the school and college teach a prescribed curriculum and prepare students for public examinations, they also strive for "all round growth and development". This includes an emphasis on the moral and spiritual dimensions of life and the aim is that pupils "may become strong and healthy individuals rooted in sound moral principles, learn to respect the higher values of life and become conscious of their obligation to the society and its people" (HI/07 website).

The Principal of the college explained to me in an interview that if you just help a poor family by giving them food you reduce them to begging; but if you give them education then the poverty of that family will be completely eradicated in ten to fifteen years. Providing food and lodging is a temporary service; education is enduring and permanent. With education, not only is poverty eliminated but it also eradicates prejudices and gives individuals honour, strength and respect. With education, poor people become essential members of society and command respect from higher caste people who did not care for them before. So education and respectability go together. "Within a decade they become very much economically solvent, economically very much prosperous. Their poverty gone, they are established in society with work and also with affluence" (HI/06).

Across India, parents are increasingly obsessed by good exam results and career building, but parents like to send their children to HI/07 and HI/06 because of the emphasis on value-based education. In fact HI/07 is regarded as one of the best schools in the country for boys, with high academic standards at the same time as being focused on building strong characters. It is considered by the Government of India as a model school. Likewise, HI/06 is a highly-regarded degree college which attracts boys from across India; it achieves high performances in public examinations and many alumni have proceeded to significant careers at national level.

8.3.5 Philosophy of change

JA/01 is the apex body of lay followers of the Jain Swetambar Terapanthi sect. One of the fundamental philosophies of this sect is that of *anuvrat*, which one of the late leaders of the sect explained as the "philosophy of change" whose "sole purpose is to enable man to introspect, understand his own nature and to make efforts to transform it" (JA/01 parent body website).

The idea is that individual people seek to reform their character through adhering to a set of values and behaviours in their life. There is an *anuvrat* code of conduct which sets out 12 vows that the lay person, or 'householder', should adhere to. These include not killing any innocent creature, not taking part in violent aggression, living a life free from addictions, keeping the environment pollution-free and practising religious toleration. In addition, there are specific vows for certain groups of people such as students, teachers, business people, office employees, election candidates and voters. This philosophy is taught to followers through seminars and conferences led by ordained members of the sect.

The philosophy of *anuvrat* aims to build moral qualities in individuals and then change society. It is crucial to start at the level of the individual because "it is the individual who manages a programme, institution, social group or nation. Should he be deficient in moral qualities, the best of organisations will collapse". Thus "efforts at building individual character are of basic importance" (JA/01 parent body website). The motto of *anuvrat* is *Sudre Vyakti, Samaj Vyakti Se*, which means if the individual is reformed, society will become better and the nation will automatically improve. Thus the way to achieve social reform and the regeneration of society and the nation as a whole is to start with individual reform.

8.4 <u>Case studies – three organisations in Kolkata</u>

This section considers how religious capital and spiritual capital are being mobilised in development practice by the three organisations chosen for in-depth study. One example is given for each organisation.

8.4.1 RKM LSP – Self improvement

Spiritual capital is very evident in RKM LSP, shaping its conceptualisation and practice of development. As described in Section 7.4.1, the core philosophy behind the RKM family of organisations is that every human is potentially divine. This belief prompts two responses: to serve human beings because they have the divine within them and also to help people to realise that they have the divine within them. The latter is achieved through education; not education in the sense of a taught curriculum but a process of behavioural change, mental development and spiritual growth. The realisation of the divine presence within is not the end goal, however; once someone has this awareness they will strive to use their own resources, to excel in what they do, and to improve the conditions of their life. In turn, this brings about improvements in physical conditions and economic well-being.

In practice, people are educated in this way through village-level organisations, whose core activity is the Study Circle, a regular meeting for members, where they learn about the lives and teachings of the leading figures of RKM (Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda and Sarada Ma, collectively known as the Holy Trio). They also study the lives and teachings of figures from other religions such as Buddha, Christ and Mohammed, as well as great figures in the Indian tradition such as Mahatma Gandhi, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, Sri Aurobindo and Rabindranath Tagore. Through readings, discussions, reflections and meditation, villagers come to recognise the presence of the divine within themselves.

Having recognised the divinity within, people are then motivated to take action to improve their lives. Village groups identify their needs and RKM LSP acts as a facilitator to enable these needs to be met. One village may decide that they want agricultural training on a particular crop so that they can improve their yields (see Figure 22); one village may want to send some women for training in making jams that they can sell to generate an income; another village may arrange to send a member for teacher training so that they can set up a primary school. All of these activities bring about an improvement in individual and collective well-being. At the time of investigation there were around 300 village organisations involved with RKM LSP.

In a group interview with members of one village-level organisation, a villager described to me how the philosophy of RKM had brought them *atma biswas* (self-confidence); the people felt a sense of self-worth and were now able to bring about their own development. This approach to development is grassroots, empowering and participatory. It is also a self-perpetuating system because once someone has discovered the divine within themselves, their next task is to find the divine in others. In this integrated approach to development, spiritual and the material aspects are inseparable.

Figure 22 – RKM LSP's spiritual capital shapes development: a field officer speaks to a villager in Govindorampur while, in the club house behind, 50 villagers attend a training session on integrated farming systems that they have requested.

8.4.2 AFK – influencing imams

AFK is mobilising religious capital for development in the form of religious leaders being trained as conduits for development messages. As described in Section 7.4.2, organisations in the AMAN network such as AFK seek to use Islamic teachings to address contemporary problems in society. The Secretary General of AMAN explained to me in an interview that there are two types of Muslim: one is "just reciting Koran, teaching Arabic without basic understanding of meaning..." and the other comprises small groups "objectively reading Koran and trying to make it relevant in this century" (MU/02b). They aim to increase the proportion of Muslims classified as the latter by educating people about their duty to address moral, social and environmental issues. Religious leaders are seen as key players in this process because, without their endorsement, ordinary people will not respond. The first step is to raise awareness among religious leaders about the issues and an appropriate Islamic response; the second step is to identify how to respond in practical terms; the third step is to communicate this to local communities.

This approach was being implemented by AFK across West Bengal. In 2007 and 2008, the organisation ran a series of workshops on HIV/AIDS and I was able to attend one of these, where invitations had been targeted at imams (see Figure 23). The purpose of the first session was to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS, such as its prevalence in India and West Bengal, the mode of

Figure 23 – AFK's mobilisation of religious leaders: an imam talks about appropriate Muslim responses to HIV/AIDS

transmission and the symptoms. Since there are many myths and misconceptions about HIV/AIDS, it was important to start by dispelling these with facts. The second session showed how religious scriptures related to the issue; particularly what the Koran teaches about caring for those who are sick or marginalised in society. This was important in terms of creating a religious justification for responding. The third session was a discussion about practical ways that religious communities could respond, such as speaking out against prejudice in society, caring for those suffering from HIV/AIDS, and finding income generation opportunities for victims and their families. The final session motivated participants to go back to their communities and communicate this message; imams were encouraged to talk for ten or fifteen minutes during their sermon at Friday prayers in the mosque about HIV/AIDS from the perspective of the Koran.

AFK estimates that as a result of the series of workshops, more than 30,000 Muslims have been reached with messages about HIV/AIDS awareness. The Secretary explained to me in an interview why this strategy of using religious leaders is so effective: "the imams have a great influence, particularly in rural area. When they talk from the mosque about anything people will take in their heart..." (MU/02a).

The parent body of AFK, AMAN, has been doing similar work on a larger scale. It took part in the 'International consultation on Islam and AIDS' organised by Islamic Relief Worldwide, held in South Africa in 2007. The participant organisations realised that none of them received funding from the big Muslim donor agencies in the Middle East so they decided to initiate a dialogue between activist organisations and donor organisations. Donors were invited to learn about Muslim responses to HIV/AIDS and, although they were not convinced that it was an important issue for Muslims, some imams who were present met and eventually issued a *fatwa* saying that *zakat* money can be given to support people affected by HIV/AIDS. This was seen as a positive starting point for engaging with conservative Muslims on the issue.

8.4.3 CRS – denominational networks

CRS is mobilising its religious capital for development in the form of denominational networks. Although the organisation is a self-standing NGO, it is closely connected with the cathedral and other diocesan organisations in Kolkata, as well as dioceses, parishes and churches on the other side of the world. These networks are used to channel financial, material, human and spiritual resources. One particular feature of the networks developed by CRS is that they are based on personal connections and links. As elaborated further in Section 9.5.1, the Kolkata diocese is twinned with a diocese in the UK and there are also linkages with particular parishes and churches. These links are sustained through mutual visits of bishops and other clergy and regular communication between them. On visits to the UK, representatives from Kolkata are able to make presentations about the work of CRS, raise awareness, and request support in the form of money and prayers. Furthermore, individual supporters from different churches in the UK are invited on visits to Kolkata where they can view the work of CRS first-hand (see Figure 24). On returning to their home congregations they can give personal testimony of the work being done by CRS and thereby recruit additional supporters. In these ways, networks are personal rather than impersonal and this has fostered long-term commitment and sustained financial support.

Figure 24 – CRS's denominational networks: the Bishop, Vicar and other members of the Executive Committee meet representatives from churches in the UK supporting the work

Prior to joining CRS, the Director worked for two other Christian organisations in Kolkata engaged in development, as well as a non-religious development organisation and in the corporate sector. He described to me in an interview (CH/01a) that when moving back and forth between religious and secular organisations during the course of his career, he did not find any difference between what the organisations were doing in terms of development. The NGOs were based on a corporate model and engaged in the technical delivery of development; they had no direct contact with church congregations or Christian communities, and their organisational values did not explicitly reflect Christian values. When he moved to CRS, however, he found a complete contrast to his previous experiences: faith and development were combined and Christian values were the motivation for involvement in development work. Furthermore, there were close connections with the churches in the local diocese as well as Anglican congregations in other countries. He felt that these factors make CRS different from many of the other organisations labelled as 'faith-based' but which display no characteristics of being based on a particular faith or rooted in a particular faith community.

8.5 Emerging issues

This section reflects on my findings in the light of three issues emerging from the literature concerning whether ROs engaged in development have a particular comparative advantage, added value and effectiveness, all of which seek to explore the impact of ROs in development practice.

8.5.1 Comparative advantage

As described in Section 3.4.1, ROs have particular advantages and strengths which can contribute to their development practice. Some of these are shared with non-ROs but others are possibly unique to ROs. It is in those that may be unique in which the potential lies for ROs having a comparative advantage in development. Evidence in this chapter considered how particular religious characteristics – conceptualised as religious capital – have been utilised in development practice, namely leaders, congregations and networks. Was there any evidence from my analysis that the utilisation of these assets might give ROs a comparative advantage over non-ROs engaged in similar kinds of development activities? While the limited literature has tended to assume that religious characteristics inherently generate comparative advantage, I would be cautious about making generalisations for three main reasons:

1. Comparative advantages are not necessarily shared by all ROs: there is no single comparative advantage or set of comparative advantages common to all ROs; rather the particular assets that are mobilised for development vary across religions. The world religions have different architecture, structures and methods of operating, resulting in different assets that can be mobilised (see Section 1.5.1). Christianity, for example, is divided into different denominations, each of which has a hierarchical structure from the global to the local level. These networks are used for channelling funding, personnel, material support and spiritual support. In terms of development, these networks can be effective methods for delivering development activities at local level, as seen in the examples given in Sections 8.2.2, 8.2.3 and 8.4.3. Other religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Sikhism do not have such an established institutional hierarchy. Furthermore, ROs of the same religion do not necessarily mobilise the same religious assets; for example, not all the Christian organisations in the sample used religious congregations and denominational networks to shape development delivery.

2. Comparative advantages are not necessarily unique to ROs: the types of religious capital described have non-religious equivalents; for example, religious leaders are being mobilised to communicate development messages to the grassroots but other kinds of community leaders can also be used in this way, such as school teachers, political representatives or parents. The particular asset of religious leaders highlighted was their position of authority or trust but this is not unique. What is unique is that their mandate for being in that position is perceived as divinely given and in some communities that might make them more listened to, respected and trusted than any other leaders. Thus the mobilisation of religious leaders is community-specific; for example the cases given in Sections 8.2.1 and 8.4.2 were drawn from the Muslim community. Furthermore, ROs do not have a monopoly over mobilising their religious assets. Some mainstream development actors have recognised the assets of ROs in reaching to the grassroots and are using them as partners in development to deliver projects and programmes.

3. Comparative advantages are not necessarily utilised for positive development outcomes: the examples I chose all had a positive spin, showing how religious assets have been used for successful development, but there can be another side. CH/13, which was described in Section 8.2.2, was delivering projects for children through local church congregations and could be judged as being effective at doing so. There was another ‘hidden’ reason, however, for the organisation using local religious groups: the organisation is evangelistic in its orientation. The majority of the individual donors (largely in North America and Europe) are evangelical Christians who want to give their money to an organisation which engages in development for evangelistic ends but open proselytism is not permitted in all countries. Certainly as a foreign Christian organisation in India, CH/13 is under certain governmental restrictions about its activities. The partnership method (i.e. using local churches to deliver development projects) ensures that the parent organisation cannot be accused of proselytism and risk expulsion from the country but can still fully support local church partners who are able to engage in evangelistic activities. Looking at the negative impacts of the development work of ROs is identified as a potential topic for further study in Section 10.4.1.

Overall, religious capital is a useful way of conceptualising the resources and assets of ROs that can be mobilised for development. Responding to Baker and Skinner’s (2006) uncertainty of whether the concept is applicable outside Christianity, I think it is, but caution should be exercised when making claims about the distinctiveness or uniqueness of religious capital.

8.5.2 Added value

As described in Section 3.3.2 and exemplified in Section 7.3, religious beliefs, teachings and values shape conceptualisations of development, including the motivation for development, the overall goal and the type of activities. These attributes can be usefully termed spiritual capital. Some types of spiritual capital, such as the feeling of care and compassion for fellow human beings, are not unique to ROs. In Section 8.3, however, I suggested that there is perhaps one form of spiritual capital that makes ROs distinct from non-ROs: the conceptualisation of development as a process of individual and social transformation. This was an approach found across several different religions that focused on improving behaviour, morals, values, attitudes in individual people, who in turn bring about change in society. According to the examples given in Sections 8.3 and 8.4.1, this approach has been very successful when applied in practice and I suggest that it constitutes a particular added value that ROs can bring to development. There are at least three characteristics that distinguish this approach to development from the mainstream:

1. Development as a holistic process: Mainstream development, while now multidimensional and incorporating economic, social, political and technological aspects, has largely avoided the spiritual dimension. Conceptualising development as a process of transformation does not mean incorporating the spiritual as an additional dimension but rather seeing it as integral. There is no differentiation between the material and the spiritual aspects of life; the two are intimately connected and mutually reinforcing.

2. Development as a personal process: Mainstream development is a process of changing the conditions of life in different countries through interventions at different scales from national and regional to community and household. Conceptualising development as a process of transformation does not seek to bring changes in society that trickle down to individual people but rather to bring about changes in individual people that trickle up to society.

3. Development as a self-perpetuating process: Mainstream development requires a series of interventions to generate changes. Conceptualising development as a process of transformation does not plan strategic actions to bring about change but rather instigates a natural and self-perpetuating cycle of change.

Once again, I would be cautious about claiming that this alternative way of conceptualising development is unique to ROs. Much of the work on gender and empowerment, for example, revolves around the idea of transformation, while the research on Wellbeing in Development draws on ideas about positive, holistic and people-centred development.[126]

One of the postdevelopment approaches to thinking about development identified in Section 2.3.1 was searching for new paradigms. I suggest that conceptualising development as a process of

[126] www.welldev.org.uk

individual and social transformation holds the potential of being a new paradigm. The substance of this approach is actually nothing new, because it draws on age-old religious beliefs and values. It fits particularly comfortably with the Indian philosophical traditions, which have never adopted a dualistic distinction between the material and spiritual, personal and collective.

8.5.3 Effectiveness

An organisation's effectiveness in delivering development activities to beneficiaries and its wider and longer-term impact on the community and society can be measured in different ways. Various quantitative indicators could measure the success of programmes, such as number of beneficiaries, cost of provision, quality of services, levels of professionalism or replicability. As seen in Sections 2.3.1 and 3.4.2, however, the traditional measures of effectiveness used by development institutions and donors are not necessarily appropriate for ROs whose aims and objectives might be immaterial or intangible. No way to assess these has yet been agreed. At the Religions and Development conference (Birmingham, July 2010), there were several hours of discussion devoted to the topic of whether ROs are distinctive and more effective, but the debate went round in circles and a few dozen academics, practitioners and policy-makers failed to come to a conclusion. I did not try to force a logframe or other kind of standard analysis onto my sample of RO to assess their impact and effectiveness in traditional terms, but rather I looked for other ways for exploring their effectiveness.

One way to frame the argument is to ask what factors make ROs particularly effective at development. I suggest that one characteristic of ROs contributing to their positive impact and effectiveness in development, which showed across my sample of organisations but which I do not claim is completely unique to ROs, was the commitment of individuals working in ROs. This commitment is comprised of several different attributes.

1. Accountability and integrity: Many religious people (both ordained and lay)[127] feel inspired by their beliefs to serve other people in different ways. Most feel that they have been 'called' or 'divinely appointed' to do this, sometimes termed as a sense of vocation. Belief and behaviour are inseparable, as explained by one interviewee:

> If you go to any government [facility] or any centres, any hospitals, you think how the doctor will behave with you? And if you go to any service centres of [our organisation] how the doctor will behave with you? In our attitude it is the attitude of service and...all employees believe, that work is worship. We believe in worship. All the monks, they believe in worship, they believe in religion, but this religion is not just like throwing some flowers to any deities, it is not; it is doing something sincerely, doing something with devoted heart... (HI/05a)

[127] I recognise that the terms ordained and lay are widely used in Christian circles but are not necessarily directly translatable into other religions and cultures.

Since they believe that they are accountable to a 'higher power' for their actions, they often strive to 'perform' to very high standards, whether to fulfil their duty, please their deity or earn spiritual reward. At an organisational level, this can contribute to a positive work ethic, promoting behaviour such as honesty, transparency and hard work. While non-religious people are accountable to organisational bosses or donors for their work, the transcendental part of accountability for religious people can engender a higher degree of commitment.

2. Perseverance and reliability: Religious beliefs can give people spiritual resources upon which they can draw for their work, such as a sense of hope in a desperate situation or a sense of inner strength to continue in the face of adversity. Religious people are often found serving communities in difficult locations – whether remote, destitute or climatically uncomfortable – and have 'staying power' and dedication to the people they serve. This kind of perseverance was illustrated by one interviewee:

> I mean I don't see any reason why I should bother spend my time out in this heat and with all these kids and so on if it's not for the sake of Jesus who told us to love our neighbours as ourselves. That's the reason…I feel very strongly that I would be very unfaithful to Christ's message if I didn't do this work. (CH/08)

Perseverance also makes people willing to stay for long periods, rather than 'helicopter' in and out, which is particularly important given that development is a long-term process. Their sustained commitment to help can give beneficiary communities a sense of self-worth and spur their own actions to develop themselves. On a visit to a beneficiary community of the work of HI/05, a villager said to me that "we can depend on [HI/05]; what they commit to they do". He described that the organisation will come immediately if there is an emergency or disaster. His village is relatively remote and only accessible by water so other organisations are not keen to go there. One of the field officers explained to me that he will always respond, even if it involves travelling four hours by boat, whereas other NGOs will not go so far. Beneficiaries clearly perceived this commitment and reliability as important. While non-religious people are also capable of perseverance and going the 'extra mile', religiously-driven perseverance gives ROs what James (2009a) calls a "high coefficient of commitment".

3. Selflessness and joy: Many religious people engage in service not for their own benefit but purely for others with a selfless attitude of devotion and commitment. In some religions, an attitude of selflessness is a guarantee of spiritual reward and bringer of joy, as illustrated by the following two interviewees:

> Service becomes real worship when we are selfless. And only that kind of service will purify our mind and liberate us, and we shall be able to realise that God is the indwelling spirit of us all. (HI/04)
>
> Doing social work diligently and doing it with a smiling face and happily are two different things, isn't it? You see when you see people doing a lot of social work you find them very serious all the time.

> Here people are enjoying every moment. They may think we are not serious but more work is done when you are happy. (HI/11a)

> The commitment of lay staff of HI/05, for example, was highlighted in group interviews with beneficiary communities. In one village, community representatives told me that with other organisations the “human resource component” is not there. Other organisations come with their inputs and leave; this organisation comes with their inputs but also engages in the development of the people. This was repeated in a different village, where committee members said that government people and other organisations come to the village for selfish reasons – when they need to collect data, for example – and not because the people need assistance. HI/05, on the other hand, has ample human resources; people such as agricultural experts come to the village to share their knowledge because they want to serve the people and do not seek anything in return.

I emphasise again that commitment is not unique to religious people. Non-religious people working in ROs or non-ROs are also accountable for their work, capable of perseverance, can act with integrity and have an unfaltering commitment to serve others.

Overall, it is difficult to make generalisations because there are both effective and ineffective ROs, just as there are effective and ineffective non-ROs. A better approach to investigating effectiveness might be to ask questions such as: what types of organisation are more effective at development; what types of development programmes produce more effective outcomes; and what factors make an organisation more effective at development. Although I have attempted to explore effectiveness, it remains a grey area in research on ROs, with no concrete answers and deserves further study, as highlighted in Section 10.4.1.

8.6 Concluding reflections

This chapter has explored how ROs utilise their religious resources and assets in development practice in order to test assumptions that these make ROs particularly effective as development actors. The investigation in Kolkata uncovered a range of practical assets that some ROs have mobilised, such as religious leaders, religious congregations and religious networks, and these have proved to be effective mechanisms for delivering a variety of development activities. Some ROs have utilised intangible resources, such as beliefs and values, to frame development as a process of personal and social transformation and this has proved to be an effective approach when translated into practice. There were two main caveats to note with the findings: first that not all ROs utilised religious assets; and second that many religious assets were not unique to ROs. Future research could take this investigation further by comparing the relative effectiveness of ROs vis-à-vis non-ROs (see Section 10.4.1).

In the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3, the left side of the spectrum under ‘ways of thinking’ included expanding the indicators used to measure development. This is necessary because the immaterial inputs into ROs (such as beliefs or prayer) and the intangible outcomes (such as hope or self-confidence) cannot be measured by traditional development indicators. The twin concepts of religious capital and spiritual capital have recently emerged from the literature in the Global North and I have applied them to my investigation in the Global South, where they have proved a very useful tool, holding significant potential for framing further investigations which seek to measure the impact and effectiveness of ROs.

At the right hand side of the postdevelopment spectrum also under ‘ways of thinking’ was a search for new paradigms for the process of social change to replace western-style modernity and development. I suggest that conceptualising development as a process of personal and social transformation holds the potential of being one such new paradigm. The focus is on changing the values, attitudes and behaviour of individual people who, in turn, proceed to transform society. This differs from current development approaches in that it is a holistic, personal and self-perpetuating process. There is considerable potential in this perspective and it merits further research, both in terms of theorising and empirical investigation.

The centre of the postdevelopment spectrum under ‘ways of doing’ concerned involving a wider range of actors in development. ROs are one such type of actor that could be mainstreamed into development practice. Essential in making the case for ROs among cautious secular development institutions would be to demonstrate that they are particularly effective as development actors. The literature on the effectiveness of ROs is limited and discussions to date have been inconclusive but this chapter contributes to this nascent area of study with case studies from Kolkata showing how religious capital and spiritual capital are being used in development practice.

Having explored whether ROs are effective in development practice, the next task is to explore how ROs interact with other development actors, which is the subject of Chapter 9.

Chapter 9 – Interaction and collaboration

9.1 Introduction

Religious organisations are not the only actors engaged in development. This chapter explores the interactions between ROs and other development actors, looking both quantitatively at the extent of interactions and qualitatively at the nature of interactions. Although there is a range of literature on the relationships between development NGOs and other actors, there is very little specifically about ROs. I contribute to the limited literature with an examination of the interactions between ROs in Kolkata and other development actors from civil society, government and the private sector, and reflect on the situation of coexistence. I also investigate three particular questions arising from the literature (as identified in Section 3.2.3):

i) How do the transnational linkages of ROs shape development?
ii) How does the government view the involvement of ROs in development?
iii) Does the private sector support the development work of ROs?

The findings are analysed within the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3. The data presented and analysed in this chapter are drawn from two main sources: my sample of 50 ROs engaged in development activities and my in-depth study of three of these organisations (see Sections 4.3 and 4.4). This section, however, must begin with some caveats regarding the data.

First, the quantity and quality of data available varied considerably between organisations. Some ROs, for example, emerge in the analysis as being prolific in their interactions; while this may be because they actually do engage in multiple interactions, it could also be a reflection of the way in which they communicate information about their organisation (in particular, ROs which operate as professional NGOs tend to produce detailed annual reports). For some organisations where little or no documentation was available, the data collection depended on the responses of the interviewees but their recall cannot be guaranteed to be comprehensive.

Second, the ‘politics of NGOs’ could have biased the findings (see Section 4.7.2). I asked interviewees to name other ROs operating in Kolkata, for instance, in order to assess levels of mutual awareness but this question was potentially asking them to name partner or rival organisations with whom they may compete. Since organisations can be territorial and defensive about their work, respondents may have deliberately omitted mentioning others about which they were fully aware. Furthermore, interviewees were informed that I was conducting a study of multiple organisations. Knowing that I would be visiting other organisations to ask the same questions following their own interview, respondents may have been selective in what they communicated, fearing that I may accidentally or deliberately transmit information to other organisations. The data collected therefore represent what interviewees chose to say.

Third, as per Chapters 6, 7 and 8, the data collected represent a snapshot in time. I acknowledge that many interactions between organisations are sustained over long periods (in some cases decades or centuries) while others are temporary and ephemeral. My aim was to map the current pattern of interactions rather than chart historical changes but this is a potential area for further investigation (see Section 10.4.1).

Section 9.2 describes the interactions between the ROs in the sample and three other types of development actors in Kolkata in the civil society sector, state sector and private sector respectively. Section 9.3 examines the state of coexistence in Kolkata, in particular considering whether the activities of ROs engaged in development are duplicated and overlapping or coordinated and collaborative. Section 9.4 looks in detail at three organisations, analysing the most prominent aspects of their interactions. Section 9.5 investigates the three specific research questions from the literature. Section 9.6 reflects on the findings in the light of the postdevelopment framework for religion and development.

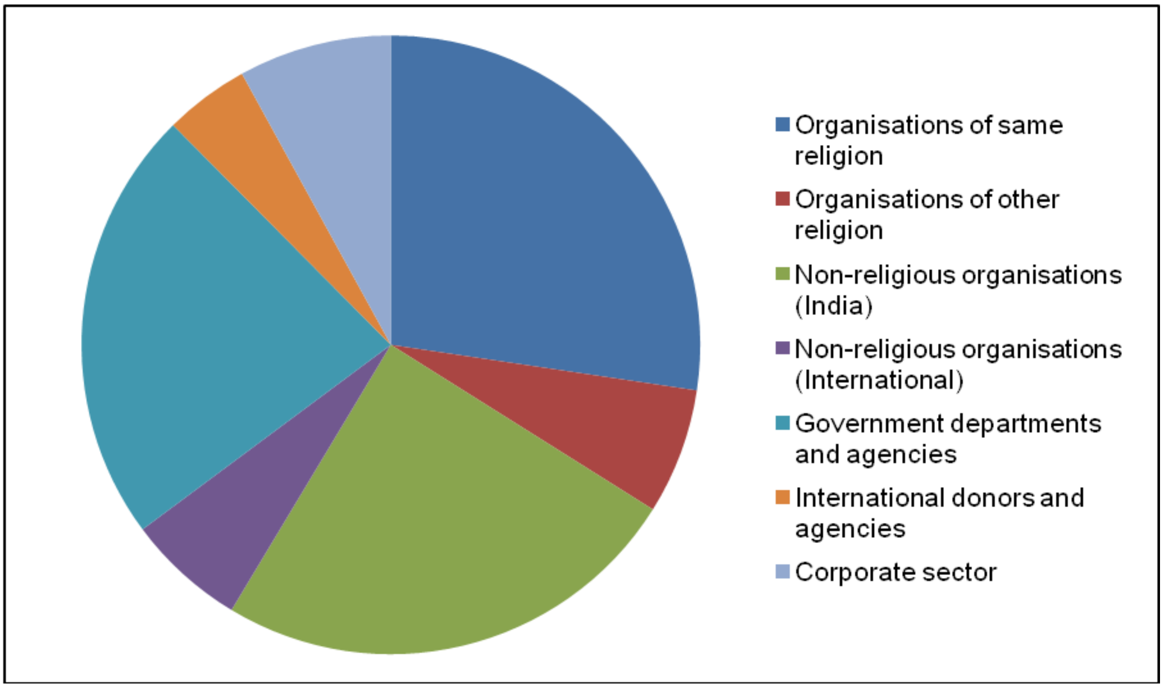
9.2 Mapping interactions

This section examines the breadth and depth of interactions between ROs and other actors engaged in development based on data collected from my core sample of 50 organisations in Kolkata. Section 9.2.1 considers knowledge about and interactions with other ROs and non-ROs; Section 9.2.2 looks at the interactions between ROs and the state sector, specifically in terms of government departments and agencies in India but also with brief mention of international donors and agencies; and Section 9.2.3 explores interactions between ROs and the private sector. In each case the extent of interactions (i.e. number and frequency) and the nature of interactions (i.e. type and quality) are examined. The total number of interactions reported by the 50 organisations in the sample at the time of the investigation was 563, giving an average of between three and four interactions per organisation (bearing in mind the caveats mentioned in Section 9.1). Table 10 and Figure 25 show how these were distributed between different actors.

Table 10 – External interactions of 50 religious organisations in Kolkata by number

	No. organisations that named interactions	Total no. interactions mentioned	Average no. interactions per organisation
Organisations of same religion	42	154	3.7
Organisations of other religion	18	37	2.1
Non-religious organisations (India)	29	139	4.8
Non-religious organisations (International)	8	35	4.4
Government departments and agencies	24	128	5.3
International donors and agencies	11	25	2.3
Corporate sector	10	45	4.5
TOTAL	**47**	**563**	**3.9**

Figure 25 – External interactions of 50 religious organisations in Kolkata by type



9.2.1 Religious organisations and the civil society sector

The figures on interactions between ROs and other CSOs shown in the top four rows of Table 10 are disaggregated by religion in Table 11, from which certain interesting patterns emerge.

Table 11 – External interactions of sample of 50 religious organisations in Kolkata by religion

Organisation type	BA	BU	CH	HI	JA	JW	MU	SK	TA	ZO	Total
Organisations of same religion	2	8	82	9	6	2	29	9	0	7	154
Organisations of other religion	0	9	9	1	0	0	16	1	0	1	37
Non-religious organisations in India	1	9	51	52	0	0	23	1	0	2	139
Non-religious organisations outside India	0	0	11	18	4	0	2	0	0	0	35

First, the overall statistics in Table 10 suggest that ROs in the sample interact more with ROs of same religion than ROs of different religion (in total there were 154 instances of interaction with organisations of the same religion and 37 with organisations of other religions). This finding was expected and is entirely understandable. Disaggregation by religion in Table 11, however, reveals some contrasting features. On the one hand, Buddhist organisations reported similar number of interactions with other Buddhist organisations and organisations of other religions. In fact, there are around 30 Buddhist organisations in Kolkata and they meet quarterly as well as for an annual celebration, such interaction being particularly important for small religious minority communities, but Buddhism also places an emphasis on peaceful interfaith dialogue and exchange. On the other hand, 90 per cent of interactions between Christian organisations and other ROs in the sample were with other Christian organisations. In fact, several of the organisations in the sample (e.g.

CH/02, CH/04, CH6, CH/09, CH/10) had an organisational strategy to deliver development through local partners such as church congregations (see Section 8.2.2).

Second, the overall statistics in Table 10 suggest that ROs interact just as much with other ROs as with non-ROs. In total, there were 191 instances of RO–RO interaction and 174 instances of RO–non-RO interaction, while the average number of interactions per organisation was higher with non-ROs. Disaggregation by religion in Table 11, however, shows contrasting features. On the one hand, 70 out of 80 interactions reported by Hindu organisations were with non-ROs, a far higher proportion than for any other religion (later evidence in this section also shows high levels of interaction with the private sector). A Buddhist respondent (BU/01) explained that he would like to see Hindus and Buddhists working together for the good of society but when he approached Hindu priests they were not interested in interaction or collaboration; he felt that the lack of a figurehead in Hinduism is one of the reasons. On the other hand, the minority religions showed very few interactions with non-ROs. The reasons for this could be: i) the organisations primarily operate their religious and development activities for the benefit of their own community and have little reason for interactions outside their religion (particularly Jain and Zoroastrian organisations); ii) the organisations were mostly classified as religious institutions, i.e. they were places of worship running charitable and development activities alongside their religious functions with little need to engage with other CSOs (particularly Buddhist organisations); and iii) the organisations were largely funded by donations from within their religious community and did not need to seek assistance from outside (particularly Sikh organisations).

Having quantified overall number of interactions, the next task is to explore the nature of these interactions. I identified different types of interaction and divided these into three major categories: shallow, moderate and deep.

‘Shallow’ interaction denoted superficial contact between organisations. This included: attending events (e.g. representatives of BU/02 are invited to events at the Asiatic Society to share their research on Buddhist history and culture); awareness-raising visits (e.g. a team from Bishop’s College visited CH/11 to learn about their projects); using facilities (e.g. JA/04 is located next door to a Jain temple of a different sect and they have a mutual arrangement to use each other’s facilities when required); and donations in kind (e.g. beneficiaries at CH/11 collected clothes and gave them to HI/03 for distribution following a natural disaster).

‘Moderate’ interaction indicated relationships between organisations based upon certain common interests. This included: giving or receiving funding (e.g. CH/06 channel funds for disaster relief through the Churches Auxiliary for Social Action which has better capacity to respond); sending or receiving volunteers (e.g. nuns of BU/06 volunteer once a month at one of the Missionaries of

Charity homes for the elderly and mentally ill); giving or receiving training (e.g. MU/01 sends teachers to CH/08 to participate in the teacher training programme); making referrals (e.g. field workers from CH/01 finding beneficiaries with skin rashes refer them to The Leprosy Mission); working in coalition (e.g. CH/02 brought their Catholic partners together to pressurise the government on issues such as fair wages, child labour, trafficking, HIV/AIDS and climate change); and belonging to networks or associations (e.g. MU/08 and MU/03 were founder members of the Federation of Muslim Associations of West Bengal).

'Deep' interaction indicated sustained relationships between organisations with shared values and common purpose. These included: organisations that are related (e.g. CH/14 has very close interaction with its parent body, the Synodical Board of Social Services); and organisations working in partnership (e.g. HI/05 worked in collaboration with Handicap International to ensure that disaster management plans integrated the needs of disabled people).

It is the last category – deep interactions – that are of particular interest to this study as part of an attempt to identify the extent to which ROs collaborate with other development actors. Related organisations have already been discussed in Section 7.2.3 so working in partnership is the focus of discussion here. Of the 83 instances of partnership named, 72 per cent involved Christian organisations and 15 per cent Muslim organisations. All 14 Christian organisations in the sample were engaged in partnerships and this perhaps indicates that coordination and collaboration is an essential – or even inevitable – part of development for Christian organisations. In the case of Muslim organisations, the findings were a clear example of perceptions differing from reality. Several Muslim interviewees (e.g. MU/03, MU/07, MU/08a, 06/MU) felt that Muslim organisations did not coordinate or cooperate because of a lack of institutional architecture, but the evidence revealed an array of interactions as well as two faith-based networks: the Federation of Muslim Associations of West Bengal set up by two interviewees (MU/03 and MU/08) and the Community Coordination Initiative, a national coalition of Indian Muslim NGOs, of which one organisation (MU/01) was an active member.

Overall, the data suggest that the most common types of interaction between ROs and other organisations in civil society are religion-based (i.e. with organisations of the same religion) and thematic (e.g. an organisation working for women interacting with other women's organisations). Organisations classified as religious institutions were more likely to be insular while those classified as religious charitable organisations tended to have more external interactions. The number of interactions was also proportional to the size of the organisation, with smaller organisations involved in fewer interactions and larger organisations involved in more. While many interactions were relatively superficial, there were some cases of ROs working in partnership with other organisations for development, some of which were described in Section 8.2.

9.2.2 Religious organisations and the state sector

Twenty-four of the 50 organisations in the sample reported some kind of interaction with the state sector. In terms of the level of government at which the interaction took place, 45 per cent of interactions were with central government (mostly with ministries and departments but also with government-sponsored organisations and commissions), 39 per cent with state government (mostly state government departments but also semi-autonomous agencies and commissions), and 16 per cent with local government authorities (district, municipal and village level). Unsurprisingly, the ministries and departments mentioned most often were those closely related to development issues such as Ministry of Human Resource Development, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, Department of School Education and Department of Health and Family Welfare.[128]

As per CSOs (see Section 9.2.1), interactions between ROs and state bodies varied in nature. The majority of types of interaction with the state were very superficial including: legal registration of the organisation as a charitable body; recognition or approval given to the organisation for its work in a particular field; and the visits of high-profile political figures to the organisation. Deeper interaction with the state included: programmes being funded by government ministries; projects delivered in coordination with state agencies to ensure alignment with government initiatives and targets; and organisations contracted by government bodies as service providers. Of a total of 128 specified interactions with the state, one-quarter were these deeper types of interaction. The nature of the relationship between ROs and the state, including as contracted service providers, is discussed in more detail in Section 9.5.2.

The next question is whether there were any particular patterns by religion in the way that ROs interact with the state. The data, for example, showed that three out of six Buddhist organisations, seven out of 14 Christian organisations and three out of ten Hindu organisations reported interaction with the state. In my opinion, interaction with the state was more related to the type of organisation rather than religious affiliation: those classified as religious charitable organisations tended to have legal status, formal structures and strategic programmes and were therefore more likely to interact with the state, whereas those classified as religious institutions tended to conduct welfare and charitable activities on a smaller scale and in a more informal manner and therefore were less likely to interact with the state.

Perhaps the only trend by religion worth noting was that seven out of eight Muslim organisations reported interactions with the state. As noted in Section 5.5.1 and Appendix G, Muslims are the largest religious minority in Kolkata but are in a position of economic, social and educational

[128] The ministries mentioned belong to central government while the departments belong to state government.

disadvantage. This was highlighted in the government's Sachar Report (GOI 2006) and lent legitimacy to initiatives supporting the welfare and development of Muslim communities, therefore Muslim organisations are currently more likely to seek government support for their projects (see also Majahan and Jodhka 2010).

Although the focus in this section is institutions of the state sector, a tangential matter worthy of brief mention is political parties. Only one of my sample of organisations indicated a connection with a political party: HI/01, an organisation under the umbrella of the Hindu Right (see Sections 7.2.9 and 7.3.3). Further analysis of this was beyond the scope of my investigation but the welfare arms of religious political parties in South Asia have been the subject of other studies (Bano 2009b; Nair 2009b), as already mentioned in Section 3.5.3.

Brief mention must also be made of interactions between ROs and external governments or multinational bodies. Eleven of the 50 organisations in the sample noted some kind of interaction, the most common type being receiving funding. Bilateral donors named by respondents included BMZ and GTZ (Germany), DFID (UK) and the American government; the only multilateral agency mentioned was an EU agency (ECHO); and the international agencies specified were UN agencies (e.g. ILO, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNODC, WHO) and the World Bank. In reality, more linkages between ROs and these agencies could exist but were not transparent because of the nature of funding relationships: donor agencies tend to channel their funds through intermediary organisations (whether national governments or large NGOs) which in turn allocate the funds to smaller organisations working on the ground. Thus the latter may report their interaction with the intermediary organisation but not the original donor. Alternatively, it could be that ROs have little interaction with international donors and agencies because their mandates are very different. In fact, of the ROs which reported interactions, just two named multiple interactions with international agencies, although these were very different organisations: HI/05 is a very large, well-known and well-reputed organisation while MU/08 is a local community-based organisation. The latter, rather surprising example, suggests that not all ROs involved in international interactions are large, professionalised, formalised NGOs.

9.2.3 Religious organisations and the private sector

Of the 50 organisations in the sample, ten reported links with the private sector. A total of 35 Indian companies were named, the majority of which fell into one of three categories: i) banks and insurance companies; ii) manufacturing, construction and extractive industries; and iii) hotel chains. Most of the companies were national rather than local and among them were corporations belonging to high-profile Indian industrialist families including the Tatas, Birlas and Pauls. Just two non-Indian companies were named (one from Japan, one from France) suggesting that overseas corporate support is unusual. There were two main types of corporate support for ROs: direct financial support and technical or material support, as exemplified below.

There were 21 instances of direct financial support, which comprised single donations and regular giving. Examples of one-off donations included HDFC (a commercial bank) funding the construction of an additional floor and the Sterlite Foundation (the charitable arm of Sterlite Industries) funding a Computer Training Centre at HI/10. Examples of on-going financial support over a sustained period included the State Bank of India's Community Services Banking Department giving annual scholarships to girls from MU/05 and the interest on endowments at nine different banks funding eye clinics and eye operations at HI/10.

There were four main types of non-financial support. First, material donations; for example, some of the major five star hotels in Kolkata such as the Oberoi Grand and Taj Bengal give their staff old clothes and bedcovers to HI/10 for distribution to poor villagers. Second, technical assistance; for example, HI/03 listed three corporations which cooperated on post-disaster projects: Macintosh Burn Ltd gave technical and engineering assistance; Tata Steel donated land and assisted with construction; and Lafarge India assisted with construction. Third, provision of training; for example Tata AIG (insurance company) conducted skills training to prepare students at HI/10 for job interviews and Transtek (a business process outsourcing company) gave beneficiaries from HI/08 training in Medical Transcription so that they could seek employment in that field. Fourth, the provision of services; for example, United Bank of India set up bank accounts for children at non-formal slum schools run by CH/01.

Having illustrated the types of corporate support given to ROs, the next question is whether there were any trends by religion. Of the ten organisations which specified interaction with the corporate sector, seven (two Christian, two Hindu, three Muslim) named just one or two linkages while three (one Christian, two Hindu) named multiple linkages. What is particularly noticeable is that a disproportionate number of Hindu organisations receive money from the corporate sector, the reasons for which were intimated in Section 9.2.1.

The three organisations found to engage in the most interaction with the private sector are of particular interest. CH/09 is a well-respected Catholic organisation supporting street children; its annual reports list a multitude of interactions with other organisations but this actually reveals that the corporate sector is only a very small proportion of its funding sources. HI/10 had more linkages with the corporate sector than any other organisation; the majority of these were local businesses and companies which provide funding, sponsorship and donations in kind. The organisation was established by a group of middle class housewives, whose first strategy for fundraising was to use their husbands' professional contacts and in this way local corporate sponsorship has continued as the primary source of funds for the organisation's work. HI/03 is a long-established, large and very well-known organisation with a particular reputation for disaster relief and emergency response, making it a popular choice for corporate philanthropy. These three examples suggest that there is no single reason or typical model for interactions between ROs and the corporate sector.

This description of the quantity and type of interactions between the private sector and ROs, of course, says very little about the quality and nature of interactions. Following an absence of any mention in the literature of connections between the private sector and ROs (see Section 3.5.3), I had not planned to investigate this topic thus I did not probe it in interviews and it only emerged later during analysis. Consequently, I have very little information about the duration, origins and motivation for these interactions. There are some further reflections on these interactions in Section 9.5.3 but it is also highlighted as a potential subject for further study in Section 10.4.1.

9.3 Negotiating coexistence

Mapping the interactions of ROs in Kolkata revealed a multiplicity of actors – ROs, non-ROs, government departments, international agencies, private companies – all engaged in development-related activities in one location. This raises certain questions about the state of coexistence, in particular whether the activities of different organisations overlap and duplicate one another, or whether they are coordinated and complementary. Focusing specifically on the interactions between ROs, this section explores both perceptions and reality.

9.3.1 Duplication and overlap

Opinion about the duplication of activities among ROs engaged in development in Kolkata was divided. Some interviewees felt that there was a lot of duplication and a lack of synergy while others felt that the many organisations complemented one other. It is difficult to ascertain, however, whether the perceived situation is different from the actual situation.

One interviewee (HI/05) explained that improved travel and communications have led to an increased number of people and organisations from overseas in Kolkata for development work. Since tackling urban poverty is a priority of many international donor agencies, plenty of funding is available for organisations working with vulnerable groups such as slum dwellers, sex workers, HIV/AIDS victims and street children and consequently there has been a mushrooming of organisations. He felt that while it was a positive thing to have so many organisations helping those in need, the increase in organisations had resulted in duplication of activities.

A Muslim respondent (MU/08) said there was a lack of coordination between Muslim organisations in Kolkata and felt that it was the same for organisations of other religions. He also thought that the story was the same whether in the city or in other districts of the state:

> ...there are a lot of good organisations working but no coordination. Sometimes the work is duplicated; sometimes it becomes a wasteful expenditure. In one locality for the same work there are ten organisations. People getting some support may go from this organisation to this organisation to this organisation – wasteful expenditure. So planning is a very important thing. Otherwise everyone is doing very good work – they are sincere, they want to do work. Unfortunately we are lacking that coordination and coming together. (MU/08)

One Christian interviewee (CH/13) reported an incidence of duplication that happened five years previously: his organisation and another were found to be sponsoring the same child. Neither organisation was aware of it and the mistake was only uncovered when a review was carried out.

Other people viewed the situation in a more positive light, admitting that while there may be duplication, a multitude of organisations are necessary given the extent of urban poverty and deprivation in Kolkata:

> ...A huge work with children is in the city of Kolkata...I am happy so many NGOs, so many people are working for them… Duplication of work may well – there are lot of people working for kids – lot of NGOs are there – that is good enough...I would say if anybody has capacity, has love for children, they can start some work because there is so much need in the city everywhere. I'm grateful when people come forward. (CH/09)

> ...many other organisations also through their religion they are also doing very good work for the people. [Our organisation] appreciates all this work... [Our organisation] believes that it cannot spread all over – it is not their jurisdiction, it is not their capacity that they could spread to every family. So if other organisations come it is good. (HI/05)

The next question is whether duplication of activities can be mitigated. A few organisations reported deliberately altering their geographical focus away from Kolkata, where there such is a concentration of other organisations. HI/05, for example, was working in urban slums in collaboration with organisations such as Save the Children Fund. Over time, they felt that the field became too crowded so they pulled out from urban work and instead concentrated on rural areas, particularly remote communities far from urban centres and unreached by other NGOs. A Christian respondent (CH/13) explained how he set up the organisation's new Kolkata office in 2002. After meeting the director of another NGO involved in the same kind of work (child sponsorship), which was taking care of 30,000 children in Kolkata, he felt that there was no point in his organisation working in Kolkata and instead looked for places where no other organisation was working:

> If you find some other organisation, we bless them and we stay far because we have plenty of places to work. India being a very needy country – there are a lot of places to work and a lot of needy children – so we don't have to fight for that. (CH/13)

9.3.2 Coordination and collaboration

Evidence suggests that duplication of activities exists and is perhaps inevitable in a megacity such as Kolkata but at the same time there were incidences of working together; three particular types of collective action emerged in the interviews.

The first type was coordination of activities in response to an irregular event such as a natural disaster or social crisis. Respondents seemed to stress that this was a coordination of relief efforts to avoid duplication and waste rather than actual cooperation or collaboration. In the aftermath of a natural disaster, for example, CH/04 and CH/06 went to meetings organised by the Sphere network, which coordinated the response. Similar instances of coordination were reported in other studies; for example, in response to slum evictions in Bombay (Desai 1999) and following a guerrilla attack and refugee crisis in Sri Lanka (Clarke 2008).

The second type was cooperation between organisations (both religious and non-religious) working within a particular sector or thematic area. Respondents felt this was only possible because diverse organisations had a shared goal, or as one interviewee said: "...if we do not have a common destination to travel, then why travel?" (CH/13). HIV/AIDS and children emerged as two particular themes around which organisations cooperated. One of the most successful examples of this in Kolkata was the City Level Programme of Action for Street and Working Children (CLPOA). Established in 1993, CLPOA is a network of NGOs, government and other agencies working for the cause of deprived children in West Bengal. Over 300 NGOs in the state are partner members, including a number of ROs. It was the first networking platform of its kind in India and is seen as a model of coordination and cooperation between different organisations and stakeholders. In an interview, the Secretary explained that he had never found it difficult to get so many organisations to network and work together because of the common interest in children (03/NR). He acknowledged that no organisation likes interference from others so the role of the CLPOA is to act as a coordinator and to plan strategically to avoid overlap of interventions and ensure optimal use of resources and concerted action. The CLPOA also acts as the broker between the partner organisations and various government departments and bilateral agencies, and also ensures best practice. Similar patterns of thematic cooperation were reported in other studies; for example, the UNICEF-funded Coordination Committee for Vulnerable Children (Desai 1999), the India Alliance for Child Rights (Ha 2007) and the Interfaith HIV/AIDS Council of Nigeria (Odumosu *et al* 2009).

The third type was collaboration as a deliberate organisational strategy, where activities are delivered through local partners. CH/02, CH/13 and CH/14, for example, deliver their projects through local partner organisations (see Sections 8.2.2 and 8.2.3); in the former case they are primarily diocesan groups but they have also used non-church organisations, including Hindu and

Muslim NGOs; in the latter two cases they are all Christian, mostly local church congregations. The most outstanding model of delivery through local partners was HI/05, and is described in Section 9.4.1. Similar patterns of collaboration as organisational strategy were seen in other studies; for example, development programmes of the Catholic Church in Nigeria delivered at local level through Catholic field agencies (Morse and McNamara 2008).

Although actual examples of coordination, cooperation and collaboration were scarce, they are perceived as important and holding significant potential. A representative of CH/01 said that his organisation "...by itself would be not able to do much if it did not have what's called a networking programme...the networking concept is very very crucial" (CH/01b). Three perceived benefits of coordination and collaboration emerged from the interviews.

First, it leads to more successful development outcomes:

> ...our part is to cooperate and collaborate with other organisations and to build network, strong network, which can fight against terrorism and disharmony and try to promote peace and human rights. (MU/02)

Second, a coalition of organisations is more powerful and influential in lobbying for change:

> Coming together builds solidarity. One organisation cannot convince the government. The policy makers will respond if all of us approach as a group. (03/NR)

Third, organisations can learn from one another and improve their practices:

> ...I totally believe in working together as much as we can, learning from each other so we don't make the same mistakes. That's where the value comes from some sort of collaborative network. (CH/06)

Although coordination, cooperation and collaboration were perceived as important, three reasons emerged as the factors which hinder more of it happening.

First, there are organisational limitations in terms of time and human resources, as one respondent explained:

> I know from my...experience that collaboration is an excellent word and vision but implementing collaboration can take inordinate amounts of time. You know, the more parties you bring to the table to work together the more time and effort, administratively, it takes to make it happen... if it works you would have a better product and a better way of working, but I just know from experience that many organisations are really busy, they have to focus their energy, they are trying to meet all the reporting that the home office wants, the project management – so there isn't a lot of time left over for 'oh what are you doing?' (CH/06)

Most organisations operate at full capacity within the constraints of staffing, funding and resources. The Director of CH/01 said that his organisation was unlikely to engage in interfaith interactions unless it was set as a deliberate objective of the organisation. There may be instances when, by chance, it may happen but this would be the exception; in ordinary circumstances there is simply not the time or capacity to build such external relationships, no matter how desirable.

Second, another person highlighted that there can be differences in organisational practices:

> ...Each one has his or her own way of operational strategies also. There has to be a meeting of the strategies too...Sharing of ideas at that level that's possible but cooperating…because I mean the strategies are entirely different. (CH/04)

Third, there is sometimes a sense of competition, suspicion and territoriality between organisations as another interviewee reported:

> ...there is a hidden sense of competition too because you are all accessing the same pot of money so there could be a hidden sense of competition also...NGOs talk about the transparency and accountability but themselves refuse to be very transparent and accountable! They would like to hide their weaknesses or their systems under the carpet rather than…because nobody's going appreciate if you start to say we failed in this – because your donor will not appreciate that.[129]

Despite these barriers to coordination, cooperation and collaboration, several factors were identified as crucial to successful collaboration: mutual knowledge, understanding and trust built through previous interaction; buy-in from leaders; shared values; use of respective organisational strengths; and a local or regional scale. These factors are generic to any CSO, which leads to the question of whether there is anything inherent in the religious nature of ROs which facilitates collaboration. I would suggest that there are few factors which place them in a better position to collaborate. A shared faith was not enough to motivate collaboration: several interviewees said that their ROs were unlikely to enter into a partnership with another RO simply because they are of the same religion; there needs to be a motivating factor. Similarly in terms of working with other religions, ROs are unlikely to seek collaborations proactively unless it is a deliberate organisational strategy (as with MU/05).

Thus the conclusion is that collaboration between ROs is not necessarily on the basis of a shared faith but more related to organisational history and architecture (cf. Benedetti 2006 in Section 3.5.2). In fact, the ROs engaged in the most collaboration were i) long-established and highly-reputable organisations that had built up connections over many years and ii) those where delivery through local partners is the organisational strategy. In the same way, the main obstacles to increasing collaboration – such as a sense of competition, territoriality, lack of time or limited human capacity – are common to the whole civil society sector.

9.4 Case study – three organisations in Kolkata

This section reviews the interactions of the three organisations selected for in-depth study and in

[129] This was the interviewee's personal opinion and he wished to remain anonymous for this quote.

each case there is a pair of diagrams. The first diagram for each organisation indicates all the organisations specified in the most recent annual reports and by interviewees; these are named and grouped by type. These representations give an overall indication of the number and range of interactions with other organisations. The second diagram for each organisation used the same data as the first diagram but presents it in a different way. I chose a different method of presentation for each of the three organisations – frequency of interactions, religious affiliation and geographical scale. These representations assist in the exploration of particular organisational characteristics. Three different types of analysis were chosen rather than using the same one for all three organisations as part of an exploration of effective methods of presenting complex data. Finally, two contrasting types of interaction are selected for each organisation and described in the text; these interactions highlight particular characteristics of organisational operation, structure and strategy.

9.4.1 RKM LSP – Grassroots participation; international donors

Figure 26 shows the organisations that RKM LSP interacts with, based on information from the most recent annual report (2006-2007) and interviews (HI/05a-j). Figure 27 uses the same data to indicate the number of interactions by organisation type (a thicker arrow suggests a higher number of interactions). Two contrasting characteristics emerge from this analysis: partnership with local-level organisations and collaboration with international donors.

RKM LSP's approach to development is highly decentralised with planning, implementation and management of activities firmly rooted at the local level. Great emphasis is placed on human resource development through leadership training programmes and community empowerment. The aim is to build capacity so that programmes and projects will be self-sustaining in the long term. In order to realise this approach, the organisation has a pyramidal three-tier structure. At the base of the pyramid are grassroots, village-level organisations, often youth clubs but sometimes women's groups. These are formed and run by the people themselves and are legally-registered as independent organisations. Members are elected to the managing committee which decides on the activities to be undertaken each year. At the middle level of the pyramid are cluster organisations, which cover particular blocks or districts, and are responsible for coordinating between 10 and 20 village-level organisations in their area. These are self-administered bodies, run by a board of representatives from affiliated village-level organisations, and their purpose is to deliver training in leadership skills and financial accounting to members of village-level organisations, as well as monitor their activities. At the top of the pyramid is the central office, which coordinates all the activities of the cluster and village-level organisations and provides advanced training and strategic guidance. There are presently over 300 village-level organisations and 21 cluster organisations.

This model is inspired by the teaching of RKM's founder, Swami Vivekananda. He said that wealth is not the factor that causes development: if all the wealth of the universe were poured on a single village in India it would not develop if the people of that particular village did not understand that they should be developed and if they did not participate in that development process. Therefore empowerment and participation are central to the operation of RKM LSP. The emphasis is on the local community leading the process of development, including providing some of the resources, whether financial, infrastructural or human.

Although RKM LSP places emphasis on people's participation in development, the organisation also works in collaboration with a wide range of local, national and international partners. Such is the scale of work and the reputation of the organisation that they attract funding from many donors and are often chosen as implementing partners to deliver projects in the field; for example, RKM LSP has acted as the local partner for UNESCO on a non-formal life-skills education programme; UNICEF on a water and sanitation programme; ILO on a national child labour project; UNDP on a joint forest management programme; ECHO on a community-based disaster risk management project; and DFID on research into integrated pest management.

Figure 26 – Interactions of RKM LSP

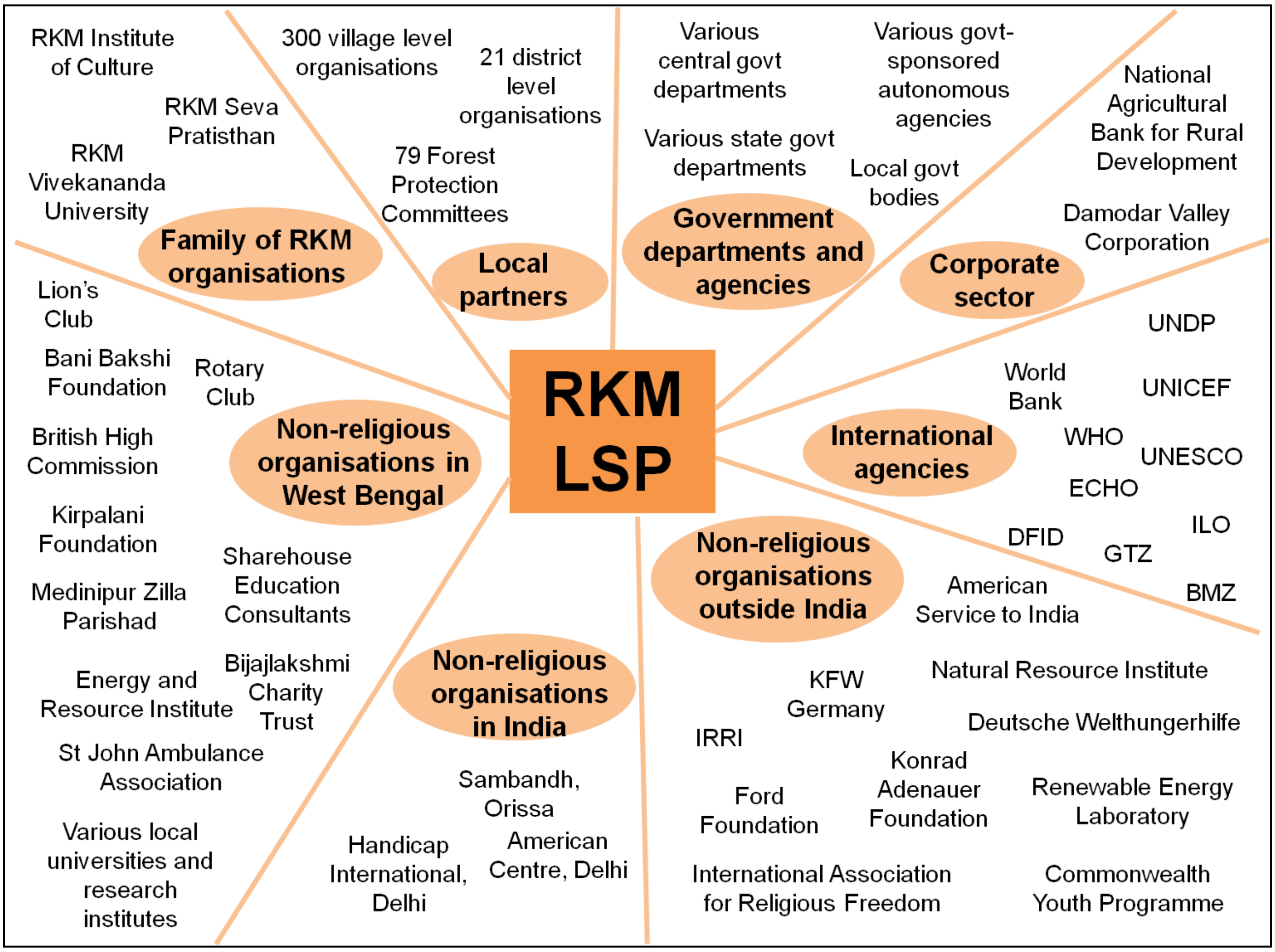
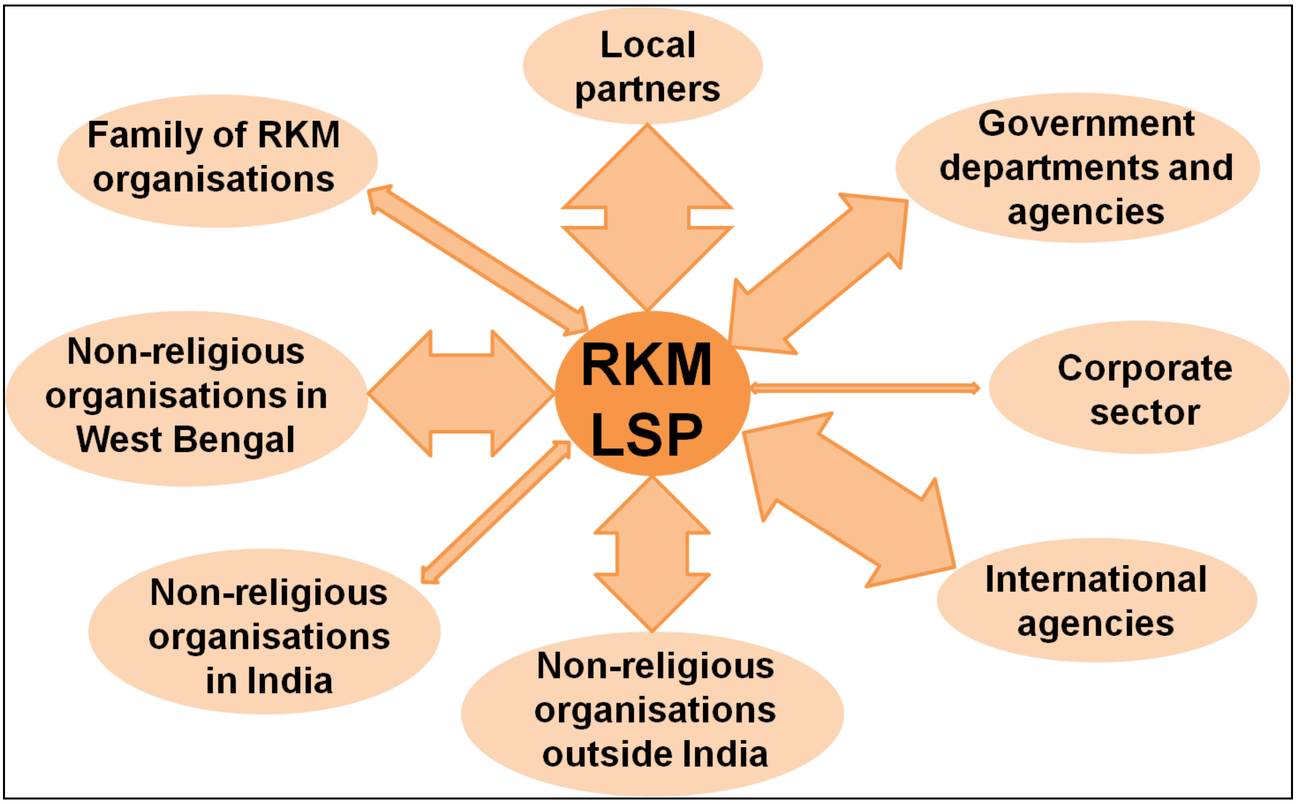


Figure 27 – Interactions of RKM LSP by type



9.4.2 AFK – Local Muslim community; interfaith engagement

Figure 28 shows the organisations that AFK interacts with, based on information from the most recent annual report (2004-2005) and interviews (MU/02a-b). Figure 29 uses the same data to indicate the number of interactions by religious affiliation (the scales weigh the number of interactions of each type). Two contrasting characteristics emerge from this analysis: strong connections with the local Muslim community and interfaith engagement.

AFK is an organisation initiated by Muslims and very much rooted in the Muslim community. It works closely with its parent body, AMAN International, based in Bangkok and with local chapters elsewhere in India and Asia. In Kolkata, AFK is closely linked to the local Muslim community, whose *zakat* donations are the primary funding source for its projects. One project is funded by a trust established in memory of a member of the community (Gulam Haider Momin Memorial Trust). Some projects and events are delivered in collaboration with local Muslim-led community-based organisations, such as Kidderpore Development Society, and there have been collaborations with other local Muslim organisations, such as the Muslim Institute, on particular projects. AFK also works closely with imams and religious leaders of the Muslim community (see Section 8.4.2).

Concurrently, interfaith understanding, dialogue and cooperation are central to the organisation's work. In an interview (MU/02a), the Secretary explained that interfaith dialogue is the only way to achieve peace and prosperity in India: poverty, illiteracy and unemployment leave people vulnerable, they fall prey to politicians and organisations which stir up hatred among communities by setting one against the other and therefore interaction and dialogue are vital to prevent this. He explained that the Koran teaches that you should respect other religions and then they will respect your religion (Surah 109).

In AFK's awareness-raising activities, the perspectives of different religions are incorporated into discussions. At an interfaith workshop on HIV/AIDS, for example, speakers and participants were invited from different religions. During the plenary session, representatives from the Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities each gave presentations explaining their faith-based perspective on HIV/AIDS. In addition, AFK's Secretary sits on the executive committee of the Interfaith Coalition on HIV/AIDS in India and was also involved in the Asian Interfaith Network on HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, he has attended interfaith conferences and consultations on religious responses to HIV/AIDS in India, Thailand and the UK.

Figure 28 – Interactions of AFK

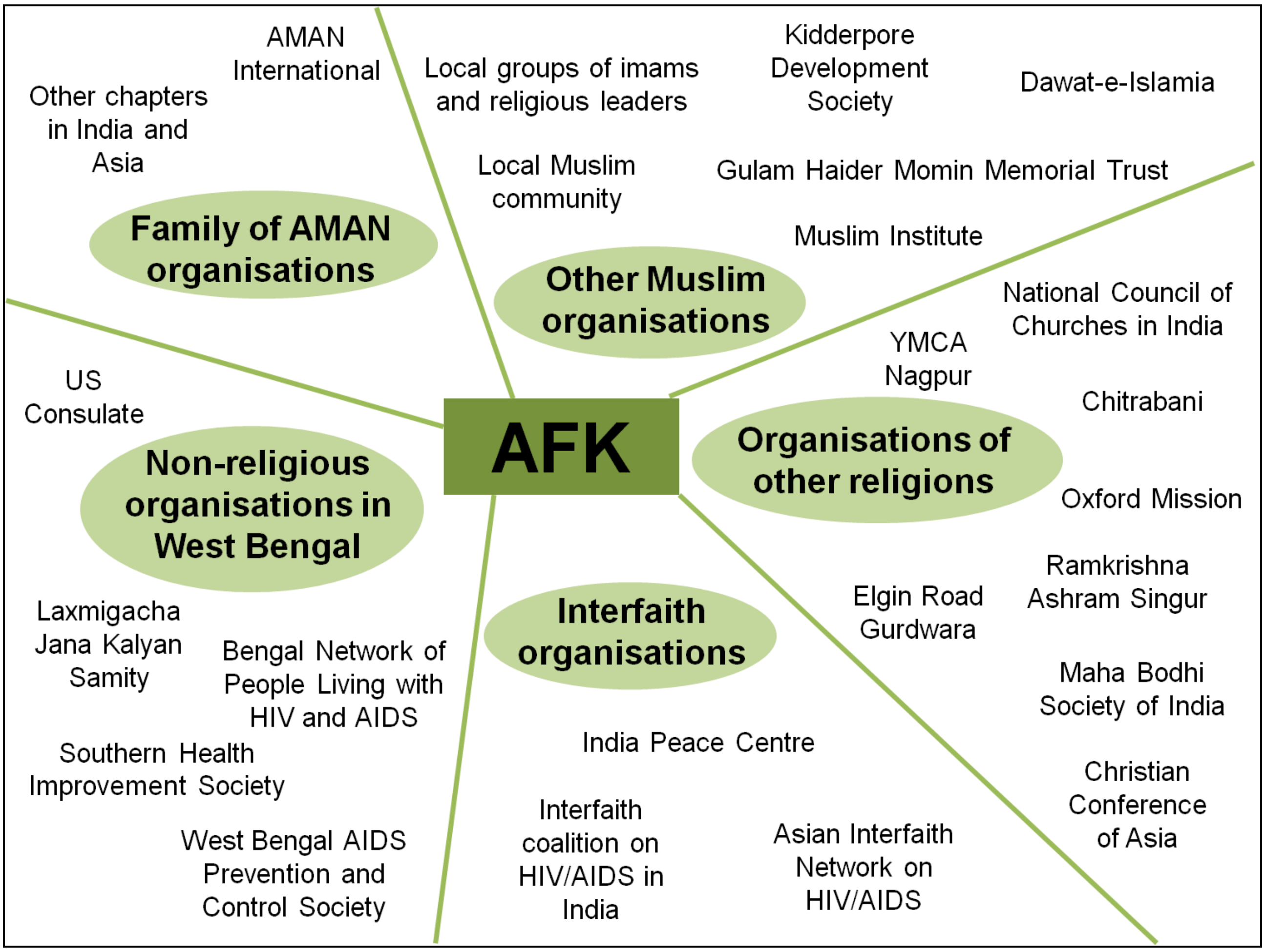
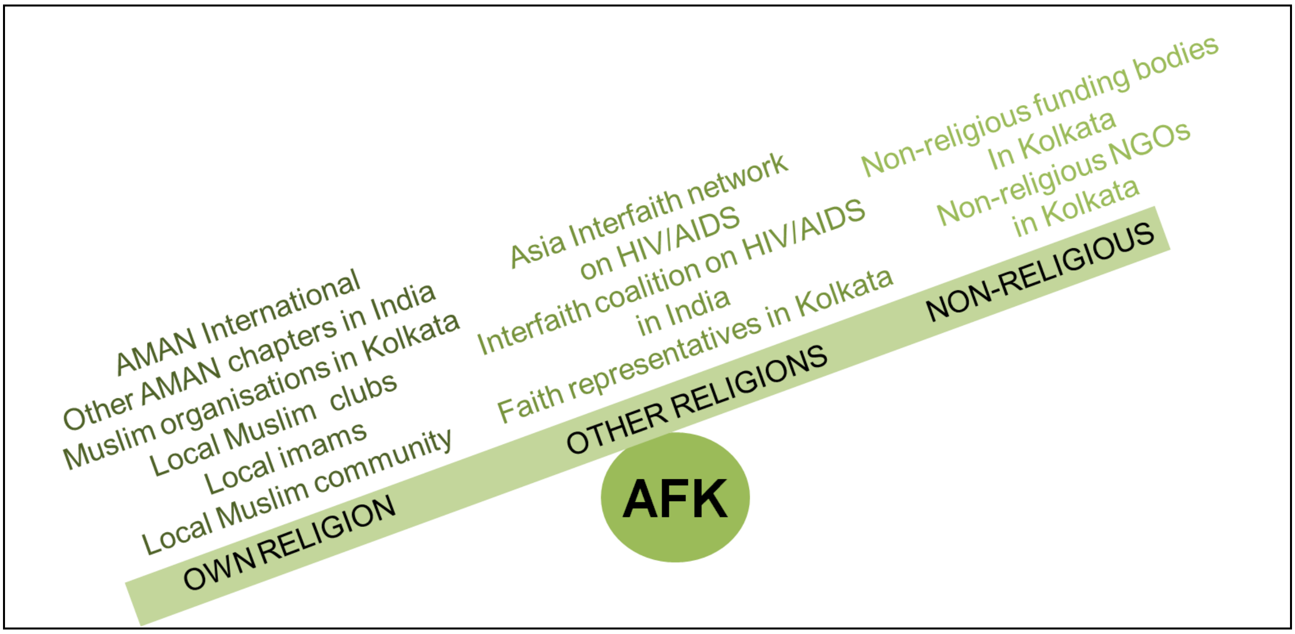


Figure 29 – Interactions of AFK by religion



9.4.3 CRS – Diocesan collaboration; non-religious and corporate partners

Figure 30 shows the organisations that CRS interacts with, based on information from the most recent annual report (2008-2009) and interviews (CH/01a-b). Figure 31 uses the same data to indicate the geographical scale of interactions (the inner rings represent local scale; the other rings represent international scale). Two contrasting characteristics emerge from this analysis: looking inwards to collaborations within the local diocese and outwards to create new partnerships with non-ROs and the corporate sector.

In the past, CRS operated largely alone. When the current Director took over in 2003, he questioned why various social service organisations of the Diocese of Kolkata were working in isolation. Since he believed that they would be stronger and more effective if they collaborated, he suggested to other organisations and individuals that they should work together. As he explained in an interview: "We need other stakeholders, other partners to hold this process, to take this process forward and therefore there have been a lot of collaborative efforts..." (CH/01a).

The first efforts to work together were with other agencies within the denomination, starting with the Diocesan Board of Social Service, the social work wing of the Diocese of Kolkata, whose headquarters are located on the opposite side of the road. They have remained separately-registered organisations but now share money, human resources, knowledge and expertise. The Director said: "...I feel that by doing this today there has been a lot of cross-fertilisation in terms of experiences, in terms of learning, in terms of knowledge-base, in terms of even building linkages" (CH/01a).

At the same time, drawing on his previous professional experience of the corporate sector and large development NGOs (see Section 8.4.3), the Director is working to bring non-ROs and other people from civil society into partnership with CRS. He is looking to acquire more funding from the corporate sector, since new opportunities are emerging to partner with companies under the CSR agenda. He did note, however, that charitable organisations, particularly faith-based ones, need to be cautious about the companies and products with which they associate themselves.

The Director explained that entering partnerships with the secular world increases awareness about the work of the church. Most people in India are unaware that the church engages in education, health and empowerment projects for the benefit of all people in the community and not just for Christians. The motive is not to convert people or get higher visibility but to enable more people to benefit from what the church can offer and to demonstrate their faith in action (see Section 7.4.3).

Figure 30 – Interactions of CRS

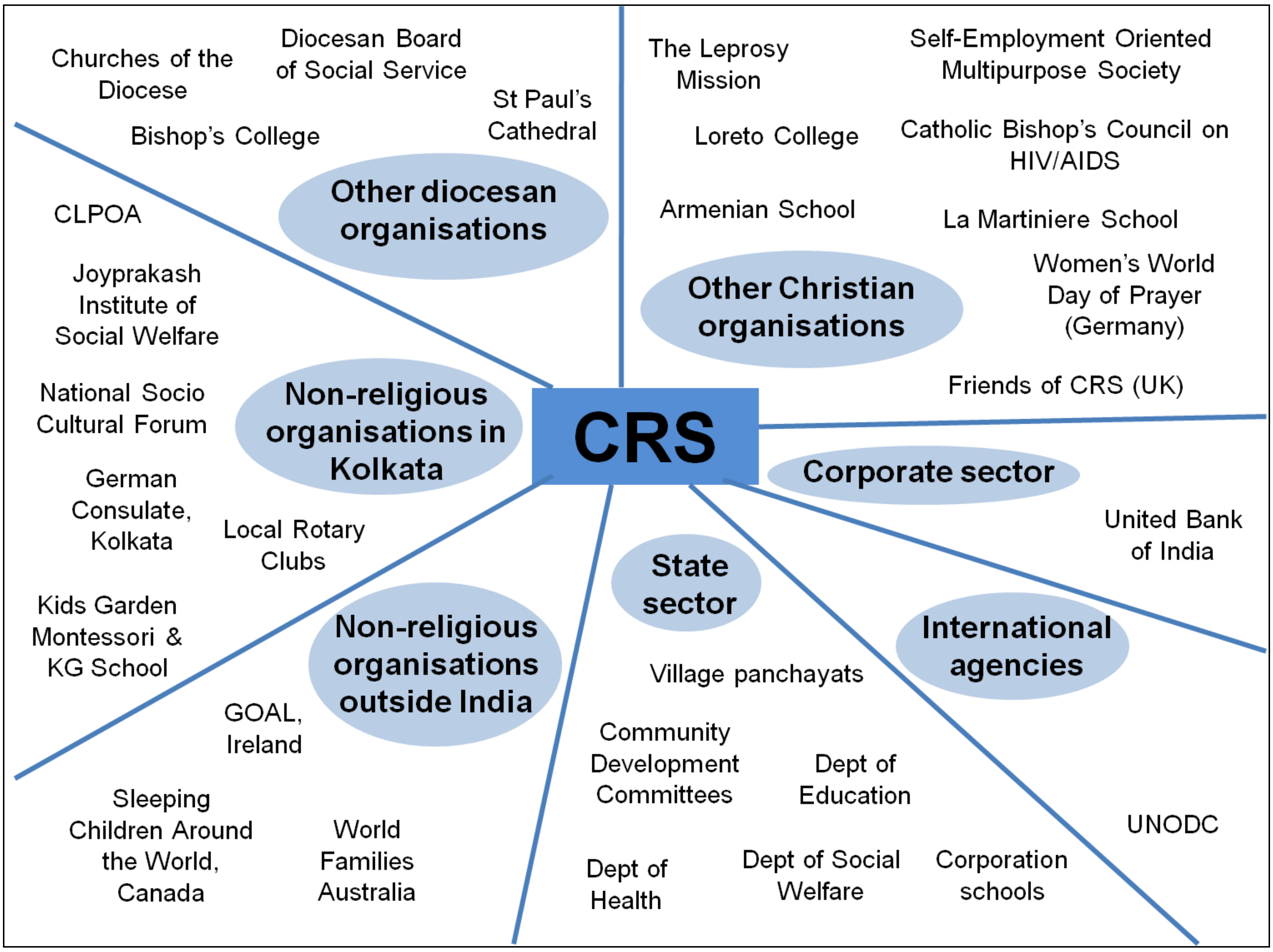
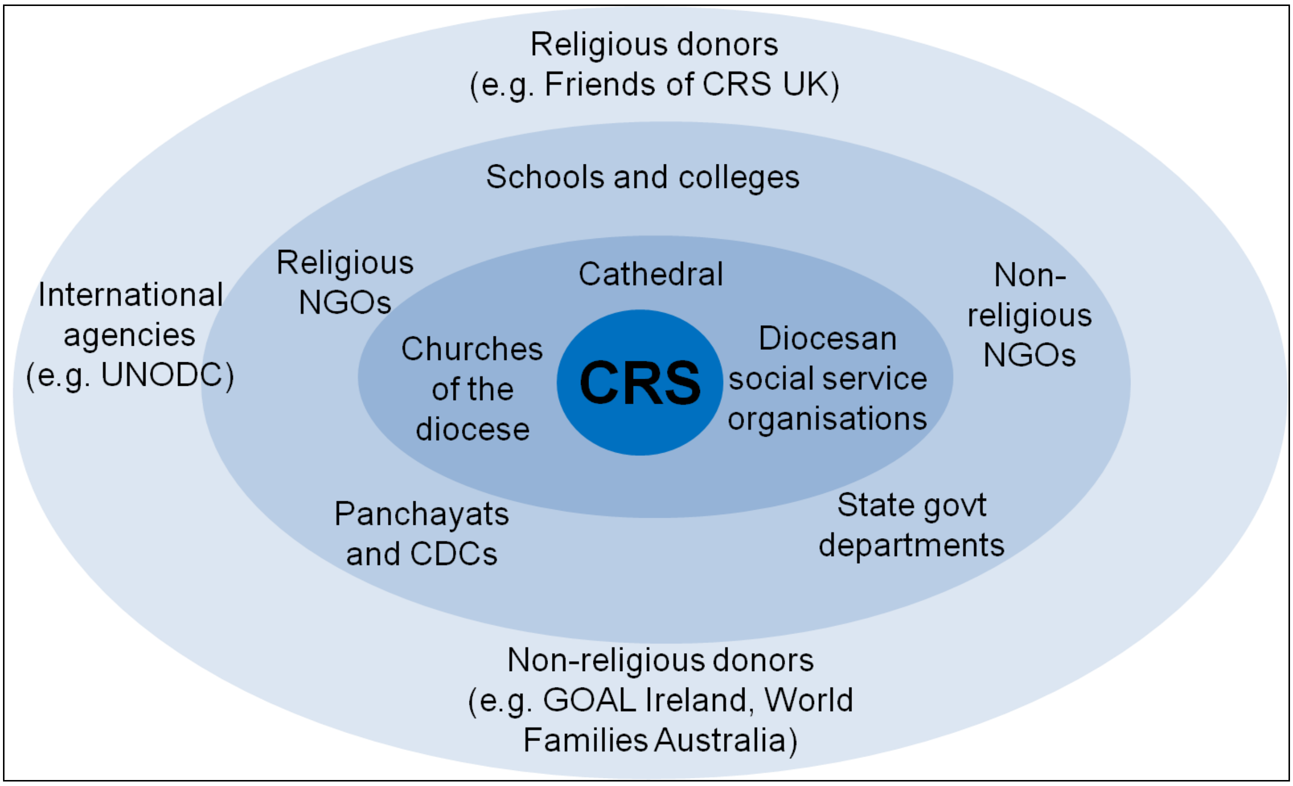


Figure 31 – Interactions of CRS by scale



9.5 Emerging issues

This section reflects on my findings in the light of three issues emerging from the literature concerning the participation of ROs in transnational networks, the relationship between ROs and the government and the interaction between ROs and the private sector.

9.5.1 Transnational religious networks

There has been some recent interest in the fact that ROs – even small and local-level ones – are part of transnational networks within which there are flows of funding, materials, people and ideas. Indeed, my analysis of interactions revealed that ROs were linked with other organisations beyond India as much as within India: of the 50 organisations, for example, 34 received funding from within India and 37 from outside India. Of particular interest to this study are transnational linkages with other ROs and the impact of these connections on development practice. I identified three interesting types:

1. Diaspora connections:[130] There is a considerable literature on diaspora philanthropy, including the South Asia diaspora (e.g. Geithner *et al* 2004; Najam 2007; Shiveshwarkar 2004, 2008; Viswanath 2000, 2003, 2008; Dusenbery and Tatla 2009; Rai and Reeves 2009) and while a detailed incursion into this body of scholarship is beyond the scope of my study, it is worth noting that there were organisations in my sample that seemed to source a significant proportion of financial and material donations from diaspora organisations; for example, HI/10 received support from American Service to India (USA), Blind Foundation for India (USA), Hong Kong Bengali Association (Hong Kong), India Club (Dubai) and Ramakrishna Mission Vedanta Centre (UK).

2. Twinning and partnership arrangements: Perhaps the best study of transnational religious partnerships is Heffernan's (2007) book on twinning between Catholic parishes in the USA and in Haiti for development projects. One example among my sample in Kolkata was CH/01, an organisation associated with a particular church in Kolkata and which sources most of its funding from individuals, churches and church-related groups in the UK (see Section 8.4.3). The starting point was a historic twinning between the Kolkata Diocese and a diocese in the UK dating back to the colonial period. To this day, the respective Bishops have periodic mutual visits. A twinning has also been established between the church in Kolkata and one with the same name in the UK. In addition, particular parish churches in the UK have developed direct linkages with Kolkata; they commit part of their annual tithe to CH/01 as well as arranging

[130] Diasporic links, of course, are not solely based on religion but also incorporate ethnicity, culture and language.

additional fundraising events. Furthermore, some of their associated parish primary schools have been twinned with non-formal slum schools run by the organisation in Kolkata; children in the UK raise funds and exchange letters with their Indian counterparts. Individual donors from UK churches are invited on a biennial trip to Kolkata to visit the organisation and its projects; this personal connection is seen as critical in maintaining support.

3. Formal project funding from large ROs: Of particular interest in this context is whether religious donors (e.g. parent bodies, apex bodies, NGOs) have a certain agenda and make funding conditional upon the recipient organisation undertaking particular activities or exhibiting certain values (Olson 2006; Bradley 2009). I found an interesting example in Kolkata of two sister organisations which had contrasting reactions to their overseas donors. For many years, CH/01 received much of its funding from Christian organisations in the UK. When the trend within international development shifted from a service-based to a rights-based approach, one funder in particular wanted CH/01 to change its approach accordingly. The Director did not feel that shifting the organisation's emphasis and approach virtually overnight was appropriate, so he declined funding and terminated the long-term relationship. On the other hand, CH/14 clearly advocated the latest trends in development. In an interview, the Secretary was liberal in her use of jargon, such as 'rights-based approach', 'gender mainstreaming', 'sustainable livelihoods' and 'community sensitisation', demonstrating that the organisation has aligned itself with donor agendas. Without deeper investigation, however, it was difficult to tell the depth of understanding and adoption of these ideas across the organisation.

These three different types of transnational linkage demonstrate that it is not easy to make generalisations about ROs and their interactions with other ROs. When considering funding, as in these examples, the relationships are very different: in some cases the two sides are on a more-or-less equal footing and in other cases there is a more hierarchical relationship; some are based on personal connections and others are more impersonal. The topic of transnational linkages has considerable scope for further investigation (see Section 10.4.1).

9.5.2 Relationships with the state

As shown in Chapter 5, the presence, activities and operation of ROs in development are influenced by the country context, comprising a number of factors including the relationship between religion and the state. In some places, ROs complement state provision of services, in other places they compete with state provision and in other places they fill the gap in the absence of state provision. The data from Kolkata suggest that many ROs interact with the state, including receiving funding, working in collaboration and delivering services but there remain certain questions about the nature of the relationship.

1. How does the government view the involvement of ROs in development? It is essential to note that ROs have been providing social services in Kolkata since the city's earliest days. As described in Sections 5.2 and 6.3.2, Christian missionaries established a variety of organisations, particularly relating to education and healthcare. Scottish Church College, for example, was established in 1830 by the first overseas missionary of the Church of Scotland to India and remains one of the most prestigious undergraduate colleges (although now administered by the Church of North India rather than the Church of Scotland). There are dozens of other schools and colleges established by Christian denominations that remain the city's most exclusive education institutions. In healthcare, hospitals such as the Mission of Mercy Hospital and Research Centre, established by the pentecostal American Assemblies of God denomination in 1977, is now one of the best affordable hospitals in the city. Hence many ROs run vital services and are not discriminated by the state providing that they are open to people regardless of religion. The key fact is that the government has no problem with ROs being active in development providing that they do not engage in proselytism.

2. How does the government enable or disable ROs through its bureaucratic and funding procedures? My findings suggested that the government does not actively enable ROs to engage with them, but rather that the onus is on the RO to prove themselves as an appropriate organisation. One interviewee (CH/01b) suggested that once an organisation is approved and on government 'books', it tends to receive money year after year for projects. His organisation was certainly not discouraged by its involvement with the state and actually wanted to increase its interaction by match-funding projects 50 per cent from its own funds and 50 per cent from the government. The impact of the new NGO Partnership System (see Section 5.3.3), which seeks to improve interactions between the government and voluntary sector, remains to be seen.

3. How does the government work with or through religious organisations? As seen in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, the Indian government considers the voluntary sector (including ROs) as indispensible for delivering its programmes and schemes. This is a deliberate government strategy to utilise the strengths of people's organisations for service delivery and stands in contrast to some other countries where inadequate or insufficient state delivery creates the space for NGOs to deliver services, which in turn can be a disincentive for the state to improve its provision. Among the sample there were a few cases of ROs being used to channel government funds and deliver services; for example, the state government received funds from the Ministry of Rural Development and DFID for a Watershed Development Project in drought-prone regions and CH/04 was appointed as the Project Implementing Agency. CH/04's annual

report (2006:6) reported that “Government officials have urged other participants in this programme to emulate the efficiency and transparency of [our organisation]”. Notably the examples in the sample all involved ROs that operate as development NGOs indicating that the government channels funding through formal and professional organisations (the invisibility of informal organisations was discussed in Section 6.5.3).

4. How does the government influence the development activities of ROs and conversely do ROs influence government policy? There was very little evidence of this apart from one outstanding example. CH/08 observed that there were many children in their locality not attending school but there were no official statistics to prove this or government strategy to deal with the problem. The organisation took the initiative and conducted a thorough mapping study to quantify exactly how many children each ward of Kolkata were out of school. They presented their findings to the government and, as a result, the government funded the Shikshalaya Prakalpa scheme to ensure that every child attends school, for which CH/08 is a nodal agency providing training and monitoring progress.

5. Is the relationship between ROs and the government in Kolkata and West Bengal different from other states in India? As noted in Section 5.5.4, some states of India such as Orissa and Gujarat have experienced considerable communal unrest over recent years, particularly concerning the perception that Christian groups are trying to convert Hindus. In those places, ROs have faced obstacles with registration and resistance to their activities. West Bengal, however, is viewed as a relatively relaxed state, where levels of religious tolerance and harmony are high. Several interviewees said that they felt that the West Bengal government were neutral towards ROs and did not interfere with their work.

Overall, engagement with the state varies considerably between ROs and it is difficult to make generalisations; however, the examples suggest that the contribution of some ROs to development is respected, admired and even replicated by the state. Through the government’s deliberate strategy of using voluntary organisations to deliver its programmes and schemes, some ROs are formally incorporated into state-led development. In the spirit of Indian secularism, organisations of all religions are tolerated by the state as long as they do not proselytise.

9.5.3 Private sector engagement

Within the literature on ROs and development, I found no mention of connections with the corporate sector. Private sector engagement in development tends to be one of two types: corporate philanthropy and corporate social responsibility (CSR). The former involves for-profit companies giving directly to non-profit charitable organisations, whether financial donations, gifts of materials or products, or even voluntary services of staff members. The latter is a concept which emerged in the early 1970s as a way for companies and businesses to take responsibility for the impact of their actions on the environment, consumers, employees, local communities and other stakeholders. Some people view corporate philanthropy as the predecessor of CSR, some as one activity under the umbrella of CSR, and others as something distinct from CSR. For the purposes of this discussion, I consider the two as related but distinct concepts. What is agreed, however, is that corporate involvement in development is increasing and is starting to shape development agendas and activities (Jenkins 2005; Harcourt 2004).

One in five of my sample of organisations reported interacting with the private sector (see Section 9.2.3) and there was evidence of both corporate philanthropy and CSR. India has a long tradition of business involvement in welfare and development dating back to colonial times (Mohan 2001; Sood and Arora 2006) and this is generally realised through the creation of trusts and foundations. Inspired by the Gandhian philosophy of trusteeship, business people view their enterprises as trusts held in the interest of the community and have therefore always made contributions to education, public health and other fields (Arora and Puranik 2004; Sood and Arora 2006).

CSR is viewed as a form of ethical business practice undertaken out of obligation and responsibility rather than feelings of altruism or charity. The literature suggests that CSR has not caught on in India as much as other countries (Arora and Puranik 2004; Sood and Arora 2006; Shukla 2010). A survey of over 500 companies in India (Partners in Change 2004) found that two-thirds were motivated to engage in philanthropy, considerably more than were motivated to engage in CSR for the purpose of image-building, employee morale or ethics. Perhaps the best example of CSR from among my sample was the Damodar Valley Corporation, which is engaged primarily in watershed management and power generation. The company launched a Social Integration Programme in 1981 for inhabitants within a 10 kilometre radius of each of its main projects; this includes agriculture, social forestry, education, health, self-employment, sports and culture, infrastructure and rural electrification.[131] Around their Mejia thermal power station in Bankura district, HI/05 was selected as the implementing agency to deliver the Social Integration Programme to 164 villages, since it was already working at a village level in the area.

Fox (2004) claims that CSR is mostly carried out by large international corporations from the Global North, while there is little ‘indigenous’ CSR or engagement of small and medium enterprises (SMEs). This view does not resonate with the evidence from Kolkata, where my data showed that almost all corporate engagement was by Indian companies and a significant proportion of this was by local companies, some of which were SMEs. Of course companies are at liberty to engage with whichever development organisations they choose but my findings suggest they are not averse to

[131] www.dvcindia.org/communitysip

supporting ROs. Reflecting the long trend of business philanthropy in India, the primary engagement of the private sector with ROs is through charitable giving.

Shukla (2010) suggests that the private sector in India is far behind the private sector in other countries in terms of its spending on charity and philanthropy so this is potentially a growth area for ROs to tap in to in the future and is certainly a potential topic for further study (see Section 10.4.1).

9.6 Concluding reflections

This chapter has explored the extent to which ROs engage with other development actors. The findings from Kolkata showed that most ROs are engaged in a range of relationships with civil society organisations, the state and the private sector and these occur on a variety of scales, including the transnational. While there were reports of development activities being duplicated, there were also examples of coordination, cooperation and collaboration between ROs.

In the postdevelopment framework for studying religion and development proposed in Section 2.3, the centre of the spectrum under ‘ways of doing’ concerned involving a wider range of actors in development. As seen in Section 8.6, ROs are one type of actor which could be mainstreamed but the reality is that ROs have long been actors in development practice. There is a need for more detailed studies of the way in which ROs are currently involved in development and the dynamic between them and other actors. The empirical data and analysis in this chapter contributes towards a better understanding of the type, extent and depth of interactions between ROs and other development actors.

The right hand side of the postdevelopment spectrum under ‘ways of doing’ concerned shifting responsibility for development to different actors. I suggested that one possibility for this was to use the core values shared by the different world religions as a platform for collaborative action. The literature contained a few examples of innovative partnerships between major ROs but at present this is not a widespread practice. This chapter explored the potential for interfaith action in Kolkata. Although many ROs coexist in Kolkata, there are good communal relations (see Section 5.5.4) and periodic interfaith events that bring people together, there was scant evidence of working together in development-related activities. The potential of interfaith collaboration as an alternative way of delivering development in practice, however, should not be discounted.

Having explored the role of ROs as development actors from four different perspectives in the preceding chapters, Chapter 10 reviews the empirical findings in the light of the theoretical framework and suggests some possible areas for further research.

Chapter 10 – Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

In this thesis, I set out to deploy a range of ideas emerging from postdevelopment theory as a framework for exploring the role of religious organisations as development actors and assessing their current contribution to development practice in both quantitative and qualitative terms. My study combined theoretical reflection with empirical analysis on a topic of contemporary relevance in policy-making and practice. In Section 1.6, I suggested that this thesis would contribute to the literature in five particular ways – a theoretical framework of postdevelopment, a geographical approach to studying religion and development, an empirical study of Kolkata, convergence at the theory–praxis interface, and a Southern perspective on the geographies of religion – and these are reviewed in turn below.

Postdevelopment theory was used as a conceptual framework for approaching the topic of religion and development. Postdevelopment is an unconsolidated set of ideas but some of the key strands include culturally-appropriate development, involving a wider range of actors in development practice, and alternative paradigms for the process of social change. This allowed several points of entry for exploring the role of ROs as development actors and I used it to frame my investigation. As discussed further in Section 10.3, it proved to be an appropriate theoretical base, although to date it has not yet been widely adopted by other scholars working on religion and development.

Although religion and development is an emerging field of scholarship, very few geographers have engaged with the subject to date. I believe that this has impaired a comprehensive understanding of the topic and my investigation contributes to counteracting this deficiency. A geographical approach utilises particular tools of enquiry that can provide insights into complex phenomena. My research was underpinned by three fundamental geographical concepts – place, space and scale – which were a continual motif throughout data collection and analysis.

The postdevelopment theoretical framework and geographical conceptual tools were combined and applied in my empirical study of ROs as development actors in Kolkata. I used a three-stage methodology: I surveyed all ROs in the city, seeking to understand their position within civil society; I investigated 50 ROs engaged in development, analysing their characteristics, activities and motivations; and I conducted an in-depth study of three ROs engaged in development, exploring their dynamics, influences and interactions. This approach, using mixed methods and with a gradual narrowing of the scale of the investigation, yielded a vast amount of useful data and I feel that it was an effective methodology for studying a complex subject.

As elaborated further in Section 10.2, I found ROs to be significant in number, strongly motivated to engage in development activities, making a distinct contribution to social change, and interacting with a range of other development actors. The three geographical conceptual tools of place, space and scale were invaluable for cross-examining and understanding these findings. First, places are not homogenous and uniform entities but diverse and chaotic landscapes. This appreciation of the complexity of places framed my interrogation of the data on ROs in Kolkata and enabled me to identify characteristics and patterns while being cautious of making sweeping generalisations. Second, spatial analysis was an important aspect of the investigation. Observations in Kolkata were compared to the findings of studies in other locations to search for any emerging trends and to identify the main factors influencing similarities and differences between observed phenomena across space. Third, an appreciation of different scales was essential to understanding complexity among ROs. ROs operate simultaneously at different levels from the local to the global; for example, they may deliver services to specific slums and villages, network with other NGOs in the city, connect to diaspora communities abroad, and receive funding from multinational institutions.

Overall, my empirical research is the first study of multiple religious communities in Kolkata and complements a small number of other works on individual ethno-religious communities in the city. My research is situated alongside several contemporaneous studies on ROs as social and development actors that were conducted elsewhere in India and in other countries.

In conducting a study which seeks to advance both a theoretical position and empirical understanding, I have sought to forge some convergence at the theory–praxis interface. I have demonstrated clearly how academic theory is relevant to policy and practice. At a time when the development community is calling for more place-based empirical studies which can inform their policy-making, my investigation in Kolkata contributes towards advancing knowledge about ROs as development actors.

The role of ROs in responding to social needs is a more developed field of academic scholarship in reference to the Global North. My study contributes towards redressing this imbalance with a study of ROs engaged in development in the Global South. In Section 10.4.2, I offer some important reflections on overcoming the dichotomy by initiating some dialogue and cross-theorising between the two distinct sets of literature.

Section 10.2 recapitulates the main empirical findings of the study and reflects on some limitations inherent to the methodology which may have influenced the data. Section 10.3 embeds the empirical findings within the theoretical framework and reviews the appropriateness of postdevelopment for investigating religion and development. Section 10.4 considers some ideas for further research on ROs as development actors, both in terms of field study and academic reflections. Finally, Section 10.5 suggests how the findings of this research might be of interest to different groups and proposes ways of communicating them.

10.2 <u>Reflections on empirical findings</u>

My investigation into the role of ROs as development actors was divided into four pairs of themes: position and presence, identity and expression, impact and effectiveness, and interaction and collaboration. As set out in Section 3.6, there was a primary research question and three additional questions under each theme based on issues emerging from the literature, and these shaped the investigation. The data collected from my study of ROs in Kolkata were presented under each of the themes in Chapters 6 to 9. A broad summary of the findings under each research question is given below.

1. *How significant are ROs in civil society?*
   ROs form a significant proportion of CSOs, estimated at between one-quarter and one-third of all CSOs in Kolkata. Many ROs are engaged in development-related activities, either as their main focus or as an ancillary activity. The findings were comparable with other studies elsewhere in India and beyond, suggesting that the situation in India is typical. Although it was useful to carry out this broad analysis of ROs as one type of CSO, in reality the single label of ROs conceals tremendous diversity in terms of type of organisation, activities, methods, size, reach and so on. This was very obvious from the survey of 232 ROs in Kolkata and the more detailed investigation of a sample of 50 organisations. The diversity among ROs serves as a caution against making generalisations, even about ROs in one location. Overall, the analysis of the position and presence of ROs in civil society pointed towards a <u>*diverse and complex landscape*</u> of organisations.

2. *How are ROs different from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development?*
   One aspect of the diversity among ROs was their organisational religiosity i.e. the visibility of religion in their identity, structure and activities. The ROs sampled were situated across a spectrum of religiosity, although the majority were somewhere near the centre, suggesting that religious characteristics and connections were fairly important to ROs engaged in development. When examining the motivation for ROs to engage in development, religious factors were predominant. Three of the four main types of motivation (scriptural teachings, community strengthening and proselytism) were not unique to ROs but the other motivation (spiritual reward) made ROs distinct from non-ROs. In trying to identify how ROs are different from non-ROs in the way that they conceptualise development, the concept of 'mission' emerged as critical, as well as the inseparability of religion from development. Overall, the analysis of the identity and expression of ROs suggested a <u>*strong and integrated relationship*</u> between religion and development.

3. *Do religious resources and assets make ROs effective in development practice?*

A commonly-found assumption is that ROs are more effective in development practice than non-ROs because of particular attributes of their religious nature but this claim has been largely unsubstantiated. In my study, this matter was interrogated through investigating how ROs utilise particular religious characteristics in development practice using the framework of religious capital (i.e. physical and practical assets such as people and networks) and spiritual capital (i.e. conceptual resources such as beliefs and values). Of particular interest was not only how religious capital and spiritual capital were used in development practice but also their impact on development outcomes. While some ROs took advantage of their resources and assets with positive impacts for development, this was not evident among all ROs, therefore it was impossible to make broad claims about the overall effectiveness of ROs. Further research is needed to ascertain the relative effectiveness of ROs vis-à-vis non-ROs. Overall, the analysis of the impact and effectiveness of ROs in development practice revealed some *innovative and successful* use of religious resources and assets.

4. *To what extent do ROs interact with other development actors?*
   ROs do not operate in a vacuum but rather interact with a range of other CSOs (both religious and non-religious), state-related bodies and private sector companies, although the types of interaction are generally superficial. Interactions occur on all scales from the local to the global and most ROs, whether grassroots community organisations or international NGOs, operate within national and international networks. The multi-religious nature of Kolkata means that many ROs of different religions coexist; there were reports of duplication and overlap of work, as well as attempts to mitigate this, but also some cases of cooperation, coordination and collaboration. Working in partnership for development, however, is very limited and is hindered by a range of factors. Overall, the analysis of the interaction and collaboration of ROs suggested that *local independence with transnational networking* is a broad pattern.

My systematic and detailed study in Kolkata at three different levels – 232 organisations, 50 organisations and three organisations – uncovered some patterns and trends as well as some complexities and contradictions. ROs are certainly a tremendously diverse group of organisations and the relationship between religion and development is variably understood and expressed. Although I regard the study as being a success, there were a number of limitations, in particular that it was time-based and place-specific.

First, the investigation of ROs in Kolkata considered the contemporary situation and the data collected represented a snapshot in time. The internal and external environments within which ROs operate, however, are subject to longitudinal change, which this study was not able to capture. Individual ROs may change over time; for example, a change in leadership could result in a new strategic approach while a change of funding source(s) could influence the scale and scope of activities. Equally, the operating context for ROs may change over time; for example, a natural disaster could result in funds being reallocated to different activities while a change in government could alter the institutional support.

Second, the study of ROs was geographically located and the data collected from just one megacity. The patterns observed and the tentative generalisations made are not necessarily transferable to other situations. Other studies of ROs have been conducted elsewhere in India and in other countries; comparison reveals some commonalities but just as many differences, making the Kolkata case typical in some ways and atypical in others. This serves as a reminder that all study of phenomena must be contextualised – taking account of historical, social, cultural, political and many other factors – and there can never be a single understanding of the role of ROs as development actors.

There were also some limitations imposed by my methodology. I feel that my three-stage approach using mixed methods was very effective in yielding rich data on three different scales. I would happily recommend such an approach to other researchers conducting a similar study elsewhere, provided that they had sufficient time, although I would suggest that comparison between organisations is easier when the organisations are of similar types. My sample of 50 ROs, for example, was broadly divided between religious institutions and religious charitable organisations; in general these two types of RO had very different characteristics and would have been better studied separately.

As discussed in Section 4.7.2, researching CSOs, including ROs, is problematic. A number of limitations emerged during my research. First, in such organisations many people work under pressure due to the paucity of financial and human resources and this can reduce the opportunities for interaction with managers and staff in order to collect data. Second, again due to pressures of time and resources, organisations do not always have up-to-date information available; among the organisations I investigated, few had a regularly updated website and many did not have the resources to produce an annual report every year; even the NGO directories I consulted early in my research contained mostly partial and dated information. Third, organisations can be reluctant to share information, particularly about their funding sources, strategic plans and so on, possibly enhanced in my case because participants knew that I was doing a study involving multiple organisations and may have feared the seepage of information to 'rival' organisations, despite my promises of confidentiality.

Other practical issues also influenced my field research and data collection; for example, I had insufficient time for additional investigations comparing ROs with non-ROs; my presence in India on a tourist visa ruled out contacting government officials; and my inability to communicate fluently in the vernacular severely reduced the collection of data from organisational beneficiaries.

10.3 Reflections on theoretical framework

The study of religion and development is a relatively new field and currently lacks an agreed theoretical basis. I suggested that postdevelopment could be one possible framework for approaching religion and development and I attempted to test this through an empirical study. As discussed in Section 2.3, postdevelopment is a label for a diverse set of theories, writings and perspectives. There are some common themes in postdevelopment, however, and in Section 2.3 and Figure 2, I conceptualised these on a spectrum, which was divided into ways of thinking about development and ways of doing development. Ways of thinking about development ranged from accepting development as a multidimensional concept, to making development culturally-and locally-appropriate, to searching for new paradigms for envisaging the future. Ways of doing development ranged from improving the behaviour and ethics of existing development actors, to involving a wider range of actors in development, to shifting responsibility away from traditional development actors. My empirical findings can be related to each of these points on the postdevelopment spectrum and are summarised below.

Ways of thinking about development

Broader definition of development and expanded set of indicators
It is now widely accepted that development is multidimensional, although the spiritual dimension has not always been included alongside economic, social, technical and environmental dimensions. As seen in Section 7.5.3, ROs in Kolkata viewed the relationship between religion and development variously as multidimensional, equal, fundamental or integral, each of these perspectives constituting a holistic understanding of development. Incorporating the spiritual dimension into development requires a different set of indicators to measure immaterial inputs and intangible outcomes and attempts to create these are ongoing. As seen in Chapter 8, the concepts of religious capital and spiritual capital are a possible starting point for reframing an understanding of the religious and spiritual dimensions of development and assessing their impact in practice.

Culturally-appropriate frameworks for conceptualising development
The consensus is that for development to be appropriate and sustainable it should be framed within the context of local cultures and worldviews. As one aspect of culture, religion holds the potential for formulating culturally-specific approaches to development. As seen in Section 7.3, many ROs in Kolkata were motivated to engage in development-related activities by particular

religious beliefs, teachings and values. Such development action rooted in religion becomes more meaningful to those on both the giving and receiving ends and is thereby potentially more effective and sustainable.

Search for new paradigms to replace western modernity

Various proposals have been made for rejecting the western model of development in favour of alternative ways of envisioning the process of social change. There are several ways in which religion could contribute to a re-envisioning; for example, dismantling the western dualism between the material and spiritual or using the commonalities between the world religions as a collective vision of the future. As seen in Section 8.3, ROs in Kolkata demonstrated another way in which religion could contribute to a new paradigm: several organisations conceptualised development as a process of individual and social transformation and when this approach was applied in practice, it seemed to have some very successful development outcomes.

Ways of doing development

Improving practice among existing development actors

Mainstream development institutions and actors have, until recent times, avoided religion altogether, including interaction with ROs. For religion to make a contribution to development in the future, one preliminary step is for mainstream actors to recognise the importance of religion to people in the Global South and its potential contribution to development. In order to do this, they require objective information about the current position of religion in development including the contribution of ROs to development practice. As seen in Chapters 6 and 7, there is a great diversity of ROs in Kolkata engaged in development-related activities and religious characteristics definitely shape their identity, motivations, activities and practices. My research has responded to the call for empirical studies in different country contexts and serves as an informative document for development institutions about the current engagement of ROs in development practice.

Involving a wider range of actors in development practice

Although mainstream development institutions increasingly work in partnership with a range of other actors, any engagement with ROs has generally been restricted to a small number of established organisations with moderate viewpoints (e.g. CAFOD, Christian Aid). In reality, a much greater number and range of types of RO have long been development actors in their own right and there is now potential for more of them to be incorporated formally into mainstream development practice. As seen in Chapter 9, ROs in Kolkata are already a significant part of the development landscape and are networked with other development actors. One factor that might help to justify their greater inclusion could be their proven effectiveness in development practice.

As seen in Chapter 8, some ROs in Kolkata mobilised particular assets to facilitate their development activities in the form of religious capital (e.g. religious leaders, congregations and networks) and spiritual capital (e.g. religious beliefs and values). While these gave some added advantages, they were not necessarily unique to ROs. The concepts of religious capital and spiritual capital provide a useful frame for continuing research on the effectiveness of ROs in development practice.

Shifting responsibility for development to different actors

The fact that mainstream development institutions have struggled to deliver many of their goals over recent decades could be used to justify the shifting of responsibility for development to a different set of actors. One possibility is interfaith collaboration built upon the shared beliefs and values common to the major world religions. As seen in Section 9.3, the present situation among ROs in Kolkata is one of coexistence with very limited coordination, cooperation and collaboration. The potential to translate ideas about interfaith collaboration for development into practice remains to be seen.

I recognise that my analysis presents a positive perspective on religion and development and, in particular, the potential role of ROs as development actors. This does not mean, however, that I am suggesting that religion is the answer to development's problems and failures or that ROs can single-handedly reform and revitalise development practice. This is particularly so because the presence, tolerance, integration and influence of religion in society is place-specific and there can be no global solutions. I am proposing, however, that religion be taken seriously as one possible way of rethinking development both in theory and practice. I believe that postdevelopment provides a flexible theoretical framework for doing so.

10.4 Directions for further research

10.4.1 Empirical

While satisfied at having achieved my aims and objectives as intended, I have identified various possibilities for expanding and extending my research. Specific topics for empirical investigation are listed below, according to the chapter from which they derived.

Chapter 6 – Position and presence

i) Informal organisations – Gathering information about informal ROs can be difficult because of their low profile but it seems that they make a significant contribution, particularly on a local level. Further research is needed; perhaps a detailed study in one small geographical area to uncover the true number of organisations, examine their activities and assess their impact.

ii) Places of worship – The types of RO in my study were broadly divided between religious charitable organisations, essentially operating as development NGOs, and religious institutions conducting social service activities in addition to their religious activities, such as congregations centred around places of worship. Further research on the latter is needed because they are widely involved in social welfare and development activities but are often excluded from studies of faith-based NGOs.

iii) Hindu organisations – Relatively few Hindu organisations appeared in my investigation, certainly out of proportion with the size of the Hindu population. Various reasons have been posited; for example, that Hinduism is not systematised or structured like other religions and therefore not prone to organisation-forming. I suspect that there are many Hindu organisations, particularly on a community level, but these remain invisible so further research would be informative.

iv) Minority communities – Further comparative research could be carried out on the differences between the ROs of minority religious communities and majority religious communities, particularly in terms of their motivation, strategic approach, size and reach.

v) Longitudinal study – As already mentioned, my study represents a snapshot in time but deeper understanding could be generated from longitudinal work which considers the changing perception, position, activities and interactions of ROs over time.

vi) Urban bias – My work focused on ROs in a megacity; here ROs are concentrated and data are more accessible. While my findings correlated with other city-based studies, it is unknown whether the findings would be similar in smaller urban centres or rural areas, contexts which may have different characteristics such as community relations or access to finance.

Chapter 7 – Identity and expression

i) Class-based analysis – The socio-economic class of the founders and leaders of ROs is one characteristic that I had insufficient time to investigate. ROs which are professional development organisations run by educated elites can have very different characteristics from grassroots slum organisations run by community leaders. A comparison could potentially reveal interesting information about organisational motivation, strategy, resources, connections and influence, which in turn could influence impact and effectiveness.

ii) Beneficiary status – A further class-based analysis could be conducted on the socio-economic background of the intended beneficiaries of the work of ROs. Consider, for example, two education projects run by an RO: an elite school for privileged middle class girls and empowerment classes for poor slum women teaching them basic literacy and rights. These two have the same overall objectives of increasing the status and wealth of beneficiaries but there are vast differences between the class of the participants and the long-term outcome. This also raises questions of what should be considered ‘development-related’ activities.

Chapter 8 – Impact and effectiveness

i) Effectiveness – The relative effectiveness of ROs in development practice remains a contentious issue, compounded by the difficulties of measuring intangible and immaterial components. This matter warrants further investigation, perhaps through an in-depth study of just one organisation that would investigate effectiveness from different perspectives including leaders, staff, beneficiaries and donors, as well as variations in effectiveness across time and space.

ii) Negative impacts – My investigation concentrated on analysing the assets and resources that ROs use in development practice and which make them particularly effective. This approach emphasised the positive attributes of ROs, as have studies by other scholars and practitioners which have sought to highlight the advantages and potential of ROs. A fuller appreciation of ROs, however, must also include analysis of their negative characteristics, disadvantages, weaknesses and failures in different settings. These can be difficult to identify since they are unlikely to be admitted by an organisation, thus an assessment of the negative impacts of ROs would require a careful investigation using different methods of data collection.

iii) Non-religious comparisons – My analysis explored the impact and effectiveness of ROs in development practice but needs to be taken a step further. Comparisons with non-ROs would enable an assessment of whether ROs are more or less effective than non-ROs in development. The best approach would be to select a sample of non-ROs comparable in type, size and activities and carry out the same analysis.

iv) Religious capital and spiritual capital – The concepts of religious capital and spiritual capital have, to date, been applied only to studies of ROs in the Global North. I used them to frame my analysis of impact and effectiveness and found them useful conceptual tools thus I believe that there is considerable scope for more detailed investigation of their application and meaning in the context of the Global South.

Chapter 9 – Interaction and collaboration

i) Duplication and complementarity – It was difficult to gather information about the effects of the coexistence of multiple ROs in terms of duplication and overlap as well as cooperation and collaboration. A more detailed interrogation would be useful that seeks to uncover the realities of coexistence and identify opportunities and strategies for coordinated and collective action.

ii) Private sector – There is no literature on the relationship between ROs and the private sector; I had not even considered this aspect and it was not included in my original research plan. In the course of field research, however, it emerged that one in five ROs in the sample had some kind of interaction with the private sector and this deserves considerable further investigation about the origin and nature of relationships, the financial flows and impacts.

iii) State relations – As already noted, I was unable to make contact with government representatives in order to understand the state's position towards ROs, the nature of their relationship, and the practical processes of supporting ROs in their social work. Also of interest in future research would be the changes over time in the state's relationship with ROs and the changing policy context.

iv) Donor influence – ROs were shown to receive financial and material resources from a wide range of sources. It would be interesting to investigate further the extent to which donors influence the priorities, agendas and activities of ROs.

v) Transnational links – Among my sample, ROs were seen to operate on transnational scales. This ranged from local grassroots ROs tied into transnational networks through diaspora connections to ROs akin to multinational corporations in their international linkages and flows of finance, ideas and personnel. This is a fascinating attribute of ROs and certainly merits further investigation.

10.4.2 Theoretical

Postdevelopment has proven useful as a flexible theoretical framework for approaching the study of religion and development and I feel that it could be applied more widely. While I would encourage the consolidation of scholarship under the banner of postdevelopment and religion, I would also like to explore the convergence between postdevelopment and postcolonialism in the context of religion. As mentioned in Section 1.4, there is an obvious connection between postdevelopment and postcolonialism and potential for a synthesis of approaches (Simon 2006, 2007). I propose building on existing debates about postcolonialising development to explore a postcolonial approach to religion and development.

According to the arguments for postcolonialising development, development emerged from colonialism as a western-conceived project to improve economic, social and environmental conditions in 'poorer' countries. This created an artificial binary between those countries defined as developed and the others variously termed un/under/less developed (which, in a bid towards political correctness, are now known as the Global North and Global South). In academic scholarship, the two worlds were studied separately. In urban studies, for example, one set of scholars examined 'modernity' in cities of the Global North while another looked at 'development' in cities of the Global South. Similarly, economic processes in the Global North have been studied as part of economic geography while similar phenomena in the Global South have come under the remit of development geography.

Jones (2000:240) suggests moving beyond these "discrete and bounded realms of knowledge" to explore the synergy between them. Towards this goal, the literature includes some practical and methodological suggestions for postcolonialising development geography (e.g. McFarlane 2006b;

Raghuram and Madge 2006; Simon 2006, 2007), as well as discussions of a postcolonial stance within different themes of development geography such as urban studies (e.g. Simon 1992; Bishop *et al* 2003; Gugler 2004; King 2004; Robinson 2006; Legg and McFarlane 2008), economic processes (Pollard *et al* 2009; Barnes and Sheppard 2010; Vira and James forthcoming), geopolitical relations (Slater 2004) and transnational networks (McFarlane 2006a).

It is within the framework of these discussions that I would propose working towards a postcolonial perspective on the role of religion in society. As outlined in Section 2.1, scholarship on ROs is bifurcated into two distinct sets of literature: on the one side is research about ROs in North American and European cities working with the urban poor and socially-excluded; on the other side is research about ROs in cities of the Global South working with poor and disadvantaged communities. The two remain resolutely separate. At the Geographies of Religion conference (March 2010), for example, there were two parallel streams: attendees had to choose between the 'Faith in the City' session, in which papers looked at the Global North, and the 'Religion and Development' session, in which papers related to the Global South.

I believe, however, that there are several points of convergence between the two sets of literature. First, there are commonalities between the phenomena being studied, such as ROs responding to poverty and social exclusion. As exemplified at the end of Section 2.1, there are obvious similarities between feeding programmes for the homeless and destitute run by a church in London and a gurdwara in Delhi. Second, there are connections between ROs in the different locations, particularly as a result of migration. As seen in Section 9.5.1, for example, diaspora communities are involved in philanthropy and charitable giving and this is often channelled through ROs.

Thus I contend that the separation of scholarship on ROs in the Global North and Global South is not helpful and – following the examples of geographers in other fields – would like to explore a postcolonial approach. Commonalities and connections, such as those identified above, can be the starting point for dialogue between scholars working on either side. Crucially, this should include scholars from the Global South, who can contribute their knowledge and insights on an equal footing with scholars from the Global North. The comparison of empirical studies could identify similarities and differences between contexts, while discussions about the possibilities of cross-theorising could include reflections on whether concepts such as postsecularism are relevant in all contexts.

10.5 Application

This study at the theory–praxis interface is potentially of interest to a variety of parties. In this final section, I identify three particular groups – social science scholars (particularly geographers), mainstream development actors and ROs – and outline the ways in which I would like to disseminate my research to them and engage in further discussion and debate.

My research was carried out at a time when academic interest in the subject of religion and development was mushrooming and thus there is likely to be a receptive audience across several social science disciplines. I intend to make my findings available to other scholars through academic publications (either in the form of a book or series of journal articles) and presentations at academic conferences. Unfortunately, few of the scholars currently studying ROs and development are based in the Global South; certainly in Kolkata I found very few academics with an interest in this topic. I would like to ensure that some of my dissemination focuses on reaching this audience; for example, publications in Indian academic journals and seminars at universities in Kolkata. The latter would also be an opportunity to explore possibilities for collaboration on the topics for further research proposed in Section 10.4.1, to which local scholars could bring useful insights. It would also be an attempt to bridge the persistent North–South divide in academia.

Given the contemporaneous studies of ROs in other countries of the Global South, it would also be an opportune time to make comparisons, so I would like to meet other scholars to discuss any trends and patterns arising from our results. Then, with a more consolidated understanding of ROs across the Global South, we would be in a stronger position to engage in a dialogue with academics working on ROs in the Global North, as outlined in Section 10.4.2.

As seen in Section 1.3, religion has been consolidating as a legitimate topic of geographical enquiry but there is a strong imbalance towards research on the Global North. Following a successful session that I organised at the RGS-IBG conference in 2010 on the role of ROs in social change in Asia, I would also like to coordinate a publication which would raise the profile of a Southern perspective within the geographies of religion and the discipline more widely. This would also make a contribution to the ongoing discussion among geographers about the distinctiveness of a geographical approach to studying religion.

Mainstream development actors stand on the cusp of increased engagement with ROs. Their many reservations about partnering with ROs have been compounded by a paucity of objective information and there have been calls for increasing 'religious literacy' within the development community. I would like to communicate the results of my research to non-religious development actors through a short report, which would include a summary of my findings and a series of recommendations. The challenge, as ever, for academics is to communicate effectively outside the academy. Among the key messages to communicate to donors and policy-making organisations would be: to use broad and inclusive definitions of ROs; to appreciate the diversity and complexity among ROs; to understand ROs in their place-specific context; to avoid making assumptions about the motivations of ROs; to recognise that religion can be a positive influence in development; to seek to use the natural assets of ROs in development practice; and to promote greater cooperation and collaboration among ROs.

Last, but by no means least, I would like to communicate my findings to participating ROs in Kolkata. During interviews and interactions, many participants expressed their interest in knowing the outcome of my research and, in line with ethical research practice, I would like to prepare a short report for all participating organisations to share some of the most salient findings. Several organisations also asked me to write short articles for their own magazines and newsletters. In addition, I would also like to work more intensely with a few selected organisations and engage them more directly with the research. I would like to visit the organisations to present and discuss my results with senior staff and trustees, listen to their reactions and feedback about my findings, discuss what additional research they might find useful and then carry out such research. This approach would seek to make the research more collaborative and user-driven and thereby increase its impact.

References

Books, articles, reports

A

Abreu, M (2006) "The brand positioning and image of a religious organisation: an empirical analysis" International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing 11(2): 139-146

African Religious Health Assets Programme (2008) The contribution of religious entities to health in sub-Saharan Africa (AHRAP Research Report for the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) Cape Town: AHRAP

Agnivesh, S (2003) "A Spiritual Vision for the Dialogue of Religions" Development 46(4): 35-38

Ahmad, MM (2002) "Who cares? The personal and professional problems of NGO fieldworkers in Bangladesh" Development in Practice 12(2): 177-191

Ahmed, E (2005) "A Dangerous mix: Religion and Development Aid" Challenging Fundamentalisms (July 2005)

Alkire, S (2002) "Dimensions of Human Development" World Development 30(2): 181-205

Alkire, S (2006) "Religion and Development", in Clark, DA (Ed.) The Elgar Companion to Development Studies Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp 502-509

Alolo, NA (2007) African Traditional Religion and Concepts of Development: A Background Paper (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 17) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Amin, S (1974) Accumulation on a World Scale: A critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment New York: Monthly Review Press

Amin, S (1976) Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formation of Peripheral Capitalism New York: Monthly Review Press

Amon, FS (2004) Organizational Change Communication, Identity, Image, And Culture: The Case of CARE International Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida

Anthropological Survey of India (2008) People of India: West Bengal (Vol. XXXXIII, Parts 1 and 2) Kolkata: Anthropological Survey of India

Appadurai, A (1996) Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Appiah-Opoku, S (2007) "Indigenous Beliefs and Environmental Stewardship: A Rural Ghana Experience" Journal of Cultural Geography 24(2): 79-98

Arora, B and Puranik, R (2004) "A Review of Corporate Social Responsibility in India" Development 47(3): 93-100

Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium (no date) India
Available online at http://www.asiapacificphilanthropy.org/node/19

Association of American Geographers (1999) "Association of American Geographers' statement on professional ethics" Ethics, Place and Environment 2(2): 258-266

B

Baha'i International Community (1998) Valuing Spirituality in Development: Initial Considerations Regarding the Creation of Spirituality Based Indicators for Development London: Baha'i Publishing Trust

Bailey, AR, Brace, C and Harvey, DC (2009) "Three geographers in an archive: positions, predilections and passing comment on transient lives" Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 34(2): 254-269

Baillie Smith, M and Laurie, N (forthcoming) "International volunteering and development: global citizenship and neoliberal professionalisation today" Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers

Baillie Smith, M; Hopkins, P; Laurie, N and Olson, E (2010) Cosmopolitanism, faith and community: Young people, international volunteering and development in Latin America Paper presented at Annual Conference of the American Association of Geographers, Washington DC (14-18 April 2010)

Baker C and Skinner H (2006) Faith in Action: The Dynamic Connection Between Spiritual Capital and Religious Capital (Final Report of The William Temple Foundation's Research Project (2002-2005) Regenerating communities: a theological and strategic critique) Manchester: William Temple Foundation

Balba, J; Connelly, J and Parrott Monahan, C (2008) Inspired by Faith: A Background Report 'Mapping' Social Economic Development Work in the Muslim World Washington DC: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs

Banerjee, A (2005) Population Growth, Environment and Development: Some Issues in Sustainability of the Mega City of Kolkata, West Bengal Paper presented at National Seminar on Population Environment and Nexus, Mumbai (21.10.05)

Banerjee, H (2nd ed. 2007) The Other Sikhs: A View from Eastern India Delhi: Manohar

Bano, M (2007) Contesting Ideologies and Struggle for Authority: State-Madrasa Engagement in Pakistan (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 14) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Bano, M (2008) Allowing for Diversity: State-Madrasa Relations in Bangladesh (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 13) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Bano, M (2009a) Engaged yet Disengaged: Islamic Schools and the State in Kano, Nigeria (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 29) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Bano, M (2009b) Marker of Identity: Religious Political Parties and Welfare Work - The Case of Jama'at-i-Islam in Pakistan and Bangladesh (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 34) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Bano, M and Nair, P (2007) Faith-based Organisations in South Asia: Historical Evolution, Current Status and Nature of Interaction with the State (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 12) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Barnes, TJ and Sheppard, E (2010) "'Nothing includes everything': towards engaged pluralism in Anglophone economic geography" Progress in Human Geography 34(2): 193-214

Barnett, J (2007) "The Geopolitics of Climate Change" Geography Compass 1(6): 1361–1375

Barrett, DB and Johnson, TM (Eds.) (2001) World Christian Trends AD30–AD2200: interpreting the annual Christian megacensus Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library Publishers

Bartholomeusz, T (2006) "Bauddha Dhamma", in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp103-128

Barton, F and Danan, L (2006) "International Organizations, Multilateralism and Faith-based Organizations: Unrealized Potential", in Proceedings of the Workshop "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors", May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp91-97

Barua, SB (2007) "Two massive pillars of the century: Anagarika Dharmapala and Kripasaran Mahasthavir", in Barua, BP (Ed.) Buddhism in Bengal Kolkata: All India Federation of Bengali Buddhists, pp76-83

Bashyam, L (2002) "The role of the Northern development NGO (Christian Aid)", in Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) The Companion to Development Studies London: Arnold, pp514-519

Bassie-Sweet, K (2008) Maya Sacred Geography and the Creator Deities Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press

Baxter, J and Eyles, J (1997) “Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing ‘rigour’ in interview analysis” Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 22(4): 505-525

BBC (2010) Aid and Development Beyond Belief programme, BBC Radio 4 (broadcast 04.01.10)

Beaumont, J and Dias, C (2008) “Faith-Based Organisations and Urban Social Justice in The Netherlands” Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99(4): 377-381

Bebbington, AJ and Bebbington, DH (2001) “Development alternatives: practice, dilemmas and theory” Area 33(1): 7-17

Bebbington, AJ (2004) “NGOs and uneven development: geographies of development intervention” Progress in Human Geography 28(6): 725-745

Bebbington, AJ and Kothari, U (2006) “Transnational development networks”' Environment and Planning A 38(5): 849-866

Beeson, A (2010) “Who Gets to Give Aid?” Harvard Political Review (17 May 2010)

Belshaw, DGR; Calderisi, R and Sugden, C (2001) Faith in Development: Partnership Between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa World Bank Publications

Benedetti, C (2006) “Islamic and Christian Inspired Relief NGOs: between Tactical Collaboration and Strategic Difference” Journal of International Development 18(6): 849-856

Bennett, K (2004) “Emotionally Intelligent Research” Area 36(4): 414-422

Benthall, J (2006a) “Introduction: Faith-based Organisations and Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors”, in Proceedings of the Workshop “Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors”, May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp3-7

Benthall, J (2006b) “Summary of Discussions and Conclusion”, in Proceedings of the Workshop “Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors”, May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp99-107

Benthall, J (2008a) Returning to Religion: Why a Secular Age is Haunted by Faith London: IB Tauris

Benthall, J (2008b) “Have Islamic aid agencies a privileged relationship in majority Muslim areas? The case of post-tsunami reconstruction in Aceh” Journal of Humanitarian Assistance (26 June 2008)

Berger, J (2003) “Religious nongovernmental organisations: an exploratory analysis” Voluntas: International Journal or Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations 14(1): 15-39

Berger, PL; Martin, D; Weiming, T; Weigel, G; Davie, G and Ahmad Naim, AA (Eds.) (1999) The Desecularisation of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans

Bertrand, JR (2006) “State and church in France: regulation and negotiation” GeoJournal 67(4): 295-306

Besio, K (2003) “Steppin' in it: postcoloniality in northern Pakistan” Area 35(1): 24–33

Binnie, J; Holloway, J; Millington, S and Young, C (Eds.) (2005) Cosmopolitan urbanism London: Routledge

Bishop, R; Phillips, J, Yeo, WW (2003) Postcolonial Urbanism: Southeast Asian Cities and Global Processes New York: Routledge

Blaikie, P (2000) “Development, post-, anti-, and populist: a critical review” Environment and Planning A 32: 1033-1050

Blumen, O (2007) “The performative landscape of going-to-work: on the edge of a Jewish ultraorthodox neighbourhood” Society and space 25(5): 803-831

Bodakowski, M (2009) Global Development and Faith-Inspired Organizations in Southeast Asia: Meeting Report Washington DC: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs

Bompani, B (2008) “African Independent Churches in Post-Apartheid South Africa: New Political Interpretations” Journal of Southern African Studies 34(3): 665-677

Bompani, B (2010) State, Religious organisations and Xenophobia in South Africa: the Central Methodist Mission in Johannesburg Paper presented at ‘Religion Shaping Development: inspirational, inhibiting, institutionalised?’ conference, Birmingham (21-23 July 2010)

Bond, G (2004) Buddhism at Work: Community Development, Social Empowerment and the Sarvodaya Movement West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press

Bouta, T; Kadayifci-Orellana, SA and Abu-Nimer, M (2005) Faith-Based Peace-Building: Mapping and Analysis of Christian, Muslim and Multi-Faith Actors The Hague: Netherlands Institute for International Relations (in cooperation with the Salam Institute for Peace and Justice, Washington DC)

Boyd, S (2009) In the thick of it: why the church is an essential partner for sustainable development in the world’s poorest communities London: Tearfund UK / Dublin: Tearfund Ireland

Bradley, T (2007) The Relationships Between Religion and Development: Views from Anthropology (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 05) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Bradley, T (2009) “A call for clarification and critical analysis into the work of faith based development organisations (FBDO)” Progress in Development Studies 9(2): 101-114

Bradley, T and Ramsay, Z (2010) Buddhist Engagements with Social Justice: A Comparison between Tibetan exiled Buddhists in Dharmsala and Dalit Buddhists of Pune Paper presented at Development Studies Annual Conference, 05 November 2010

Breckenridge, C; Pollock, S; Bhabha, HK and Chakrabarty, D (Eds.) (2000) Cosmopolitanism Durham, NC: Duke University Press

Brown, JC; Ayvalikli, D and Mohammad, N (2004) “Civil Society Organizations”, in Brown, JC; Ayvalikli, D and Mohammad, N Turning Bureaucrats into Warriors: Preparing and Implementing Multi-Sector HIV-AIDS Programs In Africa – A Generic Operations Manual Washington DC: World Bank, pp37-43

Buijs, GJ (2004) “Religion and Development”, in Giri, AK; Van Harskamp, A and Salemink, O (Eds.) The Development of Religion, The Religion of Development Delft: Eburon, pp101-108

Burgess, J (1992) “The art of interviewing”, in Rogers, A; Viles, H and Goudie, A (Eds.) The Student’s Companion to Geography Oxford: Blackwell, pp207-212

C

Carmody, P (2007) Neoliberalism, Civil Society and Security in Africa Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Carr, DL and Norman, ES (2008) “Global civil society? The Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development” Geoforum 39(1): 358-371

Carter, E; Adams, WM and Hutton, J (2008) “Private Protected Areas: Management regimes, tenure arrangements and protected area categorization in East Africa” Oryx 42: 177-186

Cassell, J (2001) “Ethical Principles for Conducting Fieldwork”, in Bryman, A (Ed.) Ethnography Volume III London: Sage, pp350-366

Cavalcanti, J (2007) “Development versus enjoyment of life: a post-development critique of the developmentalist worldview” Development in Practice 17(1): 85–92

Chacko, E (2004) "Positionality and Praxis: Fieldwork Experiences in Rural India" Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 25(1): 51–63

Chakrabarty, D; Majumdar, R and Sarto, A (2007) From the Colonial to the Postcolonial: India and Pakistan in Transition Delhi: Oxford University Press

Chambers, R (1983) Rural Development: Putting the Last First Harlow: Longman

Chambers, R (1997) Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last London: Intermediate Technology Publications

Chatterjee, P (2006) The Politics of the governed: reflections on popular politics in most of the world Columbia University Press

Chatterji, A (2009) Ethnicity, Migration and the Urban Landscape of Kolkata Kolkata: KP Bagchi and Co

Chaudhuri, S (2008) Kolkata: the shifting jigsaw Paper presented at 'Migration, Diaspora and the City: Mobility and Dwelling in Calcutta' conference, Kolkata (12-13 Dec 2008)

Cinar, A and Bender, T (Eds.) (2007) Urban Imaginaries: Locating the Modern City Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press

Clark, J (1991) Democratizing Development: The Role of Voluntary Organizations London: Earthscan

Clark, N (2005) "Disaster and generosity" Geographical Journal 171(4): 384–386

Clark, N (2007) "Living through the tsunami: Vulnerability and generosity on a volatile earth" Geoforum 38 (6): 1127-1139

Clark, SD (1951) "Religion and Economic Backward Areas" American Economic Review 41(2): 258-265

Clarke, G (2005) Faith Matters: Development and the Complex World of Faith-Based Organisations Paper presented at Development Studies Association annual conference, Milton Keynes (07-09 Sept 2005)

Clarke, G (2006) "Faith Matters: Faith-Based Organisations, Civil Society and International Development" Journal of International Development 18(6): 835-848

Clarke, G (2007a) "Faith-Based Organisations and International Development: An Overview", in Clarke, G; Jennings, M and Shaw, T (Eds.) Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp17-45

Clarke, G (2007b) "Agents of transformation? Donors, faith-based organisations and international development" Third World Quarterly 28(1): 77-96

Clarke, G (2008) Trans-Faith Humanitarianism: Muslim Aid and the United Methodist Committee on Relief Paper presented at Development Studies Association annual conference, London (08 Nov 2008)

Clarke, G (2010) "Faith Matters: Development and the Complex World of Faith-Based Organisations", in Boran, A (Ed.) Poverty: Malaise of Development Chester: Chester Academic Press

Clarke, G; Jennings, M and Shaw, T (Eds.) (2007) Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan

Cloke, P (2010) Spaces of post-secular engagement Presentation at Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting, Washington DC (14-18 April 2010)

Cloke, P; Williams, A and Thomas, S (2009) Faith-Based Organisations and Social Exclusion in European Cities: 1. Mapping the Activity of National-level FBOs in the UK Brussels: European Commission (Faith-Based Organisations and Exclusion in European Cities programme)

Clough, P (2006) "'Knowledge in Passing:' Reflexive Anthropology and Religious Awareness" Anthropological Quarterly 79(2): 261-283

Colletta, NJ, Ewing, RT, and Todd, TA (1982) "Cultural revitalization, participatory nonformal education, and village development in Sri Lanka: the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement" Comparative Education Review 26(2): 271-286

Commission on Urban Life and Faith (2006) Faithful Cities: A call for celebration, vision and justice London: Methodist Publishing House and Church House Publishing

Copal Partners (2006) India's Charity Sector: An Overview and Analytical Approach
Available online at www.copalpartners.com/Copal_Partners_Charity_Sector_Report_060619.pdf

Corbridge, S (1993) "Marxisms, modernities and moralities: development praxis and the claims of distant strangers" Environment and Planning D 11: 449-472

Corbridge, S (1998a) "Development ethics: distance, difference, plausibility" Ethics, Place and Environment 1(1): 35-53

Corbridge, S (1998b) "'Beneath the pavement only soil': the poverty of postdevelopment" Journal of Development Studies 34(6): 138-148

Cowen, MP and Shenton, RW (1995) "The Invention of Development", in Crush, J (1995) The Power of Development London: Routledge, pp27-43

Crang, M and Cook, I (2007) Doing Ethnographies London: Sage

Crittenden, R (1988) "Breaking the rules: geography goes 'gung-ho'" Area 20: 372-373

Crush, J (1995) The Power of Development London: Routledge

Cumbers, A; Routledge, P and Nativel, C (2008) "The entangled geographies of global justice networks" Progress in Human Geography 32 (2): 183-201

Cupples, J and Kindon, S (2003) "Far from being 'home alone': the dynamics of accompanied fieldwork" Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 24(2): 211-228

Curry, G (2003) "Moving beyond post-development: facilitating indigenous alternatives for development'' Economic Geography 79(4): 405-423

D

Dalal, R (2006) The Penguin Dictionary of Religion in India Delhi: Penguin Books

Dalrymple, W (2009) Nine Lives: In Search of the Sacred in Modern India London: Bloomsbury

Dando, WA; Dando, CZ and Lu, JJ (Eds.) (2006) Geography of the Holy Land: Perspectives Kaohsiung, Taiwan: Holy Light Theological Seminary Press

Das, S (2007) A Jaywalker's Guide to Calcutta Kolkata: Eminence Designs

De Kadt, E (2005) "Abusing Freedom: coercion in the name of God" Journal of Human Development 6(1): 55-74

De Kadt, E (2008) On Keeping God out of Development Paper presented at Development Studies Association annual conference, London (08 Nov 2008)

Deneulin, S (2007) Religion in Development and the Idea of Secularism Paper presented at Human Development and Capability Association Faith and Development Group Study Day, London (28.07.07)

Deneulin, S (2009a) Religion in Development: Rewriting the Secular Script London: Zed Books

Deneulin, S (2009b) Human Development: Benedict XVI vs. Amartya Sen

Desai, V (1999) "Anatomy of the Bombay NGO sector" Environment and Urbanization 11(1): 247-266

Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) (2002) The Companion to Development Studies London: Hodder Arnold

Desai V and Preston I (2000) "Urban grassroots nongovernmental organizations in Bombay: a suggested typology" Environment and Planning C 18(4): 453-468

Desmond, M (2004) "Methodological challenges posed in studying an elite in the field" Area 36(3): 262–269

De Senillosa, I (1992) "Beyond NGDOs: is Utopia still viable?" Development in Practice 2(2): 114-120

Developing Areas Research Group (2003) DARG Ethical Guidelines
Available online at http://www.gg.rhul.ac.uk/darg/dargethics.pdf

DeVerteuil, G (2004) "Systematic Inquiry into Barriers to Researcher Access: Evidence from a Homeless Shelter" The Professional Geographer 56(3): 372–380

Dewalt, KM and Dewalt, BR (2002) Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press

Dewsbury, JD and Cloke, P (2009) "Spiritual landscapes: existence, performance and immanence" Social and Cultural Geography 10(6): 695-711

DFID (2009) Eliminating World Poverty: Building our Common Future London: TSO

Dicklitch, S and Rice, H (2004) "The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and faith-based NGO aid to Africa" Development in Practice 14(5): 660-672

Dittmer, J and Sturm, T (2010) Mapping the End Times: American Evangelical Geopolitics and Apocalyptic Visions Aldershot: Ashgate

Doherty Johnson, P (2007) Diaspora Philanthropy: Influences, Initiatives, and Issues Boston, MA: The Philanthropic Initiative Inc. / Cambridge, MA: The Global Equity Initiative

Dolnick, S (2008) "Last Jews of Calcutta have one last guardian" USA Today (20 September 2008)

Donovan, P (1999) "Neutrality in Religious Studies", in McCutcheon, RT (Ed.) The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion London: Cassell, pp235-247

Drabeck, AG (1987) "Development Alternatives: The Challenge for NGOs – An Overview of the Issues" World Development 15 (supplement): ix-xv

Dugbazah, J (2009) The Relationships between Values, Religious Teaching and Development Concepts and Practices: A Preliminary Literature Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 33) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Dunn, K (2004) Diaspora Giving and the Future of Philanthropy Boston, MA: The Philanthropic Initiative Inc.

Dusenbery, VA and Tatla, DS (Eds.) (2009) Sikh Diaspora Philanthropy in Punjab: Global Giving for Local Good Oxford: Oxford University Press

Dutta, K (2003) Calcutta: a cultural and literary history Oxford: Signal Books

Dwyer, C (2008) "The Geographies of Veiling: Muslim women in Britain" Geography 93(3): 140-147

Dwyer, C (2010) Faith and the suburban landscape Presentation at 'Geographies of religion: a new dialogue' conference, Newcastle (08-09 March 2010)

E

Eade, D (2002) "Preface", pix-xiv in Eade, D (Ed.) Development and Culture Oxford: Oxfam

Ebaugh, HR (2002) "Presidential Address 2001 – Return of the Sacred: Reintegrating Religion in the Social Sciences" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 41(3): 385-395

Ebaugh, HR; Pipes, PF; Chafetz, JS and Daniels, M (2003) “Where's the Religion? Distinguishing Faith-Based from Secular Social Service Agencies” Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 42(3): 411–426

Ebaugh, HR; Chafetz, JS and Pipes, PF (2006) “Where's the Faith in Faith-based Organizations? Measures and Correlates of Religiosity in Faith-based Social Service Coalitions” Social Forces 84(4): 2259-2272

Edwards, M (1993) “How relevant is Development Studies?”, in Schuurman, FJ (Ed.) Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory London: Zed Books, pp77-92

Edwards, M; Hulme, D and Wallace, T (1999) “NGOs in a global future: marrying local delivery to worldwide leverage” Public Administration and Development 19(2): 117-136

El Ela Mady, A (2006) “How do Islamic Organisations See Their Social Role? An Islamic Perspective (from Egypt)”, in Proceedings of the Workshop “Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors”, May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp47-49

Ellis, S and Ter Haar, G (2004) Religion and Development in Africa (Background paper to the Commission for Africa) Available online at http://www.commissionforafrica.org/english/report/background/ellis_and_teer_haar_background.pdf

Elwood, SA and Martin, DG (2000) “‘Placing’ interviews: location and scales of power in qualitative research” Professional Geographer 52(4): 649-657

Emerson, RM; Fretz, RI and Shaw, LL (1995) Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Engel, JR and Engel, JG (1990) Ethics of Environment and Development: Global Challenge and International Response London: Belhaven Press

Engineer, AA (2005) “Contemporary Challenges to Secularism and Democracy: A Religious Response”, in Ortiz, CA; Campion, J; Hacker, T; Abdus Sabur, M; Schenk, L and Yusuf, I (Eds.) Understanding Peace and Conflict Transformation in Asia: Religious Perspectives and Approaches Bangkok: Asian Resource Foundation and Asian Muslim Action Network, pp154-160

England, KVL (1994) “Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research” The Professional Geographer 46(1): 80–89

Escobar, A (1992a) “Reflections on ‘development’: grassroots approaches and alternative politics in the Third World” Futures 24(5): 411–435

Escobar, A (1995a) Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Escobar, A (1995b) “Imagining a post-development era”, in Crush, J (Ed.) The power of development London: Routledge, pp211-227

Escobar, A (2004) “Beyond the Third World: imperial globality, global coloniality and antiglobalisation social movements” Third World Quarterly 25(1): 207-230

Esteva, G and Prakash, MS (1998a) Grassroots Postmodernism: Remaking the soil of cultures London: Zed Books

Esteva, G and Prakash, MS (1998b) “Beyond development, what?” Development in Practice 8(3): 280-296

Evans, M (1988) “Participant Observation: The Researcher as Research Tool”, in Eyles, J and Smith, DM (Eds.) Qualitative Methods in Human Geography Cambridge: Polity, pp197-217

F

Fanon, F (1961 in French, 1965 in English) The Wretched of the Earth London: Penguin

Ferber, MP (2006) "Critical Realism and Religion: Objectivity and the Insider/Outsider Problem" Annals of the Association of American Geographers 96 (1):176

Ferguson, J (1990) The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ferris, E (2005) "Faith-based and secular humanitarian organisations" International Review of the Red Cross 87(858) 311-325

Fife, W (2005) "Interviewing", in Fife, W (Ed.) Doing Fieldwork: Ethnographic Methods for Research in Developing Countries and Beyond Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp93-106

Fontana, A and Frey, JH (2nd ed. 2000) "The Interview: from structured questions to negotiated text", in Denzin, NK and Lincoln, YS (Eds.) Handbook of Qualitative Research London: Sage, pp645-672

Foster, G (2004) Study of the response by faith-based organizations to orphans and vulnerable children New York: World Conference of Religions for Peace / UNICEF

Fowler, A (2002) "NGDO-donor relationships: the use and abuse of partnership", in Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) The Companion to Development Studies London: Arnold, pp508-514

Fox, T (2004) "Corporate social responsibility and development: in quest of an agenda" Development 47(3): 29-36

Frank, AG (1966) "The development of underdevelopment" Monthly Review 18(4): 17-31

Frank, AG (1969) Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution New York: Monthly Review Press

Friedmann, J and Douglass, M (1978) "Agropolitan development: towards a new strategy for religion planning in Asia", in Lo, FC and Salih, K (Eds.) Growth Pole Strategy and Regional Development Policy Oxford: Pergamon, pp163-192

Fust, W (2006) "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Opening Address", in Proceedings of the Workshop "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors", May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp9-12

G

Gade, DW (2001) "The languages of foreign fieldwork" Geographical Review 91(1/2): 370-379

Gardner, GT (2006) Inspiring Progress: Religions' Contributions to Sustainable Development New York: WW Norton and Co. Inc

Garlington, W (2006) "Indian Baha'i Tradition", in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp247-259

Gatrell, JD and Collins-Kreine, N (2006) "Negotiated space: Tourists, pilgrims, and the Bahá'í terraced gardens in Haifa" Geoforum 37(5): 765-778

Geithner, PF; Doherty Johnson, P and Chen, LC (Eds.) (2004) Diaspora Philanthropy and Equitable Development in China and India Cambridge, MA: Global Equity Initiative Asia Centre Harvard University

Gerring, J (2007) Case Study Research: Principles and Practices New York: Cambridge University Press

Gibson-Graham, JK (2005) "Surplus possibilities: postdevelopment and community economies" Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 26(1): 4-26

Giri, AK; Salemink, O and van Harskamp, A (Eds.) (2004) The Development of Religion/The Religion of Development Delft, Netherlands: Eburon

Gledhill, J (2006) "Resisting the Global Slum: Politics, Religion and Consumption in the Remaking of Life Worlds in the Twenty-First Century" Bulletin of Latin American Research 25(3): 322-339

Goggin, ML and Orth, DA (2002) How faith-based and secular organisations tackle housing for the homeless Albany, NY: The Roundtable on Religion and Social Welfare Policy

Goldsmith, S; Eimicke, WB and Pineda, C (2006) Faith-Based Organizations Versus Their Secular Counterparts: A Primer For Local Officials Cambridge, MA: Ash Institute for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard University

Goldthorpe, JE (1996) "Religion and Development", in Goldthorpe, JE (Ed.) The Sociology of Post-Colonial Societies: Economic Disparity, Cultural Diversity, and Development Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp179-99

Goody, J (2003) "Religion and Development: Some comparative considerations" Development 46(4): 64-67

Gordon, RG Jr. (Ed.) (15th ed. 2005) Ethnologue Dallas: SIL International

Gottschalk, P (2006) "Indian Muslim Tradition", in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp201-245

Goulet, D (1980) "Development Experts: One-Eyed Giants" World Development 8(7-8): 481-489

Goulet, D (1992a) "Development: Creator and Destroyer of Values" World Development 20(3): 467-475

Goulet, D (1992b) "Development Indicators: a research problem, a policy problem" Journal of Socio-Economics 21(3): 245-226

Goulet, D (1995) "Culture and Tradition in Development", in Goulet, D Development Ethics: A Guide to Theory and Practice New York: Apex Press, pp137-152

Government of India (2002a) National Human Development Report 2001 Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India

Government of India (2002b) Report of the Steering Committee on Voluntary Sector for the Tenth Five-Year Plan (2002-07) Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India

Government of India (2002c) Tenth Five Year Plan 2002-07 Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India

Government of India (2006) Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India (Sachar Committee Report) Delhi: Prime Minister's High Level Committee, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India

Government of India (2007a) National Policy on the Voluntary Sector Delhi: Voluntary Action Cell, Planning Commission, Government of India

Government of India (2007b) Constitution of India (as modified up to 01 Dec 2007) Delhi: Ministry of Law and Justice, Government of India

Government of India (2008) Eleventh Five Year Plan 2007-12 Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India

Government of West Bengal (2004) West Bengal Human Development Report 2004 Kolkata: Development and Planning Department, Government of West Bengal

Govinda, R (2009) Transforming lives? Exploring the private and public faces of NGO activists in north India Paper presented National Women's Studies Association annual meeting, Atlanta (12.11.09)

Green, M; Mercer, C and Mesaki, S (2010) The Development Activities, Values and Performance of Non-governmental and Faith-based Organisations in Magu and Newala Districts, Tanzania (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 49) Birmingham: International Development Department, University of Birmingham

Grier, R (1997) "The Effect of Religion on Economic Development: A Cross National Study of 63 Former Colonies" Kyklos 50(1): 47-62

Grills, N (2009) “The paradox of multilateral organizations engaging with faith-based organizations” Global Governance 15: 505-520

Grimes, J; Mittal, S and Thursby, G (2006) “Hindu Dharma”, in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp15-84

Grischow, J and McKnight, G (2003) “Rhyming development: practicing post-development in colonial Ghana and Uganda” Journal of Historical Sociology 16(4): 517–549

Gugler J (Ed.) (2004) World Cities Beyond the West: Globalization, Development and Inequality Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Guha, R (2007) India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy London: Macmillan

H

Ha, M-L; Helbing, C; Inagaki, T and Lahoti, R (2007) Visualising Civil Society through Mapping NGOs Paris: Institute for a New Reflection on Governance

Hackworth, J (2009) “Neoliberalism, neoconservatism and the politics of faith-based welfare in the United States” Studies in Political Economy 84: 155-179

Hackworth, J (2010) “Faith, welfare, and the city: the mobilization of religious organizations for neoliberal ends” Urban Geography 31(6): 750-773

Hall, S (2006) “Cosmopolitan promises, multicultural realities”, in R Scholar (Ed.) Divided Cities: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures 2003 Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp20-51

Hankins, K (2010) Reneighboring Poor Atlanta: The Political Economy of Faith-motivated Gentrification Presentation at Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting 2010, Washington DC (14-18 April 2010)

Harcourt, W (2003) “Editorial: Clearing the Path for Collective Compassion” Development 46(4): 3-5

Harcourt, W (2004) “Editorial: Is CSR Rewriting Development?” Development 47(3): 1-2

Hargrove, B (1988) “Religion, Development, and Changing Paradigms” Sociological Analysis 49S: 33–48

Harragin, S (2004) “Relief and Understanding of Local Knowledge: The Case of Southern Sudan”, in Rao, V and Walton, M (Eds.) Culture and Public Action Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp307-327

Hart, G (2001) “Development critiques in the 1990s: *culs de sac* and promising paths” Progress in Human Geography 25(4): 649-658

Harvey, D, Brace, C and Bailey, A (2007) “Parading the Cornish subject: Methodist Sunday schools in west Cornwall, c. 1830-1930” Journal of Historical Geography 33(1): 24-44

Harvey, WS (2010) “Methodological Approaches for Interviewing Elites” Geography Compass 4(3): 193-205

Haverkort, B; Van’tHooft, K and Hiemstra, W (Eds.) (2003) Ancient Roots, New Shoots: Endogenous Development in Practice London: Zed Books / Oxford: COMPAS

Haynes, DE (1987) “From tribute to philanthropy: The politics of gift giving in a Western Indian city” Journal of Asian Studies 46: 339-359

Haynes, J (2005) “Religion and Development”, in Haynes, J (Ed.) Palgrave Advances in Development Studies Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp138-159

Haynes, J (2007) Religion and Development: Conflict or Cooperation? Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Heffernan, T (2007) Twinning Faith and Development: Catholic Parish Partnering in the US and Haiti Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press

Heffernan, T; Adkins, J and Occhipinti, LA (2009) Bridging the gaps: faith-based organizations, neoliberalism, and development in Latin America and the Caribbean Lanham, MD: Lexington Books

Heleniak, T (2006) "Regional Distribution of the Muslim Population of Russia" Eurasian Geography and Economics 47(4): 426-448

Henry, L; Mohan, G and Yanacopulos, H (2004) "Networks as transnational agents of development" Third World Quarterly 25(5): 839-55

Herod, A (1999) "Reflections on interviewing foreign elites: praxis, positionality, validity, and the cult of the insider" Geoforum 30(4): 313–327

Hodge, P and Lester, J (2006) "Indigenous Research: Whose Priority? Journeys and Possibilities of Cross-Cultural Research in Geography" Geographical Research 44(1): 41–51

Holenstein, A-M (2005) Role and Significance of Religion and Spirituality in Development Cooperation: a reflection and working paper Bern: Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

Holenstein, A-M (2006) "Governmental Donor Agencies and Faith-based Organisations", in Proceedings of the Workshop "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors", May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp75-81

Holloway, J (2006) "Enchanted Spaces: The Séance, Affect, and Geographies of Religion" Annals of the Association of American Geographers 96(1): 182-187

Holloway, J and Valins, O (2002) "Editorial: Placing religion and spirituality in geography" Social and Cultural Geography 3(1): 5-9

Holt, L (2008) "Embodied social capital and geographic perspectives: performing the habitus" Progress in Human Geography 32(2): 227-246

Hopgood, S (2006) Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

Hopkins, PE (2006) "Youthful Muslim masculinities: gender and generational relations" Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 31(3): 337-352

Hopkins, P; Baillie Smith, M; Laurie, N and Olson, E (2010) Young Christians in Latin America: The experiences of Young Christians who participate in Faith-based International Volunteering projects in Latin America Project report, available online at http://www.ycla.org.uk/cgi-bin/download.cgi

Housden, R (1996) Travels through sacred India London: Thorsons

Hovland, I (2007) "Who's Afraid of Religion? Tensions Between Mission and Development in The Norwegian Mission Society", in Clarke, G; Jennings, M and Shaw, T (Eds.) Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp171-186

Howell, J and Lind, J (2009) "Changing Donor Policy and Practice in Civil Society in the Post-9/11 Aid Context" Third World Quarterly 30(7): 1279-1296

Hulme, D (1994) "Social development research and the third sector: NGO as users and subjects of social enquiry", in Booth, D (Ed.) Rethinking social development: theory, research and practice Harlow, Essex: Longman, pp251-275

Hulme, D and Toye, J (2005) The case for cross-disciplinary social science research on poverty, inequality and well-being Oxford: Global Poverty Research Group

Hutanuwatr, P and Manivannan, R (2005) The Asian Future: Dialogues for Change London: Zed Books

I

International Interfaith Network for Development and Reproductive Health (2005) A Faith-Filled Commitment to Development Includes a Commitment to Women's Rights and Reproductive Health: Religious Reflections on the Millennium Development Goals (Prepared for the 2005 World Summit 14-16 September 2005) Washington DC: International Interfaith Network for Development and Reproductive Health

Iqbal, MA and Siddiqui, S (2008) Mapping the Terrain: The Activities of Faith-based Organisations in Development in Pakistan (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 24) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

J

Jackson, P and Fleischer, C (2007) Religion and Economics: A Literature Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 03) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Jain, P (2010) Religious sects and social development Jaipur: Rawat Publications

James, R (2004) Contribution to a discussion: Reflections on current thinking on spirituality in organisations Sundbyberg, Sweden: Swedish Mission Council

James, R (2009a) What is Distinctive About FBOs? How European FBOs define and operationalise their faith (Praxis Paper 22) Oxford: INTRAC

James, R (2009b) Handle With Care: Engaging with faith-based organisations in development Oxford: INTRAC

James, R (2009c) Faith-Based Organisational Development (OD) with Churches in Malawi (Praxis Note 47) Oxford: INTRAC

Jeavons, TH (1998) "Identifying Characteristics of 'Religious' Organisations: An Exploratory Proposal", in Demerath III, NJ; Dobkin Hall, P; Schmitt, T and Williams, RH (Eds.) Sacred Companies: Organisational Aspects of Religion and Religious Aspects of Organisation New York: Oxford University Press, pp79-95

Jeavons, TH (2004) "Religious and Faith-Based Organizations: Do We Know One When We See One?" Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly 33(1): 140-145

Jechoutek, KG (2006) "Through the Eye of the Needle: Tradition, Spirituality and Human Development", in Shutte, A (Ed.) The Quest for Humanity in Science and Religion: The South African Experience Pietermaritzburg, South Africa: Cluster Publications, Chapter 8

Jenkins, R (2005) "Globalization, Corporate Social Responsibility and poverty" International Affairs 81(3): 525-540

Jennings, M and Clarke, G (2007) "Conclusion: Faith and Development – of Ethno-separatism, Multiculturalism and Religious Partitioning?", in Clarke, G; Jennings, M and Shaw, T (Eds.) Development, Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp260-274

Jodhka, SS and Bora, P (2009) Mapping Faith-based Development Activities in Contemporary Maharashtra, India (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 28) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Jodhka, SS and Kumar, A (2010) Religious Mobilisations for Development and Social Change: A Comparative Study of Dalit Movements in Punjab and Maharashtra, India (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 47) Birmingham: International Development Department, University of Birmingham

Johnsen, S (2010) Faith matters Presentation 'Geographies of Religion: a new dialogue' conference, Newcastle (08-09 March 2010)

Johnsen, S and Fitzpatrick, S (2009) The Role of Faith-Based Organisations in the Provision of Services for Homeless People York: Centre for Housing Policy, University of York

Jones, K (1989) The social face of Buddhism: an approach to political and social activism London: Wisdom Publications

Jones, PS (2000) “Why is it alright to do development ‘over there’ but not ‘here’? Changing vocabularies and common strategies of inclusion across the ‘First’ and ‘Third’ Worlds” Area 32(2): 237-241

Jordan, L (2007) “Religious Adherence and Diversity in the United States: A Geographic Analysis” Geographies of Religions and Belief Systems 2(1): 3-20

Jules-Rosette, B (1985) “The Sacred and Third World Societies”, in Hammond, P (Ed.) The Sacred in a Secular Age: Toward revision in the scientific study of religion Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp215-233

K

Kanga, JN (1969) A History of the Parsees in Calcutta (An English translation of articles in Gujarati that appeared in *Navroz* from August 1969)

Kantowsky, D (1980) Sarvodaya: the other development New Delhi: Vikas

Kapoor, I (2004) “Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World ‘Other’” Third World Quarterly 25(4): 627-647

Kapoor, R, and Sharma, AK (2000) Religious Philanthropy and Organized Social development efforts in India (Occasional Paper No.3) New Delhi: Indian Centre for Philanthropy

Kashyap, A (2006) “Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: An Indian Perspective”, in Proceedings of the Workshop “Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors”, May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp63-67

Katz, C (1992) “All the world is staged: intellectuals and the projects of ethnography” Environment and Planning D 10: 495-510

Katz, C (1994) “Playing the Field: Questions of Fieldwork in Geography” The Professional Geographer 46(1): 67–72

Kaufmann, E (2010) Shall the Religious Inherit the Earth? Demography and Politics in the Twenty-First Century London: Profile Books

Kelsall, T and Mercer, C (2003) “Empowering People? World Vision and 'Transformatory Development' in Tanzania” Review of African Political Economy 30(96): 293-304

Kessler, E and Arkush, M (2009) Keeping Faith in Development: The significance of interfaith relations in the work of humanitarian aid and international development organisations Cambridge: Woolf Institute of Abrahamic Faiths

Khan, AA; Tahmazov, I and Abuarqub, M (2009) Translating Faith into Development Birmingham: Islamic Relief

Kiely, R (1999) “The last refuge of the noble savage? A critical assessment of postdevelopment theory” European Journal of Development Research 11(1): 30-55

Kim, K (2007) Concepts of Development in the Christian Traditions: A Religions and Development Background (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 16) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

King, AD (2004) Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge

Kirmani, N (2009a) Beyond the Religious Impasse: Mobilizing for Muslim Women's Rights in India (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 35) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Kirmani, N (2009b) “Claiming their space: Muslim women-led networks and the women's movement in India” The Journal of International Women's Studies 11(1): 72-85

Kirmani, N (2009c) “From symbolic victims to political agents” Seminar (themed issue India's Religious Minorities) 602 (Oct 2009)

Kirshner, S (2005) “Jews of Calcutta are a vanishing breed” The Canadian Jewish News (18 January 2005)

Kniss, F and Todd Campbell, D (1997) “The Effect of Religious Orientation on International Relief and Development Organizations” Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 36(1): 93-103

Knott, K (2010) Theorising space for the study of religion Presentation at ‘Geographies of religion: a new dialogue’ conference, Newcastle (08-09 March 2010)

Knowledge Centre Religion and Development (2008a) Religion and Development Policy Utrecht: Knowledge Centre Religion and Development

Knowledge Centre Religion and Development (2008b) Transforming Development: Exploring New Approaches to Development Utrecht, Netherlands: Knowledge Centre Religion and Development

Kong, L (1990) “Geography and religion: trends and prospects” Progress in Human Geography 14(3): 355-371

Kong, L (2001) “Mapping new geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity” Progress in Human Geography 25: 211-234

Kong, L (2010a) “Global shifts, theoretical shifts: changing geographies of religion” Progress in Human Geography Prepublished March 30, 2010 (doi: 10.1177/0309132510362602)

Kong, L (2010b) Religion in geography’s sub-disciplines: exploring new frontiers in health and medical geography Presentation at ‘Geographies of religion: a new dialogue’ conference, Newcastle (08-09 March 2010)

Korf, B (2006) “Disasters, generosity and the other” Geographical Journal 172(3): 245–247

Korf, B (2007) “Antinomies of generosity: Moral geographies and post-tsunami aid in Southeast Asia” Geoforum 38(2): 366-378

Korten, DC (1987) “Third Generation NGO Strategies: A Key to People-centred Development” World Development 15 (supplement): 145-159

Korten, DC (1990) Getting to the 21st Century – voluntary action and the global agenda West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press

Kothari, R (1989) Rethinking development: In search of humane alternatives Delhi: Ajanta Publications

Kozlowski, GC (1985) Muslim Endowments and Society in British India Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Kroessin, MR (2008) Concepts of Development in 'Islam': A Review of Contemporary Literature and Practice (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 20) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Kumar, S (2003) “Development and Religion: Cultivating a sense of the sacred” Development 46(4): 15-21

Küng, H (1990) Global Responsibility: in search of a new world ethic London: SCM Press

L

Lahiri, S (2010) “At home in the city, at home in the world: cosmopolitanism and urban belonging in Kolkata” Contemporary South Asia 18(2): 191-204

Laurie, N; Andolina, R and Radcliffe, S (2005) "Ethnodevelopment: Social movements, creating experts and professionalising indigenous knowledge in Ecuador" Antipode 37(3): 470-495

Laurie, N and Crespo, C (2007) "Deconstructing the best case scenario: lessons from water politics in La Paz–El Alto, Bolivia" Geoforum 38(5): 841-854

Laurie, N (2010) "Finding yourself in the archives and doing geographies of religion" Geoforum 41(2): 165-167

Laurie, N; Baillie Smith, M; Hopkins, P and Olson, E (2010) Envisaging social justice and global community: Young evangelical volunteers in Latin America Paper presented at British Sociological Association Annual Conference, Glasgow (8-10 April 2010)

Legg, S and McFarlane, C (2008) "Ordinary urban spaces: between postcolonialism and development" Environment and Planning A 40(1): 6-14

Ley, D (2008) The Immigrant Church as an Urban Service Hub Urban Studies 45(10): 2057-2074

Ley, D (2010) Homo religiosus? Religion and immigrant subjectivities GORABS Annual Lecture at Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting 2010, Washington DC (14-18 April 2010)

Limburg, C (2007) The Place of Nagas: Towards a Nondual Analysis of Knowledge about Nature Paper presented at Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting, San Francisco (20.04.07)

Linden, I (2004) Christianity, Islam and poverty reduction in Africa Paper presented at Faith and Development: Theory and Practice Forum, Cambridge (26-27.11.04)

Luhrmann, TM (2006) "Indian Zoroastrian Tradition", in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp151-166

Lunn, J (2001) Postmodern Development: Reality or Rhetoric? An Investigation into Christian Missions in Calcutta Unpublished Master's dissertation, University of London

Lunn, J (2009) "The Role of Religion, Spirituality and Faith in Development: a critical theory approach" Third World Quarterly 30(5): 937-951

Lynch, D (2003) Development Revealed Asian Reflection website
Available online at http://www.asianreflection.com/developmentrevealed.shtml

M

Mackintosh, PG and Forsberg, CR (2009) "Performing the Lodge: Masonry, masculinity, and nineteenth-century North American moral geography" Journal of Historical Geography 35(3): 451-472

Macy, J (1983) Dharma and Development: Religion as Resource in the Sarvodaya Self-Help Movement West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press

Macy, J (1988) "In Indra's net: Sarvodaya and our mutual efforts for peace", in Eppsteiner, F (Ed.) The path of compassion: writings on socially engaged Buddhism Berkeley, California: Parallax Press, pp170-181

Maddrell, A (2009) "A place for grief and belief: the Witness Cairn at the Isle of Whithorn, Galloway, Scotland" Social and Cultural Geography 10(6): 675-693

Madge, C (1993) "Boundary disputes: Comments on Sidaway" Area 25: 294-299

Mahajan, G and Jodhka, S (Eds.) (2010) Religion, Community and Development: Changing Contours of Politics and Policy in India Delhi: Routledge India

Malloch, TR (2003) Social, Human and Spiritual Capital in Economic Development (Paper for the Spiritual Capital project Working Group) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
Available online at http://www.spiritualcapitalresearchprogram.com/pdf/malloch.pdf

Markowitz, L (2001) “Finding the Field: Notes on the Ethnography of NGOs” Human Organization 60(1): 40-46

Marshall, K (2001) “Development and Religion: A Different Lens on Development Debates” Peabody Journal of Education 76(3-4): 339-375

Marshall, K (2006a) Faith and Ethics Agenda in the World Bank: history, progress and options Washington DC: World Bank

Marshall, K (2006b) Religion and International Development Question and Answer session of Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Washington DC
Available online at http://pewforum.org/events/index.php?EventID=100

Marshall, K and Keough, L (Eds.) (2004) Mind, Heart, and Soul: in the Fight Against Poverty Washington DC: World Bank

Marshall, K and Keough, L (2005) Finding Global Balance: Common Ground Between the Worlds of Development and Faith Washington DC: World Bank

Marshall, K and Marsh, R (Eds.) (2003) Millennium Challenges for Development and Faith Institutions Washington DC: World Bank

Marshall, K and Van Saanen, M (2007) Development and Faith: Where Heart, Mind and Soul Work Together Washington DC: World Bank

Martin, F (2008) Psychology, Religion and Development: A Literature Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 25) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Matthews, S (2004) “Postmodern development theory and the question of alternatives: a view from Africa” Third World Quarterly 25(2): 373-384

Mawdsley, E (2006) “Using the World Wide Web for Development Research”, in Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) Doing development research London: SAGE Publications, pp273-281

Mayotte, JA (1998) “Religion and Global Affairs: The Role of Religion in Development” SAIS Review 18(2): 65–69

McCracken, G (1988) The Long Interview (Qualitative Research Methods Series, Volume 13) London: Sage

McCutcheon, RT (1999) “General Introduction”, in McCutcheon, RT (Ed.) The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion London: Cassell, pp1-12

McDaniel, J (2001) “Fieldwork in Indian Religion: Some Notes on Experience and Ethics” Method and Theory in the Study of Religion 13(1): 78-81

McDowell, L (1998) “Elites in the City of London: some methodological considerations” Environment and Planning A 30: 2133-2146

McDuie-Ra, D and Rees, JA (2008) “Religious actors, civil society and the development agenda: The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion” Journal of International Development 22(1): 20-36

McFarlane, C (2006a) “Transnational development networks: bringing development and postcolonial approaches into dialogue” The Geographical Journal 172(1): 35-49

McFarlane, C (2006b) “Crossing borders: development, learning and the North-South divide” Third World Quarterly 27(8): 1413- 1437

McGregor, A (2007) “Development, foreign aid and post-development in Timor-Leste” Third World Quarterly 28(1): 155-170

McGregor, A (2008) “Religious NGOs: opportunities for post-development?”, in Thornton, A and McGregor, A (Eds.) Southern perspectives on development: dialogue or division? Proceedings of the fifth biennial conference of the Aotearoa New Zealand International Development Studies Network (Devnet) Dunedin: University of Otago, pp165–184

McGregor, A (2009) "New Possibilities? Shifts in Post-Development Theory and Practice" Geography Compass 3(5): 1688–1702

McGregor, A (2010) "Geographies of religion and development - rebuilding sacred spaces in Aceh, Indonesia, after the tsunami" Environment and Planning A 42: 729-746

McIlwane, C (1998) "Civil society and development geography" Progress in Human Geography 22(3): 415-424

McIlwaine, C (2007) "From Local to Global to Transnational Civil Society: Re-Framing Development Perspectives on the Non-State Sector" Geography Compass 1: 1252–1281

McKinnon, K (2008) "Taking post-development theory to the field: issues in development research, Northern Thailand" Asia Pacific Viewpoint 49(3): 281–293

Mercer, C (2002) "NGOs, civil society and democratization: a critical review of the literature" Progress in Development Studies 2(1): 5-22

Mercer, C (2006) "Working with partners: NGOs and CBOs", in Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) Doing development research London: Sage, pp94-103

Mercer, C; Page, B and Evans, M (2008) Development and the African diaspora: place and the politics of home London: Zed

Merz, BJ; Chen, LC and Geithner, PF (Eds.) (2007) Diaspora and Development Cambridge, MA: The Global Equity Initiative

Mesbahuddin, T (2009) Religion in Development: An Islamic Model to Development Paper presented at Development Studies Association annual conference, Coleraine (02-04 Sept 2009)

Micklethwait, J and Wooldridge, A (2009) God Is Back: How the Global Rise of Faith is Changing the World London: Penguin

Mishra, P (2008a) "Mapping faith-based organisations at State level – a preliminary study of Bihar", in Religions and Development Research Programme (Eds.) India: Some Reviews of Literature Related to Religions and Development (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 10) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department, pp101-111

Mishra, U (2008b) "Some demographic aspects of the religious communities of India", in Religion and Development research programme (ed.) India: Some Reviews of Literature Related to Religions and Development (Religion and Development research programme Working Paper No. 10) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department, pp43-62

Mitlin, D; Hickey, S and Bebbington, A (2007) "Reclaiming Development? NGOs and the Challenge of Alternatives" World Development 35(10): 1699-1720

Mohammad, R (2001) "'Insiders' and/or 'outsiders': positionality, theory and practice", in Limb, C and Dwyer, M (Eds.) Qualitative methods for geographers: issues and debates London: Arnold, pp101-117

Mohan, A (2001) "Corporate Citizenship: Perspectives from India" Journal of Corporate Citizenship 2: 107-117

Mohan, G (2002) "The disappointments of civil society: the politics of NGO intervention in Northern Ghana" Political Geography 21: 25-54

Mohan, G (2004) "Embedded cosmopolitanism and the politics of obligation: the Ghanaian diaspora and development" Environment and Planning A 38(5): 867–883

Mohanty, M and Singh, AK (2001) Voluntarism and Government: Policy, Programme and Assistance Delhi: Voluntary Action Network India

Monsma, SV (2004) Putting Faith in Partnerships: Welfare-to-Work in Four Cities Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press

Moorhouse, G (1971) Calcutta: The City Revealed London: Phoenix (1998 edition)

Moreira-Almedia, A and Koenig, HG (2006) "Retaining the meaning of the words religiousness and spirituality: A commentary on the WHOQOL SRPB group's 'A cross-cultural study of spirituality, religion and personal beliefs as components of quality of life' (62:6, 2005, 1486-1497)" Social Science and Medicine 63(4): 843-845

Morse, S and McNamara, N (2006) "Analysing institutional partnerships in development: a contract between equals or a loaded process?" Progress in Development Studies 6(4); 321-336

Morse, S and McNamara, N (2008) "Creating a partnership: analysing partnership in the Catholic Church development chain" Area 40(1): 65-78

Mowles, C (2008) "Values in international development organisations: negotiating non-negotiables" Development in Practice 18(1): 5-16

Mullings, B (1999) "Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting" Geoforum 30(4): 337–350

Munck, R and O'Hearn, D (Eds.) (1999) Critical Development Theory: contributions to a new paradigm London: Zed Books

Musleah, EN (1961) 'India 1952-1960' in American Jewish Year Book 62: 377- 381

Mustafa, D (2005) "(Anti)Social capital in the production of an (un)civil society in Pakistan" Geographical Review 95: 328–347

Muzaffar, C (2003) "The Global Rich and the Global Poor: Seeking the middle path" Development 46(4): 29-34

Myers, GA (2008) "Sustainable Development and Environmental Justice in African Cities" Geography Compass 2(3): 695-70

N

Nag, S and Kumar, MS (2002) "Noble Savage to Gentlemen: Discourses of Civilisation and Missionary Modernity in Northeast India" Contemporary India 1(4): 113-128

Nair, P (2009a) The State and Madrassas in India (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 15) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Nair, P (2009b) Religious Political Parties and their Welfare Work: Relations between the RSS, the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Vidya Bharati Schools in India (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 37) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Najam, A (2007) Portrait of a Giving Community: Philanthropy by the Pakistani-American Diaspora Cambridge, MA: Global Equity Initiative

Nandy, A (1987) Traditions, Tyranny, and Utopias: Essays in the Politics of Awareness Delhi: Oxford University Press

Narayan, D; Chambers, R; Shah, MK and Petesch, P (2000) Voices of the Poor: Crying out for change Washington DC: World Bank

Närman, A and Simon, D (1999) "Introduction: Rethinking Development", in Simon, D and Närman, A (Eds.) Development as Theory and Practice: Current Perspectives on Development and Development Co-operation Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman, pp1-16

Ndiaye, N (2006) "Faith-based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors", in Proceedings of the Workshop "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors", May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp23-28

Neill, S (2nd ed. 1986) A History of Christian Missions London: Penguin

Nkurunziza, E (2007) An Overview of Development Studies: Background Paper (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 02) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Nordung, N (2009) The Role of Religion in Development Cooperation Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

Norgaard, RB (1994) Development Betrayed: The End of Progress and a Coevolutionary Revisioning of the Future London: Routledge

Nuesiri, E (2007) The cost of 'empathy' and its impact on 'giving back' to research participants Presentation at Royal Geographical Society with IBG Annual International Conference, London (29-31 August 2007)

Nuijten, M (2004) "The 'hope-generating machine' and the positionality of the anthropologist", in Giri, AK; Van Harskamp, A and Salemink, O (Eds.) The Development of Religion, The Religion of Development Delft, Netherlands: Eburon, pp51-58

Nussbaum, MC (2000) Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Nussbaum, MC and Sen, AK (Eds) (1993) The Quality of Life Oxford: Clarendon Press

O

O'Brien, J and Palmer, M (2006) The Atlas of Religion: Mapping contemporary challenges and beliefs London: Earthscan

Odumosu, O; Chete, L and Alonge, S (2010) Faith based organisations' participation in policy process in Nigeria Paper presented at 'Religion Shaping Development: inspirational, inhibiting, institutionalised?' conference, Birmingham (21-23 July 2010)

Odumosu, O; Olaniyi, R and Alonge, S (2009) Mapping the Activities of Faith-based Organizations in Development in Nigeria (Religions and Development Research Programme, Working Paper No. 38) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Oldfield, J (2006) Focus groups, interviews and life histories Presentation at 'Doing Development Dissertations' workshop, Cambridge (9 December 2006)

Olson, E (2006) "Development, transnational religion, and the power of ideas in the High Provinces of Cusco, Peru" Environment and Planning A 38(5): 885–902

Olson, E (2008) "Common belief, contested meanings: organisational culture in faith-based development" Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie 99(4): 393-405

Oxford English Dictionary online Faith Last accessed 13 August 2007

P

Panday, DR (2006) "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Faith Based Humanitarian Action: Issues Concerning the Recipients", in Proceedings of the Workshop "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors", May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp83-90

Pandey, JR (2006) "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Hindu and Buddhist Perspectives", in Proceedings of the Workshop "Religion, Politics, Conflict and Humanitarian Action: Faith-Based Organisations as Political, Humanitarian or Religious Actors", May 18-19 2005, Geneva, Switzerland

Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, pp51-61

Park, CC (1994) Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion London: Routledge

Partners in Change (2004) Third Report on Corporate Involvement in Social Development in India Delhi: Partners in Change

Patra, C (2007) "The Chinese Buddhist in Calcutta: their past and present" Attadeep (Journal of Garia Bauddha Sanskriti Sansad), pp248-284

Peach, C (2006) "Islam, ethnicity and South Asian religions in the London 2001 census" Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 31(3): 353-370

Pearson, R and Tomalin, E (2007) "Intelligent Design? A gender sensitive interrogation of religion and development", in Clarke, G; Jennings, M and Shaw, T (Eds.) Faith Matters: Development and the Complex World of Faith-Based Organisations Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp46-71

Pieterse, E (2008) City Futures: Confronting the crisis of urban development London: Zed Books

Pieterse, JN (1998) "My paradigm or yours? Alternative development, post-development, reflexive development" Development and Change 29: 343–373

Pieterse, JN (1999) "Critical holism and the Tao of development" European Journal of Development Research 11(1): 75–100

Pieterse, JN (2000) "After postdevelopment" Third World Quarterly 21(2): 175-191

Pieterse, JN (2001) Development Theory: Deconstructions/Reconstructions London: Sage

Pipes, PF and Ebaugh, HR (2002) "Faith-Based Coalitions, Social Services, and Government Funding" Sociology of Religion 63(1): 49-68

Pocock, M; Van Rheenen, G and McConnell, D (2005) The changing face of world missions: engaging contemporary issues and trends Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic

Pollard, J and Samers, M (2007) "Islamic banking and finance: postcolonial political economy and the decentring of economic geography" Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 32(3): 313-30

Pollard, J, McEwan, C, Laurie, N and Stenning, A (2009) "Economic geography under postcolonial scrutiny" Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 34: 137-142

Potter, RB (1993) "Little England and little geography: reflections on Third World teaching and research" Area 25(3): 291-294

PRIA (2001a) Legal Framework for Non-Profit Institutions in India (PRIA Working Paper No. 2) Baltimore: John Hopkins University / Delhi: PRIA

PRIA (2001b) Historical Background of the Nonprofit Sector in India (PRIA Working Paper No. 3) Baltimore: John Hopkins University / Delhi: PRIA

Proctor, JD (1998) "Ethics in geography: giving moral form to the geographical imagination" Area 30(1): 8-18

Proctor, JD and Smith, DM (Eds.) (1999) Geography and Ethics: Journeys in a Moral Terrain London: Routledge

Pye-Smith, C (1997) Rebels and Outcasts: A Journey Through Christian India London: Penguin

Q

Quarles Van Ufford, P; Giri, AK and Mosse, D (2003) "Interventions in development: Towards a new moral understanding of our experiences and an agenda for the future", in Quarles Van Ufford, P and Giri, AK (Eds.) A Moral Critique of Development: in search of global responsibilities London: Routledge, pp3-40

Quarles Van Ufford, P and Schoffeleers, M (1988) "Towards a rapprochement of anthropology and development studies", in Quarles Van Ufford, P and Schoffeleers, JM (Eds.) Religion and Development: towards an integrated approach Amsterdam: Free University Press, pp1-30

R

Radcliffe, SA (2004) "Geography of development: development, civil society and inequality – social capital is (almost) dead?" Progress in Human Geography 28(4): 517-527

Radcliffe, SA and Laurie, NA (2006) "Culture and development: taking culture seriously in development for Andean indigenous people" Environment and Planning D 24: 231-248

Raghuram, P and Madge, C (2006) "Towards a method for postcolonial development geography? Possibilities and challenges" Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 27(3): 270–288

Raghuram, P; Madge, C and Noxolo, P (2009) "Rethinking responsibility and care for a postcolonial world" Geoforum 40(1): 5-13

Rahmena, M and Bawtree, V (Eds.) (1997) The Postdevelopment Reader London: Zed Books

Rai, R and Reeves, P (Eds.) (2009) The South Asian diaspora: Transnational networks and changing identities London: Routledge

Rakodi, C (2007) Understanding the Roles of Religions in Development: the Approach of the RaD Programme (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 9) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Ramsay, Z (2010) Religious and spiritual capital in Buddhist faith-based development: evidence from India Paper presented at 'Religion Shaping Development: inspirational, inhibiting, institutionalised?' conference, Birmingham (21-23 July 2010)

Rapley, J (2004) "Development studies and the postdevelopment critique" Progress in Development Studies 4(4): 350-354

Ray, D (2005) The Parsees of Calcutta Kolkata: Sujan Publications

Reinikka, R and Svensson, J (2003) Working for God? Evaluating Service Delivery of Religious Not-for-profit Health Care Providers in Uganda (World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3058) Washington: World Bank

Rheault, M (2008) "Few Urban Congolese Have Confidence in Institutions" Gallup News (16.05.08)

Rice, G (2010) "Reflections on interviewing elites" Area 42(1): 70–75

Rist, G (1997) The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith London: Zed Books

Roberts, J (2000) Abdul's Taxi to Kalighat: Impressions of Calcutta London: Profile Books

Robinson, J (2006) Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development London: Routledge

Rondinelli, D (1990) "Decentralization, Territorial Power and the State: A Critical Response" Development and Change 21(3): 491-500

Rose, G (1997) "Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics" Progress in Human Geography 21(3): 305-320

Ross Carter, J (1992) "Religion and the Imperatives for Development" Marga 12(3): 15–22

Russell, J (2009) "The Geopolitics of Terrorism: Russia's Conflict with Islamic Extremism" Eurasian Geography and Economics 50(2): 184-196

S

Sachs, W (Ed.) (1992) The Development Dictionary London: Zed Books

Said, E (1978) Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient London: Penguin (1995 edition)

Said, E (1993) Culture and Imperialism London: Vintage (1994 edition)

Salemink, O (2004) "Development cooperation as quasi-religious conversion", in Giri, AK; Van Harskamp, A and Salemink, O (Eds.) The Development of Religion, The Religion of Development Delft: Eburon, pp121-130

Sampradaan Indian Centre for Philanthropy (2004) A Review of Charities Administration in India Delhi: Planning Commission, Government of India

Sanderson, E (2007) "The Challenge of Placing Spirituality within Geographies of Development" Geography Compass 1(3): 389–404

Scheyvens, H and Nowak, B (2003) "Families and partners in the field", in Scheyvens, R and Story, D (Eds.) Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide London: Sage, pp109-111

Schumacher, EF (1973) Small Is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered London: Blond and Briggs

Schuurman, FJ (1993) Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory London: Zed Books

Schuurman, FJ (2002) "The impasse in development studies", in Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) The Companion to Development Studies London: Arnold, pp12-15

Schuurman, F (2009) "Critical Development Theory: moving out of the twilight zone**"** Third World Quarterly 30(5): 831-848

Scott, JC (1990) Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Search for Common Ground (2002) Finding common ground: 29 recommendations of the Working Group of Human Needs and Faith-Based and Community Initiatives Washington DC: Consensus Council Inc.

Seidlitz, L; Abernethy, AD; Duberstein, PR; Evinger, JS; Chang, TH and Lewis, BL (2002) "Development of the Spiritual Transcendence Index" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 41(3): 439-453

Selinger, L (2004) "The Forgotten Factor: The Uneasy Relationship between Religion and Development" Social Compass 51(4): 523-543

Sen, A (1985) Commodities and Capabilities Oxford: Oxford University Press

Sen, A (1999) Development as Freedom Oxford: Oxford University Press

Sen, A (2005) The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian Culture, History and Identity London: Penguin

Sen, G and Grown, C (1987) Development Crises and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives New York: Monthly Review Press

Sen, S (1993) Defining the Nonprofit Sector: India (Working Paper of The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector project No. 12) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Institute for Policy Studies

Sen-Majumdar, G (2007) "Buddhism in Ancient Bengal as known from Chinese sources", in Barua, BP (Ed.) Buddhism in Bengal Kolkata: All India Federation of Bengali Buddhists, pp25-33

Shah, R; Larbi, G and Batley, R (2007) Religion and Public Management Literature Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 01) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Sheringham, O (2010) “Creating ‘Alternative Geographies’: Religion, Transnationalism and Everyday Life” Geography Compass 4(11): 1678-1694

Shiveshwarkar, S (2004) Mapping for Diaspora Investment in the Social Development Sector in India Delhi: Charities Aid Foundation

Shiveshwarkar, S (2008) Country Report: India (Background paper for ‘Diaspora Giving: An Agent of Change in Asia Pacific Communities’ conference) Quezon City, Philippines: Asia Pacific Philanthropy Consortium

Short, C (2003) “After September 11: What global development challenges lie ahead”, in Marshall, K and Marsh, R (Eds.) Millennium challenges for development and faith institutions Washington DC: The World Bank, pp3-11

Shukla, A (2010) “First official estimate: An NGO for every 400 people in India” Indian Express (07 July 2010), p1-2

Sidaway, JD (1992) “In other worlds: On the politics of research by ‘First World’ geographers in the ‘Third World’” Area 24(4): 403-408

Sidaway, JD (2002) “Post-development”, in Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) The Companion to Development Studies London: Arnold, pp16-20

Sidaway, JD (2007) “Spaces of postdevelopment” Progress in Human Geography 31(3): 345-361

Siddiqui, MKA (1997) Institutions and Associations of the Muslims in Calcutta Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies

Siddiqui, MKA (2004) Voluntary Associations of the Muslims in Kolkata Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies

Siddiqui, MKA (3rd ed. 2005) Muslims of Calcutta Kolkata: Anthropological Survey of India

Sider, RJ and Unruh, HR (2004) “Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs” Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly 33(1): 109-134

Silk, J (1998) “Caring at a Distance” Ethics, Place and Environment 1(2): 165-182

Silk, J (2000) “Caring at a Distance: (Im)partiality, Moral Motivation and the Ethics of Representation – Introduction” Ethics, Place and Environment 3(3): 303-322

Silk, J (2004) “Caring at a distance: gift theory, aid chains and social movements” Social and Cultural Geography 5(2): 229–251

Silliman, J (2001) Jewish Portraits, Indian Frames Kolkata: Seagull Books

Simon, D (1992) Cities, Capital and Development: African Cities in the World Economy London: Belhaven Press

Simon, D (1997) “Development reconsidered: new directions in development thinking” Geografisker Annaler B 77(4): 183-201

Simon, D (1998) “Rethinking (post)modernism, postcolonialism and posttraditionalism: South-North perspectives” Environment and Planning D 16(2): 219-245

Simon, D (1999) “Development revisited: thinking about, practising and teaching development studies after the Cold War”, in Simon, D and Närman, A (Eds.) Development as Theory and Practice Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman, pp17-54

Simon, D (2003) “Dilemmas of development and the environment in a globalising world: theory, policy and praxis” Progress in Development Studies 3(1): 5-41

Simon, D (2006) “Separated by Common Ground? Bringing (post)development and (post)colonialism together” Geographical Journal 172(1): 10-21

Simon, D (2007) “Beyond antidevelopment: discourses, convergences, practices” Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 28: 205-218

Simon, D; McGregor, DFM; Nsiah-Gyabaah, K and Thompson, DA (2003) “Poverty elimination, North-South research collaboration, and the politics of participatory development” Development in Practice 12(3-4): 338-345

Simpson, K (2004) “'Doing development': The gap year, volunteer-tourists and a popular practice of development” Journal of International Development 16: 681-692

Simpson, K (2005) “Dropping out or signing up? The professionalisation of youth travel” Antipode 37: 447-469

Sin, CH (2003) “Interviewing in ‘place’: the socio-spatial construction of interview data” Area 35(3): 305-312

Singh, G; Marquette, H and Alolo, NA (2007) Political Science, Religion and Development: A Literature Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 07) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Singh, P (2006) “Sikh Dharam”, in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp131-148

Singh, RPB (1999) “Rethinking Development in India: perspective, crisis and prospects”, in Simon, D and Närman, A (Eds.) Development as Theory and Practice Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman, pp55-75

Singh, RPB (2006) “Pilgrimage in Hinduism: Historical Context and Perspectives” in Timothy, DJ and Olsen DH (Eds.) Tourism, Religion, and Spiritual Journeys London: Routledge, pp220-236

Singh, RS and Singh RPB (2010) Sacred Geography of the Goddesses in Kashi, India Paper presented at European Association of South Asian Studies conference, Bonn (26-29 July)

Singh Roy, A (2007) “Punjabi community of Kolkata” Kolkata Mirror (09 November 2007)

Skelton, T (2001) “Cross-cultural research: issues of power, positionality and ‘race’”, in Limb, C and Dwyer, M (Eds.) Qualitative methods for geographers: issues and debates London: Arnold, pp87-100

Slater, D (1989) “Territorial Power and the Peripheral State: The issue of Decentralisation” Development and Change 20(3): 501-531

Slater, D (1990) “Debating Decentralisation – A Reply to Rondinelli” Development and Change 21(3): 501-512

Slater, D (2004) Geopolitics and the Post-colonial: Rethinking North-South Relations Oxford: Blackwell

Smith, DM (1994) “On professional responsibility to distant others” Area 26(4): 359-367

Smith, DM (1998) “How far should we care? On the spatial scope of beneficence” Progress in Human Geography 22(1): 5-38

Smith, DM (2000) Moral geographies: ethics in a world of difference Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Smith, KE (2006) “Problematising power relations in ‘elite’ interviews” Geoforum 37(4): 643-653

Smith, SH (2009) “The Domestication of Geopolitics: Buddhist-Muslim Conflict and the Policing of Marriage and the Body in Ladakh, India” Geopolitics 14(2): 197-218

Smith, SR and Sosin, MR (2001) “The Varieties of Faith-Related Agencies” Public Administration Review 61(6): 651–670

Söderström, O (2006) “Studying cosmopolitan landscapes” Progress in Human Geography 30: 553–58

Soedjatmoko, KC (1994) “Religion and Progress”, in Newland, K and Soedjatmoko, KC (Eds.) Transforming Humanity: The Visionary Writings of Soedjatmoko. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, pp159-185

Sood, A and Arora, B (2006) The Political Economy of Corporate Responsibility in India (Technology, Business and Society Programme, Paper No. 18) Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

Sopher, DE (1967) Geography of religions Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Spivak, GC (2008) Other Asias Oxford: Wiley Blackwell

Srivastava, SS and Tandon, R (2002) Invisible, Yet Widespread: The Non-Profit Sector in India Delhi: PRIA

Srivastava, SS; Tandon, R and Gupta, SK (2002) Exploring the Non Profit Sector in India: Some Glimpses from West Bengal (PRIA Working Paper No. 6) Baltimore: John Hopkins University / Delhi: PRIA

Srivastava, SS; Tandon, R; Gupta, SK and Dwivedi, SK (2003) Dimensions of Giving and Volunteering in West Bengal (PRIA Working Paper No. 7) Baltimore: John Hopkins University / Delhi: PRIA

Stake, RE (2nd ed. 2000) “Case Studies”, in Denzin, NK and Lincoln, YS (Eds.) Handbook of Qualitative Research London: Sage, pp435-454

Starrs, PF with Starrs CF, Starrs, GI and Huntsinger, L (2001) “Fieldwork...with family” Geographical Review 91(1-2): 74-87

Stirrat, R (2006) “Competitive humanitarianism: relief and the tsunami in Sri Lanka” Anthropology Today 22(5): 11-16

Streeten, P (1974) “The concept of ‘alternatives’: alternatives in development World Development 2(2): 5-8

Stump, RW (2008) The geography of religion: faith, place and space Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield

Sundar, P (2000) Beyond Business: From Merchant Charity to Corporate Citizenship, Indian Business Philanthropy through the Ages Mumbai: Tata-McGraw Hill

T

Taft Morris, C and Adelman, I (1980) “The Religious Factor in Economic Development” World Development 8(7-8): 491–502

Tandon, R and Mohanty, R (2003) Does civil society matter? Governance in contemporary India Delhi: Sage

Tatla, DS (2008) Sikhism and Development: A Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 21) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Tatla, DS (2010) “New forms of religious transnationalism and development initiatives: a case study of Dera Sant Sarwan Dass, Ballan, Punjab, India” Paper presented at ‘Religion Shaping Development: inspirational, inhibiting, institutionalised?’ conference, Birmingham (21-23 July 2010)

Taylor, PJ (2004) “The new geography of global civil society: NGOs in the world city network” Globalizations 1(2): 265-277

Taylor, PJ (2005) “New political geographies: Global civil society and global governance through world city networks” Political Geography 24(6): 703-730

Tembo, F (2003) “Multiple Identities and Representations: Experiences in the Study of People's Life-worlds in Rural Malawi” Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography 24(2): 229–241

Ter Haar, G and Ellis, S (2006) “The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New relationship between the European Union and Africa” European Journal of Development Research 18(3): 351–367

Thangaraj, MT (2006) “Indian Christian Tradition”, in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp185-198

Thomas FC (1999) Calcutta: the human face of poverty Delhi: Penguin India

Thomas, DSG and Twyman, C (2005) "Equity and justice in climate change adaptation amongst natural-resource-dependent societies" Global Environmental Change 15(2): 115-124

Thurston, A and de la Mata, V (2009) Faith-Inspired Organizations and Global Development Policy: A Background Review "Mapping" Social and Economic Development Work in Europe and Africa Washington DC: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs

Tinbergen, J (1989) "Development Cooperation and Religion", in Augustine, JS (Ed.) Strategies for Third World Development New Delhi: Sage Publications India, pp11-15

Tomalin, E (2006) "Religion and a rights-based approach to development" Progress in Development Studies 6(2): 93-108

Tomalin, E (2007a) Gender Studies Approaches to the Relationships between Religion and Development (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 08) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Tomalin, E (2007b) Religious Studies and Development: A Literature Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 06) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Tomalin, E (2007c) Sociology, Religion and Development: Literature Review (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 04) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Tomalin, E (2007d) Buddhism and Development: A Background Paper (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 18) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Tomalin, E (2nd ed. 2008) "Faiths and Development", in Desai and Potter (Eds.) The Companion to Development Studies London: Hodder Arnold, pp485-489

Tomalin, E (2009) Hinduism and International Development: Religions and Development Background Paper (Religions and Development Research Programme Working Paper No. 19) Birmingham: University of Birmingham, International Development Department

Tooke, J (2000) "Betweenness at work" Area 32(2): 217–223

Townsend, J; Porter, G and Mawdsley, E (2002) "The role of the transnational community of development non-governmental organizations: governance or poverty reduction?" Journal of International Development 14: 829-39

Tribe, M and Sumner, A (2004) The Nature of Development Studies: An Exploration from the Standpoint of the British-Irish Development Studies Association Paper presented at the Development Studies Association annual conference, London (06 Nov 2004)

Tucker, V (1997) "Introduction: A Cultural Perspective on Development", in Tucker, V (Ed.) Cultural Perspectives on Development London: Frank Cass, pp1-21

Tully, M (1991) No Full Stops in India London: Penguin

Tully, M (2007) India's Unending Journey: Finding Balance in a Time of Change London: Rider Books

Twyman, C; Morrison, J and Sporton, D (1999) "The final fifth: autobiography, reflexivity and interpretation in cross-cultural research" Area 31(4): 313–325

Tyndale, W (1998) Key Issues for Development: A discussion paper for the contribution by the World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD) to the World Bank's *World Development Report 2001* (Occasional Paper No. 1) Oxford: World Faiths Development Dialogue

Tyndale, W (Ed.) (2001) World Faiths Development Dialogue: Exploring a Dialogue – A report on progress July 1998 to December 2000 Oxford: World Faiths Development Dialogue

Tyndale, W (2002) "Faith and Economics in 'Development': A Bridge Across the Chasm?", in Eade, D (Ed.) Development and Culture (Development in Practice Book Series) Oxford: Oxfam, pp45-59

Tyndale, W (2003) "Idealism and Practicality: The role of religion in development" Development 46(4): 22-28

Tyndale, W (2006) (Ed.) Visions of Development: Faith-based initiatives Aldershot: Ashgate

U

Unruh, HR (2004) "Religious Elements of Church-Based Social Service Programs: Types, Variables and Integrative Strategies" Review of Religious Research 45(4): 317-335

Uppal, JS (1986) "Hinduism and Economic Development in South Asia" International Journal of Social Economics 13(3): 20–33

V

Vallely, A (2006) "Jaina Dharma", in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp87-101

Vanderwoerd, JR (2004) "How faith-based social service organizations manage secular pressures associated with government funding" Nonprofit Management and Leadership 14(3): 239-262

Van Harskamp, A (2004) "Introduction", p1-6 in Giri, AK; Van Harskamp, A and Salemink, O (Eds.) The Development of Religion, The Religion of Development Delft, Netherlands: Eburon

Van Kessel, J and Droogers, A (1988) "Secular views and sacred vision: sociology of development and the significance of religion in Latin America", in Quarles Van Ufford, P and Schoffeleers, JM (Eds.) Religion and Development: towards an integrated approach Amsterdam: Free University Press, pp53-71

Van Rooy, A (2002) "Strengthening civil society in developing countries", in Desai, V and Potter, RB (Eds.) The Companion to Development Studies London: Arnold, pp489-495

Varma, PK (2005) Being Indian: Inside the Real India London: William Heinemann

Vatin, M (Ed.) (1991) Calcutta Hong Kong: APA Publications

Vaz, V (2002) Asset-Based Community Development: Spirituality as an Asset Independent study Available online at: http://people.stfx.ca/gcunning/ABCD&Spirituality.doc

Veeck, G (2001) "Talk is cheap: cultural and linguistic fluency during field research" Geographical Review 91(1/2): 34-40

Ver Beek, KA (2002) "Spirituality: A Development Taboo", in Eade, D (Ed.) Development and Culture Oxford: Oxfam, pp60-77

Verhelst, T and Tyndale, W (2002) "Cultures, spirituality, and development", in Eade, D (Ed.) Development and Culture Oxford: Oxfam, pp1-24

Villumstad, S (2002) Frameworks for dialogue: Interfaith action in times of conflict (Occasional Paper) Uppsala, Sweden: Life and Peace Institute

Viswanath, P (2000) Diaspora Philanthropy and Non-Resident Indians in the US Delhi: Charities Aid Foundation, India

Viswanath, P (2003) Diaspora Indians – On the Philanthropy Fast-Track Mumbai: Centre for Advancement of Philanthropy

Viswanath, P (2008) Diaspora Philanthropy to the Asia-Pacific Presentation at 'Diaspora Giving: An Agent of Change in Asia Pacific Communities?' conference, Hanoi (21-23 May 2008)

W

Wahid, A (1985) “Religion, Ideology, and Development” Archipel: etudes interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien 30: 263–74

Walker, M; Roberts, SM; Jones, JP and Fröhling, O (2008) “Neoliberal development through technical assistance: Constructing communities of entrepreneurial subjects in Oaxaca, Mexico” Geoforum 39(1): 527-542

Ward, B and Dubos, R (1972) Only One Earth. The Care and Maintenance of a Small Planet New York: WW Norton

Watson, EE (2004) “'What a dolt one is': language learning and fieldwork in geography” Area 36(1): 59–68

Watts, M (1995) “A new deal in emotions: theory and practice and the crisis of development”, in Crush, J (Ed.) The Power of Development London: Routledge, pp44–62

Weber, M (1904/05 in German; 1930 in English) The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

Weil, S (2006) “Indian Judaic Tradition”, in Mittal, S and Thursby, G (Eds.) Religions of South Asia: An Introduction Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, pp169-183

White, SC and Tiongco, R (1997) Doing Theology and Development: meeting the challenge of poverty Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press

WHOQOL SRPB Group (2006) “A cross-cultural study of spirituality, religion, and personal beliefs as components of quality of life” Social Science and Medicine 62(2): 1486-1497

Widdowfield, R (2000) “The place of emotion in academic research” Area 32(2): 199-208

Wilber, CK and Jameson, KP (1980) “Religious Values and Social Limits to Development” World Development 8(7–8): 467–79

Williams, G and Mawdsley, E (2006) “Postcolonial environmental justice: Government and governance in India” Geoforum 37(5): 660-670

Williams, JR (1984) “Religion, ethics, and development: an analysis of the Sarvodaya Shramadana movement of Sri Lanka” Canadian Journal of Development Studies 5(1): 157-167

Williams, R (2009) New Perspectives on Faith and Development Closing keynote address of ‘New Perspectives on Faith and Development’ seminar series, London (12 Nov 2009)
Available online at http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/2605

Winchester, S and Winchester, R (2004) Simon Winchester's Calcutta Footscray, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications

Winkler, T (2008) “When God and Poverty Collide: Exploring the Myths of Faith Sponsored Community Development” Urban Studies 45(10): 2099-2116

Wolfensohn, JD (2004) Millennium Challenges for Faith and Development Third Annual Richard W Snowdon Lecture at the Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington (30 March 2004)

Wolpert, S (2006) Shameful Flight: The Last Years of the British Empire in India New York: Oxford University Press

Wood, M (2007) The Story of India London: BBC Books

World Health Organisation (2010) WHO-CIFA Consultation: NGO Mapping Standards – Describing Religious Health Assets Geneva, Switzerland: WHO

Wuthnow, R; Hackett, C and Yang Hsu, B (2004) “The Effectiveness and Trustworthiness of Faith-Based and Other Service Organizations: A Study of Recipients' Perceptions” Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 43(1): 1–17

X-Y-Z

Yarrow, T (2008) “Life/history: personal narratives of development amongst NGO workers and activists in Ghana” Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute 78(3): 334-358

Yeoh, B (2004) “Cosmopolitanism and its exclusions in Singapore” Urban Studies 41: 2431–45

Yin, RK (4th ed. 2009) Case Study Research: Design and Methods Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Yorgason, E and della Dora, V (2009) “Editorial: Geography, religion, and emergent paradigms: problematising the dialogue” Social and Cultural Geography 10(6): 629-637

Ziai, A (2004) “The ambivalence of post-development: between reactionary populism and radical democracy” Third World Quarterly 25(6): 1045–1060

Websites

Alliance of Religions and Conservation
http://www.arcworld.org/
Last accessed 07 June 2010

Alliance of Religions and Conservation
"UNDP-ARC collaboration on climate change"
http://www.arcworld.org/news.asp?pageID=249
Last accessed 21 July 2010

Arbeitskreis Religionsgeographie in der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Geographie
"Religionsgeographische Literatur ab 2006"
http://www.religionsgeographie.de/literatur.htm
Last accessed 17 March 2010

Asian Faiths Development Dialogue
http://www.afdd.org.kh/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Baha'is of India
http://www.bahaindia.org/
Last accessed 20 February 2010

Catchcal website
"People of Calcutta"
http://www.catchcal.com/kaleidoscope/people.asp
Last accessed 15 February 2010

Census of India 2001
Government of India, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner
http://www.censusindia.gov.in/
Last accessed 19 November 2009

Center for Interfaith Action on Global Poverty
http://www.centerforinterfaithaction.org/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

CIFA Global Initiative for Faith, Health and Development 2010
http://www.cifa.org/initiatives/the-global-initiative-for-faith-health-and-development-2010.html
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Cordoba Initiative
http://www.cordobainitiative.org/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Council of 100 Leaders
http://www2.weforum.org/en/initiatives/c100/index.html
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Damodar Valley Corporation
Social Integration Programme
http://www.dvcindia.org/communitysip.htm
Last accessed 12 July 2010

Dhapa (Kolkata Chinese Community blog)
http://www.dhapa.com/
Last accessed 16 February 2010

Diaspora Cities project
"Diaspora Cities: Imagining Calcutta in London, Toronto and Jerusalem"
http://www.geog.qmul.ac.uk/diasporacities/
Last accessed 15 May 2010

Forum on Religion and Ecology
http://fore.research.yale.edu/publications/books/book_series/cswr/
Last accessed 07 June 2010

Idealist
http://www.idealist.org/
Last accessed 23 April 2009

IndianNGOs
http://www.indianngos.com/
Last accessed 23 April 2009

Jewish Encyclopaedia
"Calcutta"
http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/view.jsp?artid=40&letter=C
Last accessed 19 February 2010

Karmayog
http://www.karmayog.org/
Last accessed 23 April 2009

Kenniscentrum Religie en Ontwikkeling
http://www.religie-en-ontwikkeling.nl/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Medindia
http://www.medindia.net/
Last accessed 23 April 2009

Methodist Central Halls: Public Sacred Space
http://www.methodistcentrahalls.webeden.co.uk/
Last accessed 25 June 2010

NGOsIndia
http://www.ngosindia.com/
Last accessed 23 April 2009

NGO Partnership System
Planning Commission of India
http://ngo.india.gov.in/
Last accessed 04 June 2010

Oxford Poverty and Human Development Institute
http://www.ophi.org.uk/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

ProPoor
http://www.propoor.org/
Last accessed 23 April 2009

Queer Spiritual Spaces project
"An investigation into the practices of non-hegemonic queer spiritual communities using case studies"
AHRC/ESRC Religion and Society funded project
http://www.queerspiritualspaces.com/
Last accessed 25 June 2010

Religion and Development
http://www.religion-and-development.nl/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Religion and Global Development Program
Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, Georgetown University
http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/programs/religion-and-global-development
Last accessed 21 July 2010

Religions and Development Research Programme
DFID funded research consortium
http://www.rad.bham.ac.uk/
Last accessed 21 July 2010

Spiritual Capital Research Program
http://www.spiritualcapitalresearchprogram.com/about_overview.asp
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Tony Blair Faith Foundation
http://tonyblairfaithfoundation.org
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Tony Blair Faith Foundation – Faiths Act programme
http://www.tonyblairfaithfoundation.org/pages/faiths-act1/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

United Nations - NGO Committee on Spirituality, Values and Global Concerns
http://www.csvgc-ny.org/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

USAID – Center for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives
http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/global_partnerships/fbci/index.html
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Voluntary Organisation Database
http://pcserver.nic.in/ngo
Last accessed 23 April 2009

Wellbeing in Development
http://www.welldev.org.uk/
Last accessed 03 July 2010

Wikipedia
“Chinese community in Kolkata”
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_community_in_Kolkata
Last accessed 16 February 2010

Wikipedia
“History of the Jews in India”
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Jews_in_India
Last accessed 19 February 2010

Wikipedia
“Parsi”
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parsi
Last accessed 18 February 2010

WiserEarth
http://www.wiserearth.org/
Last accessed 23 April 2009

World Bank – Development Dialogue on Values and Ethics
http://go.worldbank.org/DIHJG5VI70
Last accessed 28 June 2010

World Bank – Faiths and Environment
http://go.worldbank.org/KD2SDTSLV0
Last accessed 28 June 2010

World Conference on Religion and Peace
http://www.religionsforpeace.org/initiatives/
Last accessed 28 June 2010

World Council of Churches document archive
http://www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/wcc-programmes/public-witness-addressing-power-affirming-peace/poverty-wealth-and-ecology/trade.html
Last accessed 28 June 2010

World Faiths Development Dialogue
http://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/wfdd
Last accessed 28 June 2010

Youth and Religion project
"Marginalized Spiritualities: faith and religion among young people in socially deprived Britain"
AHRC/ESRC Religion and Society funded project
http://www.youthandreligion.org.uk/
Last accessed 25 June 2010

Youth on Religion project
"Negotiating Identity: young people's perspectives on faith values, community norm and social cohesion"
AHRC/ESRC Religion and Society funded project
http://www.brunel.ac.uk/about/acad/health/healthres/youthonreligion
Last accessed 25 June 2010

Appendices

APPENDIX A – Methodological approaches adopted for studying religious organisations

This appendix gives details of the methodological approaches used in other studies of religious organisations engaged in social welfare and development which were reviewed before choosing my own methodology (see Section 4.1). Seven particularly interesting examples are given in chronological order of publication.

Author(s) and date	Research aim	Organisation type	Geographical scale	Size of study	Methodology
Pipes and Ebaugh (2002)	Understanding the nature of faith-based coalitions	Providing social services	Harris County (including Houston), Texas, USA	14 coalitions	• Elite interviews with executive directors in two phases (2nd round after 2 year interval) • Additional interviews with other staff • Analysis of organisational documentation (statistics and budget reports)
Ebaugh *et al* (2003)	Comparing organisational characteristics of faith-based and secular agencies	Providing services to the homeless	Houston, Texas, USA	85 organisations	• Survey of executive directors • Analysis of organisational documentation (mission statements) • Statistical analysis
Foster (2004)	Investigating different types of religious organisation	Supporting orphans and vulnerable children affected by AIDS	Six countries in Africa (Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda and Swaziland)	690 organisations	• Interviews with organisation representatives • Focus groups with beneficiaries • Focus groups with key informants
Vanderwoerd (2004)	Examining the influence of government funding on faith-based organisations	Providing social services	American Midwest, USA	2 organisations	• Elite interviews with organisation leaders and other senior members • Focus groups with mid-level and direct service-level staff • Observation (meetings, workshops etc) • Analysis of organisational documents and archives
Wuthnow *et al* (2004)	Investigating the reasons why beneficiaries choose particular organisations for assistance, including perceptions of effectiveness and trustworthiness	Providing services to support people from low-income communities	Lehigh Valley, Pennsylvania, USA	25 organisations, over 2,000 adults	• Telephone survey • Statistical analysis
Jodhka and Bora (2009)	Mapping the characteristics and activities of faith-based organisations	Development	Two cities in Maharashtra, India (Pune and Nagpur)	133 organisations	• Interviews with organisational representatives
Kroessin (2009)	Identifying what information is in the public realm about Muslim NGOs	Relief and development	UK	56 organisations	• Search directories and registers of organisations • Organisational information from websites and brochures • Two workshops with organisational representatives

APPENDIX B – Profile of interviewees

Although my interviewees were labelled as ‘organisational elites’ they were by no means a coherent or homogenous group of people with similar characteristics (see Section 4.3.2). This appendix gives an overview of the diversity within the interviewee group. It is significant because different professional and personal characteristics may have influenced data collection and positionality.

Organisational position

Of the 78 organisational interviewees, 35 were the most senior person of the organisation such as the Director, Manager or General Secretary, in most cases this being a paid post but in a few cases honorary. Eighteen interviewees were senior or ordinary members of staff within the organisation, mostly in a paid capacity, while two were voluntary workers. Eleven interviewees were Trustees of the organisation, i.e. serving in an honorary capacity in roles including President and Chairperson, and a further five interviewees were members of the organisation’s managing committee or executive committee serving in an honorary capacity. Five interviewees were religious persons such as monks, nuns and priests serving within an organisation and a further two were ordinary members of the religious community. In all, 62 of the 78 organisational interviewees were lay and 16 ordained as priests, ministers, monks or nuns. It is also worth noting that for one-quarter of organisations (12 out of 50), the interviewee was the person or member of the group that founded the organisation.

Gender, age and nationality

Of the 89 interviewees, two-thirds (60) were male and one-third (29) female. When sorted by age group, interviewees ranged from thirties to eighties, with two-thirds in their forties and fifties. Those in their thirties and forties tended to be staff members; those in their fifties and sixties tended to be in senior leadership roles such as Director or President reflecting the fact that they were at a mature stage of their career; and many of those in their seventies and eighties were the additional interviewees. The majority of interviewees were Indian by nationality (77 out of 89). There were also three Americans (one of whom was a Non-Resident Indian), two Sri Lankans, and one each from Bangladesh, China, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Korea, and Taiwan.

Levels of spoken English

The capabilities of the interviewees in English comprehension and speaking varied greatly. I created a five-point scale to denote their abilities. Forty-five of the 89 interviewees were classified as ‘fully competent’ and a further 26 ‘good to very good’ in English. These mainly comprised English-educated Indians and native English speakers (e.g. Irish and Americans) but a few had learned English after their lengthy immersion in an English-speaking environment. In these interviews no translation was required. Nine interviewees had ‘poor to moderate’ capability in English and in these cases questions had to be simplified and the depth of investigation was not as great as desired. Six interviewees had ‘very limited’ English and three no English knowledge at all so an interpreter was required. In total, an interpreter was present in eight of the 67 interview events. In some cases this was the intermediary person who had set up the interview; in other cases it was a fellow interviewee. Three interviews were translated from Bengali, three cases from Mandarin, one from Hindi and one from Punjabi.

Educational and professional background

Being elites, many interviewees were highly educated. At least ten interviewees had PhDs in subjects ranging from Electrical Engineering, Zoology and Anthropology, to Comparative Religion, Modern History and Forestry. Many had achieved levels of distinction in their careers across the public, private and third sectors. I collected as much biographical information as possible about the professional background of interviewees throughout their careers and found that of the 89 people:

- Ten had worked in the public sector – including the civil service, parliament, government agencies and army.
- Seventeen had worked in the private sector – ranging from the steel, tea and leather industries, to the hospitality, media and airline sectors.
- Eighteen had worked in the education sector – including school teachers, college and university lecturers, and research academics.
- Ten had worked in the NGO sector.
- Sixteen had previously worked for other religious organisations.
- Twenty-two had some involvement with another religious organisation (other than the one being interviewed about), for example as a volunteer, office bearer or member.

While some interviewees had spent 20, 30 or even 40 years with just one religious organisation, others had a voluntary association with a religious organisation alongside a career in a completely different field, and yet others had a varied career history across several sectors. This diversity shows that people from very varied professional backgrounds are involved in religious organisations.

Religious affiliation

Just four of the interviewees did not share a personal religious affiliation with the organisation they worked for or the religious community they were speaking for: the Headmistress of a Jewish school was Hindu; the Assistant Director of a Jain programme was Hindu; the Director of a Sikh hospital was Hindu; and a Project Manager for a Hindu organisation was Roman Catholic.

APPENDIX C – Interview schedule

This appendix shows the list of questions prepared for organisational interviews (see Section 4.3.3). I adopted a semi-structured approach to interviewing, whereby I guided the conversation around each topic rather than asking each question in turn. See also Sections 1.4.2 and 1.4.3 regarding my flexible usage of the terms 'faith-based organisation' and 'religious organisation', as well as 'development' and social work'.

INTERVIEWEE DETAILS

- Name
- Gender
- Age
- Organisation
- Position
- Religious affiliation of organisation
- Personal religious affiliation
- Date of interview
- Place of interview

PART 1 – OWN ORGANISATION

For how long have you been involved in this religious organisation and in what capacity?

At what level does the organisation operate – local, regional, national, international?

Overall picture of your organisation's work in Kolkata
- Date of origin
- Approach to development
- Activities
- Size (e.g. number of staff, number of beneficiaries)
- Geographical scale of operation

Specifics about the religious dimension of the organisation
- What is the religious motivation for the organisation being engaged in development?
- Are there any particular scriptures or religious principles/precepts which inspire the organisation?
- Does the motto or mission statement of the organisation make explicit reference to religion?
- Are the staff members (and volunteers, if applicable) of the same religion? If yes, is this a requirement for employment?
- Are the organisation's activities targeted at people of the same religion or is it open to people regardless of religion?
- Does the organisation engage in any activities of a religious nature (e.g. worship, prayer, festivals, dissemination of literature, evangelism)?
- What are the main sources of funding for the organisation? How much (or what proportion) does it receive from each source?

Overall, would the organisation regard itself as a religious organisation?

PART 2 – ORGANISATIONS OF THE SAME RELIGION

What is your impression of the involvement of other [*Hindu / Christian / Muslim etc – insert as appropriate*] organisations in development in Kolkata?

Does your organisation work with other [*Hindu / Christian / Muslim etc – insert as appropriate*] organisations?

- If yes: why, which organisations, in what capacity and since when?
- If no: why not?

More generally, what do you think is the level of cooperation in Kolkata between [*Hindu / Christian / Muslim etc – insert as appropriate*] organisations for development?

PART 3 – ORGANISATIONS OF OTHER RELIGIONS

What is your personal opinion about interfaith cooperation, and more specifically about interfaith cooperation for development?

What is your own organisation's attitude towards interfaith cooperation? Is it, or has it, ever been involved with organisations of other religions for development?

- If yes: why, which organisations and what was the nature of the involvement?
- If no: why not?

Are you aware of the development activities undertaken by organisations of other religions?

- Which organisations are you aware of?
- How detailed is your knowledge of them?

How would you assess the relative contribution of the different religions to development?

Which of the following words would you use to describe interaction between religious organisations in Kolkata that are engaged in development?

- Collaborative
- Complementarity
- Competitive
- Conflicting
- Ignorant co-existence

Does your organisation interact with secular organisations involved in development? If yes, which organisations and what is the nature of the involvement?

Does your organisation interact with government agencies involved in development? If yes, which agencies and what is the nature of the involvement?

CLOSING

Final overall question: what do you think is the role and significance of religious organisations in development?

Opportunity to make any other comments

Any documents that I can take away

Recommendations of other people to talk to

Thanks for time and comments

APPENDIX D – List of interviews

This appendix gives details of organisational and additional interviews (see Section 4.3.3). Organisational interviews are listed alphabetically by name of the organisation; this ordering does not correspond with the coding used when referring to interviews in the text thereby preserving anonymity. Additional interviews are listed alphabetically by surname of interviewee.

Organisation interviews (listed alphabetically by name of the organisation)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">ORGANISATION</th><th colspan="2">INTERVIEWEE</th><th colspan="2">INTERVIEW</th></tr>
<tr><th>Name</th><th>Religion</th><th>Name</th><th>Position</th><th>Date</th><th>Location</th></tr>
<tr><td>AK Fazlul Haque Girls Higher Secondary School</td><td>Muslim</td><td>SALEEM, Mrs Farzana</td><td>Principal</td><td>15 December 2008</td><td>Park Street, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td>Al-Ameen Mission</td><td>Muslim</td><td>ISLAM, Mr Nurul</td><td>Founder & General Secretary</td><td>15 December 2008</td><td>Park Street, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">All Bengal Muslim Women Association</td><td rowspan="2">Muslim</td><td>ELIAS, Mrs Rukhshi</td><td>Executive Committee Member</td><td rowspan="2">18 November 2008</td><td rowspan="2">Park Circus, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td>SHAKIL, Mrs Noorjahan</td><td>Secretary</td></tr>
<tr><td>All India Federation of Bengali Buddhists</td><td>Buddhist</td><td>BARUA, Dr Brahmanda Pratap</td><td>President</td><td>24 September 2008</td><td>Salt Lake, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Aman Foundation Kolkata</td><td rowspan="2">Muslim</td><td>ABDUS SABUR, Mr Muhammad</td><td>Secretary General, AMAN International</td><td>06 November 2008</td><td>Band Sue, Bangkok</td></tr>
<tr><td>AHMED, Mr Sohail</td><td>Secretary, Kolkata Chapter</td><td>28 August 2008</td><td>Nadia, West Bengal</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Amanat Foundation Trust</td><td rowspan="2">Muslim</td><td>SHAH ALAM, Mr M</td><td>Director</td><td rowspan="2">22 May 2008</td><td rowspan="2">Park Circus, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td>SHAHID, Mr GM</td><td>State Project Coordinator</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ankur Kala</td><td>Christian</td><td>JOSEPH, Mrs Annie</td><td>Founder and Director</td><td>21 July 2008</td><td>Park Circus, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Art of Living</td><td rowspan="2">Hindu</td><td>DASS, Mrs Rajasree</td><td>Programme teacher (Part 1) and Apex Member</td><td rowspan="2">29 January 2009</td><td rowspan="2">Gariahat, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td>SANWAL, Mrs Jyoti</td><td>Programme teacher (Part 2)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bengal Buddhist Association</td><td>Buddhist</td><td>CHOWDHURY, Mr Hemenanda Bikash</td><td>General Secretary</td><td>21 August 2008</td><td>Bowbazar, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td>Bharat Sevashram Sangha</td><td>Hindu</td><td>BISWATMANANDA, Swami</td><td>Coordinator</td><td>22 May 2008</td><td>Ballygunge, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">BMS World Mission</td><td rowspan="2">Christian</td><td>KHAN, Mrs Aruna</td><td>Hostess, Mission Centre</td><td rowspan="2">09 July 2008</td><td rowspan="2">Park Street, Kolkata</td></tr>
<tr><td>RODRIGUES, Mr Rudy</td><td>Former Chairman</td></tr>
</table>

ORGANISATION		INTERVIEWEE		INTERVIEW	
Name	**Religion**	**Name**	**Position**	**Date**	**Location**
Brahmo Sammilan Samaj	Hindu	DASGUPTA, Dr Kalyansri	Emeritus Permanent Minister	24 October 2008	Bhowanipore, Kolkata
		DATTA, Mrs Ishita	Former Member of Governing Body		
		SEN, Mrs Anjali	Member of Governing Body; Supervisor of School		
Calcutta Muslim Orphanage	Muslim	AKHTER, Mr Salman	Honorary Secretary	15 December 2008	Park Street, Kolkata
Calcutta Zoroastrian Community's Religious and Charity Fund	Zoroastrian	MEDORA, Mr Sam N	Chief Executive	15 September 2008	Chowringhee, Kolkata
		POSTWALLA, Mr Bahadur S	Trustee		
Caritas India	Christian	ROZARIO, Mr Sanjay	Zonal Manager (Eastern Zone)	22 April 2008	Entally, Kolkata
Cathedral Relief Services	Christian	ALFRED, Dr J R B	Executive Committee Member	22 April 2008	Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata
		DAVID, Mr Rig	Director	06 January 2009	Chowringhee, Kolkata
Chitrabani	Christian	JOSEPH, Rev Father PJ	Director	03 September 2008	Taltala, Kolkata
Compassion East India	Christian	JEBARAJ, Mr D G	Country Director	29 January 2009	Salt Lake, Kolkata
Dakshineswar Ramkrishna Sangha Adyapith	Hindu	MURAL BHAI, Brahmachari	General Secretary	21 May 2008	Dakshineswar, Kolkata
Diocesan Board of Social Services	Christian	SIRCAR, Mrs Rina	Coordinator and Secretary	30 January 2009	Chowringhee, Kolkata
Don Bosco Ashalayam	Christian	PARAKONATH, Father Matthew	Director	21 May 2008	Bellious Road, Howrah
Fo Guang Shan Calcutta Buddhist Centre	Buddhist	RU JI, Bhikkhuni	Resident nun	04 December 2008	Tangra, Kolkata
		XING SHI, Bhikkhuni	Resident nun		
Garia Bauddha Sanskriti Sansad	Buddhist	BARUA, Mr Asis	General Secretary	21 August 2008	Garia, Kolkata
Good News Children’s Education Mission	Christian	ROY, Rev Subhir	Joint Director	05 May 2008	Santoshpur, Kolkata
		ROY LEE, Mrs Eun ok	Founder & Joint Director		
Guru Tegh Bahadur Medical Service Centre Hospital	Sikh	JHA, Major Dr Shyam Sundar	Director	19 August 2008	Alipore, Kolkata
		SINGH GARIB, Mr S Mehar	President of Trustee Board		
Hiuen Tsang Temple	Buddhist	YAO JUE, Shifu	Resident nun	04 December 2008	Chaubasha, Kolkata

ORGANISATION		INTERVIEWEE		INTERVIEW	
Name	**Religion**	**Name**	**Position**	**Date**	**Location**
Holy Mission of Guru Nanak	Sikh	SAMBTANI, Mr Nanik M	Secretary	07 May 2008	New Market, Kolkata
Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Mahasabha	Jain	BANERJEE, Mr Tarun	Assistant Director (Eastern Zone), Jeevan Vigyan Academy	23 October 2008	Foreshore Road, Howrah
		CHORARIA, Mr Vinod K	General Secretary	17 October 2008	Barabazar, Kolkata
Jain Vishva Bharati	Jain	PUGALIA, Sri Bhikam Chand	Secretary, Kolkata branch	17 October 2008	Barabazar, Kolkata
Jewish Girls School	Jewish	CHOWDHURY, Mrs Sraboni	Principal	25 November 2008	Park Street, Kolkata
Kamani Jain Bhavan	Jain	PANKAJ SHAH, Mrs Parul	Coordinating Member of Chandana Swadhayay Mandir (Children's programme)	30 October 2008	Bhowanipore, Kolkata
Khalsa Model Senior Secondary School	Sikh	KAUR, Mrs Kamalpreet	Principal of Khalsa Model Senior Secondary School	07 July 2008	Dunlop Bridge, Kolkata
		SINGH GANDHI, Mr Sardar Gurmukh	Secretary of Khalsa Model Senior Secondary School and Member of Management Board of Gurdwara Sikh Sangat		
Loreto Day School Sealdah	Christian	MOONEY, Sister Cyril	Principal	19 May 2008	Moulali, Kolkata
Lutheran World Service India	Christian	VARGHESE, Mr George	Programme Director (Development)	03 May 2008	Entally, Kolkata
Maha Bodhi Society of India	Buddhist	REWATHA THERO, Ven Dr D	General Secretary and Chief Priest	04 June 2008	Rajabazar, Kolkata
Manav Seva Pratisthan	Hindu	LOHIA, Mr Nand Lal	Trustee	16 May 2008	Shyambazar, Kolkata
Mennonite Central Committee	Christian	ZIMMERMAN, Dr Earl	Representatives for India, Nepal, Afghanistan	09 May 2008	Entally, Kolkata
		ZIMMERMAN, Mrs Ruth			
Philanthropic Society of the Orthodox Church	Christian	PARADISI, Sister Nectaria	Director	19 May 2008	Kalighat, Kolkata
Ramakrishna Mission Blind Boys Academy	Hindu	MAZUMDAR, Mr Chandar	Assistant Rehabilitation Officer	22 August 2008	Narendrapur, North 24 Parganas

ORGANISATION		INTERVIEWEE		INTERVIEW	
Name	**Religion**	**Name**	**Position**	**Date**	**Location**
Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture	Hindu	PRASANNATARANANDA, Swami	Centre for Indological Studies and Research	03 June 2008	Gol Park, Kolkata
Ramakrishna Mission Lokasiksha Parishad	Hindu	CHAKRABORTY, Mr Asis	Women and Child Development Unit / Rural Education Unit	18 September 2008	Narendrapur, North 24 Parganas
		DHAR, Mrs Gauri	Women and Child Development Unit / Rural Education Unit	18 September 2008	
		GAYEN, Sri Rashbehari	Organisation Building Unit	18 September 2008	
		GHOSH, Dr Manas	Principal of Agricultural Training Centre; Director of State Agricultural Management and Extension Training Institute; Faculty Dean for Integrated Rural Development and Management Faculty Centre, Ramakrishna Mission Vivekananda University	22 August 2008	
		HALDAR, Dr Shakti	Director, Joint Forest Management Unit	18 September 2008	
		KHANDAIT, Mr Amitava	Lecturer, Training Orientation and Research Centre	22 August 2008	
		PRANANANDA, Swami	Joint Director, LSP	19 September 2008	
		SARKAR, Mr Dwijadas	Director, Jan Shikshan Sansthan	19 September 2008	
		SCHMERBECK, Dr Joachim	Project Manager, Community Based Disaster Risk Management (CBDRM) Project	18 September 2008	
		SEN, Mrs Indrani	Women and Child Development Unit / Rural Education Unit	18 September 2008	
Ramakrishna Mission Residential College	Hindu	SUPARNANANDA, Swami	Principal	22 August 2008	Narendrapur, North 24 Parganas

ORGANISATION		INTERVIEWEE		INTERVIEW	
Name	**Religion**	**Name**	**Position**	**Date**	**Location**
Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya	Hindu	SATYATMANANDA, Swami	Headmaster	22 August 2008	Narendrapur, North 24 Parganas
Sarada Seva Sangha	Hindu	BANERJEE, Mrs Subhra	Secretary	17 December 2008	Shibpur, Howrah
Shree Jain Swetambar Terapanthi Sabha Kolkata	Jain	NAHATA, Sri Karan Singh	President	21 October 2008	Barabazar, Kolkata
Sir Syed Group of Schools	Muslim	BELAL, Mr Mohammed	Executive Officer	23 December 2008	Kidderpore, Kolkata
		PREMI, Mr Anwar	Honorary General Secretary		
Social Education & Literacy Foundation	Muslim	HOSSAIN, Mrs Nilofur	Founder and Director	25 October 2008	Park Circus, Kolkata
State Baha'i Council, West Bengal	Baha'i	BHATTACHARAYA, Mr Pradip	Secretary	19 December 2008	New Alipore, Kolkata
		MUKHERJEE, Mr Asish	State Coordinator of Baha'i Training Institute		
Yi Guan Dao, Kolkata branch	Taoist	CHU, Shen Mei	Teacher of Taoism	25 November 2008	Tangra, Kolkata
		CHUNG, Mr CP	Leader		
Young Men's Christian Association	Christian	MONDAL, Mr Tapan Kumar	Assistant General Secretary	24 April 2008	Chowringhee, Kolkata
		SIRCAR, Mr Swaraj	General Secretary		

Additional interviews (listed alphabetically by surname of interviewee)

INTERVIEWEE			INTERVIEW	
Name	**Role**	**Religious affiliation**	**Date**	**Location**
BHATTACHARYA, Mr Achintya	Secretary, City Level Programme of Action for Street and Working Children (CLPOA)	None	09 May 2008	Park Street, Kolkata
MEHTA, Mrs Tina	Writer and teacher of Zoroastrianism	Zoroastrian	15 October 2008	Park Street, Kolkata
NIRVANSHREE, Sadhvi	Nun and group leader of Jain Swetambar Terapanthi sect	Jain	23 October 2008	Foreshore Road, Howrah
PRABHA, Sadhvi Dr Yogkshem	Nun and scholar of Jain Swetambar Terapanthi sect	Jain		
RAJU, Right Rev PSP	Bishop of Calcutta (Church of North India)	Christian	29 April 2008	BBD Bagh, Kolkata
RATHANA THERO, Ven W	Meditation Instructor, Maha Bodhi Society of India	Buddhist	04 June 2008	Rajabazar, Kolkata
SARAN SINGH, Mr Sadar	Editor, The Sikh Review	Sikh	12 August 2008	Alipore, Kolkata
SIDDIQUI, Dr MKA	Coordinator, Kolkata Chapter, Institute of Objective Studies	Muslim	02 September 2008	Park Street, Kolkata
SILLIMAN, Mrs Flower	Member of Jewish community	Jewish	24 October 2008	Shakespeare Sarani, Kolkata
SIROMONI, Mr Paul	Freelance community development consultant and facilitator	Christian	17 April 2008	New Ballygunge, Kolkata
TANKARIWALA, Mr Noshir F	Member, West Bengal Minorities Commission	Zoroastrian	28 October 2008	Ballygunge, Kolkata

APPENDIX E – Selection of activities in Stage 3

This appendix illustrates some of the activities undertaken for data collection at the three organisations chosen for Stage 3 of the fieldwork (see Section 4.4.3).


RKM LSP observation: travelling by boat to visit rural project


RKM LSP interaction: group interview with beneficiaries

AFK participation: interfaith workshop on HIV/AIDS


AFK participation: teaching geography at a non-formal school


CRS observation: visit to non-formal school in slum area


CRS interaction: meeting with Committee and UK supporters

APPENDIX F – Territorial evolution of West Bengal

This appendix describes the evolution of the region of greater Bengal into its current territorial demarcations, including the Indian state of West Bengal, which is the focus of this study (see Chapter 5).

India comprises 28 states and seven union territories. One of the states is West Bengal, which is located in eastern India. In the present day, West Bengal is bounded:

- to the north by the Republic of Nepal, the small Indian state of Sikkim and the Kingdom of Bhutan;
- to the east by the Indian states of Assam and Meghalaya, and the People's Republic of Bangladesh;
- to the south by the Bay of Bengal; and
- to the west by the Indian states of Orissa, Jharkhand and Bihar.

Bengal as a region has a history stretching back 4,000 years. In ancient times, Bengal was divided into a number of *janapadas*, which were realms or kingdoms of tribal groups. By the seventh century CE there was a certain level of political unity in western Bengal under King Sasanka. Consolidation of territories and the unification of Bengal continued over subsequent centuries under the Pala and Sena kings and Bengal was finally united under the name of Banga by the thirteenth century. With Muslim rule, Bengal became a province under the Delhi Sultanate and after Akbar's conquest of Bengal in the sixteenth century, Bengal incorporated the adjacent territories of Orissa and Bihar.

The British gained control over the administration of Bengal in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Bengal Presidency was at the heart of British activities on the subcontinent and its primary city, Calcutta, served as the capital of India and second city of the British Empire from 1772.

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the Bengal Presidency was too large to manage so the British drew up plans for territorial readjustment. The first Partition of Bengal took place in 1905, when the Muslim-dominated eastern areas, including Chittagong, Dacca (now Dhaka) and Rajshahi, joined Assam to become a separate province. This was also when Delhi replaced Calcutta as the capital city of India. Under nationalist pressure, the Partition was revoked in 1911; eastern Bengal was reunited with the rest of Bengal but at the same time the linguistically-different areas of Orissa and Bihar were detached from Bengal.

With Indian Independence in 1947 came the second Partition of Bengal: predominantly Hindu West

Bengal became a state of the new Republic of India and predominantly Muslim East Bengal became a province of the new country of Pakistan and was known as East Pakistan. After a war in 1971, it became the independent country of Bangladesh.

Though now administratively and politically divided across different states and countries, greater Bengal has a collective history, as well as a distinct ethnic identity, shared language and script, and common sociological features. It has a particularly strong and proud cultural heritage, seen particularly in literature, music and film.

APPENDIX G – Ethno-religious communities of West Bengal

This appendix provides more detailed information about the diverse ethno-religious communities found in West Bengal and particularly in Kolkata (see Section 5.5). It focuses on the ten major religions selected for this study. It starts with the indigenous religions that originated in India (presented chronologically by their emergence in India i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism) and then moves on to the exogenous religions which originated outside India (also presented chronologically by their emergence in India i.e. Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Taoism and Baha'i). At the end, brief mention is made of a few religious traditions and belief systems found in West Bengal that do not fit into conventional categories, including the folk religion of the tribal communities, the Baul tradition, new spiritual movements, and atheism and agnosticism.

Each section examines five aspects of the religion and its community: i) historical origins of the religion in India and specifically in West Bengal; ii) number of adherents in West Bengal and changes over time; iii) geographical distribution within West Bengal (a table at the end of the appendix presents district-level data); iv) levels of integration and participation in society; and v) philanthropic and development attitudes and activities. This background information is essential for understanding the number, types, activities, motivations and other characteristics of ROs presented in Chapters 6 to 9.

The information was compiled from a range of sources including census data, academic articles, historical material, reference books and interviews. For ease of reading, a list of references is given at the end of each section rather than inserted throughout the text.

Hinduism

Historical origins

This section must begin with a caveat: Hinduism is not easy to define because it covers a vast, complex and diverse set of philosophical, spiritual and social concepts. The label Hinduism and its identification as a major world religion came only in the nineteenth century when outsiders labelled the collective beliefs of the Indian people as Hindu. Until then, Hindus had referred to themselves in terms of their caste, as adherents of certain sects, or worshippers of particular deities. Dalrymple (2009) suggests that only more recently have Hinduism's disparate practices been gradually systematised, standardised and nationalised into a centralised religion akin to the Abrahamic traditions.

The Vedas, which date back at least to the middle of the second millennium BCE, paved the way to what is now called Hinduism. Bengal was dominated by Buddhism and Jainism in the early period, followed by Mughal and British rule which brought Islam and Christianity respectively. Because of these mixed influences, the Hinduism practiced in West Bengal differs from the rest of the country. There are several movements which are particular to Hinduism in Bengal: Shaktism, Vaishnavism (Bhakti movement), Brahmoism and Practical Vedanta.

The dominant feature of Hinduism in Bengal is Shaktism, the feminisation of the divine principle. Before the Aryans arrived, Mother Goddess cults prevailed over much of the subcontinent. Shaktism is the result of the absorption by Hinduism – a religion dominated by male gods – of these earlier traditions of female deification. Thus Shaktism worships Shaktis, the wives of the male gods of Hinduism. The most popular deities in Bengal are: Durga (consort of Shiva and symbol of prosperity and victory over evil); Kali (a form of Durga, who is the symbol of female energy, destruction, creation and preservation); Lakshmi (consort of Vishnu and goddess of love, beauty and prosperity); and Saraswati (consort of Brahma and goddess of wisdom, music, poetry, science and learning). Among tribal people, the Naga fertility cult is popular and is feminised with Mansadevi worshipped as a Naga goddess.

The second major Hindu cult followed in West Bengal is Vaishnavism, also known as the Bhatki movement. It was born in the early sixteenth century CE as a reaction against the violence, sex rituals and decadence of Shaktism at the time. The main prophet was Chaitanya (1485-1533) who lived mostly in Bengal. Vaishnavas worship Vishnu through avatars such as Krishna and Jagannath. They are strict vegetarians, forbid violence, reject the caste system and refuse to worship idols to which sacrifices are made. The International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), popularly known as the Hare Krishna movement, is a modern Vasishnavite sect. Swami Prabhupada went to the USA in 1965 where he gained many followers amongst those disillusioned by the moral crisis surrounding the Vietnam War and by 1970 it was a worldwide movement. Mayapur, a village 80 miles north of Kolkata where Chaitanya was born, has a large ISKCON temple and attracts devotees from all over the world.

Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) was an intellectual and leading figure in the Bengali Renaissance. He denounced idol worship and the caste system, which dominated Hindu society, and sought to develop a purer version of Hinduism based on Vedanta, a branch of Hindu philosophy that focuses on reading and analytically interpreting the ancient Vedic writings. He also drew on Islamic and Christian ideas of monotheism. In 1828 he established the Brahmo Samaj (literally Society of God) in Kolkata as a sect believing in one universal god and the equality of all. After the death of Roy, the organisation declined but was revived in 1843 by Debendranath Tagore. In 1866, the organisation was divided over reforms and split into two groups – the Adi Brahmo Samaj under

Debendranath Tagore and the Brahmo Samaj of India under Keshab Chandra Sen. In 1878 another split took place and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj emerged under younger leaders. The Brahmo movement flourished in Bengal and was the most influential reform movement in nineteenth century India. Although branches were established elsewhere in India, it was essentially a Kolkatan movement. Most Brahmos in India today are in Kolkata although their numbers are now relatively few.

Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886) is the best-known Bengali saint of the nineteenth century. He was a Hindu priest who officiated at a large temple in north Kolkata. At first he was a follower of Shaktism, next turned to Vaishnavism, then studied under Muslim and Christian teachers before evolving his own philosophy based on equal validity of all religions and the oneness of God, the potential divinity of man, and service to mankind as a way of worshipping God. A group of young Brahmos, prompted by a mixture of curiosity and spiritual searching, began to follow his teachings. The most famous of these was Narendranath Datta (1863-1902), later known as Swami Vivekananda. Educated in Kolkata in the western style, Vivekananda saw the possibility of a synthesis between eastern and western ideas. His mission became to transmit to the West what he saw as true Indian spirituality and make the ideals of the Vedantic religion relevant to the modern world. In 1893 he made his famous speech on Vedanta at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago, followed by lecture tours in the USA and UK. Returning to Kolkata in 1898, he founded the Ramakrishna Math as a monastic order following the teachings of Ramakrishna and Ramakrishna Mission as a voluntary service organisation putting the teachings into practice. The philosophy of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, known as Practical Vedanta, is very popular across West Bengal.

Number of adherents

There are over 950 million Hindus worldwide, the majority of whom live in India where they comprise over 80 per cent of the population. West Bengal has over 58 million Hindus, 72 per cent of the state's population. Of the 203 ethnic communities in West Bengal, 161 profess Hinduism. The Hindus in West Bengal can be broadly divided into the following categories: Bengalis (sub-divided into native Bengalis, immigrants from East Bengal and Brahmos) and immigrants from elsewhere in India. It is difficult to ascribe accurate numbers to each of these communities.

The largest group of Hindus in West Bengal is the Bengalis. In Kolkata they comprise 40 per cent of the population and are divided into two main groups: Gothi Bengalis are natives whose families have lived in the city for many generations, whereas Bangals are Hindus who have migrated from eastern Bengal. There were two main waves of exodus from East Bengal. The first wave was due to the Partition of India at Independence. Muslims fled from West Bengal into East Bengal, whilst Hindus fled from East Bengal into West Bengal, each fearing persecution as a minority in the newly-created territories. Before Partition, the more prosperous Hindu families of eastern Bengal had begun moving with their assets to Kolkata; after Partition, the migration was chiefly working class and farming families. In total about three million refugees congregated in Kolkata and another million elsewhere in West Bengal. The city was overwhelmed by people living in squatter settlements, abandoned buildings, railway platforms and the streets. The second wave was due to the Bangladesh War in 1971. Army action in Dacca (now Dhaka) and repression in the hinterland sparked a panic flight out of East Pakistan into India of at least eight million people, mostly Hindus. The majority crossed into West Bengal and a significant proportion congregated in Kolkata. Gothis and Bangals number in the tens of millions, whereas there are an estimated 10,000 Brahmos (around 1,000 families) in Kolkata.

Many Hindus from elsewhere in India migrated to West Bengal, and to Kolkata in particular, for economic reasons. The largest exogenous community are the Hindi-speaking Biharis from the neighbouring state of Bihar. Another significant community are the Marwaris who came in the early nineteenth century from Rajasthan, fleeing from drought and desertification; many are orthodox Hindus although some are Jains.

Geographical distribution

Hindus are found in all districts of West Bengal and there are no particular trends in geographical distribution. The Brahmos and Marwaris are urban communities and tend to dwell in certain neighbourhoods of Kolkata.

Social integration and participation

Gothi Bengalis are usually doctors, judges, skilled workers, diamond cutters, civil servants and intellectuals. Bangals tend to have rural roots; those who settled in rural areas are engaged in agriculture; those in urban areas are often menial workers or taxi drivers. Economic migrants from states such as Bihar are commonly employed as day labourers, taxi drivers or rickshaw-pullers. The Brahmo community tended to be upper middle class Bengalis, who were liberal and highly-educated; Brahmos were among the first Indians to enter the civil service and are also found in academia and other prestigious professions. The Marwaris made their fortune in opium, cotton, jute and money-lending; now they dominate in business, industry and property.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

The Hindu philosophy of *karma* means that some people are predestined to be poor and others rich. Life is a continuing saga and, while there is the possibility of rebirth in better circumstances, no human intervention can change this. Thus, unlike many of the other religions, the Hindu philosophy does not engender feelings of compassion for those less fortunate. As Varma (2005:83-4) explains:

> active concern for the deprived and suffering is not a prominent feature of the Indian personality...A Hindu is effectively impervious to his surroundings, and indeed to the very visible pain and suffering around him, because anything outside his own narrow ken of interest matters little to him.

Despite this general characterisation, a few of the Hindu communities have engaged in philanthropy and development, notably the Brahmos, Marwaris and Ramakrishna movement. Alongside religious reform, the Brahmo Samaj instigated social reforms including the abolition of *sati*, child marriage and polygamy, and the education of women. They still run educational establishments in the city such as the Brahmo Girls' School and City College. The Marwaris are known for their philanthropy and have made a very visible contribution to the betterment of Kolkata, particularly some of the wealthy industrialist families such as the Birlas. Marwaris have funded temples, schools, colleges, *dharamsalas* (pilgrim rest house), hospitals, research centres, cultural and scientific institutions. Ramakrishna Mission run schools, colleges, hospitals, relief centres and other charitable activities through many branch centres in West Bengal; it is widely regarded as one of the biggest and best social service organisations in the state.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Dalal (2006), Dalrymple (2009), Dutta (2003), Grimes *et al* (2006), Guha (2007), Housden (1996), Lahiri (2010), Moorhouse (1971), O'Brien and Palmer (2007), Sen (2005), Varma (2005), Vatin (1991), Winchester and Winchester (2004), Wolpert (2006), Wood (2007)
- Websites – Catchcal, Census of India, Diaspora cities

Buddhism

Historical origins

Siddhartha Gautama, known as the Buddha, was born in India in the sixth century BCE but his philosophy only began to spread outwards in the third century BCE, particularly under the patronage of the emperor Ashoka. Missions to the north through Afghanistan and Central Asia eventually took the religion to China and what became the Mahayana branch of the faith, while missions to the south spread the faith to Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia and what became the Theravada branch of the faith. Wood (2007) suggests that Buddhism was possibly India's most successful export ever.

Buddhism had a strong presence in India for nearly a thousand years. The travelogues of Chinese pilgrims record the extent to which Buddhism was flourishing in ancient Bengal, including the ancient city of Talmuk near the site of present-day Kolkata. Buddhism waned under Hindu rule in the twelfth century CE and had virtually disappeared by the thirteenth century under oppressive

Mughal rule. Some Buddhists from eastern India fled to Nepal and Tibet; some converted to Islam for security; others found a place in Hindu society. However, a small group took shelter in remote areas of eastern Bengal including Tripura, Chittagong and the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Buddhism in Bengal was virtually non-existent between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The revival of Buddhism took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, led by Anagarika Dharmapala and Kripasaran Mahasthavir. Dharmapala, from Sri Lanka, was deeply moved when he came to know of the neglected state of the famous temple at Bodh Gaya and resolved to restore the temple and the Buddhist faith in the land of its birth. In 1891 he founded the Maha Bodhi Society in Colombo and relocated the headquarters to Calcutta the following year. Around the same time, Mahasthavir, a monk from Chittagong, also visited Bodh Gaya and other sacred places, and seeing their poor condition resolved to work for the revival and spread of Buddhism. He founded the Bauddha Dharmankur Sabha (Bengal Buddhist Association) in Calcutta in 1892 and later opened branches elsewhere in India. These two organisations played a very significant role in the regeneration of Buddhism in India. The Bengali Renaissance in the late nineteenth century also brought renewed interest in Buddhism among Bengali intellectuals. Following this revival, many of the Bengali Buddhists who had been living in the Chittagong Hills migrated to Calcutta, then capital of India, to seek employment.

Meanwhile, there had been Chinese people in Calcutta since the late 1700s; still today it is the only Indian city with a significant Chinese community. The Chinese came to work in Calcutta's ports and the influx of Chinese to the city continued until the early 1960s. The early Chinese immigrants in Calcutta lacked a literate elite, which led to a weakening of cultural and religious identity: many ceased to speak Chinese, they assimilated into the culture of the city and some converted to Christianity under the influence of missionaries. The Chinese immigrants who received a modern education had no access to Mahayana teaching in Chinese. The only Buddhist materials they had access to were Theravada materials which had come with the newly-revived Bengali Buddhist tradition. Theravada monks found a ready audience among the English-speaking Chinese and taught Buddhist literature to them. This led to a revival among Chinese Buddhists and by the beginning of the twentieth century the Chinese had established a few monasteries and temples in and around Calcutta.

After Independence, three other types of Buddhism began to grow in India. First, in 1956 Dr BR Ambedkar, political leader of the scheduled castes, converted to Buddhism in a public ceremony and 300,000 followers joined him. This was a political move to improve the social and economic mobility of lower castes. This 'Neo-Buddhism' inspired by Ambedkar continues as a movement to this day. Second, in 1959 Tibetan Buddhists sought refuge from persecution in China and this also gave new impetus to existing Buddhists in the Himalayan states of Himachal and Ladakh. Third, in recent years some Buddhist sects from Japan have been becoming increasingly popular in India, particularly among the urban middle classes seeking spiritual experiences.

Number of adherents

Today there are between eight and nine million Buddhists in India from all the main traditions of Buddhism. In West Bengal there are almost 250,000 Buddhists belonging to four distinct communities: Bengali Buddhists, Chinese Buddhists, Tibetan Buddhists and Dalit Buddhists. At present there are around 20,000 Bengali Buddhists residing in West Bengal who belong to the Theravada tradition. The exact size of Kolkata's Chinese community is unknown, but possibly numbers at least 7,000; the number of Chinese classifying themselves as Buddhists is also unknown. West Bengal has pockets of ethnic communities following Tibetan Buddhism, such as the Drukpa originally from Bhutan, and Sherpas and Tamang originally from Nepal. Each of these communities numbers in the thousands. The number of Dalit Buddhists in West Bengal is unknown. The main group of Dalit Buddhists found in West Bengal are the Mahar community, who numbered 17,000 in the 1981 census[132].

Geographical distribution

Bengali Buddhists are found all across the state; Chinese Buddhists are all concentrated in Kolkata; Tibetan Buddhist communities are concentrated in the hilly districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri in north Bengal; and the Mahar Dalit Buddhist community are found in different districts on the plains of West Bengal.

Social integration and participation

Bengali Buddhists are well integrated into society and are not visibly distinct apart from their surnames; temples have been established in areas where there are concentrations. In the post-Independence period, the Bengali Buddhist community has changed and diluted to an extent: many young people have had inter-community marriages, while others practice a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism.

The Chinese in Kolkata have not assimilated into mainstream society. They live in the Tangra area of the city where they are primarily engaged in the tanning industry and the manufacture of leather goods, as well as running Chinese restaurants. They are distinct from the rest of the population in terms of their physiognomy, dress, names and language. Their marginalisation has been compounded by discrimination following the Indo-Chinese conflict of 1962 and the denial of citizenship rights until 1998. Calcutta once had three Chinese schools, the only Mandarin-medium schools in the country; however, following the exodus of young Chinese in more recent years there

[132] As explained in Section 5.5.1, the Anthropological Survey of India collected data from the 1981 census and in fieldwork during the late 1980s and early 1990s although their findings were only published in 2008. More recent data from the 2001 census is not publicly available.

is now only one school left. The priests and functionaries of the Chinese Buddhist temples are almost exclusively drawn from among the Chinese themselves. Likewise, Chinese Buddhist temples are more or less exclusively used by the Chinese and their rituals do not incorporate non-Chinese Buddhists.

The three main ethnic groups in West Bengal who follow Tibetan Buddhism are distinct from the general population, particularly in physiognomy and language. The Drukpa speak Nepali among themselves and are a landowning community mostly engaged in agriculture. The Sherpa are classified as a Scheduled Tribe and speak the Tibetan and Nepali language among themselves. They are mainly a landless community whose common occupations are day labour, plantation labour and portering in hill towns. The Tamang are classified as an Other Backward Class and speak Nepali among themselves. They are mostly involved in cultivation; many of the women work in tea plantations.

The Mahar, who are the main community of Dalit Buddhists in West Bengal, originally migrated from Maharashtra in the first decade of the twentieth century, particularly in connection with employment on the railways. Those employed by the railways lived in quarters for employees or in huts built on railway land. Most speak the Marathi language among themselves. They are considered low caste in the social hierarchy. As a migrant group, they are landless and so are primarily self-employed in business.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

The Buddha identified four Brahmaviharas, a series of virtues, namely: universal loving kindness (*metha)*, compassion to others (*karuna*), non-jealousy (*muditha*) and equanimity or balanced mind (*uppakka*). A Buddhist monk explained to me that these are “essentials necessary to solve social problems, economic problems, political problems, even individual problems” (04/BU). Striving to develop these Brahmaviharas in order to address the problems of society is one of the goals of a Buddhist.

The two organisations established in Kolkata over one hundred years ago to revive Buddhism – Maha Bodhi Society and Bengal Buddhist Association – are still the primary Theravada Buddhist associations. Alongside religious activities they engage in some relief, welfare and development activities on a small scale. There are at least 40 small Buddhist associations in Kolkata and West Bengal which operate on a community level where groups of Buddhists are concentrated. Their primary functions are religious but they also engage in social service activities such as educational scholarships and clinics. The Mahayana Buddhist associations of the Chinese community are of a similar nature: focused around a temple and religious activities with charitable and welfare activities undertaken in addition, such as care for the sick and elderly, distribution of goods to the poor, and non-formal primary education.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Bartholomeusz (2006), Dalal (2006), Das (2007), Dutta (2003), Guha (2007), O'Brien and Palmer (2007), Patra (2007), Sen-Majumdar (2007), Vatin (1991), Wood (2007)
- Websites – Catchcal, Census of India, Dhapa, Diaspora cities, Wikipedia
- Interviews – A Barua (21 Aug 2008), BP Barua (24 Sept 2008), H Chowdhury (21 Aug 2008), Ven D Rewatha Thero (04 June 2008)

Jainism

Historical origins

The Jain religion was established in eastern India 2,500 years ago. Mahavira was the twenty-fourth great teacher of the prophetic cycle and after his death his disciples assumed leadership of the community, which continued to attract new followers and flourished under royal patronage. The community split into two in the fourth century BCE when 12,000 Jains migrated south in response to famine in the north; the northern and southern communities then developed in isolation from one another. The main difference is that the southern sect (Digambara) do not wear clothes whereas the northern sect (Swetambara) are clothed. The sects disagree over the authenticity and interpretation of the scriptures and over monastic practice, but both essentially have the same cosmology and philosophy. Each of the sects has several sub-sects.

By the fifth century CE, the Digambaras had become an influential cultural force in central and southern India and the same was the case for the Swetambaras in northern and western India by the seventh century. The golden age of royal support for the Jains came to a close by the eleventh and twelfth centuries, primarily due to the rise of Hindu theism and Muslim counter-influences. From the twelfth century onward, the Jains in the north came increasingly under the dominion of Islam. The Jains began to withdraw socially and geographically to the western regions of India from Rajasthan in the north to Karnataka in the south, where they remain concentrated to this day.

Jainism had been a highly influential religion across Bengal but virtually disappeared with the revival of Hinduism followed by Mughal rule. Jainism, however, re-entered Bengal during the colonial period in the form of migrants from Gujarat and Rajasthan. Gujaratis and Marwaris first started migrating in the eighteenth century but came in significant numbers in the nineteenth century, attracted by the city's commerce and wealth.

Number of adherents

Today there are around 4.6 million Jains worldwide, of which over 96 per cent (4.4 million) are in India. The census recorded just over 55,000 Jains in West Bengal. Most Gujarati Jains belong to the Swetambar sect, which has two divisions: Deravasi (idol worshippers) and Sthanakvasi (nonbelievers in idol worship); Marwaris Jains are subdivided into Digambaras and Swetambaras. No information was available about the number of members of each sect and sub-sect.

Geographical distribution

Jains today live in all parts of India, though they are more prominent in Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka. Jains are also found in concentrations in major metropolitan centres. Half of West Bengal's Jains live in greater Kolkata.

Social integration and participation

Jains are a very small minority community with a clear identity. They are not particularly distinctive in physiognomy or dress but differ in language, speaking amongst themselves in Gujarati or Marwari and communicating with Bengalis in Hindi. The Jains originally established businesses in money-lending and trading; today they are reputed industrialists, business people and property developers.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

The core of the Jain philosophy is to develop and spread Jain values such as non-violence and peace, first in individual people and then in society. Jains believe that spreading these values can make for a better society and better world, therefore many of the Jain organisations engage in programmes of value education, meditation and self-development. The Marwaris have always been reputed for their philanthropy and have established a variety of institutions in Kolkata including schools and hospitals.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Dalal (2006), Dalrymple (2009), Dutta (2003), Moorhouse (1971), O'Brien and Palmer (2007), Vallely (2006), Vatin (1991), Wood (2007)
- Websites – Catchcal, Census of India
- Interviews – V Choraria (17 Oct 2008), KS Nahata (21 Oct 2008), Sadhvi Nivanshree (23 Oct 2008), Sadhvi Yagsham Prabha (23 Oct 2008)

Sikhism

Historical origins

Sikhism developed in Mughal India over a period of 240 years from the birth of the first Guru (Guru Nanak) in 1469 until the death of the tenth Guru (Guru Gobind Singh) in 1675. Guru Nanak was particularly peripatetic and among his travels he went to eastern India and visited Kalighat (now in Kolkata), Dhaka and Chittagong (now in Bangladesh), Puri (now in Orissa) and Dhubri (now in Assam). Through his teachings and discourses some people chose to adopt the Sikh faith.

When the British came to India, the Sikhs defended their territory of Punjab in a series of Anglo-Sikh wars. They eventually reached a compromise after the last war in 1849 and Lord Dalhousie took over the kingdom of Punjab on behalf of Queen Victoria. The disbanding of the kingdom of Punjab led to a dispersal of Sikhs. The British had realised that the Sikhs were well-disciplined, able-bodied, obedient and loyal and so they recruited them into their army and the police. Many were channelled through the port of Calcutta as they left for postings across the British Empire in the east including Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Shanghai. Other Sikhs migrated to English-speaking countries such as Canada and the UK. Meanwhile, many Sikhs settled in Calcutta, which was then the hub of British India.

Number of adherents

Sikhism is the youngest of the indigenous religions of India. There are 24 million Sikhs in the world, over 90 per cent of whom live in India, where they constitute about two per cent of the population. Different sources estimate the number of Sikhs in West Bengal standing between 50,000 and 100,000; the 2001 census recorded just over 66,000 Sikhs. The Sikhs in West Bengal can be divided into two main groups: ‘indigenous Sikhs’ from Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Assam, who converted in the early days of the Sikh religion when the gurus visited Bengal, and ‘diasporic Sikhs’, who migrated from Punjab during British rule. There is no data available on how many Sikhs belong to each of these two groups.

Geographical distribution

Sixty per cent of India’s Sikhs live in Punjab; they are also found in significant numbers in the states of north-central and north-western India such as Haryana and Delhi, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. Less than 0.3 per cent of India’s Sikhs are in West Bengal. They are found in all districts of the state, although they tend to be concentrated in cities and towns. Three-quarters of West Bengal’s Sikhs are found in just three districts: Burdwan, Kolkata and North 24 Parganas. Within greater Kolkata, the Sikhs are concentrated in neighbourhoods such as Bhowanipore, Burrabazar, Kidderpore, Metiabruj, Dunlop Bridge and BT Road.

Social integration and participation

The Sikhs are distinctive in their physiognomy and dress, particularly the turbans and beards worn by men. They are also distinctive in their surnames (Singh for men and Kaur for ladies) and language (Punjabi Sikhs speak Punjabi and use the Gurmukhi script). The Punjabis in West Bengal are mainly landless. During the colonial period, Sikhs in Calcutta were employed in the service of the British as bodyguards, *darwans* (security guards) and defence personnel. They also monopolised the transport sector, owning and running buses and taxis. Since Independence, Sikhs continued in the transport sector but also diversified into *dhabas* (restaurants) and textiles. Sikhs have also made a name for themselves in professions such as medicine.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

There are three cardinal principles in Sikhism as established by Guru Nanak: one is a spiritual activity and two are worldly activities. *Naam Japna* concerns remembering God as the Creator who is universal, present everywhere and the inspiration for everything. *Wand Chakna* means earning by hard labour and sharing those earnings; it is prescribed that one-tenth of earnings should go to the poor and needy. *Seva* is about service to the community; it can be regular or ad hoc, it can be monetary or in kind; it ranges from building a gurdwara to feeding a poor person on the street. These three components are the core of Sikhism.

Sikhs are known for their humanitarianism: for example, during the 1943 famine in Bengal Sikhs set up community kitchens for helping the poor and hungry and during communal riots in the 1940s Sikhs rescued both Hindus and Muslims and protected them from the violence inside their gurdwaras. Though relatively small in number, Sikhs have made a significant contribution to education and culture in Kolkata: for example, the first Khala High School was established at Bhowanipore in 1933. The community have published a variety of newspapers and magazines, including the Punjabi daily *Desh Darpan* since 1930.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Banerjee (2007), O'Brien and Palmer (2007), Singh (2006), Singh Roy (2007)
- Websites – Catchcal, Census of India
- Interviews – N Sambtani (07 May 2008), SS Singh (12 Aug 2008)

Judaism

Historical origins

Jews have lived in India since ancient times, arriving in India shortly after the fall of Jerusalem (70

AD), although there are theories of earlier arrival. During Roman times, Jewish traders plied the sea routes between Persia and western India and the Jewish trade with southern India in spices, pharmaceuticals and dyes can be traced through the Middle Ages in traders' letters that have survived. There is clear evidence of Jewish settlements on the western coast from the eleventh century CE.

There are three major and two minor Jewish communities in India, each of which is quite distinct. The major ones are the Cochin Jews in Kerala, the Bene Israel Jews in Maharashtra, and the Baghdadi Jews found in Kolkata and Mumbai. The minor ones are the Bnei Menashe in Manipur and Mizoram, and the Bene Ephraim in Andhra Pradesh.

The Jewish community in Kolkata are Baghdadi Jews, whose presence in the city can be traced back to the late eighteenth century. Shalom Aaron Cohen, a Jewish merchant from Syria, was attracted to eastern India by the silks, muslins and indigo. He arrived in Calcutta in 1790 and set up business exporting these textiles to Baghdad. Slowly, more Jews migrated from Baghdad, both driven away by persecution at home and attracted by the economic opportunities of the thriving British Empire. The Baghdadi Jews in Calcutta were part of a network of Baghdadi Jews who lived and traded across South and Southeast Asia from Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon and Mandalay, to Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai.

Number of adherents

At their peak in 1947, there were around 23,000 Jews in India, but by the 1991 census there were just over 5,000. Indian Jews are now mostly a diaspora community; for example, in Israel there are over 50,000 Bene Israel Jews, 7,000 Cochin Jews and 1,000 Baghdadi Jews. There are also diasporic communities in UK, North America and Australia, where they emigrated after the British left India.

Calcutta's Jewish population of Sephardic Jews from Baghdad was 2,000 strong in 1900. The years of the Second World War were the peak of the city's Jewish population, with between 5,000 and 7,000 people. Their numbers had been swelled by around 1,000 Baghdadi Jewish refugees who had evacuated from Burma and Shanghai, American Jewish soldiers and a group of Ashkenazi Jews from Romania fleeing persecution. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Jewish population of Calcutta shrank dramatically for three main reasons. First, when the war ended, some Jews married British or American soldiers and emigrated for a life elsewhere; their families often went too. Second, Indian Independence meant that the future for minority communities such as the Jews was uncertain; many took the offer of British citizenship and sought higher education and employment in Britain while others moved to the United States, Canada and Australia. Third, the state of Israel was founded in 1948 and some Zionists left to seek a new life in Israel, although many did not like the conditions and soon returned.

By 1960, only about 1,000 Jews remained in Calcutta and the numbers continued to fall sharply through the 1960s and 1970s. Community members told me that the last Jewish marriage in Calcutta was in the 1960s and there have been no fully Jewish pupils in the Jewish schools since the 1970s. Today there are around 30 Jews left in the city, all of them elderly, and there is no quorum required for religious ceremonies.

Geographical distribution

West Bengal's Jews were always based in the city of Calcutta and the remaining Jews today are still there. Within the city they were concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, originally Barabazar and later Park Street.

Social integration and participation

Baghdadi Jews in Calcutta were largely engaged in business and a variety of commercial enterprises. Some made large fortunes in the opium trade in the first part of the nineteenth century, and later in cotton, jute, indigo, silk and woollen products, tobacco and precious stones. Poorer Jews tended to be traders, shopkeepers or hawkers. From the nineteenth century, Calcutta's Jews were also very involved in the city's booming real estate business and financial matters such as the stock exchange. Many Jews developed significant wealth and some of the biggest industrial empires of twentieth century India were Jewish.

The ambivalent position of the Baghdadi Jews in the colonial structure worked to their advantage. As Silliman (2001) explains, they were neither Indian nor western, neither brown nor white, neither insiders nor outsiders. They were loyal to the British but never considered themselves British and were never regarded as such by the British. They shared British colonial ideals about race and placed themselves in the upper echelons of society. Whilst earlier generations were distinguished by the Arabic dress and language, later generations of Jews were very westernised, speaking English in public and wearing western dress. However, the Baghdadi Jews also clung to their Jewish cultural and religious identity. As a religious minority they were always worried about assimilation so they emphasised their foreign origin and religion to distinguish themselves from the Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities. The elites mixed freely and were well integrated into society, but most Jews lived in a close-knit world and mixed neither with Indians nor Europeans.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

Jews have a strong sense of social responsibility for fellow Jews. Baghdadi Jews in Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon and other cities established community organisations which looked after poorer Jews and contributed to wider society. The Jewish community in Calcutta had three schools and a range of social, cultural and sporting institutions. There were charitable activities and funds for the poorer members of the community, including school scholarships, a hostel for poor girls and feeding programmes. One of the most significant Jewish families in Calcutta were the Ezras; they built a hospital, set up a benevolent fund and funded the construction of synagogues. Surviving institutions in the city are testament to the Jewish legacy: three synagogues, two prayer halls, a cemetery, three schools, a hospital and one of the city's most famous and popular bakeries. There are also Jewish names seen in some street names, mansions and buildings at the zoo.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Dalal (2006), Dolnick (2008), Dutta (2003), Kirshner (2005), Musleah (1961), Silliman (2001), Weil (2006)
- Websites – Diaspora Cities, Jewish Encyclopaedia, Wikipedia
- Interviews – F Silliman (24 Oct 2008)

<u>Christianity</u>

Historical origins

Four key phases can be identified of the development of Christianity in India: early Persians, Catholics, Protestant missions, and post-Independence indigenisation. It is during the third phase that Christianity came to Bengal.

Some believe that the apostle Thomas, one of Jesus' disciples, travelled to India and established churches in about 50 CE and a Christian community in South India trace its beginnings to this. This is disputed by historians, but the trade between the eastern Mediterranean and the west coast of India in the first two centuries certainly would have brought Jews, Christians and Arabs. There is fast evidence that Christianity was definitely part of the religious landscape in South India from the fourth century. These early Christian communities came from the Persian Empire and settled in Kerala, where they were known as Syrian Christians; the membership included Persians and local inhabitants. The Syrian Church exists to this day, particularly in the south.

In 1498 Vasco da Gama reached India and the arrival of the Portuguese opened a new era for Christianity in India. The Portuguese kings were interested in both trade and the spread of Christianity. Goa on the west coast was made a bishopric and Fransiscans and Dominicans were sent there. When King John III of Portugal appealed to the Pope to send missionaries to India, the Jesuit priest Francis Xavier was dispatched and was able to convert a large number of people belonging to the fisher caste on the eastern coast. He then started to build the Roman Church in India. Roman Catholic missions flourished in the centuries that followed and spread out to south and north India.

The Hooghly River in Bengal was a natural conduit for trade and in the late seventeenth century the banks of the river hosted a variety of European trading posts: the Dutch at Chinsurah, the French at Chandernagore, the Portuguese at Bandel, the Danish at Serampore, the Prussians at Bhadeshwar, the Greeks at Rishwa, and the British at Hooghly. Although trade in goods such as cotton, tea, rice and jute was the primary activity, the Europeans also brought the Christian faith. Among the first were Augustinian missionaries who used the Portuguese factory at Hooghly as the base of their operations from the early sixteenth century and established a number of mission stations in lower Bengal. The Danes founded a mission station at Serampore in 1755. Initially the British did not allow missionaries to operate so the first English Protestant missionary, William Carey of the Baptist Missionary Society, who arrived in 1793, set up his mission in the Danish territory at Serampore. Carey is seen as the father of modern Protestant missionary enterprises. His pioneering work in the translation of the Bible, printing, journalism and primary education gives him a unique place in the history of Christianity in Bengal.

In 1814 the British ban was lifted and Protestant missionaries of other denominations started to enter India, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Church of England), Church Missionary Society (Church of England), and London Missionary Society (Congregationalist). Until 1833, almost all Protestant mission work had been carried out by British societies but from this time onwards others entered the Indian scene from America and continental Europe. Christian missionaries sought converts particularly among the tribal population and the lower orders of Hindu society. Christian missions from Europe, North America and other countries continue to work in India, although conversion remains a controversial issue.

After Independence, several Christian denominations asserted their Indian identity. Unions of Protestant denominations were formed, notably the Church of South India (est. 1947) and Church of North India (est. 1970). There have been three distinct movements shaping modern expressions of Christianity in India. First, inculturation, which uses local language, cultural practices and religious idioms in an attempt to remove the ‘foreignness’ of Christianity. Second, over the last 30 years, some outcaste communities have converted to Christianity to escape from the oppression of the caste system. Third, the rise of indigenous churches, instigated by Indian Christians, particularly those of a more pentecostal or charismatic nature.

Number of adherents

According to the census, there were 24 million Christians in India, comprising 2.3 per cent of the population and the third largest group after Hindus and Muslims. The National Council of Churches in India, however, estimates that there are an additional 14 million Dalit Christians who were categorised as Hindus in the 2001 census (Dalits are only allowed to register as Hindu, Buddhist or Sikh). All major Christian denominations are present in India – Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant. The census recorded over 515,000 Christians in West Bengal, which can be broadly divided into six distinct communities: Anglo Indians, Armenians, Chinese, Hindu converts, Portuguese and tribal Christians.

Anglo Indians are those descended from marriages between Europeans and the local population. They are a politically-recognised minority in India and are concentrated in West Bengal, although an estimated one-third of the community has migrated since Independence (particularly to London and Toronto) and the community in Kolkata now numbers only about 30,000. All Anglo Indians are Christians and belong to different Christian denominations.

The Armenians came to India from Persia during Mughal rule for trade and commerce. It is not clear exactly when they arrived in Kolkata but their cemetery in the city contains a tomb of someone who died in 1630, making them the first Christians in Kolkata. When the British came, the Armenians lent the East India Company money to purchase land rights in Bengal; following their allegiance to the Company, the community was granted many favours by the British Crown. At one time they were the most numerous of the foreign traders in the city but at Independence many emigrated and an estimated 200 Armenians remain in Kolkata today. The Armenians have their own church which follows the rules of the Eastern Church in the orthodox style. They have never attempted any conversion.

Many of the Chinese community in Kolkata became Christians under the influence of missionaries, although their faith is blended with traditional Chinese practices such as annual rituals for dead ancestors. Around three-quarters of Chinese Christians are Roman Catholic and the remainder Protestant.

From the late eighteenth century, European missionaries started to convert Hindus to Christianity. People from different socio-economic backgrounds were attracted to Christianity: some poor lower caste people converted to escape oppression while some educated rich people adopted Christianity along with a western education and lifestyle. Christians who speak Bengali are known as Bengali Christians. Among the people from other states who have migrated to Kolkata and West Bengal are also some converts to Christianity, particularly those from Bihar, Goa and Tamil Nadu.

The so-called Portuguese are a small community of just a few hundred who live in the village of Mirpur in Midnapore District. In 1770, 12 Portuguese gunners were brought from the Portuguese colony of Bandel at Hooghly to Mirpur by the local queen to protect her estates from raiders and in exchange these men were given rent free land. Their descendents still live there today and are all Christians (Catholic and Protestant).

European missionaries targeted much of their work at the tribal population and had some success in converting people from their traditional folk beliefs to Christianity. In West Bengal, they had particular success among the Garo people, ninety per cent of whom profess Christianity, and the Mech, around 50 per cent of whom profess the faith. A few other tribes also have a small proportion of their members following Christianity, such as the Munda, Parja and Santal.

Geographical distribution

Followers of Christianity are concentrated in Kolkata and in the tribal areas of north Bengal. The Anglo Indians are essentially an urban community concentrated in Kolkata and some of the larger regional towns. In Kolkata they were traditionally found in certain neighbourhoods of central Kolkata but since the 1990s many have moved to the suburbs. The Armenians and Chinese are also urban communities all found in Kolkata. Hindu converts are found throughout the state but tend to be based in urban areas. Tribal Christians are concentrated in the hilly are forested areas of North Bengal, in the districts of Cooch Behar, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. In fact, 48 per cent of the state’s Christians are found in these three districts.

Social integration and participation

The different Christian communities display different degrees of social integration. Anglo Indians are marked out by their surnames, language, dress and customs. During the twentieth century, they were loyal to the British and were given positions of minor responsibility in the civil service, railways, post offices, customs, ports, excise and police. After 1947 many emigrated; the remainder are commonly employed as teachers in English-medium schools, nurses and secretaries. Most Anglo Indians are in the low income group.

The Armenians can be identified by their distinct physical features but are westernised in habits and culture. They have very conservative religious beliefs and maintain their own place of worship; in fact, the Armenian Church is the oldest existing place of Christian worship in Kolkata, dating from 1724. Their prayer book is printed in Armenian and they chant in Slavonic. The Armenians came initially as traders and during the British period traded with China to the east and Persia to the west. The community is highly educated and today tends to be engaged in business, particularly hotels, restaurants and shops.

The Chinese in Kolkata are distinct from the rest of the population in terms of physiognomy, dress, names and language. They live in the Tangra area of the city where they are primarily engaged in the tanning industry and the manufacture of leather goods, as well as running Chinese restaurants.

The Chinese Christians have their own churches and tend not to attend other churches. Bengali Christians generally consider themselves on the middle rung of the social hierarchy. They tend to be engaged in service, business, trade or industry. Christian converts from different tribal groups tend to maintain their tribal identity and are distinct from mainstream society.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

Christians are motivated to engage in social action in response to Jesus' teachings and example in caring for the poor and downtrodden, particularly children and vulnerable members of society. Christianity is divided into major branches of Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant and each of these is sub-divided into many denominations. Each denomination has its own church and social activities, which results in a plethora of Christian organisations; in Kolkata around 60 per cent of religious organisations are Christian.

The British felt the colonial duty to 'civilise' the native population by introducing Christianity and 'modern' ideas. Thus the missions of the Raj period combined evangelism with education. The latter had more impact than the former and arguably the greatest legacy of the Christian missions in India is English-medium schools.

Early mission work focused on elementary education for the masses, particularly encouraging the participation of girls, and also on providing mainstream primary and secondary schools teaching in the English language. Later on, the missionaries turned to higher education, with the aim of bringing the gospel to the intellectual elite. Many of the schools and colleges that Christian missionaries established in Kolkata are still among the most prestigious today, such as Scottish Church College established in 1830. Roman Catholics initially did little work in education, other than elementary schools and theological seminaries for training priests, but with the proliferation of Protestant schools and colleges, they decided to establish their own, particularly the Jesuits.

Catholic and Protestant missionaries were also active in other forms of social service, particularly health and welfare. They set up hospitals, hospices, orphanages and old age homes, many of which are still highly regarded by all classes and communities. Arguably the most famous Christian of Calcutta was Mother Teresa, an Albanian Catholic who joined the Loreto Order at age 18 and arrived in Calcutta in the 1930s. Seeing poverty and death on the streets, which reached a particularly grim peak in the Great Famine of 1943 and the refugee influx after Partition in 1947, she felt called to serve God by caring for the sick and dying. In 1950 she was granted permission from Rome to found a new order, the Missionaries of Charity, which set up homes for the destitute and dying. Worldwide, she became an icon of charitable compassion, selfless dedication and godliness. Kolkatans are not entirely comfortable with her legacy and the Order has been heavily criticised for its methods of care and use of funds.

Traditional denominations, newer charismatic and pentecostal movements, and indigenous churches all engage in a variety of social service activities in West Bengal. The extent to which evangelism is combined with social action varies. Social work can be divided into three broad fields: welfare and care of the vulnerable and destitute (such as orphans, street children, slum dwellers, elderly); education (through non-formal, formal schools, colleges, and vocational training programmes); and healthcare (through health awareness programmes, clinics, health centres and hospitals).

Each of the distinctive Christian communities in West Bengal have organisations and institutions for charitable work and development, primarily targeted at members of their own community. The Anglo Indian community has a number of charitable, philanthropic and educational institutions, particularly catering to members of its own community. The Armenians, a wealthy community who made their money in trade, were well respected for their philanthropy and set up various charitable institutions for poorer members of their community. They also established educational institutions, notably the Armenian College which still operates, but since there are virtually no Armenians born in Kolkata today, students are sponsored to come from Armenia and Iran to study there. Christian missionaries founded three schools in Kolkata specifically for Chinese students: the Sacred Heart Chinese School (1935), Don Bosco College (1937), and Ling Liang School (1963).

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Dalal (2006), Das (2007), Dutta (2003), Moorhouse (1971), Neill (1986), O'Brien and Palmer (2007), Pye-Smith (1997), Roberts (2000), Thangaraj (2006), Vatin (1991), Winchester and Winchester (2004), Wood (2007)
- Websites – Catchcal, Census of India, Diaspora cities
- Interviews – Bishop PSP Raju (29 Apr 2008)

<u>Islam</u>

Historical origins

Islam in India can be divided into five broad periods: early traders, northern invasion, Sultans, Mughals, and Islamic revival and reform.

Islam first appeared in India in the seventh century CE among the Arab traders who had long been present on the western coast. The earliest mosque on the subcontinent is in Kerala. In the south, the migrants came peacefully and over time became thoroughly acculturised. The story was different in the north, though. In the eleventh century, Turkish, Persian and Afghan Muslim groups began to set their sights on India. There were a series of incursions into the northern Indus Valley and the northern Gangetic Valley. Although this was largely a political invasion rather than a religious one, large numbers of people converted to Islam, probably partly through coercion and partly in reaction to the hierarchical and oppressive nature of Brahaminical religion.

Muslim rule was consolidated in a period known as the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526), when a series of Turkish and Afghan dynasties ruled from Delhi over large territories of northern India. Following this, the Turk Babur invaded in India and established the Mughal Empire; he was succeeded by the emperors Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. After Aurungzeb, the empire declined and small independent or semi-independent states emerged, several of them under Muslim rulers (*nawabs*).

By the nineteenth century there was a major dichotomy among Muslims. On the one hand were the aristocratic elements (*ashraf*) from immigrant ethnic stock, such as the Pathan, Afghan and Mughal, who spoke Urdu or Hindustani, and upheld Mughal court culture. On the other hand were the common people (*atrap*) who were mainly converts from the indigenous population. There were attempts to bring about greater unity through Islamic reform movements. There were some movements for Islamic revival, establishing madrassas and moving towards purity and religious study; equally there were also some movements for religious modernisation and social reform. Following Independence and Partition, a large proportion of the Muslim population of British India stayed in India, though they were increasingly disadvantaged.

The earliest Muslim influence in Bengal was Sufism, which began to spread from the eleventh century and flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The rule of the Delhi Sultanate from the thirteenth to sixteenth century extended across northern India into Bengal, likewise during the Mughal Empire from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Thus Muslims in Bengal have always comprised a combination of immigrants and local converts. When the British arrived, Bengal was ruled by a local Mughal *nawab* but the East India Company defeated him at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. The fortunes of the Muslims then declined and they had a very low profile in British-ruled Bengal until they began to be politicised in the early twentieth century.

Calcutta was an important centre of social, political and religious movements of the Muslims, including the Khilafat Movement in the 1920s, the Tablighi Jamaat and the Jamaat-e-Islami. Calcutta has also been an important centre of Islamic learning in eastern India and engaged in the publication of Urdu books.

Number of adherents

India has the second largest Muslim population in the world after Indonesia. There were 138 million adherents in the 2001 census, comprising 13 per cent of the population; in West Bengal the number of Muslims was over 20 million. There are different ways in which the Muslim community can be categorised, most usefully by sect or origin.

The two main branches of Islam – Sunni and Shia – are found in West Bengal. The majority of Muslims are Sunnis, and the most numerous of the sub-sects are the Barelvi and Deobandi. The Shia are divided into three sub-sects: Athna Ashari, Ismaili Shia and Imami Ismaili Shia. There are also small numbers of the Wahabi sect and the Ahmadia sect (considered by most Muslims as being outside the fold of Islam). Sufism retains a following in Bengal; Sufi shrines are popular among Muslims and people of other faiths.

West Bengal's Muslims can be divided into 'foreigners' (those descended from ethnic groups who invaded India) and 'citizens' (those descended from native Indians). Among the former are Afghans, Iranians, Arabs, Tibetans and Chinese and the latter can be divided by geographical region. In a study of the Muslims of Kolkata, Siddiqui (2005) identifies seven ethnic groups from northwest India, 12 ethnic groups from western India, eight ethnic groups from southern India, and 32 ethnic groups from northern India. Examples of particular ethnic groups of Muslims in Kolkata include: the Bohra trading community originally from Gujarat; the Rangrez from Rajasthan; the Kela from the jungles of Orissa; and the Hajjam who migrated from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

Geographical distribution

Muslims are found everywhere in West Bengal, although there are fewer in the hilly districts. A higher proportion is found in rural areas. Within Kolkata, Muslims are concentrated in particular neighbourhoods, where they tend to be grouped by sect, language and region of origin.

Social integration and participation

The Muslim community is very heterogeneous in ethnicity and language. Each ethnic group is traditionally associated with a particular trade, whether dried fruit dealers, butchers, barbers or fishmongers. However, they tend to live in geographically distinct neighbourhoods in the city and many can be distinguished by their dress and physiognomy. Each sect and sub-sect has its own mosques and organisations, but at the same time there are common elements between Muslims which give them a single identity.

According to census statistics, Muslims score low on all indicators of development including household poverty, school attendance, literacy and work participation rate (including extremely low female work participate rate). This was recognised by the government who commissioned the Sachar Committee report on the *Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India* (GOI 2006). The report showed the status of Indian Muslims to be below the conditions of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. It catalogued systematic economic deprivation, including lower average daily earnings and lack of access to basic infrastructure such as roads and water; high school dropout rates, resulting in low educational achievement and poor literacy levels; and underrepresentation in professions such as the civil service, banks, universities and police. The report made a variety of recommendations to ensure the equality of opportunity for Muslims.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

Muslims are obliged to give charitably. One of the five pillars of Islam is *zakat*, the giving of 2.5 per cent of annual income to the poor and needy. Muslims are also required to give *fitra*, a charitable tax, at the end of Ramadan. *Zakat* and *fitra* tend to be collected on a local level by mosques and *maktabs*, which are also responsible for distributing it fairly. Some Muslims may choose to make additional charitable contributions, for example towards the building of mosques and schools.

Siddiqui (2005) identified five main types of social institutions of the Muslims in Kolkata: i) orphanages; ii) voluntary associations that collect *zakat*, *fitra* and other charitable funds from Muslims that are given to poor and needy Muslims; iii) madrassas where Koranic instruction and primary education in Urdu are given; iv) hospitals for the treatment of the sick; v) and one organisation for the disposal of the bodies of destitute people. There are a few historic organisations such as the Calcutta Muslim Orphanage (est. 1892), Muslim Institute (est. 1902) and Bazm Ahbab Islamia Hospital (est. 1926), but only eight per cent of the associations in the study were formed prior to 1960.

The government's Sachar Report, mentioned above, has motivated Muslim communities to establish organisations and projects to promote socio-economic development among their community.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Dalal (2006), Dutta (2003), Gottschalk (2006), Government of India (2006), Mishra (2008b), O'Brien and Palmer (2007), Sen (2005), Siddiqui (2004), Siddiqui (2005), Vatin (1991), Wood (2007)
- Websites – Catchcal, Census of India
- Interviews – MKA Siddiqui (02 Sept 2008)

<u>Zoroastrianism</u>

Historical origins

The monotheistic religion of Zoroastrianism originated in pre-Islamic Iran. By the ninth century CE, Islam was being imposed in Iran and many Zoroastrian people decided to leave; in 936 some arrived in Gujarat in western India. The refugees pledged to conform to the society of the day; they dropped the Persian language and picked up the Gujarati language and they stopped wearing their Persian clothes. They asked that they be able to keep their religion and separate places of worship, although they promised that they would not try to convert anyone. To this day, the Zoroastrians in India keep their own private places of worship into which no one but Zoroastrians are allowed, and they have never sought to convert anyone. These Zoroastrian Persians who had migrated to India were known as Parsees and this ethno-religious label is retained today.

For many centuries, the Parsees lived as farmers in the villages of Gujarat and practiced their religion. With the arrival of the East India Company, many moved to Bombay and other British-run settlements where they took up jobs, particularly in trade and commerce. The British liked the Parsees because they were well-educated and adaptable; they amalgamated well with western culture and language and thus became one of the favoured minorities in India. Bombay became the hub of Parsees in India, but they also moved to other cities in India, such as Calcutta.

The recorded history of Parsees in Calcutta begins with Dadabhoy Behramji who arrived in 1767 from Surat. The early settlers who followed him came to seek their fortune; they were mostly traders by profession and their commercial activities were protected by the British government. Many also worked as agents of the British East India Company. Parsee pioneers who established businesses and enterprises in Calcutta played a very important role in the commercial development of the city. In particular the Parsees had monopolised the opium trade since 1809. In the last 70 to 80 years, there has been an out-migration of Parsees from India. They are now spread around the world, but particularly in the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and USA.

Number of adherents

Of the 130,000 Zoroastrians in the world today, over half (70,000) are in India. The highest census count of Parsees in India was nearly 115,000 in 1941 but demographic trends project that by 2020 Parsees will number only 23,000 in India, comprising just 0.0002 per cent of the total population; they will then cease to be called a community and will be labelled a tribe.

In 1864 there were 100 Parsees in Calcutta; by 1921 there were 1,000 and by the mid 1960s the community reached its peak of nearly 4,000. Today there are around 650 Zoroastrians in the whole of Kolkata; and within ten years the community is expected to drop to 400 in number. The significant decline has been due to out-migration (in reaction to the communist government's regime which was not favourable for employment, business and industry) and demographics (low marriage rate and low birth rate but high death rate). The Parsees are a shrinking and ageing community; indeed, the Registrar or Parsee marriages told me that there had been just two Parsee-to-Parsee marriages in the previous four years (10/ZO).

Geographical distribution

Parsees are the most urbanised of any community in India. Most Parsees in West Bengal are concentrated in Kolkata, particularly in the central area of the city.

Social integration and participation

The Parsees are distinguished by their physiognomy and language. They are very westernised and use the English language among themselves. They are well accepted in society and do not suffer prejudice; this is probably due to a combination of facts including not seeking to convert anyone and their widespread charitable works.

Parsees started as petty merchants but later became well-established traders and business people, running banks, mills, heavy industry, shipyards and shipping companies. They played an instrumental role in the economic development of the country over many decades. Many Parsees became very wealthy and some of the best-known business conglomerates of India are run by Parsees, including the Tata, Godrej, and Wadia families. Parsee entrepreneurship lost its importance after independence but Parsees today are still very much involved in business and the professions. Many have reached the top in their career, and head up the city's most prestigious companies. Though a minority group, they are well-established and highly-accomplished in their fields of specialism and have excelled in all areas.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

The Parsee community are well known for their philanthropy. The term Parsee in Sanskrit means 'one who gives alms'. There is a popular maxim that says "Parsee, thy name is charity". There is no teaching of abstinence in the Zoroastrian faith; rather followers are encouraged to make money and from whatever they earn, a percentage must go to helping others. Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "I am proud of my country, India, for having produced the splendid Zoroastrian stock, in numbers beneath contempt, but in charity and philanthropy perhaps unequalled and certainly unsurpassed".

Many Parsees made fortunes from trade and commerce in British India. From this emerged a number of great philanthropists. Their priority was to help their own community, for example by building temples or housing colonies, and providing funds for poorer members. After catering for their own community, the Parsee philanthropists then gave gifts for the benefit of society, such as hospitals, art galleries and colleges. This legacy is still very much in evidence in Mumbai and to a lesser extent in Kolkata. Today, about ninety per cent of the charitable work done by Parsee organisations is for the benefit of the Parsee community.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Dalal (2006), Kanga (1969), Luhrmann (2006), Ray (2005), Vatin (1991)
- Websites – Catchcal, Wikipedia
- Interviews – S Medorah (15 September 2008), T Mehta (15 Oct 2008), PS Postwalla (15 Sept 2008), N Tankariwala (28 Oct 2008)

Taoism

Historical origins

Kolkata's Chinese have already been mentioned in the sections on Buddhists and Christians, but must also be mentioned in relation to Taoism. The indigenous religion of China is syncretic, comprising folk elements (shamanism), Taoism, Buddhism and Confucianism.

Chinese Buddhist pilgrims visited India, and Bengal in particular, between the fifth and fifteenth centuries CE, but of concern here is the migration of Chinese since the eighteenth century. In the 1770s a Chinese sailor named Yang Da Zhao arrived in Calcutta and subsequently recruited workers from China to grow sugar cane for him. The first references to Chinese living in Calcutta were 1784. There are three main sub-groups of Chinese in Kolkata: most are ethnically Hakka from Guangdong province in southern China and there are smaller numbers of Cantonese and Hubinese. Most of the community would classify themselves Buddhist or Christian but among the current Chinese population are members of a Taoist sect called Yi Guan Dao, founded in 1930 and headquartered in Taiwan.

Number of adherents

By the Second World War, the Chinese community in Kolkata had prospered and was estimated to have reached 200,000 but the wars between India and China after Independence saw a large exodus and brought the number of Chinese down to 20,000. Today, about 90 percent of Kolkata's Indian-Chinese community live outside India, mostly in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Australia, USA and Canada. The community in Kolkata today consists of less than 3,000 people. Around 100 people are involved in the Yi Guan Dao sect.

Geographical distribution

All West Bengal's Chinese live in Kolkata. Until the 1960s, the Chinese lived in the heart of the city's commercial district. Following the mass exodus of Chinese and the demolition of much of the original Chinatown for urban improvement, most of the remaining Chinese moved out to the eastern suburbs of Tangra and Topsia.

Social integration and participation

The Chinese in Kolkata have always faced considerable discrimination and were treated like foreigners, only as recently as 1998 being allowed Indian passports. They live in their own distinct neighbourhoods and are distinguished by their physiognomy, language and names. They control most of Kolkata's leather and shoe business, but are also involved in businesses such as dry cleaning, dentistry, beauty parlours and restaurants.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

The philanthropic activities of the Chinese community have already been mentioned in the context of the Chinese Buddhists.

Sources

- Interviews – SM Chu (25 Nov 2008), CP Chung (25 Nov 2008), L Chung (14 Dec 2008)

Baha'i

Historical origins

The Baha'i faith was founded in 1844 CE by Baha'u'llah in Iran. The first Baha'i teacher in India started his work in 1874 and travelled to many states; the first convert was recorded in 1909. There was no information available about how the Baha'i faith came to West Bengal or how long Baha'is have been in West Bengal or Kolkata.

Number of adherents

The Baha'i authorities claim that there are an estimated 2.2 million Baha'i in India, the biggest Baha'i community of any country in the world but the 2001 census recorded only 5,700 followers. One reason for the varying statistics could be the fact that new Baha'is followers do not have to negate their own religious traditions; many who follow Baha'i do not see themselves as belonging to a new religion but rather as having a new component added to their existing beliefs. The number of Baha'is in West Bengal is difficult to ascertain; even the State Baha'i Council did not know the figure.

Geographical distribution

The State Baha'i Council reported that there are Baha'is found in about 2,000 localities within the state and that there are between 400 and 500 Baha'is living in the city of Kolkata. The Baha'is operate through a network of democratically-elected international, national, regional and local governing councils. Over recent years there were as many as 180 of the latter, called Local Spiritual Assembles, in West Bengal.

Social integration and participation

People from all walks of life, ethnic and religious backgrounds are drawn to the Baha'i faith therefore there are no distinctive trends in terms of how Baha'is are integrated into society.

Philanthropic and development attitudes and activities

At the heart of the writings of Baha'u'llah is the force of transformation, both of the individual and of society. When an individual person is transformed and developed, they will focus their energies on serving the needs of the community and bringing about the transformation and development of humankind. Thus the core activities of the Baha'i community focus on these processes of individual and social transformation. The primary activities are Devotional Gatherings. As a result of these meetings, members decide to run moral and spiritual empowerment programmes for different age groups (children, youth and adults). In turn, these groups are then motivated to engage in socio-economic development projects as an expression of their commitment to creating a peaceful global society. Local Baha'i groups undertake projects appropriate to their locality, such as health camps, schools and vocational training programmes.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Dalal (2006), Garlington (2006)
- Websites – Baha'is of India
- Interviews – P Bhattacharya (19 Dec 2008), A Mukherjee (19 Dec 2008)

Other ethno-religious communities

This research has focused on the organisations belonging to ten major religions but it should not be assumed that these are the only religions present in West Bengal. A brief mention should be made of other groups that do not fit into the mainstream categories but which are still part of the heterogeneous ethno-religious landscape of West Bengal. Over 727,000 people in India did not state their religion in the 2001 census and over 55,000 of these were in West Bengal. This group comprises minority groups which do not identify with the fixed categories of religion on the census, those who do not hold religious beliefs, and those who do not want to reveal the information.

Tribal communities are found across India; while some have embraced Hinduism and others have converted to Christianity under the influence of missionaries, many still follow traditional beliefs and practices. This folk religion varies by tribe, but is usually strongly animistic. The Santals, for example, are the largest tribal community in India and one-third of their six million members live in the western districts of West Bengal. Their indigenous religion is called Sarna and they believe that spirits (*bongas*) reside in groves, forests and other places.

The synthesis of the *Bhakti* and *Sufi* traditions in the fifteenth and sixteenth century CE in Bengal led to the song and verse of the Baul tradition. The Bauls are a religious sect indigenous to Bengal. As wandering minstrels, they travel alone or in small groups and sing their mystic philosophy in villages or at social gatherings. The Baul movement was at its peak in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and had a significant influence on Bengali culture.

There has been a flourishing of spiritual movements over recent decades, particularly among the urban middle classes. These tend to focus on self-development and exploring spirituality through meditation. Among the examples found in Kolkata are Art of Living founded in 1982 in India by Ravi Shankar and Reiyukai founded in 1930 in Japan and started in India in 1983. Both of these movements are based on a philosophy of self-development which in turn leads to social development; the organisations engage in social work such as schools, health camps, de-addiction programmes and tree planting.

Despite its religious heritage, India also has a strong tradition of scepticism, agnosticism and atheism (Sen 2005). Some atheistic schools are found within ancient Hinduism, such as the Charvaka school, which emerged around the sixth century BCE and predated the atheist philosophy of ancient Greece. Other Indian philosophies generally regarded as atheistic include the Samkhya school and the Purva Mimamsa school.

In modern times, there have been prominent Indian atheists including: Bhagat Singh, a revolutionary of the Indian independence movement who laid a foundation for socialism in India; Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Independent India who campaigned for India to be established as a secular state; Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, who is credited with developing the Hindutva ideology of Hindu nationalism; and Goparaju Ramachandra Rao, who devoted his life to propagating atheism and, with his wife, founded the Atheist Centre in Andhra Pradesh.

Within West Bengal, socialism and communist politics have a strong tradition, which is often associated with atheist beliefs. Notable Bengali atheists include: Subodh Banarjee, minister in the United Front Government of West Bengal during the 1960s; Amartya Sen, the Nobel Prize winning economist; Sibnarayan Ray, renowned Bengali thinker and advocate of radical humanism; and Prabir Ghosh, vociferous head of the Science and Rationalists' Association of India based in Kolkata.

Sources

- Books, reports and articles – Anthropological Survey of India (2008), Sen (2005), Vatin (1991)

Religious composition of the population of West Bengal by district

Shown as percentage of each religion by district

District	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Sikhs	Buddhists	Jains	Others	Religion not stated
Bankura	4.6	1.2	0.6	0.2	0.1	6.3	28.1	3.3
Barddhaman	9.4	6.7	3.1	33.2	0.7	2.4	5.0	10.4
Birbhum	3.3	5.2	1.4	0.5	0.1	2.5	0.2	3.1
Cooch Behar	3.2	3.0	0.4	0.5	0.2	4.0	0.1	1.3
Dakshin Dinajpur	1.9	1.8	4.3	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.7	1.6
Darjeeling	2.1	0.4	19.3	3.4	72.9	2.0	0.6	1.3
Hooghly	7.3	3.8	0.9	3.4	0.5	3.7	5.5	4.8
Howrah	5.5	5.2	1.2	5.7	0.4	17.4	0.1	4.7
Jalpaiguri	4.9	1.8	28.7	2.5	18.0	1.8	0.4	2.3
Kolkata	6.1	4.6	7.8	23.5	2.6	37.8	0.2	15.5
Malda	2.8	8.1	1.6	0.4	0.1	0.5	2.5	2.5
Midnapore	14.2	5.4	4.2	4.9	0.7	3.0	29.3	11.7
Murshidabad	3.6	18.5	2.7	0.6	0.1	5.3	0.2	8.4
Nadia	5.8	5.8	5.7	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.6	2.9
North 24 Parganas	11.6	10.7	3.9	16.1	2.4	5.8	0.4	10.6
Purulia	3.6	0.9	1.4	0.9	0.1	4.0	25.3	5.2
South 24 Parganas	7.8	11.3	10.3	2.5	0.7	0.4	0.1	8.4
Uttar Dinajpur	2.2	5.7	2.6	0.4	0.1	2.5	0.7	1.9
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Census of India 2001

Doctoral research completed by Jennifer Claire Lunn
from the Department of Geography, Royal Holloway University of London
between January 2007 and September 2010
in London, Kolkata, Freetown and Delph