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WHO DEVELOPS WHO?
SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY IN THE POVERTY REDUCTION STRATEGIES OF NEPAL
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Lapin yliopisto, yhteiskuntatieteiden tiedekunta

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Tekijä: Mikkonen, Johannes Henrikki

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Tiivistelmä: Köyhyys on moniulotteinen poliittinen ongelma, jonka vähentäminen on nykyisen kehitysdiskurssin keskiössä. Tutkimuksessa tarkastelen sosiaalisesti kestävää köyhyyden vähentämistä Nepalín köyhyyden vähentämisstrategiossa (PRSP). PRSP on Maailmanpankin ja Kansainvälisen valuuttarahaston luoma prosessi, jossa kehitysmaat valmistelevat kansallisesti köyhyyden vähentämissuunnitelman. Se on ehtona Maailmanpankin lainahelpotuksiin ja moniin kehitysapuohjelmiin ja määrittelee kehityspoliitiikan keskeisimmät prioriteetit. Tutkimuksessa kysyn, millaisia asemia eri toimijoille rakennetaan Nepalín PRSP -prosessissa ja mitä nämä asemat kertovat köyhien poliittisesta toimijuudesta ja kapasiteeteista päättää omasta elämästään.

Tutkimuksen teoreettinen viitekehys koostuu kehitystä, köyhyyttä, sosiaalisesti kestävästä kehitystä ja deliberatiivista demokratiaa käsittelevistä aiemmista tutkimuksista. Keskiössä on sosiaalisesti kestävä köyhyyden vähentäminen, joka vittaa kestävästä kehityksestä nousevaan ajatukseen, että köyhyys ei vähene elleivät köyhät kykene itse päättämään omasta elämästään. Tutkimusaineisto koostuu kolmesta Nepalín PRSP -dokumentista vuosilta 2003-2010. Analysoin niitä laadullisesti teoriaohjaavalla sisällönanalyysillä ja yhdistän siihen Greimasin luoman aktanttimallin ja diskurssianalyysissä käytetyn subjektiaseman käsitteen. Subjektiaseman avulla tarkastelen millaisia kontekstuaalisia subjektiasemia poliittisissa dokumenteissa rakennetaan.

Nepalín PRSP prosessi rakentaa hierarkisia asemia eri toimijoille: Köyhät ihmiset ja yhteisöt ovat kehityksen passiivisia kohteita, ja hallitus, hyvin organisoidut järjestöt ja yksityinen sektori ovat aktiivisia poliittisia toimijoita. Kansainväliset kehitystoimijat vaikuttavat vahvasti papereiden tavoitteisiin. Prosessi tuo köyhät kehityspoliitiikan keskiöön, mutta lisää niiden poliittista toimijuutta vain rajoitetusti. Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, miten nykyinen kehitysdiskurssi heijastelee maailmanpoliittisia valtarakenteita, joissa köyhien maiden köyhät jäävät ilman ääntä.

Avainsanat: kehitys, köyhyys, kestävä kehitys, sosiaalinen kestävyys, Nepal, PRSP

Muita tietoja:

Suostun tutkielman luovuttamiseen kirjastossa käytettäväksi x

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Tiivistelmä:

Poverty is a multi-dimensional global problem that is at the core of the current concept of the development. The thesis focuses on the social sustainability in the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRSP) -process of Nepal. PRSP process is created by the World Bank and IMF in the 1990s. The developing countries prepare their national PRSP, which defines the guidelines of the development politics. I ask in the thesis, what kind of positions are given to different subjects in the PRSPs of Nepal and what these positions tell about the poor's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives.

The theoretical framework of the thesis consists of the earlier researches about the development, poverty, sustainable development and deliberative democracy. The key concept is the socially sustainable poverty reduction, which main idea is that poverty is not reduced unless poor are capable of deciding about their own lives.

The material of the thesis consists of three documents of the PRSP process of Nepal from 2003 to 2010. The material is analyzed with the qualitative methodology of the theory-guiding content analyze, the actantial model and the concept of the subject position.

The PRSP process of Nepal structures hierarchical positions to the different actors. The poor people and communities are labeled as the passive objects of the development. To the government, organizations, communities and the private sector the documents structure the position of the political agents and the international agencies have power to define the targets of the process. The results reveal how the present development discourse reflects the power structure of the global politics, where the poor people of developing countries remain without a voice.

Avainsanat: development, poverty, sustainable development, social sustainability, Nepal, PRSP

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Abbreviations

BRICS	The group of five major emerging national economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CAS	Country Assistance Strategies of the World Bank
CBO	Community Based Groups
DAC	Development Assistance Committee of the OECD
GoN	The government of Nepal
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
I-PRSP	Interim PRSP, which is prepared before the PRSP
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JSAN	Joint Staff Advisory Note of the World Bank and IMF
LDC	Least Developed Country
MDGs	Millenium Development Goals
NPC	National Planning Commission of the government of Nepal
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development
PE	Public Enterprise
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAP	Structural Adjustmen Program of the World Bank and IMF
SDGs	The Sustainable Development Goals
SMC	School Management Community in Nepal
UNDP	The United Nation's Development Program

1. Introduction

1.1. Background: Unreachable development

I am interested in the social sustainability in the current concepts of the development and poverty reduction. The topic of my Master thesis is the socially sustainable poverty reduction and the thesis analyses the subjects of the poverty reduction strategy of Nepal.

I define development, as its simplest, the desired social change, which meaning has been historically changing (Dickson 1997; Koponen 2007). Traditionally, it has been equated to economic growth and industrialization (Dickson 1997, 3). In the 1970s it was realised that scarcity of natural resources and environmental problems are limiting the possibilities of traditional development (Brundtland Commission 1987; Meadows, Randers & Meadows 2002). This was a part of the so called environmental awakening and it created a new concept, sustainable development. It started to describe the transition of development towards more ecologically and socially sustainable version.

Poverty is the wicked problem of the present world and it is linked to all the other big problems and conflicts of our era, such as climate change, other environmental problems and issues related to refugees, security and hunger (see Eskelinen 2011). Reducing poverty is at the core of the present concept of the development (Koponen 2007, 58; van de Meene & van Rooij 2008, 9). It became the main goal of the international development politics, when 189 nations promised to free people from extreme poverty and multiple deprivation in 2000, which turned into eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (United Nations General Assembly 2000).

Strongly connected to the MDGs, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) created Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) -process, which is in the focus of my study. In the program, the governments of developing countries prepare the national PRSP, with the consultation of the staff of the World Bank and IMF. The Papers define the objectives and

priorities of the development politics. PRSP is required before a country can be considered for debt relief or receive aid from the most major donors and lenders (World Bank 2011). The material of this study consists of three PRSP documents of Nepal from 2003 to 2010.

Nepal is a low income country in South Asia with the landscape dominated by the majestic Himalayas. The country is passing through the political transition followed from 10 -year violent conflict between Maoist guerrillas and the army of the monarchy. In 2006, the peace was declared and the monarchy was replaced by the federal republic system. The rehabilitation of the guerrillas and building of peace and democracy have been challenging. (World Bank, Nepal Overview.) The complex political situation within the economic factors, that are typical in the developing countries, makes it relevant to research the poverty reduction in the context of Nepal.

I have been travelling and working in Nepal during 2009-2012 altogether eight months. During these years, the country went through the rapid 'development'. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been growing approximately three point five per cent per year and is estimated to increase almost five per cent in 2013. People living below the international poverty line has halved in last seven years. (ibid.)

The economic growth could be seen easily in Nepal during my three trips. It had become visible in the growth of new, big apartment houses and other buildings, and the growing number of the private cars on the streets of the capital, Kathmandu. Meanwhile the size of the slums, amount of beggars and street children seemed to increase as well, and any improvement could not be seen in the conditions of the workers, who were building the new, fancy buildings. So, according to my observations, many people saw the 'development', but could not reach it, which made me interested to make this study.

The relevance to research PRSPs comes from their political importance: PRSPs are creating the frames of poverty reduction and development in most of the developing countries (World Bank 2011). They are the important part of the present international development discourse,

that highlights the national ownership, the inclusion of all people and participation of wide ranges of stakeholders of the development (Robb 2011).

The theoretical framework of this study consists of the earlier academic debate about the development, poverty, socially sustainable development and deliberative democracy. The key theory of the thesis is the socially sustainable poverty reduction, which I define according to Sen (1999), Escobar (1992) and Eskelinen (2011) as the concept of the poverty reduction that increases poor people's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives. With political agency, I mean that poor should not be labeled only as the objects of the development but they should get the position of the political agents, who should be able to affect the content of the politics. With capacities to decide, I mean poor should get skills and opportunities to affect and participate in the decision-making that is dealing their lives.

1.2. Research questions and aims of the thesis

The concept of the socially sustainable poverty reduction rises from the theory of the socially sustainable development and Habermas' theory of the deliberative democracy and is related to the concepts of the political agency and participation. Focusing on the subjects of the poverty reduction of Nepal, I ask in the thesis:

What kind of positions are given to different subjects in the PRSPs of Nepal and what these positions tell about the poor people's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives?

Using the qualitative methodology of the theory-guiding content analysis, the actantial model and the concept of the subject position I search for the actors, who get the positions of the objects of the development, who are active political agents and who define the content of the poverty reduction in the material. Then I analyse what the subject positions of the different actors tell about the poor people's political agency and capacities.

Analysing the PRSP documents with the concept of the subject position directs the attention to the actors that are structured in the interpretations of poverty reduction: Who benefits the present interpretation and for whom the interpretations address the responsibility to develop societies. With the discursive subject positions, I seek to find answers to my research question and meanwhile I articulate the cultural shapes, that get their own content in the debate about the poverty reduction and development (see Autto 2012, 24).

The theory-guiding content analysis makes it possible to use selectively different theoretical approaches, because the theories just guide my analysis and the actual theories come from the material. The research approach, that is using selectively different approaches, is typical in the postmodern research, where the traditions of the science can be forgotten or used selectively. (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2004, 104.)

PRSPs are political documents that are socially constructed. The worldview of the discourse analysis makes it relevant to research the political documents that are political action, which are defining the actors and the relationship between them. Language does not only represent the reality but it also constructs it and there might be many parallel constructions of the reality. In addition a constructivist perspective makes it possible to research the structures of the politics of poverty reductions, that are not stable but all the time negotiable (see Burr, 1995; Foucault 1972, 72-73; Gould 2005.)

In addition, this thesis is located in the discipline of the problem-oriented globalism. I do not research the globalisation process but the global problem (poverty), its causes and possible processes. Globalist research is one of the newest and increasing research approaches in the International Relations. The approach sees that capital, knowledge, labour and thinking flow around the world without any social, political or cultural control or organisation (Nyyssölä 2012, 231; Hakovirta 2002, 45, 292.)

The development is the concept that shapes the modern state: The more developed the state is, the more resources it has, which means more power (Koponen 2007, 50-52). That is why by

analysing the concept and its most significant interpretation –poverty reduction, can produce relevant knowledge not only about the debate about the development and poverty but also about the nature of the global politics. First aim of this thesis is to produce understanding and knowledge about the International Relations by producing understanding about the current concept of the poverty reduction in the case of Nepal.

My second aim is to produce knowledge and understanding about the PRSP process of Nepal with the diverse methodology and theoretical framework, that has been rarely used. I do not seek to find the generalised factors, but to deepen the understanding of the poverty reduction strategies and to take part of the debate that is going on about the development, poverty, socially sustainable development and deliberative democracy by empirically considering on the subjects of the PRSP process of Nepal.

My third aim is to produce knowledge and understanding, that is meaningful in the debate and decision-making of the development politics. Launching MDGs in 2000 gave a sign of bringing the relief to the poor people of the world. There has been success, but only a few of eight goals will be achieved until 2015 (halving extreme poverty, access to clean water and living conditions in the slums). Now the member states of the United Nations have started to develop a set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which will build upon MDGs and create the post 2015 development agenda. (United Nations Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform.)

By aiming to take part of the political debate about the poverty reduction, the study includes also the normative approach. I seek to find the dimensions of the poverty reduction which would be socially sustainable, meaning, at its simplest, the politics that increases poor people's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives. The problem of the development is that the ready-made model which to be transferred all over the world does not exist, but the development is more as a series of open-ended questions. However, there is a need to create alternative development discourse with the visibility, real participation and justice of poor people. (See Escobar 1997; Eskelinen 2011, 143; Dickson 1997, 151; Sen

1999, 155.) By taking part of that debate, I add the emancipatory approach into the thesis and attempt to do research that gives a voice to the people, who are oppressed and too far from the powerful of the world.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

The study starts with the description of the earlier researches and research approaches of the development, poverty, socially sustainable development and deliberative democracy and the descriptions of the concepts of political agency and participation. In third chapter, I perform the context of the research, such as the research material and methods and consider on the ethical questions of the study.

I divide the subjects of the empirical material, according to my research question, into those those who need help, those who help and those who decide and attempt to analyse what rights and responsibilities those subjects are given in the interpretations of the poverty reduction and development. In the chapters from four to six, I perform those actors and the most common subject positions of them. In the conclusions of every chapter, I analyse what the subject positions tell about poor people's political agency and capacities to decide.

In concluding remarks, I summarise my research results and analyse them with the theoretical framework of this thesis. I evaluate how I succeeded with the aims of the thesis and consider on the questions to be studied after the thesis.

2. The theoretical points of poverty reduction

2.1. Development

Reducing poverty is strongly included in the discourse of development and the poverty reduction is the core idea of the present concept of development (see Koponen 2007, 58; van de Meene & van Rooij 2008, 9; United Nations General Assembly 2000). It became the important priority of the development politics of the World Bank and the IMF in the 1990s and main goal of the international development politics within the development of MDGs in 2000 (World Bank 2011; United Nations General Assembly 2000).

That is why researching the poverty reduction strategies requires to explore the concept of the development and I start to describe the theoretical framework of the thesis with the academic approaches to the development. To get the holistic picture of the research field, I perform, the best of my knowledge, all the significant research approaches of the development studies, even though I base my analysis only on part of them.

There is no general definition of the concept called ‘development’ and it can mean many different things (see for example Koponen 2007; Escobar 1992; Dickson 1997). Koponen (ibid. 50-51) defines it by describing its four assumptions: There are things that can be called development, it can mean either a goal or a method of achieving the goal or it is an empirical social process, that requires active intervention.

The development is crucial to separate from progress. The latter can happen by itself but the development is intentional and it needs and must be promoted (Koponen 2007, 59).

Development is a normative concept and includes strong positive value. In this study I define the development as the process that is aiming at desired social change.

Traditionally in the international relations, development has been equated to economic growth and industrialisation. The concept is often understood as the description of transition from the

feudal to the capitalist system in Europe, while many other nations are still developing. It refers to the kind of universal and evolutionary path, which all the nations should follow, if they want to develop. Developing industry is the key to get into this path. (Dickson 1997, 3, 88, 97; Koponen 2007, 54.)

The traditional view of development has been criticised as well in the politics as in the academic researches (see Brundtland Commission 1987; Eriksson 2003; Escobar 1992; Eskelinen 2011; Sen 1999; 2009;). In the 1970s it was realised that the environmental problems and the scarcity of natural resources are limiting the possibilities of the traditional development and it is impossible to spread the Western ways of consumption to all over the world. That is why the concept of sustainable development was created (Brundtland Commission 1987; Meadows et al. 2002).

Despite the new concept, critical approaches to the development and development politics were rising in the 1980s and the whole concept was wanted to be forgotten or at least rethought from the growth-based model (Koponen 2007, 66). It was blamed to be an unfair concept – an invention and strategy produced by the 'First World' about the 'underdevelopment' of the 'Third World' (Escobar 1992, 22).

Critics with the inability of the development politics to reduce poverty, made major donors and development organization (such like Organisation of Economic Co-operation and development (OECD), World Bank and IMF) to change their views. As the answers to the critics, they started to adopt participatory research and planning methods to their development programs in the 1990s. The change made people and improvement of poor people's lives into the central of the development. It was no more seen as a historical modernization process that would be repeated in the developing countries, but the new discourse of development started to include the ideas of freedom of choices, democracy and human rights. (Cooke & Kothari 2005, 5; Koponen 2007 56-57.)

In the academic critics, one significant approach to the concept of the development is the theories of the neo-colonialism. Since the actual colonialism has become out of the date, the contemporary capital expansion through the processes of globalization and the concept of development is often referred to the new concept of the colonialism (Sethi 2011, 5).

Also the world system theory is a research approach that has achieved a lot of attention. It was created by Wallerstein (1972) and has established itself as a leading model in the development studies (Van Rossen 1996, 508). The theory divides the world into the core area, semi-periphery and periphery. The areas have their own duties and things in the world order and the periphery is offering low-cost labor and resources to the core area of the world. (Nyyssölä 2012; Wallerstein 1975.)

The dependency theories of the development are close to the world system theory and have been used widely in the researches that are analysing the PRSP process. Contrary to the world system theory, it refers to the extent of a country's reliance on the world system, its vulnerability to fluctuations in the world system and the extent of the foreign control as the world system theory refers to the structures of a country's relations with the rest of the world and the international division of labor. (Van Rossen 1996.)

Big amount of the earlier researches that I use in my analysis, include the approach of the dependency theory. For example, Wade (2003) and Gould (2005) have analysed the poverty reduction with this context. Wade claims that the governments of the developed countries are defining the content of the development for the developing countries. Gould studied how lending conditionalities affect to the social relations of governance and argues that new conditionalities between the developing and developed countries are built into the new terms and concepts, such as into the partnership. Saasa, Guardian, Tadesse and Siwakoti (2003, 112) and Tammilehto (2006, 23) claim how the new concept of the development has not left its dependency on Western modernity and history and the significant development actors are still focusing mainly on macroeconomic issues and economic growth.

The new critical approach to the development has raised from the theories with the biopolitical approach. One of the leading theorists, is Duffield (2001; 2005), who highlights the important division between developed and underdeveloped populations with biopolitical terms. He describes the present view of the development as an attempt to change the whole societies and behaviour and attitudes of people through cooperative partnership.

Reid (2011, 403) argues with the biopolitical approach that a disaster is an important element in the present concept of the development. He and Duffield (2005) connect the development with the issues of the human security. The neutrality, which used to be at the core of the humanitarian thought and action, in the development politics, was during the 1990s replaced by seeing the political nature of many humanitarian agencies. The development agencies can no more claim to be neutral humanitarian agencies, so from conflicts and security issues, they can get the detachment and autonomous capacity to intervene in maintaining the space of neutrality.

Neo-Gramscian perspective raises from the theories of the biopolitics. It is often used in the researches of the political economy and within it, the current world order can be characterized as a non-hegemonic order, in which increasing coercion and domination are needed to re-produce the neoliberal norms and practices (Gill 2003). Ruckert (2006) attempts the neo-Gramscian theory to the study of development and claims that the PRSP process is used to create the global hegemony around a new inclusive neoliberal block.

The post-colonialist, world system and dependency theories offer useful contexts to research the socially sustainable poverty reduction. The earlier academic researches of the development, that are in the focus of my thesis, have mostly the approach of the dependency theories, especially in the analysis of the subjects, who decides the content of the poverty reduction. In addition, the world system theory guides my analysis and I attach the biopolitical research approach of Duffield (2005, 2001) into the analysis of the research results, in the concluding remarks.

On the contrary to the world system and dependency theories, my thesis does not focus only on unequally divided areas with the different economic statuses but also inequality inside the societies and areas. The world is not static and one-dimensional and inequality exists also inside the societies (see Nyysölä 2012). On the other hand, development theories can be applied also to describe the inequality inside one country: for example, with the terms of the world system theory, the elite of Nepal can be considered as the core of the periphery and poor and marginalised people as the periphery of the periphery.

2.2. Poverty

Poverty can be defined as the deprivation of well-being. According to World Bank, 'person is considered poor if his or her consumption or income level falls some minimum level necessary to meet basic needs', which refers to the concept of the absolute poverty. The Bank uses reference line set at 1.25 and 2 dollars per day. In 2008, about one in four people in the developing world lived with less than 1.25 dollars a day. (World Bank 2011.)

Traditionally, the poverty is defined, as its simplest, as basic lack of the means of survival. Poor people are unable to feed and clothe themselves properly and as a consequence are at the risk of dying. That kind of poverty is called absolute poverty, which obviously exists, but the most of academic research discuss poverty with relative term. Relative poverty is the term that moves the phenomenon away from a minimal, physical survival notion into the definition, that is relative and put emphasis on social survival. It attaches to the concept of the poverty, the dimension that even the poorest of the community should reach the certain quality of life to become the fully valued member of the community. (McPherson & Silburn 1998, 1-2.)

Townsend (1979) was first to conceptualise the relative poverty, which describes the situation, where material consumption and social participation in a wide range of customary social activities are inhibited by lack of resources. His theory about the relative poverty is

approaching the multidimensional concept of the poverty, which is at the core of the present development politics and poverty reduction strategies. It is an alternative of seeing the poverty only as the lack of economic capacities. The United Nation's Development Program (UNDP) and Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) recognise the five dimensions of the poverty that are income- and consumption poverty, bad health, lack of power, insecurity and vulnerability, and socio-cultural poverty, which refers to the incapability of participate in any community as its fully valued member (Tammilehto 2003, 22).

The approach to poverty in this thesis is based on the multidimensional concept of the poverty and Sen's (1999, 2009) theories about the development and justice. He (1999, 3-5) defines the poverty as the deprivation of basic capacities, which refers, as its simplest, the lack of action chances. According to Sen (1992, 29-54) the aim of the development politics should be to increase poor people's economic, human, political and socio-cultural capacities. So, in this thesis poor are defined as people who are incapable of doing things they value (vs. World Bank 2011).

2.3. Socially sustainable poverty reduction

My thesis is based on the assumption that poverty is not reduced unless poor decide about their own lives (see Calder 2008; Escobar 1992; Eskelinen 2011). It is at the core of the concept I call socially sustainable poverty reduction. The concept, that is the central theme of this thesis, consists of the ideas that poverty reduction strategies should involve the aims to increase poor people's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives. The concept is related to the theories of the socially sustainable development and the theories of the deliberative democracy. Within these theories, I search for the answers to my research questions.

In addition, in this chapter I perform the most common interpretations and academic researches about the concept of the participation. It is related to the socially sustainable poverty reduction, even though I see it more political rather than a theoretical term. However, it plays an important role in the research material and in my analysis and need to be reflected.

Socially sustainable development

The basis for the socially sustainable poverty reduction is related to the theories of the sustainable development. It is the concept of the development 'that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland Commission 1987, 42). The concept has three dimensions: ecologic, social and economic sustainable development (ibid.) and this thesis focuses on its social dimension.

At the core of sustainable development is the idea, that the central actor of the development should be human being or community (Salonen 2011, 33-34). So the concept is not only depending on climate politics, the loss of biodiversity or other global environmental problems but more and more on the chance and ability to create the society that no one is left outside (Halle 2008, 234).

Socially sustainable development is, according to Salonen (2010, 33-34), concerning the unequally divided possibilities that development brings among people and the states. Sen (2009, 251-252) argues that the main point in social sustainability is to improve all people's basic needs and capacities so that future generation has the same capacities and freedoms that people have now –or even more.

Instead of future generation, I focus in my thesis on the poor people of Nepal and the earlier researches of the socially sustainable development guide my analysis. For example, Khadka's (2010) research about the Community Forestry politics of Nepal in the context of the socially sustainable development plays an important role in my analysis.

Deliberative democracy and rational communicative action

This thesis approaches the democracy with Clague's (2009, 263) definition, which highlights the participation of the citizens: People living in the democracy do not have only right to vote but also right to form political organizations, to influence public opinion, to put pressure on officeholders, and to compete for offices.

The definition is close to the theories of the deliberative democracy, which is the approach that highlights the citizens' political rights and agency. The approach tries to answer the questions, how public decision-making is taking to account the citizen's preferences and how it enables citizen's participation in the decision-making. Theories include the assumption, that if public decision-making fails in these, it might lead to the unpopularity of the holders of the public power. (Autto 2012, 19.)

Deliberative democracy was made famous especially by Jürgen Habermas (1987, 1996), who uses the term discursive democracy. He highlights that the legitimacy of the public decision-making is depending on its ability to the open dialects. That means, that arguments should be able to be performed freely and they should be estimated by their content, not depending who has claimed them.

Habermas describes the decision-making system's ability to the open dialects with the rational communicative action. The negative counterpart of it is the strategic action, where people and groups are aiming to achieve a single goal or defending their power position more than improving common conditions by comparing different arguments openly. (Autto 2012, 19.)

Rational communicative action leads to the ideal speech act that is not harmed by any external influence or internal forces. The idea would mean simplified and adapted in my study, that PRSPs should have prepared in the way that everyone should have had the same chances and rights to participate in the debate by asking, answering, speaking and starting the conversation. Everyone should have had the same opportunities to make decisions,

recommendations, announcements, as well as to problematize, to repeal and to justify them. (Habermas 1987, 177-180.) PRSPs are done with the wide consultations of the civil society, which could, at the best, approach the situation of the ideal speech act.

Dryzek (1990) is another significant theorist who writes about the discursive democracy. He criticises the liberal representative democracy, which ability to solve the problems, in the current divided and pluralistic societies, can be questioned. Following Habermas, his answer is also the rational communicative action. However, he sees that the communication should not aim at the consensus, but at the free communication, where the authority is held by the best argument. (ibid. 9-16.)

In the context of my study, the theories of the deliberative democracy describe poor's political agency, which is at the central of my thesis. According to the theories, the political agency means a discursive shift from portraying developing countries and poor people as political actors and aid partners rather than passive recipients. Giving poor people the subject position of the political actors, would acknowledge their active role shaping their own future and political agenda. (See Abrahamsen 2004.)

Participation

Also, the concept of the participation is related to the socially sustainable poverty reduction (see Calder 2008; Cooke & Kothari 2001; Saasa et al. 2003; Salonen 2010; Sen 2009). Saasa et al. (ibid. 154) define participation as the people's full involvement in the decision-making, not just a selected minority's or the favoured one's but the whole heterogeneous population's. Cooke and Kothari (ibid. 5) claim, that participatory development tries to allow people to decide about the direction of the social change by encouraging beneficiary involvement in interventions that affect them.

The current concept of the participation is criticised in the academic research with the same theoretical approaches the development is criticised. The notion is blamed to reflect the views

of Western countries and might not work in more fragile political systems. International development agencies are driving for the participation that is blamed to be ‘depoliticized’ ignoring the historically contingent relations between a state and society and political and structural causes of inequality. (Lazarus 2008, 1209; Gould 2005, 11.)

The biopolitical and neo-Gramscian research approaches take account that participation is used as the tool for governing big masses (see Duffield 2001; Ruckert 2006). Duffield (ibid. 42) describes how the concept is used to change the indigenous values and modes of organisations and replace them with liberal ones. Participation is used to change the way people do things and what they think.

So, the interpretations of the concept of the participation vary in different contexts. Because I analyse its role in my research material, its political nature is worth reflecting. The socially sustainable poverty reduction refers to the creation of the alternative development through the poor’s own methods and tools and increasing their actual political agency, while the participation is the concept that aims to make people participate in the ready-made structures. To reduce poverty sustainably, organizing rural poor and supporting the poor’s own political and social movements and struggles are significant tools (Calder 2008; Khan 2001). Those methods might require giving up the demands of the traditional development politics and participation, such as the efficiency and accountability (see Calder 2008, 205-206; Escobar 1992; Eskelinen 2011).

3. Researching the PRSPs of Nepal

3.1. Nepal as a research context

Nepal is economically one of the poorest countries in the world. It belongs to the group of 48 least developed countries (LDC) and currently ranks 157th out of 187 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI), which combines the indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income. (The World Bank, Nepal Overview.)

The country, with a population of 30 million and a per capita income of about 750 dollars, is passing through the political transition after a 10-years violent conflict that ended in 2006. Peace agreement between the former Maoist rebels and the state was declared in 2006, and a new interim constitution, the election of a Constituent Assembly, the abolition of monarchy and declaration of a federal republic gave the hope of the better future of the country. (The World Bank Nepal Overview.)

Nepal was in 2006 in the same kind of situation, where the countries of the Arab Spring two years back. The wide riots had led to the displacement of the ruler and people were hopeful to create a new democratic system. As in the Arab countries, the path of the rehabilitation and building democracy have been harsh and recently Nepal experienced a setback as the Constituent Assembly failed to deliver the new constitution by the deadline. Now the country is preparing for new elections in November 2013 (ibid.).

The political instability, poor law and order, and exclusionary political, social and economic institutions that have not reflected the country's diversity are the typical features of many so called weak states in the developing world (Hironaka 2005). These assumptions are highlighted in the messy political situation of Nepal, which makes it relevant and interesting context to research the PRSP process.

3.2. The PRSP process

This thesis focuses on the PRSP process, which is a significant tool of the development politics of the World Bank and IMF. The organisations were created in 1944 to lead economic cooperation and development in the world. The IMF was given the task to stabilize the international exchange rates and the World Bank to reconstruct the post-war world and later to fund the development. (Patomäki & Teivainen 2003, 55.)

The World Bank and the IMF have different roles in the world politics and the World Bank is especially concentrating on 'long term economic development and poverty reduction' (IMF 2013). Still, their roles often overlap and for example, Nepal has created its PRSPs in the cooperation with IMF, not the World Bank. I use in my study the term Bretton Woods Institutions, which is the common name of both organisations coming from the village, where the founding summit of them was held (Patomäki & Teivainen 2003, 53).

Bretton Woods Institutions' roles changed from their origins and they became fast strongly conditional with their politics and loans. Since the 1970s, they have performed so called orthodox economic theory, which basic idea is that capitalist markets are always self-correcting and strive to the balance. The approach has been called also the Washington Consensus, which includes the ideas related to the neoliberal political economy such as minimal government intervention, trade liberalization, fiscal and monetary austerity, freeing of interest rates and privatization of state-owned business. The Institutions have been widely criticised of their 'one-size-fits-all' development and 'belt-tightening' politics, that they are driving all over the world. They are accused of performing the power of the rich people and lenders, while the debtors are left outside (Patomäki & Teivainen 2003, 56-58; Ruckert 2006, 42-43; Wade 2003).

In the 1990s, as the answer to the rising criticism of the Institution's neoliberal adjustment policies and their failure to deliver sustainable economic growth and to contribute to poverty reduction, the Institutions reoriented their development approach, took the poverty reduction

to the centre of their agenda and created the PRSP process. It is based on the concepts of the country-ownership, participation and effective poverty reduction. The organisations had realised the successful poverty reduction requires those all, and in addition a broad support from the public. The PRSP process was officially launched in March 1999. (Eriksson 2003, 12; IMF 2013; Ruckert 2006, 61.)

The process requires that developing countries concentrate seriously on the poverty reduction and they prepare the national PRSP if they want to get debt reliefs at the program of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC). PRSP became fast also condition to many other development fund and programs of the different parties. It has become a central tool in the development aid in low-income country in the 2000s and in February 2012 110 full PRSPs had been circulated to the Executive Board of the IMF. (Lazzaro 2008, 1205; IMF 2013). The World Bank bases its Country Assistance Strategies (CAS), which coordinate the development aid, on the national PRSPs, and the UN their progress reports of developing countries (Ruckert 2006, United Nations General Assembly 2001, 55). Also Finland have been giving the direct budget support to the developing countries through PRSPs (Ulkoasiainministeriö 2004).

PRSP process starts when a country prepares the Interim-PRSP (I-PRSP) which aims to make the process begin fast. Then, a country prepares the national PRSP. The staff of both Bretton Woods Institutions give the feedback and recommendations of the Paper through the Joint Staff Advisory Note (JSAN). For the staff of the Institutions, the World Bank has created the Guidelines for JSAN, and for the national PRSP makers of the developing countries the Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction, which gives detailed advice to prepare PRSP. The papers are updated in every three or five years and countries report the Institutions annually with the Progress Reports. The Report should include the evaluation about the results of the process, and plans for next year and it is again commented with the JSAN. The role of the process in the development aid system is described in the figure below. (Klugman 2002; World Bank 2004.)

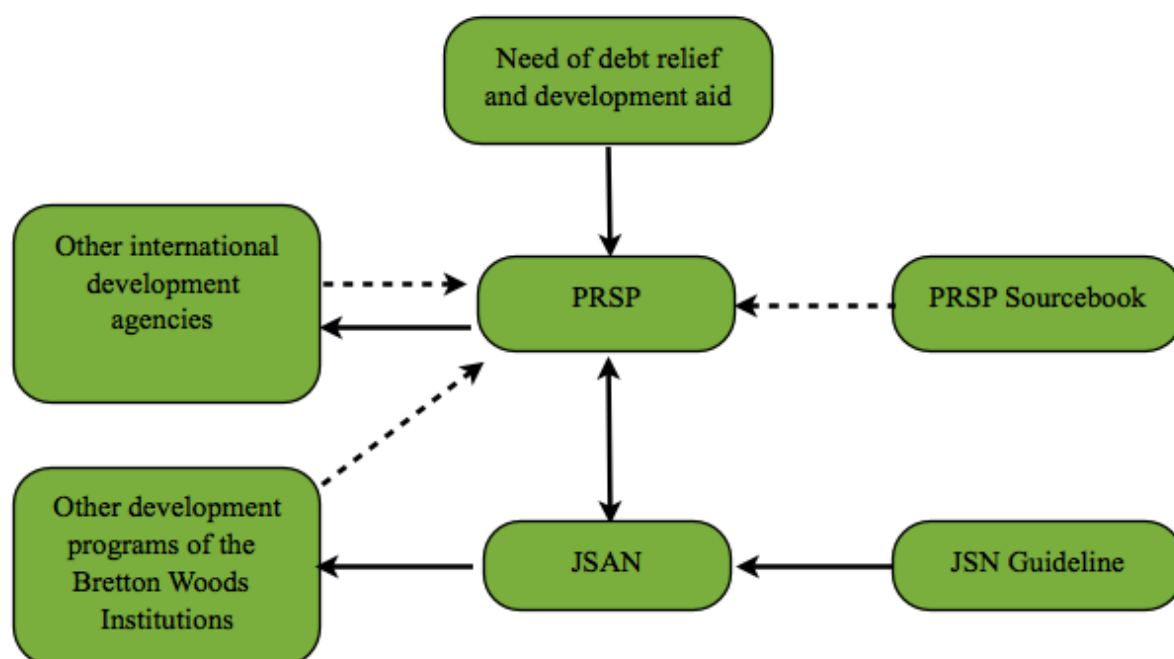


Figure 1. The role of the PRSP in channeling the development aid as the part of the aid system. Solid line describes the straight and dotted line weak connection (edited from Räsänen 2008, 49).

The PRSP process is intended to be open and participatory and to reach out to 'traditionally marginalized groups'. PRSPs should be country-driven, meaning national governments create them based on the broad participation of the civil society. They should be result-oriented, recognising the multidimensional aspects of poverty, partnership-oriented, involving the coordinated participation of development partners, domestic stakeholders and external donors, and based on long-term perspective for poverty reduction. (IMF 2013.)

Nepal started its PRSP -process by creating the national PRSP in 2003. Its goal is to be the most important development guideline of Nepal and to describe its macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programs aiming for poverty reduction. As all PRSPs, it is based on four pillars:

“...to promote faster and pro-poor economic growth, equitable access to social and economic infrastructure and resources for the poor and marginalized groups,

social inclusion and targeted programs and improved governance.” (PRSP 2003, 10)

Besides, it is based on the earlier national development plans of the country and the 2003 PRSP is called Tenth Plan. The National Planning Commission (NPC) prepares the PRSPs nationally in Nepal. It is the governmental office that is in responsible for the economic development of the country and monitors and evaluates the development plans, policies and programs (NPC 2013).

I chose three documents of the PRSP process of Nepal from 2003 to 2010 into the focus of my empirical analysis. The PRSP process of Nepal has been disrupted by the political conflicts and the lack of the Constitution. That is why, it was challenging to find the newest documents of the process. The Embassy of Finland in Kathmandu sent me the PRSP Approach Paper, which was prepared in 2010 and aim to keep the process going on, despite the messy political situation. The Approach Paper works like the PRSP until the official paper can be done.

The research material consists of :

- The 2003 PRSP, which is the basis of the poverty reduction of Nepal.
- The 2007 PRSP Progress Report, which is the newest progress report, that could be found in the websites of the IMF. It is the official publication of the IMF, but is prepared by the NPC. It analyses and estimates the PRSP process in 2006.
- 2010 Approach Paper, which is the paper that is supposed to work like the PRSP for years 2010-2013 if the official PRSP cannot be created.

The material is altogether 347 pages and it offers a wide and multi-dimensional view to the PRSP process of Nepal. First I planned to compare the PRSPs of different countries, but focusing on one country gives me deeper understanding about the whole process and a chance to consider on the temporal differences.

I assumed the documents would be very different because they are made to the different audiences, purpose and time but they are mostly consisted of the same things. That is why I base my analysis equally to all of them and call all the documents as the PRSPs of Nepal. If there are differences among the documents, I seek to perform them. I thought the 2010 Approach Paper might have the smaller political role nationally, because it replaces the official paper, but it is impossible to verify. Technically the Approach paper is as important as the official papers and is the most important current guideline of the poverty reduction of Nepal.

”The Commission is confident that the targets and the objectives undertaken by the Plan will be achieved as the Approach Paper has been formulated incorporating the plans and programs that need to be implemented even at the present interim situation...” (Approach Paper 2010, 4)

PRSPs are not only very important and significant documents of the present development politics but also the documents that offer useful material to research the global politics. They refer to the globalised and complex decision-making network that mixes the international agencies, national government and the international and national non-governmental organisations (see Duffield 2001, 11).

The PRSP process has been researched widely from the different approaches. In the contexts of the neo-colonial and dependency theories, PRSPs are blamed not to diminish the conditionality between an aid ruler and the objects of the aid. Bretton Woods Institutions are claimed to have still power to impose their will on the things the indebted governments want to do and might even make governments do something they do not want to do. (Booth 2003; Gould 2005.)

Craig and Porter (2003) and Lazarus (2008) are considering on the democratic and participatory aspects of the process and claim that PRSPs could help in achieving the macroeconomic stability but meanwhile they limit the scope and options of the local actors. Despite the inclusive dimension of the process, at the core of all papers are similar macroeconomic, neoliberal concepts, that are not negotiable (Saasa et al. 2003, 112).

On the other hand, many researches find the PRSP process as a sign of the change in the politics of the Bretton Woods Institutions. Driscoll and Alison (2005) claim that PRSPs might have potential to offer contribution to aid effectiveness, good governance and poverty reduction but have huge political and technical challenges to do so. Ruckert (2006, 36) claims that through the PRSP process, the Institutions have attempted to operationalize an holistic approach to the development integrating non-economic aspects into it, and emphasize the poor people's needs and participation in the development process.

None of the studies is concentrating on the actors and their subject positions in the PRSP process and they focus more often on the policies than the linguistic dimensions of the papers. Concentrating on the subject positions that are structured in the process, offers an essential approach to the politically important process of the present development politics.

3.3. The content analyse, the actantial model and the subject position

Theory-guiding content analyse and the actantial model

The constructivist perspective of the discourse analysis is part of the postmodern research approach, which is based on the idea that it is essential to understand the invisible. The research do not aim to reach the truth but to realise the reality as a human way of thinking. The postmodern research is typically theoretically selective, where different ideas can be borrowed from research approaches of all kind. It means that the studies can be understood here and now, without a certain method of taking possession of the theory. In addition, it often forgets the different traditions of science. (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2004, 104.)

I do not aim to forget the traditions of the science but my methodology, as well as the theoretical framework, is a selection from different approaches. I reduce, compact and group the material using the methods of the theory-guiding content analyse, but besides in order to

group the material I use the actantial model and in order to make the synthesis of the grouped material I use the concept of the subject position.

The content analysis of the qualitative research is a useful method of researching the unstructured material. Theory-guiding content analysis is described being between a theory- and material-oriented approach. I seek to find the answers to the research questions by observing the material, and the theory of the thesis is based on the issues coming from the material. Still, while observing the material, I have a strong theoretical approach coming from the existing theories, which guided my observation and analyses. (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2012, 96-97, 103.)

I started my analysis with reducing the documents by selecting all the relevant parts of PRSPs. I left outside the formal introductions and the budget tables, because they did not offer any relevant material to the study. Besides, I left outside the evaluations of the previous plans, because of limited space and time, I had to concentrate only on the programs of the PRSP process. That meant leaving outside about 100 pages making the size of the material reasonable.

Next, I concentrated on the actors from the material using the actantial model. It is originally developed by Greimas (1980). Actant refers to the actor role, that is addressed to the certain concrete actor. Actants are getting different actantial roles in the text. They can be the active subject, lifeless object or an abstraction (Autto 2012, 60-61).

Actantial model distinguishes seven different actor roles. It allowed me to analyse the long text systematically with sufficient exactness without breaking it into the different themes. The formality of the model makes it a useful method of controlling and comparing the extensive and multi-dimensional material (Autto 2012, 60-61). The PRSPs are political documents and not consisted of the uniform story but the collection of the descriptions of the programs, statistics, evaluation, policy objectives and implementation plans. The narrative is scattered

which made me to create the actantial model from every paragraph, so the whole narrative of the PRSPs became the target of the analysis.

The table below describes the process of using the model. There are two paragraphs from the research material and the filled table of the actantial model. In the first line there is a description of the actant role, in the second, filled actants from the first paragraph example and in the last line, the filled actants from the second example.

Example 1

”These four pillars of the poverty reduction strategy should not be seen as separate and self-standing. To the contrary, they are closely inter-related. For example, international experience clearly demonstrates that improvements in literacy and health and nutritional status, by enhancing skills and productivity and reducing family size, contribute to higher economic and per-capita income growth.” (PRSP 2003, 102)

Example 2

”In the information and communications sector, the Tenth Plan's main objective is to improve the access of people to information and telecommunication facilities, facilitating their participation in economic activities, as well as personal development. The major sector strategies are to enhance private sector participation in the expansion of information and communication network and facilities, and clarify the roles and responsibilities of private and public operators and to give them (as well as the postal service) functional autonomy. Regarding policies and activities, necessary steps for the promotion of private sector involvement in telecommunications will be taken.” (PRSP 2003, 133)

Table 1. The example of the actantial model.

	Subject	Object	Helper	Enemy	Sender	Receiver
Description of the actor roles	<i>The main character. Mainly the government of Nepal or the PRSP</i>	<i>The object that latter is pursuing. For example development</i>	<i>For example, the participation of the private sector supports the subject in the pursuing of the object.</i>	<i>Aims to prevent the pursuing of the object.</i>	<i>Provide the right, obligation or motivation to the subject to the pursuing of the object. For example Millenium Development Goals</i>	<i>The action of the subject is benefitting this.</i>
Example 1	<i>The PRSP</i>	<i>High economy, income growth</i>	<i>Improveme nt in literacy and health and nutritional status, reduced family sizes</i>		<i>Inter-national experiences</i>	
Example 2	<i>Tenth Plan</i>	<i>People's participation in economic activities and personal development. Expansion of information facilities</i>	<i>People's access to information and telecommunication facilities. Private sector participation/ involvement</i>	<i>The unclarified roles and responsibilities of the public and private operators</i>		<i>People</i>

Despite I make the qualitative analyse, I also took account the quantitative amount of different actants to find out the most common subjects, objects, helpers and so on in the material. That does not mean, I would have left outside of the analysis, the actants that are mentioned rarely, but it helped to analyse the priorities of the PRSP process of Nepal.

After finding the actors with the actantial model, I compacted the reduced material. In the traditional content analyse, the compacted material is grouped into the different themes. Instead of the certain themes, I divided it by according to different actants. The last part of the content analysis is to make synthesis, so different themes are considered in the same time in order to make the complete interpretation of the material. I made the synthesis by using the concept of the subject position and considering on the rights and responsibilities that different actors are given in the material. So, I did not use the content analysis as a technical method but more like a way to orientate, to make sure the analysis is systematic and to avoid the arbitrary interpretation. (Sarajärvi & Tuomi 2012, 102-103.)

Subject position

The subject position is the concept that is based on Foucault's and Louis Althusser's theories. The concept has been widely used in the post-colonialist research to consider on how race and ethnicity work as the methods of the inclusion and exclusion in the social politics (Clarke 2004; Kivisto & Faist 2007). There it crystallizes, how differences are produced between the citizens and governmental organisations (Clarke 2004, 48).

Subject positions are structured in the certain interactive context, where they get the situational meaning in the relation with already existing subject positions (Törrönen 2000). The concept of subject position includes the assumption about the political nature of the position. By giving different positions to different actors, the political actors aim to affect the behaviour of people and institutions. Political actors seek to use power to adapt the certain modalities (for example rights, desires, capabilities and responsibilities) into the subject position. That happens by offering or limiting different possibilities of different actors. (Autto 2012, 240-250.)

To the best of my knowledge, the subject position has not been used in the researches of the poverty reduction. In this thesis, I consider what kind of positions are structured in the debate

about the poverty reduction and what these positions tell about the poor's political agency and capacities to decide. Analysis takes account what kind of positions are given to authorities that use the power, and to the objects of the exercised power and what kind of rights and responsibilities are connected into the actors (see Autto 2012, 73).

I used the subject position in making the synthesis of the grouped material. Under every group (groups were made with the actants of the actantial model, for example the community sector) I listed all the rights (for example co-operation with local bodies) and responsibilities (for example organise primary education) that are given to the different actants in the material. Last, I concluded the actors whom the material structures the subject positions of the same kind. For example, poor people, low castes, women, and disadvantaged communities were given the same rights and responsibilities, so I simply call them poor people. That made possible with limited space to analyse wide ranges of the different actors, so the qualitative of analysis did not suffer.

3.4. Who can speak for poor?

My research material consists of the political documents that are open and do not threaten anybody's anonymity. That is why the material does not include ethical questions that would demand specific consideration, but it is enough, if I take to account the common practises of good research. On the contrary, the terms developed and developing countries and my own position to talk 'about the poor' and 'for the poor' are worth reflection.

Originally, the division into the developed and developing countries is based on the definition, that was made after the Second World War by the initiative of the president of the United States, S. Truman. The parts of the world were defined as 'underdeveloped'. Development was interpreted as meaning economic growth, the cultivation of export crops, the effective use of natural resources and industrialisation. (Kuronen 2003, 49-50.) Using the division of the developed and developing countries strengthens the arbitrary and two-dimensional concept.

Nevertheless the terms have established their place in the political and academic discourse to describe the inequality between the population of different areas of the world. That inequality has long history, which makes the terms relevant in this thesis. (see *ibid.*). It will be seen what happens to the terms in the future, because it seems that the division of the developed and developing world describes less and less the present world.

In addition, it could be asked, who I am to talk about the capacities of poor people in the Northern, privileged academic world. I write this study with the Western cultural presupposition and give voice to the poor only indirectly. In an ideal world, the informants should be able to speak for themselves, which could happen better through the interviewing poor people (Hietalahti 2013). Nevertheless, the ethnography research would not necessarily increase the value of the research in this context. Besides, if we do not have a right to talk about people from 'far away' through the political documents, can we question the existence of all the international and development studies without ethnography methods as well?

I am aware I cannot perform universal truths on issues that are open to a variety of interpretations. Reaching the universal truth with the results of my study is not even necessary but the aim of my analysis is to illustrate some aspects of the PRSP process of Nepal. The theoretical arguments I make, reflect my position with my own socio-economic, ideological and cultural point of view. (See Hietalahti 2013, 63-65.)

Butler (2006) writes how the assumption, that term 'women' refers to the common identity, is the political problem of the feminism. Likewise, by writing about poor people, I make the assumption that does not reach the whole reality, and generalise the identity or experience of being 'poor'. It is obvious that people who identify themselves as being poor, also have many other discursively formed identities, such like class, ethnicity and sexuality. However, the term is relevant in this study, because the research material consists of the political documents that are specifically tailored to people who are defined as poor.

Despite the restrictions that chosen terms and my own position brings to the study, this thesis aim to strengthen the discourse, where poor people are considered as political actors with multi-dimensional identities. In addition, I attempt to look at the world so that it is not divided only to the developed and developing areas, but consists of the different areas with different resources, capacities, rights and responsibilities.

4. Those who need help

Poor people and communities are the most common receivers of the benefits of the policies of the PRSPs. They are people for whom, the development actors offer help and create opportunities. They are not given specific rights and responsibilities, but the documents rather structure to the actual political actors the obligation to improve poor's accesses to the social services and to bring them into the mainstream of the development.

Poverty is a complex and multi-dimensional concept that is relative to different societies and cultural perceptions (Dickson 1997, 88). So first, I found it important to define who poor people are in the material, and how it defines the poverty. Second, I analyse the two most common subject positions of poor people and communities, which I named *poor people and communities without the access to the economic and human capacities* and *poor people and communities in the margins of the society*. Third, I consider, whether the participation, that the PRSPs aim to increase, could change poor's status from the passive objects to the active political actors. The concept of the participation plays an important role in my material, which aims to increase poor's political agency and capacities. That is why I analyse it separately from the subject positions. In conclusion, I summarize the poor people's positions in the material and consider what they tell about poor people's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives.

4.1. Who are poor?

Poor people in the material

“All the people, poor, marginalized and vulnerable individuals, groups and communities, will be provided with free, quality, basic health and education services. Programs will be implemented in a way that brings senior citizens, children, widows, and people with disability and vulnerable people of all caste, ethnicities and groups within the net of minimum social protection.” (PRSP Approach Paper, 2010, 88)

All people, who are incapable of doing things they value, can be considered to be poor (Sen 1999, 3-5). The quote from the material above describes that well and takes account the multi-dimensionality and the variety of the poor in the PRSPs of Nepal. The PRSPs perform poor being as people, who suffer the lack of income and economic capacities but are also marginalized, vulnerable people or people with disability. Poor are of all ages and come from many different groups, communities, ethnicities and castes.

“Women, Dalits and Janajatis [=ethnic minority] and people of remote areas are the most disadvantaged.” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 65)

Women and Dalits are almost in every case mentioned as a special group among poor people. They are the most visible discriminated groups in the society of Nepal (see World Trade Press 2010). Even though women’s status in the society has been increasing, women’s role is still determined by their husbands and parent’s status and they are subordinate in the patriarchal and male-dominated social culture of Nepal (ibid. 14).

The PRSP process of Nepal emphasizes the role of women in the development as the international development discourse does. Women are the main receiver of the development programs and PRSPs highlight the goal to increase women’s role in the society. Because of women’s important role in the material, I was first going to analyse their subject position separately, but because they get mostly the same subject positions with other poor and vulnerable groups, I include analysis of their position in the analysis of poor people and communities.

According to the PRSPs, women are the most vulnerable group among poor people. That is common in the development politics, where women are often placed in the same category with children (Hilhorst, Weijers & van Wessel 2012, 10). Besides, it is worth noting that the PRSPs do not make any difference among women, but focus just women without any further characterization or specific differentiation. Women are compared with the rest of the population (so, about half of Nepalese population) and men are not mentioned in any

documents. That refers to the interpretation, that men are doing development for women, who are the victims of the unequal and patriarchal culture of Nepal.

”Accordingly, in implementing key sectoral programs, attention will be paid to ensuring equity of access to such programs for all, with special attention (and monitoring of such actions) to assuring access of women and deprived communities, with the explicit objective of reducing the existing gaps between these groups and the rest of the population.” (PRSP 2003, 56)

Performing women as uniformity group that needs special attention, programs and protection make the PRSPs concentrate on the inequality between genders and the gender-based discrimination of the country. Meanwhile it hides the inequality, hierarchies and social classes among the women who have different statuses and capacities, especially in strongly hierarchical society, as Nepal is. It makes the recognition of the most vulnerable women ineffective and does not take account that there are several women activists and NGOs, which are working to improve women’s statuses in the society and to reduce the gender inequality (see Dahal 2001).

Another important group among the poor people in the PRSPs of Nepal, is the people with the lowest status in the caste system –Dalits. Caste -system is the determining factor in the poverty profile of Nepal and India. About the 3000-year-old system of racial discrimination has divided people into the castes, that separately have different customs, culture and work in the different sectors. The significant amount of people (160 million in India and 3 million in Nepal) are considered being outside of the system. They have been called untouchables and have been discriminated in every aspect of the society. The hundreds of different ethnicity and language groups of Nepal make the complex caste -system even more complex and multidimensional. (Keane 2008.)

The PRSPs of Nepal use about these people the Hindi -term Dalits, which means ‘the oppressed’, and is widely used. The caste system was officially banned in Nepal in 1962, but it left its mark into the society. Dalits are important receiver of the development programs of the PRSPs. Such as women, they are mentioned differently among the poor people, but get the

similar subject position with the other groups of poor people and the material does not analyse in any way the Dalits' status or reasons for the discrimination. Despite the significant role in the PRSPs, Dalits seem to leave without the policies that would be tailored specially for them.

“Foreign employment-oriented quality trainings will be provided in a way that ensures access of women, dalit, poor, marginalized communities and people from remote areas.” (PRSP Approach Paper, 2010, 54)

Such as women and Dalits, the poor are usually performed in the PRSPs as deprived groups and communities instead of poor individuals. That refers to the big role and importance of communities in the international development discourse. The World Bank has focused on the community-based and community-driven development since the late 1990s (see Kumar, Vajja & Pozzoni 2005). In the 2003 PRSP, they are more on the side but the 2007 Progress Report and especially 2010 Approach Paper highlight the role of communities in the development.

The communities have two important roles in the material. There are marginalised and deprived communities, that need help of the development programs to become empowered communities able to stand by their own. In addition, there are communities and community organisations who help the actual development actors by making the development programs effective and successful at the local level. In the latter case, the PRSPs talk more about community organisations, which refers to well-structured and strong communities. Communities that need help are often Dalit, rural or backward communities, or ethnic and religious minorities (especially Muslims).

If poor people are not performed as groups, they are called usually just poor people or people with disability, marginalised and vulnerable people. Especially the definitions and descriptions of poor people are transferred in the newer document towards more detailed and multidimensional. The 2010 Approach Paper talks more often about the poor as individuals than the earlier papers. It gives usually more exact definition to which kind of poor, the concerned program is aimed for –Dalits, children, youth, rural, illiterate and homeless people and so on. Besides, the paper makes a difference between poor and ultra-poor communities.

Sometimes the definitions are very detailed and exact such as people living in the mud house, landless people and people from the remote hill and mountain areas. In the 2000s, the concept of the multidimensional poverty has become in the mainstream of the development politics, which gives a reason to treat poor not just poor people but with multidimensional identities and an explanation for the change in the 2010 Approach Paper compared with earlier documents (see Tammilehto 2003).

I use in my study the generalizing term poor people and communities. I do not want to underestimate the differences between these groups and people but I do not have chance to concentrate on the diversity of the groups. They are all the objects of the PRSPs with the objectives of the same kind, and get similar subject positions, no matter if they are women, ultra-poor communities or marginalised people.

Poverty in the material

The PRSPs base their poverty analysis on the measurement of the percentages of people living under the poverty line (under a dollar per day, since 2008 1.25 dollars per day). That is the most common definition of the poor but seems to be utterly arbitrary. It raises the question, how the same measurement can work in all over the world and defines people who are earning 1.29 dollars per day as not poor (see Tammilehto 2003).

The PRSPs perform the achievements of the process only with the percentages of people living under the poverty line, which has been decreasing during the era of the PRSP. Meanwhile in the 2000s, the population of Nepal has been growing almost 2 % (1.7-1.9 %) per year and measuring the absolute amount of poor people might possibly change the results of the poverty reduction.

Poverty is a challenging phenomenon to measure. The example of the achievements of MDGs describes it well: The World Bank performed the good results of the MDGs, but data measures of global poverty level were faulted. The measurements had not taken account for

example the rise of the food prices and they had underestimated the effect of inflation. Besides, each country had defined the poverty line differently, which underscores the weakness of the current measure. (Sundram 2013.) Still, the measures are widely used in the politics and media (Tammilehto 2003, 5).

Even though the achievements of the PRSP process are performed with the concept of the traditional poverty line, the documents analyse the poverty also with other indicators. The 2003 PRSP performs the human development indicators, and gender-, ethnic- and caste-related differences of the poverty statistics. The 2007 Progress Report and 2010 Approach Paper are analysing the poverty with MDGs. They are estimating how likely it is to achieve MDGs by 2015. The 2003 PRSP is also based on MDGs, even though it does not measure the poverty with them. So, the documents take account that the poverty is a multidimensional problem, but still focuses in measuring the achievement of the PRSP process only in the poverty as the lack of the economic capacities.

4.2. Marginalised poor without access to development

Without access to economic and human capacities

Poor people are the objects of poverty reduction, which means in the material, that they are offered, ensured and extended their access to the things that improve their living standards. Poor's biggest problem in the material is the life without the access to the development.

The aim of the PRSP is among others:

“Equitable access to social and economic infrastructure and resources for the poor and marginalized groups, ...”(2003 PRSP, 10)

In addition, the PRSPs aim to the extension of poor's accesses to education, economic resources, electricity, credit, consumer goods, information, mainstreaming programs, financial

and banking services and so on. The accesses to the health care, education and employment opportunities are the most common goals.

Increasing poor people’s accesses to the variety of the services, is the part of the poverty reduction discourse that is based on the multi-dimensional concept of the poverty. Sen (1992, 3-5) argues for the importance of the ensuring poor’s access to the resources that would fulfill their material and immaterial needs. He claims that it is not the lack of food but the lack of entitlement that makes people starve. His theories have influenced also in the World Bank and other powerful development institution so that they —at least rhetorically, see the poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon (Tammilehto 2006, 66).

At the table below, I listed the things, poor people should have access to, according to the PRSPs, categorising them with Sen’s (1992, 29-54) definition of the capacity groups. The table does not show how important different things are in the PRSPs, but it gives the image what services poor people should get access to, according to the material, and what kind of capacities the access would increase, according to Sen.

Table 2. Things, the PRSPs aim to increase poor’s access to, categorised in different capacity groups. Sen’s capacity groups include also sociocultural capacities (possibilities to participate in the action of community) and issues related to insecurity and vulnerability. Those capacities are missing in the PRSPs of Nepal.

Capacities that development politics should improve (Sen 1992, 29-54)	The services and other things, to which the PRSPs aim to increase poor people’s access
Economic capacities: Sufficient income and property.	Agriculture, credit, banking and financial services, economical resources, employment, infrastructure, land, livestock markets, markets and sources of production.

Capacities that development politics should improve (Sen 1992, 29-54)	The services and other things, to which the PRSPs aim to increase poor people's access
Human capacities: Health, education, nutrition, pure water and housing	Drinking, education (primary and secondary), electricity, health care, food, information, IT, sanitation, social services, sport, transport and water.
Political capacities: Influence to the society	Representation in the local and national decision-making system

The table shows that the PRSPs of Nepal concentrate mostly on increasing poor's access to economic and human capacities. Political capacities are increased only by aiming to increase poor's access to representation in the local and national decision-making systems, which is in the low role in the material. The sociocultural capacities and issues related to insecurity and vulnerability are missing. That refers to the idea, that poverty is only the lack of sufficient income and basic needs and forgets the multidimensionality of the poverty.

The PRSPs aim to increase poor's accesses to the different services, in order to achieve the development, economic growth and poverty reduction. Poor people are passively waiting to get the access. Eskelinen (2011, 138) argues that this kind of poverty reduction is not socially sustainably. Poor people should not be offered the access to food, healthcare or anything only as the gifts of the charity, but because they have the right to get the access to those things. Development politics should aim at the society, where poor have political opportunities, power and pride to demand basic needs as their rights contrary to the gifts they are getting, which makes poor depending on the donors. On the other hand, it could be asked, which should come first—the basic needs or political opportunities and capacities to demand them.

In this subject position, there are a few exceptions that break the interpretations of poor people being just the objects whom are offered the accesses to the economic and human capacities as the gifts. The 2003 PRSP mentions that poor's access to the education should be increased, so that they could stand on their own.

“Among these, education is by far the most important, since it would enable the poor to climb out of poverty over time; but others such as access to health care, safe drinking water etc. contribute to improved living standards and life expectancy.” (PRSP, 2003, 26)

In the margins of the society

”In an isolated and closed society, generally those in the upper rungs of the social ladder had better access to social and economic infrastructure and opportunities for economic advancement. Those at the lower levels, particularly the Dalits, were left behind.” (PRSP 2003, 34)

In the PRSPs, poor people suffer the lack of access to the development, because they are socially, economically and geographically deprived. The example above describes the situation before 2003, but it is relevant also later and describes the subject position of poor people and communities being in the margins of the society.

”To bring about a lasting solution to the present problem, the nexus of poverty, poor governance, and marginalization need to carefully and urgently addressed.” (PRSP 2003, 2)

”Programs targeting poverty reduction will be carried out by developing and mainstreaming marginalized class which have been left behind socially and economically.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 80)

”Poverty alleviation and social justice could also have not institutionalized through the economic and social development, Likewise, the minorities and marginalized groups, who were suffered from discriminations and injustice in the past could not be assured for their participation in state management by protecting, developing and empowering them.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 133)

Lazarus (2008, 1209) claims, that PRSPs ignore the structural causes of the inequality, but this subject position shows that the PRSPs of Nepal recognise the discrimination and exclusion as the important factors behind the poverty. According to the research material, people are marginalised mainly because of the traditional social structure of the Nepalese culture. It is based on the caste -system, hierarchical traditions and feudal cultural structure and refers to the idea, that changing the traditions of the society could change marginalised people's statuses. On the contrary Khadka (2010, 229) finds the hidden power relationship of the present national politics of Nepal as the biggest reason for discrimination and exclusion.

The PRSPs aim to bring poor people from the margins of the society to the mainstream development by 'empowering' or 'mainstreaming' them. The concept of the empowerment entered to the international mainstream development discourse in the late 1980s and has become a buzzword, which refers to many different things —from increased participation in household decision-making and the market economy to increased capacity for self-reliance (Govinda 2009, 47). In my research material, it refers mostly to the economic and social capacities and is related to the offering education and employment opportunities for discriminated and marginalised groups, classes and communities. Empowerment is used more in the policies and programs for women than for other objects of the PRSPs.

"Under dalits empowerment the progress in this year include scholarship to 16 students in higher education, income generation trainings for 22 dalits, professional computer training for 50 person, and professional driving trainings for 15 person, among others." (PRSP 2003, 69)

"Effective contribution to poverty alleviation and economic growth will be made by emphasizing programs that raise the income of the poor and marginalized communities and empower them." (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 25)

Being in the margins of the society refers to the idea, that poor people are outside of the normality and the normal society, where the 'development happens'. So according to the material, the discriminatory social structure of Nepal has lead to the situation that

marginalised people suffer the lack of knowledge and skills that are required to be a ‘normal’ member of the society.

The 2010 Approach Paper describes the situation, where marginalised people could affect the decision-making of the state in the future. That note aims at the future situation, where marginalised people have the position of the political actor, which is contrary to the poor’s common position of being the passive object of the poverty reduction.

”The structure, policy and laws of the state would have been constructed according to the interest of marginalized communities within the women, Dalit, indigenous ethnic groups, Madhesi, Muslims, minorities and endangered tribes and the inhabitants of the remote hilly and Himalayan areas including the Karnali area and deprived groups and communities.” (PRSP Approach Paper, 2010, 127)

4.3. Possibilities of the participation

Participation plays a very important role in the PRSPs of Nepal and could, at its best, to give the position of the political agency for poor people and communities. After poor people’s access to social services and improvements of their living standards, the participation of different groups of people, organisations and institutions is the most common goal of the PRSP process. Participation is performed as the concept that supports, helps or enables the process to achieve the main development goals.

“The main objectives of the Tenth Plan in this area [=decentralisation] are to ensure greater participation of people in the governance process to accelerate the development process...” (PRSP 2003, 63)

“Strategies will be adopted to make development result-oriented by emphasizing people's participation, transparency, accountability and creation of corruption free situation through the establishment of values of rule-based state to ensure good governance in the nation as well as improving effectiveness of service delivery of the government and the private sector.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 22)

People's participation is the important objective in the high and general level of the poverty reduction strategies, but the actual policies and programs seek to increase more the participation of the private sector and the organisations than individual people. Often poor people are rather offered the representation in the communities, organisations and decision-making processes.

"To ensure adequate representation of women and deprived groups, affirmative action will be introduced." (PRSP, 2003 61)

"Ensure the justifiable representation of deprived and/or forcedly made deprived communities in all decision making processes and structures of the state." (PRSP Approach Paper, 2010, 126)

The word 'representation' refers, according to Oxford Dictionary, to the action, where somebody else is speaking or voting for somebody else on somebody's behalf. That is the way, it is used in the PRSPs of Nepal as well. It differs from participation, which means that stakeholders would act by themselves. Representation is an easier goal to achieve because it does not require the political capacities of people whom are represented.

The participation of poor people happens through the communities, whose participation is performed very desirable in the education and health sectors. Nevertheless, the concept of the participation, the PRSPs perform, is limited to the already existing, well structured and stable organisations, communities and private sector. That leaves poor, who are outside of the communities and organisations or incapable to act in those, without the opportunity for participation. Besides, it forgets the social movements of poor, which are often heterogeneous, loosely structured organisms, representing fluid and sudden action, rising for example from ecology, feminism or a need for a land reform (See Escobar 1997, 72; Eskelinen 2011, 139 and Sen 1999, 255).

"The government will take steps to expand adult literacy by setting up Community Learning Centers with the increased participation of CBOs, NGOs and local bodies." (PRSP 2003, 53)

“In this context, it is necessary to promote and preserve consumer right and welfare by making import system more efficient and effective through active participation and cooperation of private and cooperative sectors.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 98)

The participatory methods of the PRSP processes are blamed to lack the democratic power. The participation is blamed as the concept that is used more to achieve some level of national consensus about the policy priorities than the real power of poor. At the biopolitical point of view, the participation is seen as a method of governing people and change their behaviour in the desirable direction. (Lazarus 2008, Duffield 2001.)

In addition, Lazarus (ibid. 1204) performs the paradox of the participation: ‘Where participation can work it is not needed and where it might be needed, it cannot work.’ The paradox works well in the context of Nepal, which, as many other developing countries, can be considered as, at the best, a semi-democratized state with fragmented policy processes and low coordination between different centres of the decision-making (Saasa et al. 2003, 112-113). Khadka (2010, 192) argues, that patriarchal social structure, unequal power relations and gender, class and caste/ethnicity inequality of Nepalese society challenge the implementation of the participation. The PRSP documents do not consider these challenges in the context of the participation, even though they recognise those in other contexts. Neither do the documents consider on the notion that before the participation could lead to the significant change in the poor’s political agency, unequal power relations and multidimensional discrimination in the society of Nepal should be observed.

Despite the limitation of the concept of the participation, highlighting it draws attention to the problems of social exclusion in Nepal. Still, in order to achieve the political agency for the poor people, the concept of the participation should be transferred from the ready-made model with the clear guidelines to the concept that would allow poor people to participate with their own methods and interests. According to Habermas’ (1987) theories of the deliberative democracy, poor people should have real opportunities to affect the content of the development politics, not only participate inside the organisations that somebody else has created.

4.4. Conclusions

In this chapter, I analysed the subject positions of those who are performed as the objects of the PRSPs and named them those who need help. The PRSPs structure to the poor people the positions of being without access to economic and human capacities and being in the margins of the society. As in conclusions, I consider what the positions and the role of the participation tell about poor's political agencies and capacities to decide about their own lives.

The PRSPs aim to increase poor's accesses to the services that would increase their economic and human capacities. Achieving these goals would obviously increase their opportunities for political agency and deciding about their own lives. Nevertheless, to take account the aspects of the socially sustainable poverty reduction, the PRSP should aim to increase poor's accesses to the things that would increase their political and socio-cultural capacities and not label poor as helpless victims, who are waiting the development programs to offer them access to the services. The vulnerable label of the objects of the aid, renders people helpless and deprives them of agency (see Eskelinen 2011; Hilhorst et al. 2012.)

The subject position of poor people being in the margins of the society tells that the PRSPs recognise the unequal social structure of the country and aim to empower the marginalised people to become as the active citizens of the mainstream society. Meanwhile it refers to the idea of poor being outside the society, as abnormal subjects.

In order to reduce poverty sustainable, the discrimination should be considered wider than only in the issue of traditional social structure of Nepal. Exclusion is continuing, even though the development actors and the PRSPs recognise it as the important factor behind the poverty, because also the development policies are contributing the exclusion by themselves. Hence, the whole PRSP process should be considered as being possible part of the exclusionary political structure. (see Khadka, 2010 229.)

The concept of the participation in the PRSPs of Nepal could, in the best situation, offer the political agency to the objects of the development. However, the PRSPs aim to increase the participation of the well-organised organisations with a ready-made model. The process offers poor people only the representation and leaves outside of the participation people who are not fully valued members of any community and the loosely organised social movements at the grassroots level. The participation in the material can be seen contrary to the Dryzek's idea of the deliberative democracy. He (1990, 37-43) claims that condition to the rational communicative action is the public space, where different actors, with their own values, could participate in the political discussions as citizens, not represented by any party or organisation.

So in conclusion, despite the participatory approach, the poor remain in the PRSPs of Nepal, the passive objects of the development who are waiting for development actors to help them. They are not given the position of the political actor or active citizens, which prevents the significant increasing of their political agency and capacities to decide.

5. Those who help

In this chapter, I consider on the actors who are active political subjects in the PRSPs of Nepal and analyse their subject positions. According to the analysis made with the actantial model, the most common subjects, the main characters of the poverty reduction, are the state of Nepal, its government and governmental agencies. In addition, the private sector, community organisations, civil society groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) often get the position of the development actor.

Despite the globalisation, nation-states have remained their importance and meaning and the national government is the main subject in the PRSPs of Nepal. On the other hand, the globalisation has created the multi-level and non-territorial decision-making network that brings together government, international agencies, non-governmental organisation in a new and complex ways (Duffield 2001, 11). This complex network is visible in all the PRSP documents, but 2003 PRSP and 2007 Progress Report are giving the government more important role than the 2010 Approach Paper, which highlights the equal cooperation between the government and other development actors.

”The poverty reduction strategy will be implemented by many actors, including the central government and agencies, local bodies, community groups, the private sector, INGOs, NGOs, CBOs etc.” (PRSP 2003, 77)

”Emphasis will be given to enhance employment with the joint efforts of the government, private and community/cooperative in all the sectors of the economy to create internal and external employment opportunities for increasing population of the country and to improve living standard of the people living below the poverty line.” (PRSP Approach Paper, 2010, 21)

Even though the term 'network' describes the nature and action of the globalised decision-making structure of the development, I use the generalizing term development actors about the subjects of the PRSPs. I want to clarify the difference between the subjects and objects of the development: development actors are those who help and the objects of the development those who need to be helped.

First in this chapter, I consider on the subject positions of the government. It is the actor, which is structured the main responsibility of the development and poverty reduction of Nepal. Second, I analyse the subject positions of the actors, who are helping the government in achieving the goals of PRSPs: communities, organisations, and the private sector. Their role increases in the newer documents and in the 2010 Approach Paper their role is to be the equal partners with government. Last, I analyse, what the subject positions of the development actors tell about poor's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives.

5.1. Government carries the major responsibility with limited power

Among the development actors, the government of Nepal carries the main responsibility to implement and coordinate the development programs of the PRSPs. It is the active actor of the PRSPs, who has responsibility to do the development for the good of poor people. Meanwhile, the material performs the government as being too big, which size should be reduced in the name of privatization, decentralisation and good governance. I named the subject positions of the government as technical implementer and too big government.

Technical implementer

The government is the main implementer of the development programs that are defined in the PRSPs. It is in responsible for improvements of people's living standards and delivery of the public services.

”...the central government and its agencies will have primary responsibility for carrying out much of the development budget and reform measures.” (PRSP 2003 77)

”The government has launched a project of reconstruction and rehabilitation by allocating a reasonable amount in the annual budget.” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 80)

”Similarly, it is also the responsibility of the government to create environment which ensures an easy access of consumer goods to economically, socially, and geographically excluded class and community.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 21)

The government is carrying its responsibility to launch the development programs mainly through allocating resources and control the budget. The rights and responsibilities of the government are performed to come out of it: The Papers tell what government should do and might criticise it of not doing something. The government is not performed to be the part of the target setting of the PRSP process. That is why the position of the government is to be the technical implementer of the development programs, that are defined in the PRSPs.

” The scarce resources of the government should be concentrated on employ centric inclusive economic growth. The government should disinvestment in those sectors where business efficiency of private sector is higher. The role of the government should be more focused on selected state owned enterprises.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 45)

Government’s implementation of the development programs is challenged by the lack of resources and ineffective governance. On the contrary, the ongoing political crises and unequal power relationship of the national politics of Nepal (see Khadka 2010, 192) are not in the focus of the PRSPs.

The PRSPs highlight the cooperation between the state and other development actors, but the state’s responsibility to implement development programs is always strongly present. The government carries the responsibility also of the successful partnership and cooperation with other development actors. For example, government’s important task is to promote public-private partnership and enable the participation of the other actors.

[Government]”...creates opportunities to participate the public, private and cooperative sector for the employment creation and overall development of the country.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 48)

”Too big government”

Meanwhile the PRSPs address to the government the responsibility for offering social services to poor and implementing the development plans and programs, they emphasize that government's power should be limited, size should be reduce and the amount of public intervention should be decreased.

“In particular, the role of government has been redefined; and public interventions will be limited and focussed on areas where they can yield the maximum social benefits (ii) The Plan relies heavily on the private sector, NGOs, INGOs and Community Based Groups (CBOs) for carrying out economic activities, infrastructure development and service delivery wherever possible...” (PRSP 2003, 38)

Very common demand in the PRSP is, that government should involve the other development actors in the development politics. The private sector, local bodies and communities and NGOs should be more active in the poverty reduction and government should ‘transfer its power’ to these actors. Sharing the power should happen for example by privatising the public enterprises.

”To create a level playing field, the privatization of public enterprises will be accelerated and those areas will be fully opened to the private sector. The Government intends to increase the involvement of the private sector in a number of public enterprises.” (PRSP 2003, 48)

”Since the early ’90s, when the government started adopting an economic liberalisation policy, the privatisation of public enterprises (PEs) has been the main concern of the government.” (PRSP Progress Report, 2007, 38)

Transferring power to the local organisation and private sector should be done, because government's role is now too big and its size should be ‘right-sized’. The private sector should take bigger responsibility about the development of Nepal, mostly because of the resource difficulties of the government.

”However, in the medium term, it has been spelled out that a policy will be adopted to gradually reduce government involvement, especially in the areas where the private sector can increasingly take over, including roads, telecommunications and hydroelectricity, among others.” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 34)

”Due to the expansion of the government's role and people's increased expectation, it has compelled the government to show its presence in all spheres of life. Because of resource crunch, it is entailed to attract the other partners in the development process of the country. The government has accepted to the private sector as a development partner in the social and economic development.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 47)

Besides, the state’s power should be limited, because of the need for the decentralisation. That means the transfer of the power of the centralised government to the local organisation. Central government has too much power and governmental local bodies should take more responsibility for the development, because they are considered as more effective actors, who know the local people needs.

”The Plan also stresses strategic cross-cutting approaches with regard to: (a) redefining the role of the State, and limiting public interventions; (b) enlisting the private sector to play a leading role in employment and income generation and together with NGOs, INGOs and CBOs, in complementing government efforts in service delivery functions in key areas, as well as in implementing key activities; (c) promoting community participation in and management of activities at the local levels; and (d) accelerating the decentralization process, which is also a key element under good governance.” (PRSP 2003, 41)

”The government’s main strategy is to promote decentralisation of power for health service delivery from the centre to local governments and to promote community oversight.” (PRSP Progress Report, 2007, 54)

On the other hand, the PRSPs recognise that the role of the state will remain important:

”The role of the government will continue to be particularly important in the social sectors because there are many programs where costs of providing services cannot be fully captured by private providers, even though the social returns from such programs and activities may be high...” (PRSP 2003, 52)

Decentralisation and privatisation are key elements under the concept of the good governance, which is the important goal of poverty reduction of Nepal. The concept is not explicitly described in the research material, but it is an achievable goal, which justifies the political and economic reforms. The concept has included already in the Bretton Woods Institutions' Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) that were developed in the 1980s as the consequence of the debt problem of the developing countries. SAPs aimed to balance indebted countries' economy and maintain their ability to repay the debts. They led to the social crises in many countries and were criticised widely. (Patomäki and Teivainen 2003, 55-65.)

SAPs required the large-scale privatization and overall commitment to good governance, which refers not only to the decentralisation and privatisation but also to the reduction of the welfare services, liberal-democratic practises and the eradication of the corruption. Critics were blaming that programs aim to change all the countries with the similar idealized neo-liberal model. (ibid. 56-57, 65.)

The idea of the PRSP is to be nationally owned and less contingent than SAPs. Saasa et al. (2003, 12) claims, however, that Bretton Woods Institutions' old approach of the SAPs is affecting the PRSP -process. PRSPs still focus mainly on macroeconomic issues and are more beneficial to the international economic institutions than to the poor of the developing countries. The demands of the good governance are an example of it in the PRSPs of Nepal. It consists of an internationally defined standards of behaviour and normative expectation that Southern governments have to meet in the present development discourse (see Duffield 2001, 7-8, 32).

5.2. The helpers of the government

Development actors are not equal subjects in the 2003 PRSP and the 2007 Progress Report. The government is the main implementer of the development program while private sector, communities and organisations are helping the government to achieve the goals of the PRSPs.

In 2010 Approach Paper, the relationship between the government and other development actors is less hierarchical.

Community organisations, local bodies and NGOs form together with the private sector the group of the important development partners of the government. They are the active political agents in the material, whose participation in the development programs is important. That is why I name them as helpers of the government. In this chapter, I analyse their subject positions, by searching for the rights and responsibilities they are given in the research material.

Local bodies are governmental organisations that are representing the government at the local level and local needs in the national politics. The participation of local bodies and improvement of their roles and capabilities to act are very common objects in the PRSPs of Nepal. Centralised governmental structure is seen as the enemy of the development and powerful local bodies as the solution to the poverty.

”Encouraged by the success in service delivery through devolution of basic services and given the difficulties in providing these services through the central agencies in an unsecure situation caused by the armed insurgency, the GoN [= Government of Nepal] has further devolved the responsibilities for local infrastructure development, such as small irrigation schemes, rural drinking water programmes and rural roads construction, to the local bodies.” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 62-64)

Poor and deprived communities often get the subject positions of being the object of the poverty reduction, meanwhile they get the position of an active actor and the partner of other development actors. In the latter cases, the PRSPs use more the term ‘community organisations’ than communities. That refers to the better structured and organised actors than communities, which are rather the objects of the development.

In addition, non-governmental organisations are the active actors and the helpers of the government in the PRSPs. The documents do not make any difference among the NGOs and sometimes they use the term non-governmental sector. In some cases, the material talks about

the International organisations (INGOs) but usually just NGOs so that it can refer to both national and international organisations.

First, I go through the subject positions of the organisations and communities as the desirable and challenging partners. I call many different subjects (communities, community organisations, local bodies and international and national NGOs) organisations, because they all get mostly the same subject positions. Nevertheless, I aim to perform the differences between them.

Second, I analyse the subject position of the private sector, which, according to the research material, plays a very important role in the overall development of Nepal. Its role and participation should be increased in all the documents but its role is highlighted even more in the 2007 Progress Report and 2010 Approach Paper.

Organisations as desirable partners

The most significant subject position of the organisations refers to need to increase their involvement in the development politics as the partners of the government. According to the material, that would help to achieve the many goals of poverty reduction, for example the growth of trade.

”Trade will be upgraded by promoting partnership among government, private and nongovernment organizations.” (PRSP, Approach Paper 2010, 70)

The government of Nepal should transfer its power to the organisations. Especially more functions, responsibilities and resources should be transferred to the local bodies, which should take care of local level infrastructure, rural roads, the operation of the schools, health posts, postal services, agriculture and small irrigation projects, that the government is dealing now. Communities involvement is highlighted in the education and health care sector and NGOs should be more important actors in the service delivery, market promotion and

infrastructure development. Also, the mainstreaming of deprived communities and groups could happen through them.

Decentralisation, privatization and good governance, which were performed in last chapter, give the ideological reasons to improve the partnership between the organisations and the government. The government is an ineffective actor and involvement of the organisations would help to redefine its role, limit the public interventions and make service delivery more effective.

Partnership between the government and the organisation is necessary in the PRSPs, because of the limited resources of the central government. In addition, the organisations act at the local level and can bring the development more close to rural people, where it is needed the most. The involvement of the organisations is performed to make the development programs effective and successful at the local level, because they know local people's needs. So, the transferring the government's power to the organisation is often performed being the essential and necessary part of the poverty reduction, not only one option to be chosen.

”Experience in Nepal and elsewhere has shown that local governments know better about their citizens’ preferences and are better prepared to meet their needs.” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 62)

”Rapid devolution of such tasks and functions to the local bodies and communities, as well as the reliance on participatory approaches to development, are some of the new approaches that the GoN is pursuing to make service delivery at the grassroots level more effective.” (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 72)

Especially communication participation is desirable in the social service delivery and more specific in the health and education sectors. Community involvement in the education has increased the quality of teaching, parent's willing to send their children to school and teacher's commitment to the work. In addition, the community-based forestry policies of Nepal are internationally recognised.

”Local guardians have become active in the schools wherever the management of schools has been transferred to the communities. SMC [= School Management Community] members have become pro-active in their roles towards reforming their schools. Teachers have taken the change positively and have become more regular in school. Teaching - learning has gained some momentum;...” (PRSP, Progress Report, 2007, 48)

Organisations as challenging partners

Development initiatives have little chance of success without the involvement and participation of community at the grassroots level (Khan 2001,60-61). That is a common principle of the international development politics and is also recognised in the PRSPs of Nepal. Despite the consensus, Khan (ibid.) argues that the objective is not operationalized and a realistic framework for collaboration between government and other development agencies should be conceptualized. Nickum (2001, 12) describes how the cooperation between the different development actors is challenging because of the distrust and asymmetric relations among the actors. Distrust between people in the margins and in the core have prevailed over generations and is hard to break.

The PRSPs of Nepal recognise many difficulties in the partnership with the organisation, that challenge the development. The cooperation between the development actors is now too weak and ineffective and risks and benefits of the cooperation are shared unequally. That is why the documents highlight the better coordination of the cooperation.

”The collaboration among government, nongovernment, private and community sectors and donor community active in the field of gender mainstreaming and empowerment will be made more effective and strong.” (PRSP, Approach Paper 2010, 124)

”Coordination among government, nongovernment, cooperative, community and private sectors and local government bodies in formulation and implementation of senior citizen targeted programs would have been improved.” [The objective is to] “Expand collaboration and coordination between all stakeholders including government, nongovernment and community sectors.” (PRSP, Approach Paper 2010, 90)

Besides, the development and effective poverty reduction are challenged by the structural problems of the organisations. Local bodies suffer the lack of democratic practises and elected officials. In addition, they are in the lack of resources, capabilities, management, technical skills and manpower. The NGOs do not have these problems, but seem to have enough resources to implement the development plans.

”The absence of an elected local body and the fluid security situation constrain development activities at the grassroots level, resulting in low development budget expenditures and a weak service delivery.” (PRSP, Progress Report 2007, 89)

The PRSPs present that the partnership between the organisations and the government in the development politics is also harmed by the government’s interventions and the heterogeneity and inequality inside and among the organisations and communities.

”The role of the community in the development of education cannot be overemphasised. Communities have always been active and supportive of the development in education. However, the policy changes in the education sector gradually undermined the role of the community. The state began to intervene in every sphere, thus weakening the community’s role in education.” (PRSP, Progress Report, 2007, 47)

The documents describe how the organisations are not always aware of the ‘right development’ so they should be educated. Especially the communities are the actors, that should be empowered to become a real partner of the other development actors. The empowerment is in PRSPs performed as a method of making the deprived communities stand on their own. On the contrary, Govinda (2009) argues that the empowerment is a method of achieving similar goals and approaches between the donors and the local organisations and communities. In that process, the donor’s agenda often rules over the local views.

As the solution to make the organisations less challenging partners, the PRSPs offer in addition to empowerment, more and clearer rules. According to the material, power among the development actors should be shared in a proper manner and organisations would need a more suitable legal base: rules and regulations. Also the clear guidelines about the rights and

responsibilities should be done and manuals and guidelines should be developed to avoid ambiguity. Local bodies should be audited by the government and they should be more accountable to the government. Especially the PRSPs highlight the importance of control the work of NGOs.

They [=Ngos] will need to be subject to similar standards of transparency and accountability as the central and local government agencies and communities they work with, as indicated in the recent Foreign Aid Policy (2002) of the Government.” (PRSP 2003,78-79)

One consequence of the insufficient coordination of the development organisations, is the duplication of the development programs, which PRSPs define as the obstacle to the effective poverty reduction. Also, the Finnish ambassador of Nepal, Asko Luukkainen (23th November, 2011, Helsinki) described the problem in the meeting with Finnish NGOs: There are hundreds of the projects, NGOs and programs working in the development sector in Nepal without government knowing. He claimed that none of the well-organised industrialised countries would stand such a messy situation.

The private sector needs to be pleased

The private sector is a very important actor in the PRSPs. Its participation is favourable in every sphere of the development. That makes it different from the other ‘helpers’, which participation is aimed in the certain fields like education and health care. Promoting the participation of the private sector is the major strategy of the several programs of the PRSPs.

”Moreover, the private sector led growth strategy adopted in the Tenth Plan has given more responsibility to the private sector in the overall development of the country. However, the government still dominates some key areas such as roads, electricity, telecommunication, drinking water and, to some extent, the financial sector.” (PRSP, Progress Repor, 2007, 37-38)

”Similarly, promoting the participation of private sector and NGOs/INGOs in service delivery, market promotion and infrastructure development are other major strategies.” (PRSP, 2003, 45)

The PRSPs aim to the participation of the private sector by the political and economic reforms, that would please the private sector and create the investment-friendly environment in Nepal. The private sector should be pleased in order to achieve the development.

”The major strategies to achieve this objective include: the acceleration of economic reforms; ensuring policy-wise consistency in order to create an investor friendly environment;...” (PRSP, 2003, 48)

”Its [=working policy plan’s] long-term objective is to create a favourable investment climate by enhancing workforce productivity, generating decent and productive employment opportunities, and ensuring worker rights.” (PRSP, Progress Report, 2007, 18)

The PRSPs explicitly name the lack of investment friendly environment and the lack of entrepreneurs as the main challenges of the development process of Nepal (for example PRSP, Approach Paper, 2010, 69). So in the material, the private sector does not challenge the development by itself as the challenges related to the organisations do, but rather the low profile of it is the challenge to the effective poverty reduction. The challenges that are related to the private sector are mostly political structures that prevent or complicate the work of it. Besides, the PRSPs perform the private actors as effective agencies with the abilities to accelerate the development and poverty reduction, and the private sector as unanimous and clear actor.

”It [=economic development] could not move forward due to the small size, lack of investment friendly environment and lack of infrastructure etc.” (PRSP Approach Paper, 2010, 46).

”It has showed some positive symptom of progress since 1990 after entering the liberalization from the control regime, but it could not sustain for the long period. The government had promulgated linearization and privatization policy for the development of this sector but it could not expedite as expected due to the industrial unrest, lack of security and to some extent the lack of entrepreneurship in the private sector.”... ”It has further created problems to disinvestment and transfer of ownership to the community and private sector is still challenging.” (PRSP Approach Paper, 2010, 46)

The aim to please the private sector is a crucial part of the belief in the economic growth and neoliberal policy regime. The PRSPs are based on the belief that economic growth is a solution to the poverty and the private sector is 'an engine to the economic growth' (PRSP Approach Paper 2010, 46). The logic continues that the public action need to build policies needed for higher growth and important part of those policies is to please the private sector. That is often conceptualised as lower taxes, the reduction of public spending and welfare services, which are part of the neoliberal regime of the political economy (see Patomäki & Teivainen 2003 56-58).

"The need for high and broad-based growth does not require much explanation. The experience of Nepal and other countries shows that growth has a positive impact on poverty alleviation." (PRSP 2003, 44)

Nevertheless, the definition of the economic growth changes in the different PRSP documents. While the 2003 PRSP talks about the economic growth as a must to the poverty reduction, the 2010 Approach paper takes account that it matters, what kind of economic growth the PRSPs are aiming for. It does not talk about just the economic growth but it always includes some description such as sustainable, inclusive or equitable, in the front of economic growth.

5.3. Conclusions

In this chapter, I defined the actors that are political subjects of the poverty reduction of Nepal and analysed their subject positions. They have been addressed the right and responsibility for reducing poverty and achieving the development in the country. The government carries the main responsibility for the development, even though the state's power and size should be limited. The private sector and the organisations and communities help the government and their role should be increased, even though the organisations are challenging partners. As in conclusions, I consider on what the positions tell about poor's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives.

The subject positions of the government are contradictory. While the state carries the biggest responsibility for the development, its role and power should be reduced. While it should transfer the power to local bodies, communities and NGOs, it should still increase the auditing, controlling and regulating their work, which requires the powerful and effective governance.

The subject positions of the government are also suitable for the international neoliberal ideology of the development, that has been criticised of being conditional and exclusive (see Patomäki & Teivainen 2003, 57). That makes them to not to increase poor people's political agency and capacities: The international neoliberal ideology of the development reflect more the benefits of the international investors than the poor and marginalised people.

Limiting the state's role has been at the core of the 'adjustment' and 'reconstruction' -programs of the Bretton Woods Institutions already during the decades, but still the programs have been unable to help the situations of the heavily indebted developing countries. On the contrary, they led to the situation, where the weak state is able to secure the ownership and structures of the enterprises and investors but is unable to secure the welfare of the citizens or to plan and control the economic development of a country. (Patomäki & Teivainen 2003 65.).

The subject position of the organisations being the desirable partners of the government includes the ideas of the inclusion and participation of people which could increase enable poor's political agency and capacities to decide. The PRSPs of Nepal aim to make local bodies more inclusive and democratic and to empower the communities so they could be collaborated with. Through them, poor people could participate in the debate about the development and decide about their own lives. Nevertheless, the efforts leave incomplete, because the subject position is tied with the demands of limiting the state's power and do not include the aims to increase people's capacities to act in the organisations.

Efficiency and accountability are the core values of the PRSPs, but the rural communities of the developing countries do not always fit for them. The PRSPs of Nepal recognise it and

perform the organisations as challenging partners to cooperate with. They recognise many structural challenges of the local organisations such as undemocratic practises and the lack of elected officials. As the solution to the challenges, the PRSPs offer more coordination and regulation.

Recognising the challenges of the local organisations and communities could lead to the more inclusive organisations and increasing of poor's political agency and capacities to act in those organisations. Meanwhile the PRSPs defines the strict frames, where organisations should fit in, to become the partners of the government. Such like the concept of the participation, that leaves outside of the partnership many organisations, movements and people, such as the local fights for the rights to land or for the worker's rights. That is why the subject position does not strengthen the aim to increase poor people's political agency and capacities.

The subject position of the private sector as the actor who needs to be pleased, refers to the neo-liberal ideology and to the concept of the poverty reduction that is based on the economic growth. The position does not take account the theories of the sustainable development, that have challenged the growth-based development and blamed it to be ecologically and socially unsustainable (Meadows et al. 2002; Salonen 2011). Also the international development discourse has recognised that the economic growth cannot be the only measure of the development and the UN has created the Human Development Index to measure the development of the countries more widely. So, the concepts of the development and poverty reduction that are based only on the economic growth are problematic for the socially sustainable poverty reduction.

The subject position of the private sector in the PRSPs of Nepal, as well, refers to the notion that Craig and Porter (2003, 55) made about the PRSP process: It has a number of structural predilections which favor the technical and juridical over the political economy, and disciplinary framework over a political contest. The subject position of the private sector shows that the PRSPs of Nepal do not take to account the pervasiveness of the unequal market power and do not concern the consolidating corporate power.

Thus, the subject position of the private sector can be seen problematic for the socially sustainable poverty reduction and it does not tell about increasing the poor people's political agency and capacities to decide. To please the private sector is performed in the material as being equated to poverty reduction but the example of Indonesia from the 1990s shows a different picture. The Bretton Woods Institutions' debt conditions led to the serious social crises in the country in the 1990s, while the conditions were beneficial for the international investors. So, the private sector was pleased in the prize of decreasing the welfare of the citizens. That is also the problem of the wide privatization, that the PRSPs of Nepal is aiming for: It might be beneficial to the enterprises and the investors but maybe not to poor people. (Patomäki & Teivainen 2003, 62-65.)

The need to please the investors can be seen problematic also at the point of view of the democracy. Then the actors of the private sector are able to set the conditions that limit the space and power of the democratic decision-making system. The rational communicative action of the deliberative democracy means creating mutual understanding between the needs of each other. That is essential in the point of view of the democratic decision-making but is not able to happen, if the certain actors, like the private sector, are able to set the conditions that limit the communicative action of the society. (Dryzek 1990, 14-15.)

6. Those who decide

The PRSPs of Nepal have been prepared by the National Planning Commission (NPC) of the government of Nepal with the wide consultations of the civil society and the Bretton Woods Institutions. In this chapter I seek to find the answers to my research question who are the actors who decide the content of the PRSPs, what kind of positions they are given and what it tells about poor's political agency and capacities to decide.

In some cases, the PRSPs refer to the international development actors, when they justify and argue for the chosen poverty reduction strategies, but the role of the international actors, such as the Bretton Woods Institutions, is performed very limitedly. The material lack the descriptions of their roles and for example, does not even mention the Bretton Woods Institutions, even though the papers are prepared with the wide consultation of their staff and the 2007 Progress Report is the official document of the IMF. Despite the lack in the material, the Institution's role needs to be analysed. That is why I base the analysis of the international actors' power and mechanisms to affect the content of the PRSP more on the earlier academic research of the poverty reduction and mechanisms of PRSP than in my primary empirical material. It made the structure of the chapter different from the previous analysis chapters.

I start analysing how the material explicitly describes the target definitions of the process. Second, I analyse the role of the international politics in that process based in my empirical analyses, research literature and sources from the World Bank. Last, I analyse what the roles of the international actors tell about poor's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives.

6.1. The national ownership and consensus

The targets of the PRSP process of Nepal are performed to reflect the national will of Nepalese and there seems to be a national consensus about the content of the poverty

reduction strategies. The clear, unanimous and self-evident aims are performed to be the results of the preparations with the wide participation of the civil society.

In a few cases, the PRSPs mention the Paris Declaration as the document, which is the basis of the aims of the poverty reduction. It is one of the most significant declarations of the present development politics and was signed by all the most important developing and donor countries in 2005. It committed signed parties to the closer co-operation in the promotion of the effective aid. It was redefined in 2008 and 2011 in the High Level Forums of the OECD. (OECD 2005; 2008.)

The one of the five central themes of the Paris declaration is the national ownership, which means that developing countries set their own priorities for development (ibid.). The PRSPs are the tool of this new development agenda and they are nationally prepared: the countries set their own priorities in them. The PRSPs of Nepal are made to increase the ownership of foreign aid (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 87).

”Finally, as the product of a highly participatory process, it can claim a far higher degree of national ownership and acceptance than earlier plans.” (PRSP 2003, 6)

”Moreover, country ownership is the fundamental principle for improved aid effectiveness, and a stronger government capacity is a precondition for effective country leadership of the development process.” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 87)

The national ownership and consensus about the targets of the PRSP process are important part of the present international development discourse and as well of the rhetoric of the Bretton Woods Institutions. They, with the other donors of the development, claim to have forgotten a one-size-fits-all policy and replaced it with the country-tailor, nationally and locally owned, participatory approach of the PRSPs. (Gould 2005, 10, Lazarus 2008, 1206.)

An exception of the national consensus and harmony in the material is the Maoists’ opposition to transferring the responsibility of education from the central government to the local communities.

”The Maoists have opposed the school handovers on ideological grounds (i.e. state responsibility on education cannot be dispensed in any form at all). A need to find a consensus among these stakeholders of education on key components of devolution is very urgent.” (PRSP, Progress Report 2007, 64)

Maoists are mainly the former communist guerrillas who fought against the monarchy in the civil war and got, with two parties, the majority of the Constituent Assembly in the elections in 2008. After pointing out their opposition, the Report continues describing the advantages of the community-based education system. So, despite the notion, that transferring the power of the state to the communities is against the ideology of the biggest parties of Nepal (since 2008), the central government gets even a smaller role in the 2010 Approach Paper than in the earlier PRSP documents.

The contents, aims and targets of the PRSP documents remain quite similar during 2003-2010, without the effect of the political changes in the country. That is a sign of the shortcomings of the national ownership. In 2006, the monarchy was replaced in Nepal and the Interim Government were created to lead the country. In 2007, the Maoists had left the Interim Government and the elections of the Constituent Assembly had to be moved to be in 2008. The elections were held and the leader of the biggest Maoist Party became the prime minister of the new republic but the Constituent Assembly failed in its work in 2012 and there will be new elections in November 2013. Any of the political turbulences between 2006-2010 did not seem to have affected the content of any PRSP documents.

6.2. Hidden international agencies legitimate the targets

”Partnership will be strengthened among donor agencies, NGOs, local agencies, community organizations and other agencies.” (PRSP, Approach Paper 2010,119)

The quote above is one of the rare example in the research material, that mentions the donor agencies as one of the development actors. Still, the PRSPs of Nepal refer to the international

development actors, when they sometimes justify and argue for the chosen poverty reduction strategies. In addition to the Paris Declaration, the World Trade Organisation (WTO), donors, MDGs, and the international treaties, agreements and ratification made by the state are getting the positions of the senders in the actantial model. Those senders convince and legitimate the targets and goals of the PRSPs.

”First, the Plan is expected to meet the needs of multiple audiences. The donor community—Nepal’s important development partners—are a vital part of that audience.” (PRSP 2003, 64)

”The Government of Nepal is committed to achieving the MDGs by 2015. The MDGs set quantitative targets for poverty reduction, and improvement in health, education, gender equality, the environment and other aspects of human development.” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 7)

”It [=Paris Declaration] has helped to change aid practices...” (PRSP Progress Report 2007, 86)

The Bretton Woods Institutions are not mentioned in the material, but they participate in defining the content of the PRSPs through the JSANs and the two volumes of the World Bank’s Sourcebook. Sourcebook set the policy criteria of the PRSP and the JSANs include the weak conditions in the content and structure of the papers and control that they are compatible to the other development programs of the Institutions. The Institutions are able to control the budget expenditures of the developing countries to be targeted to the goals of poverty reduction, as defined in the PRSPs and endorsed by their boards. (Gould 2005, 3; Klugman 2002.)

So, despite the changed perception of the Bretton Woods Institutions and demands of the national ownership, the Institutions are still, in practice, able to strongly affect the content of the PRSPs. Their effect comes visible, if the major aims and targets of the PRSPs are compared with the goals that the World Bank recommends to the governments of the developing countries. The major objectives of the PRSPs of Nepal, such as the faster and pro poor economic growth, equitable access to social and economic infrastructure, and resources

for the poor and marginalised groups, social inclusion and targeted programs, and improved governance (PRSP 2003, 10) are exactly similar with the goals recommended by the World Bank (Battaile 2004).

The SAPs of the Bretton Woods Institutions were criticised widely, which made them to change their policy priorities. Now the Institutions have new names for the development programs and loans. Still the conditionalities, that the Institution now set more indirectly and subtly are similar and the policy prescription has not been adjusted to suit the overall goal of the poverty reduction (see Gould 2005).

The role of the Bretton Woods Institutions and other donors in the PRSPs of Nepal reflect in Wade's (2003) argument that developing countries are still unable to define the content of the development, but the strong international institutions and Western countries are doing it for them. Also the research group that estimated the development cooperation of Finland (Saasa et. al 2003) argues that the PRSPs reflect more the interests of the Institutions than poor and marginalised people's.

Patomäki and Teivainen (2003, 76) claim that the World Bank has shown a bit of openness to the proposed amendments of the developing countries and for example the environmental movement has changed the development policies of the Bank. Still the demands, coming from the Third World or big mass demonstrations, organised all over the world, have not significantly affected the policies or structures of the Bretton Woods Institutions. Their goal can be seen as the capitalist market society, which doors are opened to international economic interest, which was visible in the analysis of the subject positions of the government and the private sector in the previous chapter. (ibid. 65, 76, 82.)

6.3. Conclusions

Analysing the mechanisms of the target setting of the PRSP process of Nepal and the actors that have rights and responsibilities to decide the content of the Papers refers, how the rhetoric of the Bretton Woods Institutions has changed softer from the era of the SAPs (See Patomäki & Teivainen 2003). The adoption of the development aid and loan conditionalities is not happening by the external supervision, but the national policy-makers of Nepal are setting their development agenda performing it as being the result of the national consensus and ownership. The power of the international agencies to affect the content of the PRSPs is hidden, but considering on the process with research literature and sources of the World Bank leads to the interpretation that Bretton Woods Institutions strongly affect the content of the PRSPs through giving the advice and recommendations, and building capacities of national policy-makers to make the PRSPs.

The potential of the PRSP process to increase poor people's political agency and capacities to decide lies in the changed position of the developing countries from the passive aid recipients to the aid partners of the international development actors. The process gives the discursive position of the political agency to the national policy-makers of Nepal, which suits with the concept of the socially sustainable poverty reduction.

On the other hand, despite the national policy-makers of Nepal set the agenda of the PRSPs, the targets, objectives and the goals of the process are transferred from the international political discourse. According to earlier researches, in the process of defining the international discourse, the donor countries and organisations are able to rule the agenda (For example Wade 2003).

With the terms of the world system theory, the PRSP process can be described that the core of the core and the core of the periphery are deciding for the periphery of the periphery. That is problematic in the point of view of ideal speech act (Habermas 1987, 177-180), because the poor people of Nepal do not have any chance to problematize the development agenda at the

international level. The internationally defined development targets make the development space of Nepal owned by international and national, professional elite, while the poor and marginalised people remain without political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives.

Khadka (2010, 118) supports the notion, that national policy-makers of Nepal create their development agenda straight from the international development community. The transition of the agenda happens mostly through the development aid, which is a prime mover to transfer the global policy discourses to the local level of Nepal. On the other hand, in the era of globalisation, knowledge, thinking and policies flow around in the world within the capital and labour without any social, political or cultural control or organisation (Nyyssölä 2013, 231) and for example also the international NGOs have influenced the agenda of the Bretton Woods Institutions, not only other way around (see Govinda 2009). So the targets, aims and priorities of the poverty reduction, and generally the development, are not transferring one-dimensionally straight from one to another place but more flowing inside the non-territorial decision-making network, within the interaction and interdependence of the different actors, only leaving poor people outside (see Duffield 2001; 2005).

7. Concluding Remarks

In this study, I used the qualitative methodology of the theory-guiding content analysis, the actantial model and the concept of the subject position to analyse the actors in the PRSP process of Nepal. I searched from the material for the actors, who are objects of the development, who are active political subjects and who define and decide the content of the poverty reduction. I produced understanding what kind of contextual and multi-dimensional subject positions the PRSP process of Nepal structures to the different actors, and what these positions tell about poor people's political agency and capacities to decide about their own lives.

I arranged the subjects of the PRSPs into three groups according to my research question: Those who are helped, those who help and those who decide, which worked well to describe the relationships between the different actors. In this chapter, I summarize my analysis into three results and consider on how they can be interpreted with the theoretical framework of this thesis. In addition, I evaluate the chosen research frame and how I succeeded in achieving my research aims, and consider on the questions to be researched in the future.

7.1. Incomplete social sustainability

The first summarized result of my analysis is that the PRSP process of Nepal aims to increase poor's political agency and capacities by aiming at increasing their accesses to the economic and human capacities, mainstreaming and empowering marginalised people, participating the organisations and communities and making them more inclusive development partners of the national government. In addition, the process gives, at least apparent, political agency to the government of Nepal and acknowledges the importance of including poor and marginalised people in the policy processes. Therefore, the process has potential to achieve the socially sustainable poverty reduction.

As the second result, I claim that, despite all these notions and the highlighted role of the participation in the PRSPs, the process is incomplete in an effort to increase poor people's political agency and capacities. The concept of the participation, the PRSPs are based on, leaves outside the innovative grassroots movements of poor people and people who are not fully valued member of the stable organisations and communities. The social movements in the developing countries are often born to challenge the traditional views of the development and to achieve visibility, participation and justice for poor people. By ignoring them, the PRSPs of Nepal remain poor people without the actual political agency and capacities and make them only passively following policies from the side or to obey given advice without opportunity to influence the content of the advice.

The third result of this thesis takes consideration that the PRSPs construct the conditionality and hierarchy between actors at the international, national and local levels, which challenge the increasing of poor people's political agency or capacities to decide. The actors of the development are given hierarchical positions, where the poor people are labeled as the objects of the development, even though some poor's community organisations are given the position of the political agents. The government should carry its responsibilities with limited power and interventions, and private sector should be pleased, despite it would be contradictory to the political agency of poor people. Despite the rhetoric of the national ownership, the aims, goals and targets of the PRSPs are set outside of Nepal, from where the national policy-makers of Nepal are adjusting them into the national agenda. That leads to the situation, where national ownership means more change in the rhetorics and mechanisms of poverty reduction than change in the political structures. The development agenda is owned by professional, international and national elite and poor and marginalised people are left in the margins of the society without political agency and actual capacities to decide about their own lives.

The concept of the inclusive neo-liberalism conceptualises the results of this thesis. The concept is created by Ruckert (2006) to describe the paradox that while numerous similarities between the neoliberal practises and the poverty reduction remain in the PRSP process, such

as the liberalization and the privatization of the economy, the PRSPs aim at inclusive development with the participation of poor people (ibid. 37).

Meanwhile, the inclusive neoliberal concept of PRSPs is a force that attempts to incorporate and neutralize its critics and to provide material incentives to the disempowered masses, while adhering to the basic principles of the neoliberal economic theory and market colonization. It makes the developing countries to 'own' the neoliberal approach to the development (ibid. 61-63.) If my results are interpreted more with this point of view, it comes visible how the good aims and methods of the PRSP process of Nepal, such as the participation, empowerment and partnership can be considered as being conditionality by another name, as many critics claim (See Abrahamsen 2004).

Besides, my research results are parallel to the basic ideas of the world system and dependency theories: The development debate is defined by the North and elite in the South, while the periphery of the South remains incapable to take part of the debate (see Dickson 1998, 152). In addition from the biopolitical point of view, Duffield (2005, 5) claims that the South has been even increasingly recently isolated and excluded by the dominant networks of the conventional global politics.

According to the theories of deliberative democracy and ideal speech act, the poverty reduction strategies should be capable to the open dialects, take account citizen's preferences and enable citizen's participation in the decision-making (See Autto 2012, 19). The PRSPs of Nepal includes the basic ideas of the deliberative democracy but focusing more on the expression of the will than aiming to offer poor people the opportunity for form the will. Therefore, the political process of defining the content of the development politics is not the object of the interactive political struggle of the different actors. That would not be even necessary if the development and poverty reduction were clear and technical processes towards the better societies. But what for would the politics then be?

7.2. Limitations and avenues for future research

I succeeded in my aim to produce knowledge and understanding about the International Relations through producing knowledge about the actors of the current concept of the development and poverty reduction. Analysing the subject positions of the PRSP process of Nepal produced understanding how the political documents aim to affect the behaviour of people and institutions by giving different positions to the different actors. Analysing the actors who decide the content of the PRSPs produced understanding about the power structure of the global politics, which I succeeded to analyse only lightly because of limited space and time.

With the diverse methodology and theoretical framework of my thesis, I was able to produce knowledge and understanding about the present poverty reduction strategies in a way that has been rarely used, which was one aim of this study. The concept of subject position made possible to analyse the subjects that are structured in the interpretations of the poverty reduction well and I could find the answers to my research question. The method of the actantial model was useful enough to search for the positions that are structured to the different actors. On the other hand, the model could have worked better in the material that consists of the several uniform texts from different parties. The PRSPs are written mostly in the passive voice and consist of the several policy plans that are narratively loosely connected to each other, which made the actantial model a challenging method in this context.

The theoretical framework of this thesis was board with many different approaches, which challenged the analysis. Concentrating on one theory might have made the study clearer and more in-depth. However, with theory-guiding content analyse the actual theory came from the research material and using the wide range of the theoretical approaches to guide and interpret my analysis, I was able to produce multi-dimensional and relevant research.

I decided to research empirically only the PRSP documents of Nepal to get deeper understanding about the process in the context of one country and to consider on the temporal

differences during the process. So I did not attempt to generalise my results, but to deepen the understanding about the PRSP process in the context of Nepal. My analysis is contextual but also generally describes some aspects of the current poverty reduction and development politics.

The problem of the development is that it is known, what does not work, but the ready-made model, which to transfer, is missing (see Eskelinen 2011). I claim that command-and-control, top-down poverty reduction does not work, but performing the alternative is more difficult. The theories of sustainable development have sought to answer the problem and to rethink the growth-based model of the development. Nevertheless, they have been incapable to offer a radical alternative to the development and the concept is in need of conceptual clarity and comprehensive research on the empirical links between its various dimensions (see Duffield 2001; Mestrum 2003, 55).

The other problem of the development and this study is that there is a huge gap between the principle and the practice (see Dickson 1998, 152-153). PRSP could aim at the development that is completely socially sustainable, but the political reality might be very different. For example, participatory methodology is often used at the project level of the development aid, but principles are not followed in the policy work (Robb 2001, 117). The discursive research approach with the idea, that political documents are also political action that structures the agencies and their relationships, made the study worth doing. However, it would be beneficial to consider on the gap between the documents and the practice and to research the poverty reduction at different political levels.

My third aim was to produce knowledge and understanding, that is meaningful in the debate and the decision-making of the development. I succeeded in this aim well by including the emancipatory approach in the thesis and concentrating topically on the socially sustainable poverty reduction. On the other hand, taking to the consideration the material from different actors would have transferred the target of the study more into the struggle, that is going on about the concept of the development. In addition, widening the material from specifically to

the poor tailored paper, that highlight that these policies are meant only for poor, would offer beneficial context to research the poverty reduction.

The PRSPs of Nepal are completely silent about the ecological problems and it would be very important to research the ecological sustainability of the poverty reduction as well. It is vital for the development politics to find the answers to the question how to reduce poverty so it is possible in the world with the limited natural resources and wicked environmental problems.

Development is a concept that is changing all the time (see Koponen 2007) so it offers endlessly research topics and for example, the concept in the new world order has not been researched properly (Dickson 1998; Gill 2006). The rise of the BRICS -countries and the economic challenges of Europe might affect how the concept is understood in the future. The struggle to define it is going on all the time (for example currently the UN is creating the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS) (see Laakso 2013)), and there is a need to create the development discourse that would be truly socially and ecologically sustainable. According to the idea of democracy, all the nations and communities should be able to take part in the definition process and create their own discourse. That is why the discourse of the development should be to widen from the formal and mechanical understanding to more substantive. Until so far, I have to leave open the question, how poor, so removed from powerful, can influence the policies of their own lives.

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