Strengthening NGO Partnerships:

The Role of NGOs in the Development Process

by

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in International Development Studies

St. Mary's University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
February 2004

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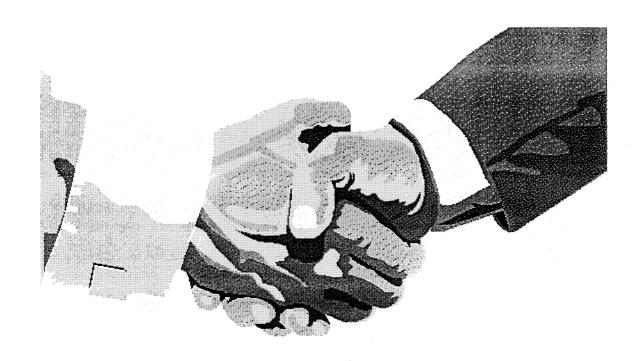
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PARTNERSHIP

Is About Joining Hands

"Working together"

by

Lily Nyajeka

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Acknowledgements

ABBREVIATIONS

AFDB	African Development Bank
AD	Alternative Development/ Another Development
AIDs	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AIMES	African Initiative in Mining, Environment and Society
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CEAO	West African Economic Community
CCI	Canadian Crossroad International
CCIC	Canadian Council for International Cooperation
CCODP	Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIDSE	International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GERA	Gender Economic Reform in Africa
HICs	Highly Indebted Countries
HSD	Human Scale Development
IDA	International Development Agency
IFDA	International Foundation for Development Alternatives
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organization
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
LDC	Less Developed Countries
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
NERP	New Economic Recovery Plan
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organizations
NGDOs	Nongovernmental Development Organization
NNGDOs	Northern Nongovernmental Development Organizations
NNGOs	Northern Nongovernmental Organizations
NSP	New Social Policy
OAU	Organization for African Unity
ODA	Official Development Agencies
OECD	Organization for Economic Development
ORAP	Organization of Rural Association for Progress
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine

PCD	People-Centered Development
PAMSCAD	Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment
PPPs	Public Private Partnerships
PTA	Preferential Trade Areas of Eastern and Southern Africa
SA	Structural Adjustment
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SAF	Structural Adjustment Facility
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood approach
SNGOs	Southern Nongovernmental Organizations
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
TRIPs	Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights Agreement
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Plan
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Foundation
UNRISD	United nations Research Institute for Social Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Trade Organization

Abstract

Strengthening NGO Partnerships: The Role of NGOs in the Development
Process

This study examines the partnership relationships that exist between Northern and
Southern Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs). International NGOs (INGOs) in the
past decade adopted a policy of strengthening partnership relationships between the
North and the South with the objective of making aid more effective. Substantial aid has
been channeled to the South through donor agencies, including Northern NGOs
(NNGOs), International Financial Institutions (IFIs), Northern governments and many
others wishing to assist in the development effort. Most of these donor agencies went into
partnership relations with Southern NGOs (SNGOs) since they perceived them as the best
agents to tackle poverty and development problems in the developing countries.
However, despite all their commitment and efforts to fight poverty in developing
countries, poverty is still prevalent in Africa and other Third World countries.

The theoretical framework for this argument focuses on the debates between proponents
and critics of the Alternative Development (AD) paradigm. Within this framework the
central focus of this thesis is on the role of the post colonial state, which according to its
proponents needs to be shifted away from the centralized control of the state and market
towards community-based organizations within civil society. The AD approach is based
on the participation of the local people, especially the poor and marginalized. The
position of AD theorists is that people's basic needs have to be met in a process that
empowers the beneficiaries of 'development' to participate actively in the process
involved. That is, development needs to 'put people first' and be initiated 'from below'
(community-based as well as directed).

Proponents of AD see NGOs as better agents of 'development' than the state since they
are able to reach and work with the marginalized. However, AD has not been without its
critics, both those who reject it for being either ineffective or a form of imperialism
(implementing the agenda of donors and their governments) and those who can be
regarded as 'constructive critics'. Criticism along these lines emerged because AD, a
school of thought than can be traced back to the 1970s, was not bringing the benefits that
it was supposed to bring to the poor. Critics have argued that it is not possible for the
poor to be empowered and participate when there are so many obstacles that prevent their
involvement in the development process.

The thesis of this study is that the term "partnership" used by NNGOs and SNGOs in
their efforts to strengthen their relationship is misleading. A better term to describe the
relationship between the North and South could be "collaboration". Collaboration means
working with another on a project as opposed to "partnership" that means working on
equal terms.

Lily Nyajeka, February 2004

Chapter One

Introduction

Posing the Problem

The vast increase in the number of Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) since the 1980s has given them a dominant position in the field of development. NGOs have been involved in development projects, democratization and political reform in developing countries. This has put them in an influential position vis-à-vis governments, international communities, the business world and civil society in both the developing and the developed countries.

After the Second World War and during the post cold war period NGOs were primarily for relief and emergency purposes, not much thought had been given concerning their role in partnerships. During the past ten years NGOs have tried to move from implementation of development projects towards a partnership approach. It is hoped that through partnership, efficiency in capacity building can be achieved. The issue is whether this partnership has been effectively practiced and if it is possible to maintain that partnership relationship. On the other hand, there is an ongoing debate on the effectiveness of NGO partnerships that makes this a suitable field of study. There is no doubt that the move towards a partnership approach has been met with mixed reactions leaving room for debate on how this partnership can be more effective. The objectives of

this research are to analyze the role played by NGOs; how partnership is understood; and how it has been implemented by some NGOs.

Rationale of the Study

The growth of NGOs in the past decade can be directly attributed to the tremendous increase of funding during the 1980s. There was a policy shift by bilateral donors in favor of funding through NGOs that increased their resources significantly and led to the expansion of the sector (Fowler, 1992:15). In addition, NGOs flourished in most African states because there was disillusionment with the authoritarian African states. So NGOs were seen as a solution to the political crisis and socioeconomic problems.

The issue of development in Third World countries opened doors for aid donors into these countries. Even though aid has been flowing into these countries for over 30 years poverty still remains an issue of serious concern. This condition calls for more aid into Africa and elsewhere in the Third World countries. Many NGOs from the North have proliferated into the Third World countries but poverty is still an issue of concern. "Initially the system assumed that inputs of finance and expertise from Northern-donor countries could accelerate and direct change in poorer countries of the world- the South. During the later years it became clear that development could not be externally directed, but required local ownership and sufficient capacity to guide the process" (Fowler, 1996:3). Many solutions have been suggested to make aid more effective though more recently the issue of strengthening partnership amongst NGOs has been suggested.

Riddel (1996) states that international aid today is meant to: (i) sustainably reduce poverty; (ii) ensure people's access to basic needs; (iii) halt and redress environmental degradation; (iv) pay special attention to gender and the situation of women; (v) engage the 'unbankable' poor as economic actors in an expanding market place; (vi) empower the marginalized to act as citizens in a push for better governance; (vii) strengthen civil society with a reform of social institutions and; (viii) ensure human rights are respected

Initially poverty was seen as not having sufficient nutritional intake, but it is now viewed as lacking in basic needs, that is, health, water, income, education, security and social standing. Poverty alleviation today is seen as a process through which people gain control over commodities through empowerment so that they can have access to economic, social, cultural, political and environmental commodities. The problem is that the poor still do not have access to these commodities. NGOs in Africa and other third world countries have been involved in tackling problems of homelessness, social violence, street children, crime, massive inequalities and government corruption. Ironically, the market economy seems to thrive in poverty by exploiting child labor and paying below minimum wages. Instead it seems economic forces and political responses make the whole process of effective partnership quite complicated. Therefore this study aims to come up with a comprehensive report on the nature of development in Africa and give suggestions on how best development can be achieved in Africa.

Theoretical Framework

Prior to "partnership relations" NGO work has been mainly through project activities. Failure to achieve development through these projects has resulted in NGOs moving from implementation of development projects towards a partnership approach that has facilitated the NGO objective of capacity building. On the other hand failure of the neo liberal model (and SAPs) opened the way for NNGOs to emerge as agents of Alternative Development (AD).

Proponents of AD prefer NNGOs as the best agents of development as compared to African governments. Also "the so-called 'New Policy Agenda' of the 1990s which combines neo liberal economic policy prescriptions with a stated commitment to 'good governance' has projected development as efficient and responsive alternatives to the state and as organizational actors with the potential to strengthen democratic processes (Robinson, 1993; in Lewis, 1998: 501). Some scholars have argued that the move towards greater cooperation (Quereshi, 1988:13; in Ndegwa, 1996: 18) enables NGOs to improve local participation in development and to check government policy performance. This move towards partnership should enable NNGOs to empower the SNGOs.

Theory of (AD) proposes that the marginalized should be involved in the development process if development is to be achieved. Participation of the poor is perceived as the key to development. AD seeks the removal of structural barriers created by the bureaucratic state which impede people's participation and empowerment. NGO work is therefore to enable local communities to engage in political actions with implications of democratization besides empowering them economically.

This thesis examines how NGO partnership is related to the empowerment of the grassroots in developing countries particularly those countries in Africa. It also seeks to

identify and discuss barriers to this empowerment. This study also provides an analytical framework so that grassroots in developing countries can achieve real benefits from NGO partnership.

The Research question

Capacity building has been used by NNGOs to try and move away from the old system of donor recipient relationship. The emphasis of NNGOs on 'capacity building' 'reflects changes in development thinking away from the simple transfer of skills and resources towards building autonomy and self-reliance' (Sahley, 1995 in Dement, 2001: 516). Organizational capacity building ensures that there is effective development and that there is also realization of the NGO mission (Fowler, 1996). Capacity building can take the form of technical assistance, staff advice, provision of technical resources, and organizational assistance for example in management training and strategic planning (Sahley, 1995 in Dement, 2001). These factors improve NGO effectiveness and sustainability and it further strengthens partnership between NNGOs and SNGOs. Alan Fowler (1996) points out that when concepts of capacity development are not clear problems can arise, so all parties have to agree on what concepts of capacity are being applied.

Capacity building enables groups in the Southern civil society to organize, and speak on their behalf. This empowering especially for the poor enables them to fight for their own rights as citizens (Swift, 1999). These views are also supported by Alan Fowler (1996) when he states that capacity growth should cause impact. For example through

strengthening civil society, governance should be affected by influencing public policy through institutional change. The collaboration of NGOs and the new partners, that is government, business, civil society and NGOs can bring consciousness and it allows critical assessment thereby increasing action and bringing change and sustainability. This growth in capacity can be achieved through continuous action-learning, group facilitation, stakeholder judgments, internal participation and self appraisals (Fowler, 1996). Critics of capacity building have argued that NNGOs mostly can offer money only and they suffer from organizational weaknesses, which show weakness in capacity of their own organizations (Biddle, 1984 in Lewis, 1998; Billis and Mackeith, 1992 in Lewis, 1998). David Lewis also argues that there is a notion that once SNGOs reach their capacity transformation the NNGOs have no role to play.

However, the key research question for this study drawn from the above findings with a motive of achieving capacity building is: 'Are the principles of social partnership pronounced in theory consistent with their application in the field of development?'

Methodology

The research for this thesis is conducted on the basis of a critical analysis of the literature related to the role of NGOs in the development process and the question of partnership. The different schools of thought on these issues are reviewed as to the evidence presented in support of their arguments analyzed in terms of the available evidence provided largely in government documents and academic studies. This literature review is followed by five case studies of NNGOs based in Canada. Namely, these NGOs are Development and

Peace, OXFAM Canada, Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), Canadian Crossroads International (CCI) and CARE Canada (*see appendix 1 for more detail*). Three of the case studies involve a series of responses to a questionnaire with their personnel and some cooperants with regard to the dynamics of their role in the development process and the dynamics of any partnerships that they might have entered, as well as the successes and failures of partnership and the future of partnership relations. The questionnaire was used in order to elicit sentiments and perceptions of NGO officials on NGO partnership and how their organizations have been faring so far. This case study suggests how partnership can be made more effective and it identifies barriers to smooth partnerships. The data collected on the basis of these case studies has been checked against the data provided in internal documents as well as evaluation reports prepared for and by donor agencies such as CIDA. Two NGOs did not manage to answer the questions but they supplied literature pertaining to the questions (*see appendix 1 for more detail*).

In terms of these diverse forms and sources of data, the study is both descriptive and analytical. The descriptive approach employs qualitative data gathering, covering the general nature of NGO partnership. Archival information is going to be essential here. The analytical aspect employs reviewing primary sources of information such as NGO documents, policy statements and progress reports from these NGOs in order to assess the progress they have made with SNGOs.

Secondary sources consisting of library materials, newspapers, internet and periodicals give current reports on NGO performance in Africa. More information on current issues concerning partnership sourced from African and international development research centers helps in evaluating NGO performance. In addition

correspondence with specialists on Africa and those involved in NGO activities in Africa is of great benefit for this study since they have done comprehensive studies on Africa.

Thesis Statement and Structure of Thesis Argument

The thesis of this study is that the term 'partnership' used by NNGOs and SNGOs in their efforts to strengthen their relationship is misleading. A better term to describe the relationship between the North and South could be 'collaboration'. Collaboration means working with another on a project as opposed to 'partnership' which means working on equal terms.

The argument for this thesis is organized in the form of five chapters. Chapter One is introductory and gives a background to the issues. It also includes an analysis of the theoretical framework to explain concepts used by proponents of AD that include participation, empowerment and social transformation.

Chapter Two focuses on the effects of SA in Africa. The current general argument is that SA has brought a great deal of suffering in the Third World, particularly in Africa. The resulting socioeconomic and political instabilities have created opportunities for NGOs to gain international prominence in development programs, including such critical areas as education and health. The postcolonial state that has been described by the neoliberals as inefficient lost most of its responsibilities to NGOs.

The main argument in Chapter Three is that partnership relationships that have been established amongst donor agencies have failed to bring development in Africa and the Third World as a whole. The theoretical framework in AD provides basis for

alternative forms of development that gives NGOs international support since they are perceived as the best facilitators to AD approach. NGOS have strengthened the notion of partnership relationships in the past decade. Their aid system is supposed to be more efficient in bringing development into the Third World. However, so far, the approach in using partnership relationships appears to be unsuccessful, given that development has not been achieved in Africa.

A case study on NGO partnerships is given in Chapter Four of this study. Some background information to two NGOs, namely, OXFAM and Development and Peace is discussed. Their activities and a response to their partnership relationships are also discussed. General response from other NGOs is also given.

The concluding chapter highlights the thesis arguments, and presents a summary, recommendations, and conclusion to the thesis. The chapter's main alternative recommendation is that there is need for NGOs to redefine partnership relationship. If the partnerships were well run, they would have been the best mechanism of ensuring aid efficiency.

Chapter Two

Development in Africa under Structural Adjustment

Introduction

The issue of development has been of major concern to the developed and the developing world for many years. Theories have been devised to help fight underdevelopment especially in the third world countries. Development agencies have sprung up as catalysts in fighting underdevelopment and the whole issue of poverty. However, the evidence is that the fight against poverty has so far been unsuccessful because poverty in the third world has increased instead of diminishing. Policies embraced by the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) have proven to be a disaster for Africa's economic, social, environment and political development (Jespersen, 1992; Campbell and Loxley 1989; UNIRISD, 1995). NGOs have tried to cushion these failures brought about by SAPs, most recently through enhancing strong partnership relations between the North and the South, but there is still gross suffering in Africa. Researchers are calling for an alternative form of development that is socially inclusive as well as politically, economically and environmentally sustainable.

For the purpose of this thesis, however, development shall be defined as a "progression from one state (un or-under-development) towards the negation of that state. This state, that of 'development', should involve improved socio economic conditions or a better standard of living for a large part of the population if not everyone, as well as

corresponding institutional or structural changes. Development also involves a reasonable measure of economic security and political stability. Such conditions provide a conducive environment for a process of economic and social development. In addition, development involves a degree of psychological maturity and self-reliance arising from the self-confidence that one is able to contribute to the welfare and 'development' of one's own community" (Okeem, 1990: 44). In these terms development requires a process of empowerment, capacitating members of a community or the broader society to participate in decisions that might lead to improved conditions and social change.

Development so defined—as the antithesis of poverty—in Africa has been slow in coming and there is still a long way to go in achieving the implied improvements in socioeconomic conditions and corresponding structural change.

The Question of Poverty

Before reviewing the literature on structural adjustment in Africa it is important to explore the issue of poverty, given the proliferation of aid coming through international institutions, NGOs, voluntary organizations, and church based organizations, most of it targeted at the problem of poverty—helping to alleviate its conditions if not reduce its incidence and eradicate its most extreme forms [UN on 'poverty' oriented approach to development in the 1970s and as the centre of the World bank's agenda in the 1990s, cf. WDR-90, 2000, and website]. Much of this aid comes with strings attached, which, according to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) 1991, makes the fight against poverty almost futile. UNECA argues that 'conditionalities'

exacerbate rather than help alleviate poverty. Cuts in government expenditure mainly affect 'soft sectors' like education, health and housing. UNECA goes on to argue that these effects mainly harm the welfare, especially of the poor. By the end of the 1980s it was clear that most African countries that had followed SAP were suffering set-backs which included high inflation, lower spending on health, education, housing, sanitation and water (ECA, 1991:16). On the other hand the World Bank argued that 'growth' requires SAP and that 'growth' benefits the poor. The World Bank pushed the African governments into traditional methods of export-led growth (Nyang'oro and Shaw, 1992). The Bank stressed new policies on reducing the role of the public sector, devaluation of currencies, balancing domestic budgets, restricting the safety net, allowing the market to operate freely and liberalizing the trade regimes (Nyang'oro and Shaw, 1992). Even though most African states resisted SAP, the World Bank won the debate and SAPs are still in operation in most African countries.

On the politics of aid and the effect of loan and aid conditionalities in the form of structural adjustment policies on development, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa; (see Giovanni, van der Hoeven, and Mkandawire (eds.), 1992; Nyang'oro and Shaw 1992; and Jespersen, 1999). In addition, it has been argued that the conditions of poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have been worsened by the effects of structural adjustment (Jespersen, 1992). It is also possible to argue that the negative impacts of SAPs, viewed by World Bank and other like-minded economists as 'transitional costs', help explain the proliferation of NGOs in the 1980s and the turn to them as intermediaries (OECD, 1981; Cassen, 1995; Macdonald, 1997)—to mediate between the 'overseas development associations, multilateral and bilateral, and the poor in their communities. NGOs have

become popular in third world countries partly as a result of their distance from, and their general opposition to, the SAP, as well as their search for other ways of redressing the economic, social, political and environmental imbalances—community-based forms of participatory development that are not predicated on policies of structural adjustment.

Traditionally, the African continent did not experience the heightened conditions of poverty that are endemic today. In early subsistence an economy of food gathering, hunting and horticulture, wealth was distributed fairly evenly and widely shared (Parenti, 1978). However, with the appearance of nontraditional or modern forms of industry, the emerging somewhat modernized or westernized if not industrialized societies have turned towards accumulation of capital and private appropriation of this wealth, which resulted in, inter alia, the disappearance of the culture of solidarity and sharing—the norms of reciprocity or what some have termed a 'moral economy' (UNDP, 1993)—that existed in the traditional societies. One result of these changes is the emergence of 'social inequalities' that, as Parenti (1978: 53) has pointed out, have 'deepen[ed] as the economic surplus expands'.

A more general result of a modernization and industrialization process, which is to say, 'development', is the creation of a huge development and income gap between the rich and the poor, both within countries and among nations (Patel and Ahooja-Patel, 1995). At the extremes of this gap can be found conditions of almost unimaginable wealth and even more unimaginable levels and forms of poverty; both relative and absolute. The world, as a result of the privatization of productive resources, and the private appropriation of socially generated wealth, has become so polarized in the distribution of productive resources, wealth and income that just 358 individuals in the

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North dispose of as much income as 1.4 billion of the world's poorest (UNDP, 1996). More generally, while the richest 20 percent of income earners in 1970 shared 30 times the income of the poorest 20 percent in 1980 this ratio had almost doubled and by 1998, after fifteen years of 'structural adjustment' it had risen to an astounding 79; that is, the top or richest quintile in the developed countries received (or appropriated) almost 80 times the income of the poorest in the developing world (UNDP, 1999).

In this situation the issue is not the production of wealth, and the generation of income, but its distribution. As pointed out by Qyen, Miller, and Samad (1996: 15) 'there is enough food in the world to feed the hungry but they do not have access to it.' The problem of poverty, essentially, is to be found in the distribution of society's productive resources, a distribution that in many cases is the result of a politically determined access to society's productive resources rather than the workings of a free market, as neoclassical economists and neo-liberals such as Milton Friedman prefer to believe. If the rich people would share, poverty would disappear in this world. It has been estimated that a one percent tax on the incomes of the rich in the North would suffice to not only alleviate and reduce global poverty but to eliminate it.

What is 'poverty'? In today's materialistic world, 'poverty' has diverse meanings or interpretations. Most often it is considered as a lack of resources essential to meeting one's basic needs (Streeten, 1977). In this connection, a common measure of poverty is to identify a basket or package of basic goods and services needed to meet a given population's basic needs and to cost out the income needed to access these goods and services. Given that most people in the world have no access to any means of production or the capacity to purchase what they need except some form of wage employment or

ability to sell what they are able to produce, poverty is generally measured in income terms. In these terms the World Bank today has defined poverty in terms of $2 a day or less and extreme (absolute) poverty as having to subsist on $1a day or less. By this measure, 40% of the world's population is classified by the World Bank as poor (World Bank, 2002).

As for the causes of this poverty there are many theories but most attribute to the way economic production is organized, that is, to the economic and social structure of society. Most economists in this connection associate poverty with an inefficient production apparatus that yields inadequate rates of economic growth measured in terms of the value added year by year to the gross domestic product (GDP). Thus, like ECLAC (1990) they call for 'productive transformation' (technological conversion of the production process)—with 'equity' (a more 'equitable' redistribution, by the government, of market-generated incomes and wealth). Today, as in the 1970s this issue is still debated.

The issue, as Culpeper (2003) points out, is whether a greater degree of equality in the distribution of, and access to, society's productive resources, is or is not a precondition for stimulating a process of economic growth. Some economists like Kuznets (1968) argue that growth will inevitably generate greater inequalities in the distribution of income, which then serves as an incentive or stimulant to further growth. Other economists, however, including a number associated with the World Bank, argue the contrary: that greater equality in the distribution of productive resources provides a greater stimulus and a more sustainable form of economic growth.

Most scholars in the field of development view the lack of access to society's productive resources—land or natural capital, technology or physical capital, financial capital, et cetera—as a, if not the, major structural (or political) source of poverty (Burkey, 1993; IFAD, 1993). By the same token, development means or requires an improvement of this access—a fundamental change in the distribution of these resources. This is particularly the case as regards rural poverty. However, other organizations such as the International Labor Organization (ILO), with a focus on the rapidly growing urban centers and cities, have associated the increase of poverty in the third world to the rise of the informal sector. But this is questionable given that the informal sector has done much to rescue many individuals and nations from poverty or keeping them from becoming poorer. In fact, the informal sector accounts for a lion's share of economic growth in the region. For example, in the mid 1980s in Tanzania, 40% of economic growth came from the informal sector. Such evidence makes it difficult to accept ILO's claims and has led to the alternative argument that the conditions of poverty are exacerbated, if not immediately caused by government policies of structural adjustment, the very same policies that the World Bank forces upon governments in the region as a condition of 'aid' and access to development finance. We will elaborate on this point below.

Attar Chand has divided poverty into two categories: absolute and relative (Chand, 1987; see also Qyen, Miller and Samad, 1996). He explains that absolute poverty refers to a condition of acute physical want characterized by starvation, malnutrition, disease, want of clothing, shelter and lack of medical care. On the other hand, with relative poverty people may have necessities like food, shelter, medical care but still lack

enough money to acquire what the rich have. The same applies to nations. Some are suffering from absolute poverty and others are experiencing relative poverty.

The operational and development agencies of the United Nations as well as the World Bank have also tried to come up with their own measures of development from poverty. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) released its first *Human Development Report* in 1990 with three measurements, namely: (i) the opportunity to lead a long and healthy life; (ii) the opportunity to acquire knowledge; and (iii) the opportunity to have access to resources needed for decent standard of living

In general, however, there is no agreement on the accurate measurements of poverty. The fact remains that there is still a long way to go in fighting poverty in the third world, and especially in Africa where lack of employment, food and shelter is at its peak.

There has been a debate in development discourse concerning 'poverty alleviation' and 'poverty eradication'. During the period of economic growth development practitioners talked of 'poverty eradication' but 'the development of the concept of 'poverty alleviation' was a result of disillusionment with trickle down theories of the 1960s' (Mafeje, 2001:15). It was anticipated that the benefits of economic growth from 'poverty alleviation' would improve the well being of everyone in society, but the poor never benefited. In the case of Africa, the situation is critical because the number of people living in absolute poverty kept on increasing ever since the 1960s. During the 1970s it became clear that there was no alleviation. Then, 'poverty reduction' became the UN and ILO slogan. These agencies began to put emphasis on the need to promote the productivity capacity of the poor through their participation in the process. This

participatory development entails development from the people below, development that is empowering. However, this change in terminology seems to suggest that the poor were docile all along. This is not the case; it only shows the difficulty in defining and achieving development in the Third World. Despite attempts to shift the slogan from 'poverty alleviation' to 'poverty eradication,' Archie Mafeje argues that in most of SSA there have been no programs for poverty eradication, except perhaps for Botswana, though rural underdevelopment and rural poverty is said to be increasing. According to the literature reviewed, Africa has the poorest countries in the world. The World Bank in its *World Development Report* states that 32 of the 47 poorest countries in the world are from Africa (World Bank, 1994). Some of the cited poorest countries are Ethiopia, Mozambique and Tanzania (Voipo, 2000).

There is no agreement on the causes of poverty and underdevelopment in Africa (Mafeje, 1978; Qyen, Miller and Samad 1996). Some argue that it is because of colonialism, inefficient corrupt governments, traditional beliefs and customs, lack of domestic savings, lack of entrepreneurship, xenophobia and the list goes on (Bruneau, Jorgensen and Ramsay, 1978). The North's self interest in the South has been hidden in slogans like prosperity, industrialization, good governance or democratic governments. Clearly the causes are not because Africa is poor in resources. The continent is very rich in minerals and the soils are favorable for high yields.

The North and the South disagree on the causes of poverty. The South argues that Northern governments are trying to impose Euro American development models which do not work in the case of Africa (Mafeje, 1978). However, there are a multiple of factors to be blamed for poverty in Africa and in the last twenty years no poverty alleviation or

development has occurred in the third world. Instead, 'since the end of the 1980s there was a growing consensus that the World Bank's SAPs have been an unmitigated failure in Africa in that they did not bring about any visible economic growth and far from alleviating poverty they increased it' (Mafeje, 2001:18). Even though NGOs have tried to mitigate the economic, social, political and environmental problems brought by SAPs, poverty is still threatening massive populations of Africa

The World Bank Moves in: Implementing the SAP

SAPs entail policies designed and imposed on the countries in the South by the World Bank and the IMF in the name of economic efficiency. There is a need to understand that in the neoliberal view of efficiency it is associated with the implementation of the Western economic policies considered as the best and the only ones capable to solve the problems found today in the developing world. Since its implementation for more than 20 years in some countries, SAPs instead of being efficient and helping in improving the economies of the countries in Africa grow; the Bretton Woods economic policies have destroyed most of the means of production in these countries. This has resulted in total deterioration of the living standards in the South. Some economists point out that before the introduction of these economic measures, the gap between the North and South was close to 1 to 30 and now it is as high as 1 to 60, and is even close or over 1 to 100 in some cases. This evidence makes the whole issue of efficiency questionable.

The origins of SAPs can be traced back to the 1970s. During the 1960s and the 1970s the African economy performed well but problems started in the mid 1970s. However

'the turbulence in the world economy during the 1970s, both the first and second crude oil crisis of 1974-1975, tore big holes in the balance of trade in most of the Third World nations and had increased demand for external financing funds' (Chahoud, 1991:29). The oil crisis led to an increase in oil prices and recession in the industrialized countries. The results were stagnation in trade, downturn in commodity prices and an increase in the prices of manufactured products, high interest rates on foreign debt and gross capital flows. In addition capital flows declined because of the 1982 debt crisis (Jespersen, 1992). Inflation and unemployment went on the increase. Government deficits went out of control because government spending exceeded the increase in government growth. Other problems that Africa was going through included drought during the early 1980s, the AIDs pandemic and civil strife. As a result of these difficulties Africa needed financial assistance; hence SA since there was no way out of these circumstances.

All these external and internal shocks of the 1970s and early 1980s called for the roll back of the state and the redefinition of the state. This meant the end of Keynesianism and the idea of the welfare state. Keynesian economists believed that the government had the responsibility to play an active role in economic development and maintaining full employment of its citizens. Neoclassical counterrevolution economists like Friedman and Van Hayek who opposed Keynesian policies argued for the roll back in functions of the state to those of the 18th century and 19th century *laissez faire* doctrine. The neoliberal theories influenced World Bank, European and American governments in criticizing Third World public sectors. Conditional aid became a tool used to convince the Third World to reduce the state and open the market. This paved the way for SAPs.

SAP policies in the 1980s were started as a means of solving the economic, social

and political problems faced by most African governments. The main objective for most countries in the adjustment process is to overcome economic crisis and imbalances caused by internal or external shock and past mismanagement of the economy (Woodhall, 1991 in Carnoy, 1993). World Bank annual report stated that 'structural adjustment consists of programs, policies and institutional changes necessary to modify the structure of an economy so that it can restore or maintain its growth and viability in its balance of payments over the medium term' (World Bank, 1987). To make sure that governments were able to pay back their loans, SA programs came with different conditions some of which are given below (Mosley, Harrigan and Toye, 1991:44):

Trade Policy

   Improve export incentives and institutional support

   Remove import quotas

   Cut tariffs

Resource mobilization

   Improve financial performance by public enterprise

   Reform budget or taxes

   Reform interest rate policy

   Strengthen management of external borrowing

Efficient use of resources

   Revise agricultural prices

   Revise priorities of public investment programs

   Reduce or eliminate some agricultural input subsidies

Dissolve or reduce powers of state marketing boards

Revise industry incentive system

Revise energy prices

Introduce energy conservation measures

Develop indigenous energy sources

Institutional Reforms

Strengthen capacity to formulate and implement public investment program

Increase efficiency of public enterprises

Improve support for agriculture marketing etc.

Improve support for industry and control sub sector including price controls

In their terminology, IMF/ World Bank speak of 'stabilization' and 'adjustment' interchangeably. Unlike adjustment programs, stabilization programs are short term and less radical, the loans are payable within three to five years. For example the Zimbabwean government resisted the structural adjustment facility (SAF) that would have financed a long-term program with heavy conditions. Instead of an 'adjustment' package the government opted for a stabilization package in 1982. SAPs and stabilization programs are similar in that they aim at redressing balance of payments but they differ in the time frame work for redesigning the balance of payments and the degree of conditionality. Stabilization programs and the SAP are aimed at trade liberalization, public expenditure management, and increasing public investment effectiveness. These conditions were aimed at improving economic, social and political development in Africa.

'Unsurprisingly perhaps, the World Bank has never made unconditional loans—these loans carried conditions to which the borrower had to agree' (Toye, Mosley and Harrigan, 1991: 27). Conditions of IMF/World Bank differ from country to country depending on the package. There have been mixed reactions concerning the impact of SAP policies. Proponents of SAPs such as IMF and World Bank have argued that there have been successes. However, critics of SA argue that SA programs have brought too much suffering in most of Africa (Giovanni,Andrea, van der Hoeven and Mkandawire, 1992). Mkandawire Thandika came to the conclusion that "indeed, contrary to claims that the programmes supported by the IMF and World Bank generated slightly better results in countries with strong reform programmes, non-routine stipulation on such matters, an extra report, a fancier form of accounting and so on. Or they may specify some other accompanying agreement on the activation of which the main loan agreement is contingent. The special condition is then on the effectiveness condition of the loan" (in Mosley, Toye and Harrigan 1991:171). (World Bank and UNDP, 1989), the available evidence indicates that, with few exceptions structural conditions had not improved by the late 1980s in the 24 countries which had initiated adjustment programs in the 1980s (Mkandawire, Andrea and van der Hoeven 1992; see also UNECA, 1989a, which argues against World Bank claims). Despite protest from the third world concerning negative effects of SAP, Bretton Woods institutions are continuing on with SAP policies started in the 1980s with no indication that there will be any major changes.

Impact Assessment of Structural Adjustment in the 1980s

Some writers say that GDP in most African countries went up in the 1980s, based on the following evidence. In Ghana GDP grew at the rates of 8.6%, 5.1%, 5.2%, 4.8%, 5.6% and 5.1% from 1984 to 1989 (Roe and Schneider with Pyatt, 1992). However, these writers also argued that it is not accurate to say this growth was the result of the SAP. For example, they point out that the weather conditions in Ghana improved and that the gains have to be attributed to both SA and good weather. Elsewhere in Africa GDP growth of 5% was registered in Nigeria between 1987 and 1992 (African Development Report, 1998). In the late 1980s Botswana experienced a diamond boom that helped its economy to grow (Economic Development Institute of the World Bank-Successful Development in Africa 1989). World Bank Report 1984 suggests that GDP growth was positive in the early 1980s, although it kept on falling thereafter. Its evidence from other countries showed fluctuations, for example Tanzania's GDP growth between 1983 and 1990 in the following table:

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Agriculture	2.9	4.0	6.0	5.7	4.4	4.5	4.6	2.9
Manufacturing	8.7	2.7	3.9	4.0	4.2	5.4	9.7	7.8
GDP	0.8	4.4	0.7	4.7	4.0	5.1	4.4	4.2

Source: Economic Development Institute of the World Bank, *Successful development in Africa* 1989).

The GDP might have grown in the 1980s but Africa's economic and social conditions also began to deteriorate and they continue to do so. World Bank concluded in its report that 'growth does not necessarily reduce poverty or provide food security'

(World Bank, 1989). Most vulnerable groups affected by the SAP include women, children and the urban poor. In most cases their poverty may be historical, because of traditional disadvantage, political, lack of marketable skills or those retrenched in the civil service. These retrenched civil servants have been called the 'new poor' (World Bank, 1989, by Zuckerman Elaine). In the case of Ghana the rich are said to have been affected in the 1980s by adjustment, some positively but others negatively. The poor are said to have benefited especially from cocoa production (Roe and Schneider with Pyatt, 1992; Walden, Cunningham, Rau, 1999). The large commercial farmers in Ghana are said to have benefited from SA more than the small scale producers (Weissman, 1990 in Jespersen, 1992). The unfairness of the SAP is that it only benefits a small proportion of the population, leaving the majority suffering. In some countries, the middle class which includes teachers and nurses was also severely affected by cuts in government spending. As a result, it is now a fallacy to talk of a middle class in Africa these days because the middle class has disappeared.

Looking at women in Africa, their situation is grave. Women in Africa have found it hard to meet basic household needs because of their low purchasing power. Many of them have turned to prostitution and drug dealing. In Nigeria drug seizures increased from 25 to 149 between 1985 and 1989 (Mustapha in Jespersen, 1992). Most women overwork (14 to 16 hours a day) in order to make a living. In countries such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi women leave their families for weeks and months whilst they engage in cross boarder marketing. These financial issues have resulted in tensions within households, violence and family disintegration.

The harsh effects of structural adjustment policies, imposed by the IMF on Third World debtor nations, fall disproportionately on women as providers of basic needs as social welfare programs in areas of health, nutrition and housing are cut. When government subsidies or funds are no longer available, women in their role as unpaid home workers and care providers must often take up the provision of these basic welfare needs (Tickner, 1991:285).

Many women also face additional problems in that even if credit was available, they may not have access to it because traditionally this has been men's role. Further, most women are low-income earners which makes it hard for them to make savings in order to access credit.

In the case of Tanzania, 'in terms of access to credit and resources, women are discriminated against on the basis of gender' (Vuorela, 1988 in Havnek and Grafska, 1993: 295). High interest rates can make it hard for them to pay back the loans. Also land reform programs in Tanzania and Africa are too slow for women to generate enough income to maintain their families. Further, in the civil service, most women are affected by retrenchment because of their low paying employment. However, in Tanzania and some African countries some self-employed women have developed counter strategic associations. For example, Business Association of Women was established in Tanzania in 1989 in order to help them meet their economic demands (Havnek, Grafiska, 1993). Mostly it is those who can afford it who can start their own associations at times with the help of donors. The problem is there are some that are poor and they do not get any assistance from donors.

The World Bank also suggested that villagers can work collectively to improve their societies with the help of the government. For example, in Malawi they successfully established the gravity fed water project (The World Bank, 1989). Collective work has proved to be successful in most parts of Africa especially with government support.

Children in Africa have been affected indirectly by the effects of adjustment. During the 1960s and 1970s African government expenditures on education were high but have dropped since the 1980s. In Zimbabwe, education used to be free, but now alternative ways of paying fees have been introduced (Nhundu, 1992). The lack of financial resources and the economic hardships have resulted in a big drop in school enrolments. Many parents now have to rely on their children to do domestic work or some other income generating activities. Hence, there is now absenteeism, fatigue, poor performance, and many children unable to complete their grades at school. This is well documented in the case of Tanzania (Tipp, 1989b and Oppong 1987 in Jespersen, 1992). Girls have been affected more because of cultural background that perceives girls' education as more inferior to boys' education. Decline in social spending has resulted in increased malnutrition amongst children. Poor health conditions have also been worsened by the HIV/AIDs pandemic. Between 1980 and 1984 hospital deaths due to malnutrition increased in Zaire from 2.4% to 5.7% among infants and from 38% to 62.2% among four year olds (Alison, 1986 in Jerspersen, 1992). This high infant mortality rate is now common in most of Africa due to the HIV/AIDs pandemic. Structural adjustment programs are not helping to stop this crisis. It can even be argued that they are making things worse.

The decline in public wages has had negative effects on the public sector. In

Zambia the drop of salaries forced most doctors to leave the public service and join the private sector. In Ghana, between 1982 and 1988 the number of doctors in the public sector dropped from 1700 to 665; (Giovanni, van der Hoeven and Mkandawire, 1992). In Burkina Faso, in 1988, civil servants were required to give up between one half and one full month's pay, as contributions to the Effort populaire d'investissement. In 1983, their salaries remained at 1982 level with a further reduction in 1987 (Savadogo and Welta, 1992). Salaries of teachers have also dropped in most African countries and this has affected the quality of education because teachers are resorting to secondary means of income support, for example through tutoring and marketing items for sale (Jespersen, 1992). Many civil servants are now unemployed. Some of these have had to leave for the rural areas and neighbouring countries or to go abroad and others have found work in the informal sector. Migration to rural areas has bee significant in Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Nigeria because of adjustment difficulties (Jespersen, 1992). At the same time, some rural dwellers are also trying to move into the urban areas in order to seek wage employment.

The introduction of structural adjustment has also resulted in job insecurity. Employers are demanding part-time workers instead of full-time workers because part-timers are cheaper since they do not receive benefits. The terms such as 'flexibility' have been used only as a means of exploitation.

Technological change is also making skilled workers loose their jobs, and contributed to the rapid increase in the informal sector in Africa during the 1980s. The informal sector accounts for 60% of urban labor force because it has also absorbed rural migrants, underemployed, unemployed from the formal school, school dropouts and

school leavers. 'It expanded by nearly 7% each year' (Jespersen, 1992: 24). Unfortunately, the informal sector has no lasting and significant benefits in economic development. Its products are of low quality and the sector cannot generate much income to support families.

In trying to mitigate the problems of adjustment, the "social safety nets" were established by IMF and World Bank (World Bank, 1990; UNRISD, 1995). Some of these safety nets are said to be run by NGOs, though NGOs have been criticized in that they tend to concentrate around the urban areas leaving the remote areas (UNRISD, 1995). In Ghana, the government, World Bank and specialized agencies of the UN drew up Program of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD). PAMSCAD attempts to address 'social concerns while economic adjustment is being promoted' (Roe and Schneider, 1992:117; see also Mosley, Toye and Harrigan, 1991). A similar program was initiated in Zambia, the New Economic Recovery Programme (NERP). However most of the safety nets have been criticized in that they do not really meet the demands of the poor (Jespersen 1992; Toye and Harrigan, 1991; UNRISD, 1995). In fact, the problem of poverty is spreading throughout Africa with the high increase in unemployment. For example in Zimbabwe unemployment is now standing at 70%.

Urban workers who are politically organized are reacting violently to their poor living standards brought about by adjustment policies. The 1980s witnessed 'IMF riots' (UNIRISD, 1995) with social movements trying to resist the hardships from the economic conditions dictated by the IMF (Altvater, Hubner, Lorentzen and Rojas, 1991). To counter this resistance, the transnational corporations (TNCs) supported by the SAP

avoid trade unions and try to operate outside labor laws of the host countries. As a result, the types of the jobs they offer are usually risky with no consideration of people's health and the environment.

One conditionality of the SAP is that host governments have to provide an environment that is conducive to investment. This has pushed most African governments to authoritarian policies. Yusaf Bangura states that, "the adjustment programme of contemporary monetarism throws up specific types of political regimes ranging from zero/one and controlled two party systems to military rule, civil/military diarchy and corporate representation" (Bangura, 1990: 24). Claude Ake and Bangura commented that there is no way of implementing the structural adjustment program without political repression (cited in Ihonvbere, 1994). The Bank and the Fund prefer funding those governments where strikes can be controlled. In most cases, African leaders have silenced protestors through police and military brutality in order to implement the SAP.

The Political Context of SAP Implementation

In the 1980s civil war and insurrection had negative impacts on Africa. There have been coups, instability, and civil wars in many African countries such as Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Angola, Chad, Mozambique, the Congo, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Nigeria, and Burkina Faso. Many lives have been lost, and infrastructures destroyed. Political instability is still claiming victims in Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo. 'Africa now has around 2.5 million refugees; twenty years ago there were 400 000. One in every 200 Africans is a refugee. The African continent with less than a tenth of the

world population, has more than a quarter of the world's 10 million refugees,' not including economic refugees and others who have emigrated to other countries (The World Bank, 1984:3). Women and children are always the most vulnerable. Some children move alone to other countries because of war.

It is estimated that countries in the South spend 30% more on military than on education and health combined (UNICEF, 1989 see also UNICEF, 1997). This evidence suggests that African leaders are more concerned over their economic and political survival than the misery and suffering of their people.

The large expenditures involved in supporting African armies are undermining development. As stated in a World Bank report, 'Lower military spending could also increase public savings. In Sub-Saharan Africa defense expenditures as a ratio of total expenditure is relatively high. Some countries have inordinately high ratios. Most of the countries with high economic performance, such as Botswana, Ghana and Mauritius, have low defense expenditures' (The World Bank, 1989:168). 'Assurance is needed that high and increased levels of ODA, do not end up financing military spending, luxury consumption, inefficiency and capital flight' (The World Bank, 1989:183). It is apparent that large funds have been misdirected into unnecessary wars in Africa instead of being directed to enhancing economic development and the social welfare of the poor. It would be a big improvement if donor countries made it a condition that their funding must not go into military spending.

Impact Assessment of Structural Adjustment in the 1990s

During the 1990s most countries in Africa were going through their second or third phase of the SAP. From the literature reviewed GDP in some countries performed well, but also dropped in some countries. A few examples given below illustrate this point.

In Egypt, GDP growth was 1.7% from 1990 to 1995, 4.3% in 1996 and 5.0% in 1997. Between 1990 and 1996, in Botswana, it grew by 5.1%. Though GDP was erratic in Algeria, it registered 1.3% growths between 1992 and 1996. Mauritius registered growth rate of 5.5% between 1990 and 1996. Nigeria registered 5.0% growth between 1987 and 1992, but dropped between 1993 and 1994 to 1.02% because of the decline in oil prices. Growth increased again to 3.2 % in 1995with an increase in oil prices. South Africa's GDP growth was 3% from 1993 to 1996, but it slowed down to 2.2 in 1997 because of decline in mining output and poor performance in agriculture. In Tanzania it was 4.0% in 1996 and 4.1% in 1997. Growth was negatively affected by poor performance in agriculture because of drought that started in 1996. In Zambia growth was 6.5% in 1996, but it went down to 4.6% in 1997. The decline was due to poor performance in agriculture after heavy rains had destroyed crops. Lastly, in Zimbabwe, GDP growth averaged only 1.5% per annum between 1990 and 1996 because multiple causes which include drought, political instability and SA (GDP figures taken from African Development Report, 1998).

GDP might have grown in some countries in Africa during the 1990s as shown above, but the social, economic, political and environmental problems seem to have deepened. That is why the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) has concluded that African development should be measured by what is happening to the people and not

what is happening to GDP (Nyang'oro and Shaw, 1992; Martinussen, 1997; ILO 1992). GDP alone cannot be used as a correct measure of poverty alleviation.

The problem of continuous devaluation of currency and inflation is making it hard for the poor and the unemployed to purchase basic commodities. In Zimbabwe the civil servants' salaries and wages in other sectors have not risen significantly since the late 1980s in proportion to the rate of inflation. This is causing huge economic and social hardships including widespread shortages of food, closures of some supermarkets and the beginnings of famine. Timothy Shaw has argued that, "the current condition (in Africa) is not merely a short term disaster of drought, debt, refugees, and decline; rather it is the stark early warning of a long term movement toward peripheralization and impoverishment" (Shaw, 1985: 270). However, although the evidence shows that the SAP is causing considerable harm to the economies and people of Africa, the governments insist on adopting these SAP policies.

Many reasons have been given for the failure of SAPs. One of these is that most programs are abandoned or terminated before completion. Eva Jespersen (1992) disagrees with this assertion, pointing out that it can not be considered the main cause of the poor performance. Exogenous factors are said to have resulted in economic losses in terms of trade. Oil prices and shortages have affected exports in agricultural products and other products such as minerals. Drought, civil war and other factors have contributed to losses in terms of trade.

Inadequate financing has resulted also in failure of SA. Most resources gained through SA go into debt servicing, which has become a vicious circle with debt continuously going higher and higher. Some countries cannot manage to pay their debt,

even though IMF has pardoned debt payment of a few of these countries which fell into the Highly Indebted Countries (HICs) category. Some of these HICs are Zaire, Nigeria, Sudan and Ivory Coast (Korner, 1991). Another problem has been an inconsistence in the design of the adjustment packages in countries like Ghana, Malawi and Kenya as illustrated in (Mosley, Harrigan and Toye, 1991). Maybe if there was consistence with the adjustment packages good progress could have been made.

It appears that, just like in the colonial days, the SAP is benefiting the Northern countries though trade liberalization. Bonnie Campbell and John Loxley commented that 'not since the days of colonialism have external forces been so powerfully focused to shape Africa's economic structure and the nature of its participation in the world's system' (Campbell and Loxley, 1989:1) Colonialism led to the underdevelopment of Africa (Rodney, 1981) and today the SAP is doing the same. Henry Veltmeyer and James Petras have called it imperialism (Veltmeyer and Petras, 2001). Free trade between the North and South is not free in actual fact. The neoliberals who advocate this overlook the social costs of removing government intervention and controls which might benefit consumers. Neoliberal policies lead to lowering of purchasing power, and low standards of living and economic disasters in many cases.

Redesigning Structural Adjustment: The Human Face of Adjustment

There has been a line of thought that says that the SAP could have been good if they had been designed in a way that would benefit Third World countries. Some writers have suggested that SAPs should be redesigned with public participation in order to ensure

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consensus (Loxley and Campbell, 1989; Nyang'oro and Shaw, 1992). Regional integration and cooperation could be achieved through development bodies such as West African Economic Community (CEAO), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Preferential Trade Areas for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in promoting SAPs (World Bank, 1989; Nyang'oro and Shaw, 1992; Campbell and Loxley, 1989). Also, there is a chance that if there is real regional cooperation in Africa, the ties from the economic and social benefits would be strong enough to promote peace and stability in the regions.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) came up with its own alternative to the SAP, which is Africa's Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment Programs (AAF) in 1989. AAF put emphasis on poverty alleviation and trying to fight those forces that keep on reproducing poverty (Nyang'oro and Shaw, 1992). Nyang'oro and Shaw also viewed the informal sector as the most appropriate alternative to SA and remedy from poverty as long as there is government support for this sector. They also argue that, for African governments to be successful in the development process, they should avoid exporting agricultural and mineral commodities and rely on what they produce instead of imports (Campbell and Loxley, 1989; Nyang'oro and Shaw, 1992). A greater supply of domestic products would mean that prices of most goods would be cheaper and more affordable to the poor.

SAP policies that are going to benefit African nations need to be redesigned in such a way that economic, political, social and environmental development is promoted. It is clear that since the implementation of SAPs, standards of living in Africa have kept

on deteriorating. There is a need for more sympathetic development agencies, especially certain NGOs, to play a leading role in Africa's development. UNICEF in criticizing SAP argued for adjustment packages to have 'a human face', meaning that the Bank and IMF had to provide assurance that the social costs of adjustment are mitigated in the process of implementation.

By the end of the 1980s it became evident even to IMF and World Bank economists that SAPs were failing to bring anticipated results especially to the poor. They realized that there was a need to redesign SAPs and accommodate the vulnerable groups in the third world who were negatively affected. SAPs were redesigned adding to them a social dimension and giving a 'human face' to the whole process (Stahl, 1997). This change in World Bank, IMF position came after criticism from donor organizations such as the UN, NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs). Even though the World Bank agreed on the need to redesign SAPs it still argued that adjustment measures were a necessary policy framework of 'good policy' and 'good governance' (Stiglitz, 2002; World Bank Reports for the decade). However it was undoubtedly true that a participatory approach to development was necessary in order to attain sustainable development.

The Bank began to reform the neoliberal agenda through (a) promoting a policy of decentralization—bringing government closer to the people and to create more participatory and sustainable development at local level. (b) Giving more priority to the problem of poverty, through setting up special social investment fund for projects aimed at poverty alleviation. (c) Supporting a New Social Policy (NSP) that 'targeted' the poor and their communities. (d) Turning toward NGOs as a means of executing their assistance programs, as strategic partners in the development process—to mediate

relations (funding and implementation of poverty alleviation projects) between the donors, both bilateral and multilateral, and grassroots organizations in the recipient poor communities targeted by this aid (Biekart, 1996; Blair, 1997; Carroll, 1992; Macdonald, 1997 in Veltmeyer, 2003).

This shift in development thinking and practice placed the poor in the position of beneficiaries to the development process. World Bank began to see the poor and civil society organizations as participants in the development process. In the 1980s the World Bank and Official Development Agencies (ODAs) began to see NGOs as reliable partners than government because of their opportunity to reach even those poor in the remote areas.

There was a shift to this development approach in the 1990s. The private sector was included into the development process. Transnational corporations began to form partnership relations with United Nations organizations. Since transnational corporations control the global economy it puts them in the position of being able to control the global environment, economic activity, local communities and development of livelihoods.

Structural Adjustment and Nongovernmental Organizations in Africa

The issue that is central to the recovery of Africa's economy is said to be through greater external support (World Bank, 1984). This external support should come from development agencies like NGOs as argued by World Bank in its writings. At the same time, the South is being advised that it's not the responsibility of the state to supply social services to the poor but rather that of NGOs and other civil institutions.

It was stated by World Bank in 1989 that one hindrance to the success of the SAP in Africa was due to the poor infrastructure. The lack of good infrastructure is still a big problem in developing Africa's economies. For example, roads and bridges in poor condition stop farmers from transporting their produce to markets with better returns than local ones. NGOs and other development agencies through their partnership relations should provide more infrastructure and help in land reform programs so that the poor especially are more productive with more land and are able to sell their products. NGOs need to provide not only emergency assistance, but also infrastructure building and technical assistance especially to farmers in the rural areas. They also need to develop programs that can empower women entitlement to land ownership and help to educate people against sex discrimination and the need to protect women and children. Partnership has been perceived as the solution to achieve these developmental goals.

In Zimbabwe nutrition and basic health services to the poor were maintained during the 1980s. The NGOs initiated a children supplementary feeding program that fed many children. Another NGO program was the 1987 Zimbabwe Expanded Program on Immunization for pregnant women (UNICEF, 1988, 1987). These are good programs initiated by NGOs to provide immediate and needed assistance. However, there is still a need of assistance that is more sustainable in poverty alleviation as advised by World Bank (World Bank, 1989). NGOs should not only focus on short-term projects but long term projects that are sustainable. Long term projects on the other hand help in strengthening partnership relations because they are an on going process.

Conclusion

The literature that was reviewed on the SAP in Africa—that is, Campbell and Loxley (1989); Claasen and Salin (1991); Havnevik and Motala (1993); Jerspersen (1992); Giovanni, Van der Hoeven and Mkandawire (1992); Mafeje (2001); Nyang'oro and Shaw (1992); Mosley, Harrigan and Toye (1991), Bangura (1991)—indicated that the SAP has been a failure in Africa because of the negative impact experienced by most African countries. It is not only in Africa where SAPs have failed, but in most Third World countries and even in countries where World Bank and IMF reports claim they have been successful.

Despite the economic and social hardships encountered by the third world ever since the SAP was introduced, the World Bank has continued to argue until recently that its policies can still work if governments followed them correctly. They have argued that government corruption is the main hindrance to progress. In Africa, after the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) indicated that Africa's economy was deteriorating, the World Bank came up with Accelerated Development in SSA: An Agenda for Change, which is known as the Berg report. In this report the Bank criticized African governments for being inefficient and irrational. They also argued that if privatization was encouraged, private companies could help in providing infrastructure and relieving the public service with most of its cumbersome responsibilities.

Some critics of privatization such as Joseph Stiglitz have concluded that privatization could have been good if there had been proper timing, pacing and sequencing in the whole process (Stiglitz, 2002). This would mean, for example, retrenchment could have been preceded little by little instead of the programs that caused

large rates of unemployment, violence and crime. The system could have also ensured better assistance to farmers in the rural areas, including affordable fertilizer and other farm essentials. With devaluation and inflation problems how can a poor farmer manage to buy seeds or fertilizers? Agricultural problems should be seen as the result of policy failures because IMF puts emphasis on expansion of Africa's traditional commodity exports like coffee, cocoa or sugar and yet policies do not put emphasis on water conservation and improved irrigation (Giovanni, van der Hoeven and Mkandawire, 1992). There is a contradiction in IMF and Word Bank policies.

Trade liberalization, lowering of tariffs and removal of protectionist measures, should be done in the right way so that where jobs are eliminated new ones are created (Stiglitz, 2002; United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 1991). IMF favors quick privatization and prefers to deal with problems of competition and regulation later, but it is difficult to deal with these when they are in the process of benefiting. Protectionist measures need to be removed gradually and in a systematic way. For example, unemployment caused by such measures could be mitigated by adopting programs in the developed countries such as Canada's unemployment insurance that would assist the workers who have lost their jobs.

Maude Barlow criticized World Trade Organization (WTO) for being a threat to Africa's environment (Barlow, 2001). Criticism against WTO has prompted networks for global economic justice such as '50 Years is enough', to fight against what they call imperialism. They argue that most African states have lost their sovereignty due to this new imperialism, mainly because of the Bretton Woods Institutions imposed rules (Barlow, 2001). Both national and international activists are trying to fight these unfair

policies that have impoverished the South and would like to see the transformation of IMF and World Bank in providing genuine assistance in the development of Africa and other third world economies.

The failure by the World Bank and IMF to bring genuine development in Africa has made NGOs more preferable. NGO partnership has therefore been perceived as more important. For NGOs to be successful they need more resources from donor countries to do their work. They also need to focus on new roles, including building infrastructures and assisting rural farmers, women and children in a sustainable way.

Chapter Three

Nongovernmental Organizations and Partnerships

Introduction

There have been major shifts in the development theory and practice that have influenced development agendas in Africa and other third world countries over the past four decades. Development planners saw a need in shifting development planning and thinking from the central control of the state and the market because of their failure in solving the problem of mass poverty and bringing sustainable development. The trickle down approaches to development did not solve the economic hardships of the poor either. There was also inadequacy in the basic needs approach and redistribution with growth approaches to poverty alleviation. Due to the failures of the mainstream approach to development, 'Another Development'/'Alternative Development' (AD), with its attention focused on the participation of the marginalized people, was placed on the agenda by both theorists and practitioners.

This chapter examines the emergence of a search for an alternative form of bottom-up development that is socially inclusive and participatory. It is argued that the failure of the neoliberal model (and SAPs) opened the way for NGOs to emerge as agents of Alternative Development. To this endeavor, the role played by NGOs especially in the development of Africa is going to be analyzed. NGOs have been involved in the development of Africa, especially with the grassroots, for many decades. Their aim has

been to reach the marginalized and make them participate in the development of their own economies. This study argues that despite the consensus amongst development agencies that NGOs are more effective and efficient compared to nation states in bringing about development, the alarming rates of poverty are still a major concern in Africa.

The role played by international development agencies in the development discourse is also of great importance. Donor agencies were disillusioned by the postcolonial states' performance in development, resulting in the donor agencies channeling their funds through NGOs (Veltmeyer and Petras, 2000). Korten (1990) also reiterated that many donors and governments realized the important role of NGOs in the 1980s. Consequently, since the 1980s NGOs have been partners of governments and international donors in the implementation of their programs and projects. Denham pointed out that international NGOs (INGOs) have been preferred as reliable partners over multilateral or bilateral forms of assistance and they have been utilized by many Northern governments (Denham, 1992 in Cassen, 1994). However, it has been argued that these partnerships between international agencies and NGOs are flawed and this has undermined their efforts on poverty alleviation (Korten, 1997; Cassen, 1994; Mistry, 1989; Patti, 2000).

Partnership relations have been interpreted differently by individuals and organizations (Billis, 1993; Lewis and Ehsan, 1996). Partnerships were mainly intended to coordinate the aid system and become more efficient in tackling poverty but distortions in the interpretation of partnerships seem to be hindering this progress. There is no agreement either on the methods used by donors in assessing and evaluating their progress. This lack of consensus on how to measure progress creates a lot of confusion,

with some INGOs claiming that partnerships are being successful and SNGOs opposing

such claims (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995). Reports continue to claim that poverty is on

the increase in third world (World Bank Reports). Partnerships are therefore failing just

like all other strategies that have been used for many decades in trying to alleviate

poverty and bring development into the third world. The question now is what new

approaches can work when all development approaches tried so far have failed to bring

positive change?

The Search for Another Development

During the 1980s both the left and the right called for another form of SAP prescriptions.

Development researchers called for development that is initiated from below and inside

rather than from outside and above. Development that is socially inclusive, human in

form and in scale, sustainable, participatory, liberating, self-centered and self-reliant,

people centered, community-based and directed, equitable and sustainable in terms of

livelihoods and the environment. All these definitions mean that theorists on Another

Development (AD) advanced many forms of AD and ideas. In this search for (AD)

NGOs emerged as the best agencies to facilitate this type of development because they

mainly target the marginalized in society.

This search for AD came as response to failure by mainstream development

policies to alleviate poverty and to stop environmental crisis. AD seeks the removal of

structural barriers created by the bureaucratic state which impede people's participation

and empowerment. To achieve people centered development there has to be structural

changes at local, national and global levels. They see poverty as a result of social, economic and political disempowerment. According to proponents of AD, participation and empowerment should bring development. The economic gap between the North and the South kept on increasing in spite of social development projects and reported economic growth rates within the third world countries. Muchunguzi and Milne wrote that:

> Having seen misery increase—not decrease—through the 'development years,' the experience of many SNGOs has made them acutely aware that the ultimate responsibility for the development of the South ultimately lies in the hands of the people of the South. For the South redefining the development process will enable human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfillment while meeting basic human needs (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995: 2).

These concerns led those in the development field—organizations and individuals—to call for AD. International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA) was founded in 1974 on the search for AD. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in its conferences and publications called for development that is community based, people-led, people-centered, participatory in form and human in scale. ECLAC also called for participation in development. ECLAC's views are supported by Sithembiso Nyoni who, when writing on the case of Zimbabwe, argued that development is a process of articulation and participation: development should involve the people themselves and, knowing what they want and acting to get it (Nyoni in Brown, 1996; 17).

DAWN in the 1970s, called for the incorporation of women as active participants in the development field. Hence feminist perspectives such as Women in Development

(WID) surfaced. In March 1987 NGO members who gathered at the People—Centered Development (PCD) forum sought alternative forms of development. The PCD argued for changing production methods rather than increasing rate of production in order to improve the living standards of the poor. Individual writers such as David Korten and Max Neef with his famous Human Scale Development (HSD) model argued for a new paradigm. The argument is that by improving the condition of life and livelihood of the poor there can be enhancement of their power to make choices and achieve their 'human development'. It is because of this search for a new paradigm that resulted in thousands of NGOs moving into the third world.

In Africa there has been a great wave in search for alternative forms of development too. The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) put forward by the organization of African Unity (OAU) in the early 1980s was an alternative framework to SAPs. LPA argued for policies that can improve the living standards of the populations, attainment of food sufficiency, promotion of self-sustainable development, integration of African markets, transport, communication and trade (Giovanni, 1992). LPA, however, failed because it did not take into consideration contradictions, corruption, inequalities and the unbalanced nature of Africa's relationship in the world economy. UNECA was also an alternative framework for economic recovery and development in Africa. ECA emphasized on development that is human centered and based on human development. The African Charter for Popular participation in Development and Transformation in 1990 emphasized on empowerment of the people. Many other regional alliances were signed in trying to enhance sustainable development in Africa.

The aim of AD was to give the capitalist form of development a 'social dimension'

and a 'human face' as argued in the UNICEF Report of 1987. SA over the years has only brought gross suffering especially to the poor people in the third world and it is only benefiting the North. ILO also saw popular participation of people in decision-making as the solution to underdevelopment. Through this form of development the marginalized groups within societies would come into the development process through small-scale production methods. NGOs support subsistence production rather than production for external markets in contrast to governments that tend to promote macro production that does not really benefit the marginalized. This gave prominence to NGOs as facilitators of micro-development mainly in the informal sector of the South.

Some writers have argued that participation has been defined in different ways both in theory and in practice. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into their arguments. However, a few differences between World Bank and AD participation will be given because of their influence in the development field. World Bank is concerned about participation that brings efficiency and cost effectiveness whilst for AD participation should be socially empowering and transformative. The bank links participatory development and good governance as a way of alleviating social injustice and bringing equity in the third world countries. In the mainstream, development practitioners see it as the responsibility of government in partnership with NGOs to bring good governance through decentralization and the electoral process. AD emphasizes that participation should be from below, grassroots oriented and the people should be active in the planning, implementation and monitoring stages of all aspects of development. Yet with the neo-liberals, beneficiaries to the development process are excluded from participation in the design and evaluation process of the programs.

In the third world, most NGOs bypass government at times for political reasons and work directly in partnerships with grassroots organizations. Friedman sees the state as corrupt and unsympathetic to the needs of the poor (Friedman, 1992). NGOs' closeness with the grassroots has made them favorable partners with international financial institutions such as World Bank and IMF in the fight against poverty in Africa and the Third World as a whole.

AD also came as a response to ideas put across by Chambers (1997) concerning poverty and his criticism of top-down development strategies. Chambers (1993) had also argued that the North had believed that their knowledge was superior, when compared with local people's capabilities. In response, UN organizations and other development agencies began to urge a Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) form of development.

This approach is about the poor coming to understand their reality and to empower them to become active agents of their own development. It includes principles such as popular participation, self-reliance and empowerment—building on their own 'social capital', capacitating them as development agents (Almaric, 1998; Burkey, 1993; Chambers, 1993 and Veltmeyer, 2001).

To achieve development defined in these terms (sustainable livelihoods) it is necessary to build on an asset that the poor have in abundance: their capacity to organize and act collectively— their 'social capital' (Coleman, 1988 in Veltmeyer, 2004). On the basis of this capital the poor need to be empowered both in social and political terms. However, effective 'political' empowerment calls for radical structural change vis-à-vis the distribution of society's other productive resources—natural, financial and physical capital. That is, empowerment of the poor requires a relative disempowerment of the

rich—an effective redistribution and sharing of decision-making capacity vis-à-vis issues affecting their livelihoods, that is 'political power'. In this connection, Steifel and Wolfe argued that the call for popular participation requires the creation of new institutions at local levels to facilitate active participation of the people (Steifel and Wolfe in Veltmeyer, 2000). Through what Paulo Freire calls conscientization, the poor can become critical and aware of their social reality and of their ability to transform that reality by their conscious collective action. As people work collectively, participation allows people to rely upon each other for mutual assistance.

Empowerment, so defined and understood, makes people understand the reality of their lives, environment and it makes them take steps to bring about change to these situations. AD argues that there is the need to empower the marginalized so that they can be in control of their development process. Empowerment makes the poor independent, think logically, plan, implement changes and accept outcomes rationally. Human Development Report states that, 'development must be woven around people, not people around development—and it should empower individuals and groups rather than disempowering them' (UNDP, 1993: 1). This can make the people change their environment and structures that impede progress. When the people are empowered they can make the governments more accountable and responsive to people's needs as they influence government policy through participation.

The poor should have knowledge, resources and appropriate technology to meet their basic needs (Burkey, 1993; Veltmeyer, 2001). However, Burkey warns that external assistance should not lead to dependency. Proponents of AD also see this as a cause rather than a cure of developmental problems (Parpart, 1999). Participation of the local people

should provide an effective means of mobilizing resources and ensure sustainable development. Through participation people should get an education that enables them to acquire new skills necessary for continued participation.

Though AD has been favorable to many development practitioners it has faced criticism mainly because it is failing to bring change in the lives of the majority of people. The people in the third world do not control the planning, implementation and evaluation of projects; yet NGOs, donor countries and other development organizations get the benefits (Burkey, 1993; Chambers, 1997). This explains why there is criticism that AD programs and projects continue to be administered by NGOs in a top-down manner and that western development ideology is still being promoted through NGOs (UNECA 1993). AD has not helped in reducing poverty, inequalities and unemployment in past two decades. Participation has not changed the structural conditions that impede progress. The problem is that AD has no prescription of how the state and the market can be eliminated in order to give room for popular participation. AD can be seen as similar to the World Bank's New Social Policy (NSP) which has long emphasized popular participation, decentralization, poverty alleviation, good governance and other social issues but has had no impact on the people's lives. This explains why UNECA argued that popular participation is only meant for success and effectiveness of projects and not what it is really meant to.

It is clear that participation has different interpretations both in theory and in practice. Governments, donor agencies and NGOs adopted participation in their development agendas even though its meanings and social impact on the poor are not clear. In actual fact it seems that it is these development agencies that are benefiting from

the development process yet the poor still lack empowerment.

AD participation and empowerment seem to be another way of manipulating the poor in the name of development. It always seems that in the development discourse that when theories fail, new terminologies are introduced as if terminologies can cure the development problems. So far, all attempts at implementing development theories have failed to solve the root causes of poverty which for the most part can be traced back to colonialism, neo-colonialism and now globalization/SA.

Agencies for Development

Chapter Two of this thesis analyzed the socioeconomic and political problems faced by the African countries in the context of structural adjustment. It becomes apparent therefore that there was a need to try and examine the efforts by the international community in trying to address these disparities. It is essential to identify the common objective of international development agencies and the methods used by these agencies to pursue their agendas. Successes and failures of their joint agendas shall be discussed. These issues can be understood much better through exploring the different conceptions of partnership. While it has been argued that partnerships can bring development into the third world, there continues to be obstacles to the creation of sustainable partnerships. These obstacles and complexities need to be discussed in this chapter.

The Western aid system that began in the 1960s opened doors into the developing world for many development agencies. These development agencies do have different motives and characteristics. Some of them are mega corporations whilst others can be

small organizations. Development agencies can be 'non profit making' or 'profit making'. They aim to achieve peace, economic, humanitarian, political, social and environmental development. In most cases the agencies operate from within the developing countries but some operate from the donor countries. To make aid more effective, development agencies formed umbrella bodies- that is multilateral, bilateral organizations.

Multilateral aid is given through official development assistance (ODA) by the development assistance committee (DAC). World Bank administers this aid through the international development assistance association (IDA). If there is improved cooperation within the institutional framework of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) now World Trade Organization (WTO), IMF, Word Bank, Regional Development Banks and the UN organizations, aid can serve as a catalyst for a process of economic and social development. At the very least it can provide an improved economic environment (CIDA, 1987). However, the aid-assisted development process is a long and protracted one because of the different motives held by these international organizations. Development cooperation has been designed for over fifty years. This theory of development cooperation has been viewed as an essential adjunct to the process of alleviating poverty and eradicating its extreme forms but mass poverty still persists in Africa and other less developed countries (LDC).

Mistry (1989) criticizes public development financing through multilateral and bilateral agencies in that it has become inward looking and is concerned about self-at the expense of other agencies. WTO was formed in 1994 with the intention of renovating the

existing world economic order leading to the establishment of what has been termed the New World Order. This world trade system is supposed to benefit its member partners-yet the system only benefits the North not the South which is supposed to be the actual beneficiary since its people are suffering from underdevelopment. It is surprising that most trade rules are not in the interest of the South. Mistry goes on to argue that even though multilateral agencies have multiplied rapidly they have confused mandates and unclear division of labor (Mistry, 1989). These issues make the whole idea of cooperative efforts fruitless.

On the other hand, bilateral agencies have had their efforts distracted and diverted by pressures to meet a diversity of domestic, political, military and commercial interests, all of which impinge on each other in a confused and often contradictory manner (Mistry, 1989:102). The move by some bilateral and multilateral institutions to have partnerships with NGOs is definitely solving some of these impediments. Bilateral and multilateral organizations support NGOs as their go between with Northern governments.

Since the mid-1980s NGOs began gaining higher status within the UN (Willets, 2000). NGOs gained more and more rights at the UN sessions and became part of UN official proceedings. Eventually, the UN took the initiative in establishing linkages with NGOs. 'It is often claimed that NGOs are the voice of the people, with an implied assertion that governments are the source of the world's problems' (Willets, 2000: 203). NGOs have been involved in the environmental; economic and social arena but the UN did not want them to take part in debates on arms control, disarmament and international conflict (Crowe, 1998). The fear was that if NGOs were involved in these issues then there could be an argument for them to be included in some of the Security Council

proceedings, which would be unacceptable to most or all of the permanent members.

World Bank has also stated in several of its reports that it prefers collaboration with NGOs. World Bank (1992) gave the following as reasons why the Bank should work closely with NGOs:

The World Bank is a powerful development agency in the world so it has strong influence on governments and populations of the world's poorest countries. Because of this influential position the NGOs have to maintain a relationship with Bank. On the other hand NGOs need the World Bank as a source of funds. The Bank needs the knowledge that NGOs have on grassroots and their expertise on improving the quality of life of the poor.

Due to this mutual dependency the NGOs and the World Bank have to rely on each other, even though they do not operate as equal partners. Fowler (2000) claims that the use of the term partnership by the Bank is not premised on solidarity but building relations in order to improve lending performance. In fact NGOs have not been involved in many of World Bank's projects (Muchunguzi and Milne 1995).

In 1989 the African Development Bank (AFDB) examined partnership in a study on government-NGO relations. In 1990 the AFDB encouraged increased cooperation between the AFDB and NGOs (African Development Bank, 1990). AFDB wanted to give NGOs support so that they could improve their ability to execute development projects and programs. Eventually AFDB formed a joint consultative forum used as a means of coordinating activities between the AFDB and NGOs.

Partnerships have been used as a way of acquiring much needed resources (Patti,

2000). For example most NGOs and UN organizations try to compensate their limited

financial resources by involving the private sector in their programs. Korten (1997) wrote

that

> since global corporations have the money and the power, any viable approach to dealing
>
> with poverty and the environment must center on providing market incentives that will
>
> make it profitable for TNCs to invest in job creation and environmentally friendly
>
> technologies—by this twisted logic—corporations need to be brought in as full partners
>
> in the public decision making process to assure that the resulting policies will be
>
> responsive to their needs (Korten, 1997: 38).

The problem with TNCs-NGO partnerships, UN-TNC partnerships, is that the

objectives of TNCs are in conflict with those held by both the UN and NGOs (Patti,

2000). TNCs are mainly concerned with profits whereas NGOs and the UN organizations

want to protect human rights, ethical values and justice. Taylor (1997) in Patti (2000)

argues that not much publicity has been given to TNCs-NGOs partnerships problems

because of fear. The development discourse therefore continues to suffer because the

outcomes of these affect the poor; who despite the slogans on "participation" still do not

have power in decisions taken on their behalf.

TNCs try to maintain their relationships with NGOs and UN organizations as a

scapegoat. Patti (2000) came up with a list of reasons why TNCs encourage the NGOs

and the UN to form partnerships with them. Patti argues that they encourage NGO-UN

partnerships in order to:

- Create the image that they are responsible 'corporate citizens' who can be trusted

  to regulate NGOs and UN through their associations.

- Influence public health policies and priorities (generally in favor of deregulation/ privatization and the dismantling of publicly funded health and education system.

- Link their name to prestigious bodies such as NGOs and UN agencies in order to counter bad publicity, and silence potential critics.

- Divert NGOs in spending more time on weak, voluntary codes of practice, leaving little time to work on international codes of strong legislation and monitoring.

- Create dependency

- Gather intelligence about NGOs and the UN

NGOs and the UN find themselves in a trap. They cannot criticize the unfair partnership relationship with TNCs because of their dependency on resources from this relationship. TNCs also derive their power from the support they get from superpowers such that it becomes difficult to dismantle these unequal relationships.

The unfairness in the partnership relationships between the UN and other development agencies made Tobin (1997) in Korten (1997) suggest ways in which the UN can free itself from the dependency syndrome. He suggested that the UN should pay low taxes on its international financial transactions. This process should help in providing the UN with more resources than the international agencies. Eventually the UN won't have to depend upon the TNCs and the world's richest governments.

Third world debt crisis in the 1990s prompted OECD donor countries to prescribe public private partnerships (PPPs) as the key to achieving higher economic growth through government savings (Lewis and Miller 1986 in Mitchell-Weaver and Manning 1991). The World Bank (1986) reiterated that PPPs should be encouraged in all third

world countries so that they can achieve economic growth. At the same time such international cooperation is also viewed as necessary to end third world debt.

PPPs have been criticized in that there was no clarity on what is to be involved in these new relations or what the relationship was like before partnerships had been formed (Mitchell-Weaver and Manning, 1991). For a partnership relationship to run smoothly there has to be mutual understanding of what the relationship is all about. Evidence from the third world proves that the private sector has stronger leadership as compared to government. True partnerships would require a joint government- private sector operation with both parties involved in planning, building, and the operation, or implementation of the agreed upon policies. The move to privatize government parastatals has had negative effects especially in the health and education sectors of the third world. Fees charged in private schools and hospitals are too exorbitant. The solution given by neo liberal thinkers is that those who cannot afford high fees should make use of public systems which are cheaper. This system has brought into the third world problems of race and class conflicts. Current private-public relationships do not solve the development problems but they make them worse unless there is equity in the relationship and if it benefits the poor.

It is true that development can be achieved with the combined efforts of all development stakeholders—that is, the UN organizations, governments, bilateral and multilateral donors, civil society, NGOs and the private sector if there is transparency. UN secretary general Kofi Annan stated in one of his speeches that: 'The UN once dealt only with governments. But now we know that peace and prosperity cannot be achieved without partnerships involving governments, international organizations, the business

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community and the civil society. In today's world we depend on each other" (http//www.rdfs.net/themes/partnership_enhtml).

The challenge is for individual agencies to form true partnership relationships but with problems already noted it seems a long way to reach this stage.

There are a number of obstacles to coordination that were highlighted in the literature. Firstly donors do not have common understanding of development strategy, technology and policy in technical areas such as agricultural research, health and environment. Secondly, coordination might affect the freedom with which donors pursue their political and commercial interests. Lastly coordination can be costly in terms of time and expenses. These factors can hinder the smooth running of coordination programs. Cassen (1994) suggested that if the recipient country is in control of coordinating projects then the easier it should be for donors to collaborate effectively. However, this might help but still it is always difficult to coordinate multiple systems. Randel and German (1998) argue that it is difficult to achieve coherence through government. If the government is not transparent and if it is going through political difficulty then it might not be as effective. All these issues make coordination difficult.

Even if there are problems to coordination, coordination is still essential because of the multiplicity of donors operating in different countries (Cassen, 1994; Randel and German, 1998). This can create a systematic way of disbursing aid. Most literature noted that uncoordinated aid generally results in projects that are planted in a haphazard manner, duplication of projects and in some cases recipient countries can face administrative problems if they lack certain expertise that might be needed. Lack of coordination can also result in donors competing with each other to facilitate more

projects not taking into consideration the scarce resources in the recipient country. This was experienced in Kenya when the 'basic needs' came into fashion and there was a proliferation of projects getting involved in the rural water supply—resulting in administrative problems because the number of donors was too large (Cassen, 1994). In Malawi, Cassen claims that during the 1980s they did not have institutional problems because there were a small number of donors. This explains that it is not necessary to have several donors operating in one area.

Careful planning and lack of bias is needed during collaboration. Some bilateral donors favor giving their aid to their former colonies or only those countries that they want to align with (Cassen, 1994; Mistry, 1989). For example, Mistry wrote that mainly Latin America and the Caribbean are the United States and Canadian concern, Africa a European concern and Eastern Asia, Japanese and Australian concern. Mistry argues that this might be useful when shaping bilateral policy but detrimental when managing multilateral system. Development partnerships should indicate the idea of shared responsibility. Partnerships should lead to the termination of such tendencies of bias, and aid should go where it is needed most.

In its *Progress of Nations* Report (1997) UNICEF states that aid to developing countries had gone down to its lowest levels in 45 years. Aid is less than half of 0.7% the target that was agreed by the UN 25years ago. UNICEF also reported that the donor countries that are meeting their targets are Norway, Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands. One would assume that the rate of aid should increase instead of decreasing with the heightened levels of poverty which according to the UN poverty clock that was established at the World Summit for Social Development in 1995 indicates that every 60

seconds another 47 people join the ranks of the absolutely poor.

Strong ties have to be maintained amongst donors in order to eradicate poverty. Most development assistance agencies have to be committed in forming true partnership relationships. Their motives need to be just, ethical and focused towards equitable development. The prime objectives in making aid more effective is to increase the capacity of all donors and agencies to coordinate. Donor agencies have to honestly assess the reasons why aid is failing to bring about the anticipated outcomes. The problem is that most donors reintroduce prescriptions without seeking ways to avoid failure. It is important for donor agencies to learn from their mistakes instead of concealing them (Mistry, 1989). Therefore, with concerted effort donor cooperation can bring drastic change in Africa and the Third World as a whole.

The Nongovernmental Organization as a Development Agency

During the 1980s and early 1990s, NGOs proliferated throughout Africa. Their role was of planners and implementers of development projects before their approach changed to partnership in the early 1990s. The economic crisis that was being faced by African governments resulted in the expansion of NGOs and community based organizations (CBOS). Effects of SA and globalization, which have been discussed in chapter two of this thesis, contributed significantly to this economic crisis in Africa. It is in response to the negative impacts of SA that NGOs have gained prominence in Africa.

The retreat by African states from their former responsibility in the provision of social services and the general well being of their citizens left a vacuum which NGOs

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had to occupy. Stiefel and Wolfe pointed out that the 'declining state capacity to provide services and reduce income inequalities' caused the reduction in 'public confidence in the legitimacy of its efforts; (Steifel and Wolfe in Veltmeyer, 2000). In the search for alternative institutions to replace the state, NGOs were perceived by neo-liberals as best agencies of poverty alleviation and development facilitators in Africa. The following reasons have been given in Fowler (1988) on why NGOs have a comparative advantage over governments in that they have the ability to:

- Reach the poor, i.e. to target their assistance to chosen groups

- Obtain true, meaningful participation of intended beneficiaries

- Achieve the correct relationship between development process and outcomes

- Work with the people and thus choose the correct form of assistance to them, i.e. not be dominated by resources as the basis of the relationship

- Be more flexible and responsive in their work

- Work with and strengthen local institution

- Achieve outcomes at less cost.

In addition, from other authors the following comparative advantages of NGOs can be identified (adapted from Fowler, 1988: 8-9).

- The ability and preparedness to experiment with unorthodox ideas and practices (Esman and Uphoff, 1984: 275)

- Patience coupled to a strategic perspective (ibid)

- The ability to undertake people-centered research (Chambers, 1987:5)

- Faster learning through and application of experience (Korten, 1980: 19)

- Better ability to articulate rural reality (OECD, 1987: iii).

It is for these reasons that neoliberals prefer to roll back the powers of the state. Even though neoliberals oppose state intervention in the economy, when it comes to enforcing law and order during the implementation of their SAPs, they always prefer state intervention (Macdonald, 1997). NGOs, however, were also seen as best promoters of democratic rule and good governance in place of authoritarian governments in Africa, according to IMF and World Bank in their New Policy Agenda involving neoliberal prescriptions.

The number of NGOs in Africa also grew significantly because of an increase in funding from international agencies. Most international agencies and governments of the developed countries preferred channeling their funds through NGOs rather than through governments. INGO funding grew by 250%, to US$6.5 billion in 1988 as compared to US$1.96 billion in 1975 (Fowler, 1991). These figures illustrate the growing importance of NGOs as partners to donor agencies.

NGOs have changed their policies constantly in response to changes in theory of development. After the Second World War they engaged mainly in emergency relief to the war victims. Fowler (1995) describes NGOs as efficient in dealing with relief and emergency efforts. In the 1950s to 1970s they concentrated on self-reliance and self-help. In response to meeting the basic needs of the poor NGOs have concentrated mainly on micro development initiatives in order to support grassroots. Even though this approach has been criticized by some writers for not being sufficient for empowering and

transformative development, with heightened social impacts of the SAP micro-development projects are the most appropriate developmental tools when targeting the poor.

It is important to note that NGOs have different contexts. Some of these institutions are church based whilst some are non-religious. NGOs range from large, formal, professional, bureaucratic, to small, informal and voluntary pressure groups. Their activities range from self-help, assistance to members, provision of services, and campaigning work at local, national or international level. They get involved in health, education, agriculture, or industrial sectors, human rights, gender, environmental issues, etcetera. NGOs can best be distinguished on the basis of their charitable, developmental, participatory or globalist approaches or on the basis of emergency relief, long-term development assistance and development education (Therien, 1991). Their activities can be developmental or non-developmental. This wide range of NGO activities motivated a lot of individuals and organizations from the North to engage in a wide range of activities with the South.

The definition of the term 'NGO' can also describe the activities that they carry out. There is no general accepted definition of the term NGO that is found in the literature. Broadly speaking NGOs are meant to be non-profit development agencies which are neither initiated nor controlled by the government. From the literature that was reviewed NGOs are sometimes referred to as 'non-profit organizations', 'voluntary organizations', 'civil society', 'third sector', 'public sphere', (Smillie, 1994; Salaman, 1995 and Jorgensen, 1996). To understand more about NGOs it is best to group them according to the activities that they are involved in. John Clark came up with six different

types of NGOs which are: (i) Relief and welfare agencies; (ii) Technical and innovative organizations; (iii) Public services contractors; (iv) Popular development agencies; (v) Grassroots development organizations; and (vi) advocacy groups and networks (Clark, 1991: 40, 41).

NGOs in Africa and the third world as a whole are primarily involved in the above mentioned activities. NNGOs developed partnerships with SNGOs in the 1990s. Prior to this, a donor-recipient relationship existed. This means that prior to partnership relationships SNGOs were only seen as implementers of development projects (Ashman, 2001). The shift to partnership relationships was aimed at forming long lasting relationships that could bring development to the third world. Broadhead and Copley (1988) wrote that, in the 1970s, NGOs stressed the importance of small, short-term, self-supporting projects. However, with partnership, there was a shift in supporting long-term programs, institutions and networks. Any true relationship has to be long lasting if not then the genuineness in the relationship can be questionable.

In the literature reviewed it seems there has been over-emphasis on the role played by NGOs in assisting the marginalized in the third world. For instance, Fowler (2000) has noted that only 20% of the world's poor get assistance from NGOs. The smallness of the assistance's impact forced NGOs to seek more funding from governments in order to improve their delivery of services. Yet, even with improved funding it is puzzling that NGOs continue to fail. Korten (1990) has argued that NGOs need to reexamine and change their approaches to development. Veltmeyer and Petras (1997) have argued that NNGO have adopted a hegemonic role in the development process by taking over roles previously played by the state. Therien (1991) criticizes the

lack of coordination in NGO activities and their tendency to spend more time in collecting funds rather than engaging in the development work. Schmizt and Hutchful (1992) argued that in most cases this funding creates dependency, which is not empowering. Other writers like Wambua Mulwa (1992) criticize the NNGOs system of aid as humiliating to the African way of life. NNGOs are also criticised for imposing their Western values on the South (Tandon, 1990).

NGOS have been successful in certain areas but they have also been criticized for failing to be as efficient as claimed by the North. Their collaboration with international donors forces them to ignore meeting AD prescriptions. They end up neglecting the needs of the people and design their projects to suit policies of the donor agencies. There is therefore a need to always question NGOs' efficiency because of these failures.

NGOs and Development in Africa

The negative effects of structural adjustment summarized in Chapter Two opened a way for NGOs to solve short-term effects of SA (Ndegwa, 1996; Swift, 1999; Fowler, 1996). As a result, NGOs in Africa are involved in provision of health, education, housing, sanitation, and transport (Schearer, 1995 in Van Rooy, 1998; Swift, 1999; Quereshi, 1988 in Ndegwa, 1996; Fowler, 1996). World Bank and IMF have accepted NGOs as a solution to the negative impacts of their market reform policies. Therefore the Bank's report states that NGOs are:

Intermediaries [that] have an important role to play . . . they can create links both upward and downward in society and voice local concerns more effectively than grassroots institutions. In doing so they can bring a broader spectrum of ideas and values to bear on policy-making (World Bank, 1989:61).

NGOs are also cooperating closely with United Nations agencies in the development process (Willets, 2000; Crowe, 1998). Due to all these factors NGOs have become very popular in solving the deteriorating social conditions in Africa through strengthening African alternatives to the current crisis. Hutchful and Schimitz commended NGOs for the role they have played in the development of Africa. NGOs have managed to provide services in areas where neither governments nor multilateral organizations could reach. They introduced micro-enterprise lending in Africa so that the poor can engage in small enterprises. INGOs are engaged in numerous development activities in Africa that include among others provision of personnel, technical, financial and community development. It has been argued by most writers that their neutral position as non state actors enables them also to influence politics in the third world and their partnerships with the UN make them gain more prominence.

There has been disillusionment with authoritarian African states. Failure of state-led development approaches that were common in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in NGOs being preferred to government (Lewis, 1998; Swift, 1999; Rifkin, 1995). The rolling back of the African state's involvement in service provision has given more room for NGOs, which has also made them popularly supported because they are viewed as, 'efficient, less bureaucratic, grassroots oriented, participatory and contributing to sustainable development in grassroots communities', (Fowler, 1991; Best and Brown, 1990; Mitullar,

1990; and Tandon, 1991 in Ndegwa, 1996: 20; cf Edwards and Hulme, 1996; OECD, 1988).

In the 1980s the term 'civil society' was used with reference to the process of democratization and good governance (Robinson, 1993 in Lewis, 1998; Swift, 1999). Sound and effective governance can be achieved through broad cooperation between governments, business, NGOs, civil society and strategic capacity building and human resources (United Nations, 2000). 'Partnerships contribute to building a strong, independent and dynamic civil society through increasing the capacity of the non-governmental sector while developing the institutional infrastructure vital to its long term sustainability' (United Nations, 2000:3). It is believed that locally civil society can achieve this process through empowerment and social movements (Swift, 1999; Ndegwa, 1996).

The UN argues that partnership for good governance is essential for human development. These partnerships are horizontal and vertical in the sense of linking global national and local institutions processes and people; horizontal in linking government, civil society and the private sector. Slogans such as 'think locally' and 'act locally' are being used to reflect the linkage between the macro and micro systems of governance. The UN (2000) argued that universities can be used as the source for global partnership and global governance. Good governance increases participation, so that the society can be built on consensus. However partnerships to good governance can be difficult in countries where there might have been internal conflicts. This makes it very difficult for African countries to achieve good governance because most of the states are characterized by internal conflicts.

NGOs see themselves as primary agents for development in support of grassroots; that is community based development (MacDonald, 1997; Swift 1999). They encourage democracy at grassroots level through raising people's awareness. 'The role of NGDOs must be to dissatisfy some stakeholders such as governments and development banks, when exerting policy influence in favor of people who are poor or disadvantaged" (Fowler, 1996:43). According to Fowler, dissatisfying others, leads to capacity building because of its consistency with NGO mission. Their autonomous position from the state enables them to encourage participation and multiparty democracy. This position also allows them to force the government to be accountable, (Swift, 1999; Ndegwa, 1996). Jorgensen in Clayton, (1996: 39) also comments that: 'In their watchdog roles they serve along with the press, as checks on the relentless tendency of the state to centralize its power and to evade civic accountability and control.'

NGOs' precarious position in the third world has forced most NNGOs to seek legitimacy so that they can be considered as genuine agents of development (Fowler, 1996; Hulme and Edwards, 1996). Since NGOs promote and organize grassroots initiative in forming social movements they find themselves in opposition to governments. In some cases NGOs notion of people centered development conflicts with that of production- centered development. NGOs therefore can find themselves in conflict with different entities; the nation state and international agencies.

Fowler (1991) in Ndegwa (1996) finds NGOs as incapable of contributing to democratization. Fowler states that NGO financing leads into a situation in 'which donors finance NGOs for what they do—implement projects—rather than what they can be: politically pluralizing entities' (Fowler in Ndegwa, 1996: 16). These views are also

supported by Michael Edwards and David Hulme (1996). Fowler suggests more efforts by donors to strengthen civil society by supporting advocacy and internal democratization of NGOs via transparency, accountability and institution building. Strengthening civil society comes with challenges and complications but NGOs must adopt strategies to strengthen civil society. Alan Fowler pointed out that NGO success lies in the quality of relationships they can create and not in the amount of resources they can offer, yet some NGOs concentrate more on growth, influence and status. For NGOs to be successful and efficient, partnership amongst all those involved in the process has to be encouraged.

Ndegwa states that some civil society organizations do not act in ways that are supportive of democratic change because civil society is made up of individuals with different backgrounds (see also Resnick, 1997; Swift, 1997; Van Rooy, 1998). Such individuals within civil society collaborate with the state that is undemocratic. Swift (1997: 15) commented that: 'Civil society is a very large place and it is a terrain that is frequently contested. Every group, every NGO, every social movement, every voluntary group-each of them has its own conflicting internal dynamics involving power and authority, means and ends.'

Civil society therefore has positive and negative connotations and there is no agreement on what exactly constitutes the civil society or what its significance is. This is why NGOs normally reject the inclusion of the private business in the civil society (Macdonald, 1997).

Neoconservatives argue that the connection between the civil society and capitalism is compatible with democracy. Larry Diamond claims that democracy opens

the way for a free market economy in third world countries. The neoconservative agenda, which is similar to SAP agenda, undermines the expected potential of liberal democracies because of the effects of SA. In order to avoid political instability, NGOs try to meet the needs of the poor in such situations. NGOs play a crucial role in ensuring that some of the immediate needs of the poor are met in order to remove some of the economic pressure on democratic regimes (Macdonald, 1997).

Post-Marxists do not only promote democratizing the state but even certain elements within the civil society since it (civil society) is comprised of the good and the bad. They see civil society as vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination and oppression whilst the neo-conservatives see the opposite. The post-Marxist civil society included the family, hence women and children, as likely to be directly affected by the effects of SAP. Involvement of women gives them the opportunity to participate in social movements. NGOs have therefore acted as catalysts in linking North and South civil societies through global civil society social movements.

During the process of democratization some governments will oppose and try to control NGOs because of their political dimension. Governments tend to control NGOs in the name of preserving national sovereignty (Ndegwa, 1996; Hulme and Edwards, 1996). The notion of strengthening civil society ignores power relations which exist between the state and NGOs. Some NGOs do nothing to change this status quos. This prompted Tvedt (1995) in Van Rooy (1998) to question the whole notion of rolling back the state because many NGOs do not seem to act as representatives of civil society, against the state, but as a means by which the status quo is maintained. However not all NGOs neglect the status quo, some become hostile to governments as they seek change.

Most African countries are characterized by repression and political exclusion that makes it very difficult for NGOs to build strong democratic institutions—a factor that seems to be ignored by the notion of strengthening civil society. However, faced with such a situation NGOs have to form an alliance with the oppositional forces in civil society in order to mobilize a challenge against government (Ndegwa, 1996; Fowler in Clayton, 1996). It is advisable that NGOs concentrate on development projects and stay out of politics so that they won't hinder their progress. Recently in Zimbabwe some NGOs were ordered to stop their operations because the government suspects they are encouraging political activism.

When governments give room for political opportunity/multiparty, it enables civil society to pursue their oppositional action (Fowler in Clayton, 1996; Macdonald, 1997). Therefore, if the state is autonomous it can give rise to a strong civil society. Some grassroots movements evolve into oppositional pressure groups and eventually they become opposition parties. Samuel Huntington (1991) calls this the 'third wave' of democratization. It is not easy to oppose a strong state so some authors have argued for the elite to take the initiative in forming strong civil societies that can take action through organized labor and underground movements. Out of these concerns Ndegwa argued that nothing has been suggested on how civil society can operate freely under an intimidating state. NGOs still have a long way to go in the development of Africa. Persistent growing rates of poverty are a true sign of deficiency in NGO partnerships. Repressive regimes are prevalent in Africa. For example, in Zimbabwe, human rights are currently abused which shows that NGOs have no means to bring democracy through empowering the civil society. This is also true with ecological problems caused by TNCs in Africa. NGOs

are not equipped to solve these problems, especially because they want to protect their partnership relations with TNCs. In Nigeria there have been uprisings against Shell because of its exploitative nature. NGOs have to be powerful and criticize TNCs' negative operations in the third world if they truly support grassroots.

NGOs roles include involvement in economic, social and political and environmental development. These roles have popularized NGOs in the developing world. However, NNGOs have also been criticized because their performance has not been as positive as they claim in their pronouncement.

The Question of Partnerships

Smillie (1994) states that NNGOs are currently enduring a 'crisis of identity', which has led to the resurrection of such terms as 'partnership', 'partners' with the hope of bridging gaps among stakeholders and achieving capacity building. Hence, North-South partnership can make it possible to tailor development projects to local needs and concerns, thus leveraging the development expertise well beyond Northern capabilities. Widespread capacity building enhances the ability of Southern partners to deliver and expand their services-while reducing costs and increasing legitimacy with local governments and actors" (USAID, 1997: 220).

The list of potential external and internal partners is very large. It includes 'national or state governments, local governments, NGOs (International, national and local), religious groups, private business organizations, commercial financial institutions, official multilateral and bilateral development assistance agencies, international private

and voluntary organizations' (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 1992: 178). Some kinds of partnerships have already been discussed, but this thesis is mainly concentrating on the partnership between NGOs and grassroots because most NGO projects target the marginalized.

The concept of partnership was influenced by the concepts of international solidarity in the 1970s and 1980s (Fowler, 1997; Murphy, 1991). Through partnership it is believed that partners could not be as productive without collaboration. The term partnership like the term NGOs has been defined in different ways, that is 'collaboration', 'coalition', 'accompaniment', 'development alliances', 'linkages'. This means that it has different meaning (s) to different organizations and individuals. However it can be argued that successful partnership should include:

- Mutual trust, complimentary strengths, reciprocal accountability, joint decision-making and a two way exchange of information (Postma, 1994: 451);

- Clearly articulated goals, equitable distribution of costs and benefits, performance indicators and mechanisms to measure and monitor performance, clear delineation of responsibilities and a process for adjudication disputes (USAID, 1997: 1; Wambua Mulwa, 1992);

- Shared perceptions and a notion of mutuality with give-and-take (Tandon, 1990:98);

- Mutual support and constructive advocacy (Murphy, 1991:179);

- Transparency with regard to financial matters, long term commitments to working together, recognition of other partnerships (Campbell, 1988:10; Wambua Mulwa, 1992);

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- Gender, human resources policies and fundraising (Fowler, 1997: 109).

These points sum up what can be considered as acceptable in a true partnership relationship. Partnership is about getting SNGOs involved in the decision- making and making them provide tangible proof of their effectiveness. De Grombrugghe et al. in Broadhead, Brent, Copley and Lambert (1988) argue that at times projects can be successful without necessarily involving intended beneficiaries in decision-making. However, this argument creates imbalance in the relationship because it fails to involve beneficiaries in the decision-making process. It signifies a lack of equity in the process.

Partnership is intended to strengthen existing relations through agreed terms and to achieve capacity-building. The partnership approach led NGOs to establish networks amongst themselves and other donors that enabled them to discuss and coordinate their activities in the effort to achieve capacity building (Ndegwa, 1996; Edwards and Hulme, 2000; Smillie, 1996). Linkages are good because there is shared learning between the North-South and South-South, through networks (Tapper, 1986). NGOs can be involved in development by finding out what is unique in different regions and learning the lessons each region has to teach, and then share that information with other regions. This coordination is crucial it avoids repeating the same activities or the execution of those activities that would have failed in other areas.

Partnerships have enabled bilateral and multilateral donors to fund Northern NGOs rather than funding SNGOs directly as done in the past (Lewis, 1998; Smillie, 1996). To these donors it might be easier to work with NNGOs for accountability reasons but SNGOs would benefit more through direct funding. Most of the funds that are channeled

through NNGOs are used for administrative purposes in the North and very little goes to SNGOs for project implementation.

'Active Partnerships are those built through ongoing processes of negotiation, debate, occasional conflict and learning through trial and error. Risks are taken and although roles and purposes are clear they may change according to need and circumstance' (Dement, 2001: 514). Wambua Mulwa (1992) also agreed that every relationship faces challenges and misunderstandings mainly because of different cultures. He went on to argue that a healthy relationship involves incidents of agreeing to disagree but differences have to be acknowledged and discussed. This describes a healthy partnership where information and resources flow smoothly. Transparency is important for true partnership, for example if a project is failing or if there is mismanagement. The donor's knowledge of the community they are working with is crucial too in order to visualize the situation in such cases of disagreement or project failure.

In a partnership relationship there should be constant interaction. The following diagram shows some of the dynamic interactions of partnership relationships:

Donor   A → Recipient   A → Beneficiary

Partner   B ← Partner   B   ← Partner

A--- Transfer of material and financial resources

      Exchange of development education ideas, innovations and experiences

      Support and solidarity in time of crisis or appeal

B---- Local contributions loan repayment

      Progress and financial reports

      Exchange of development education ideas, innovations and experience.

Support and solidarity in time of crisis (Adapted from Wambua Mulwa, 1992).

It can be concluded that healthy relationship should engage in the above activities if there is hope of pursuing a long time partnership relationship. Partnerships could therefore be sought in sharing information and strategies for development in the South and lobbying and education in the North.

Fowler (2000) argues that NGDOs have failed to form equitable partnership relations amongst themselves. He goes on to argue that they are just using the term partnership where there has been no change; the move towards partnership is being hypocritical what he calls 'Old wine in relabeled civic bottles'. This means that NGO partnerships especially between the North and the other agencies are just mere illusions not reality. In the twenty years that the notion of partnership between the North and South started in the 1970s the term has been used and abused to mean all kinds of relationships between all sorts of development agencies (Sachs, 1991). It is believed some NGOs might have dropped the term partnership quietly, whilst few NGOs that are honest talk of 'counterparts' or 'clients' (Fowler, 2000). Muchunguzi and Milne (1995) suggest that the term partnership should be redefined because of all these distortions and the dissatisfaction in the South.

Muchunguzi and Milne argue that in the 1980s NGOs broadened the definition of partnership. As a result different NGOs have different types of partnerships. He gave an example of one NGO involved in four different types of partnerships:

- Partnerships created and/or supported which permit counterpart agencies and project holders to better manage the NGO and its resources

- Partnerships that encourage linkages between people in the North and South to help enhance awareness and understanding.

- Partnerships between the Northern NGO and other agencies for the purpose of combining and coordinating resources to more effectively support initiatives in the North and in developing countries (coalitions).

- Partnerships created to support and permit local advisory committees to provide effective advice. (Adapted from Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995).

Muchunguzi and Milne pointed out that the idea to broaden the meaning of partnership came from the South because they did not want any strings attached with the North due to the funds that they provide. This tendency of a broad definition of partnerships shows that partnership relationships are failing to produce anticipated results.

The partnership theory was criticized by Brodhead and Copley (1988) in that its acceptance was not accompanied by new types of NGO activity. They observed that this was also the case with theories on self-reliance and self-help in the 1970s. Therefore, they concluded that NGOs were doomed to fail from the start. Other critics question why the question of partnerships is surfacing after about fifty years in the development process. Yet during these fifty years poverty has not been eradicated and the quality of life is worsening (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995). Clearly the change of terminology is not bringing any development

Dement Philippe came up with a critique on dependent partnerships. He argues that, 'Dependent partnerships on the other hand have a *blueprint character* with relatively rigid assumptions about comparative advantage and are often linked to the availability of funding' (Dement, 2001: 61). Some partnerships are subjected to governments' controls in the name of preserving national sovereignty. In Kenya, the government tried to monitor NGOs through the formation of the NGO coordination Act of 1990 and, in Zimbabwe, the government stopped the Organization of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP) in Matebeleleland (Ndegwa, 1996). The situation becomes more complicated where resources are channeled to the target population through government. This is why most NGOs prefer direct relations with grassroots rather than dealing through governments as partners.

However, Muchunguzi and Milne (1995) have pointed that some SNGOs have made partnerships with their national governments because they distrust NNGOs. They argue that because of competition between the Northern and Southern NGOs, NNGOs are not willing to help them raise funds both in the South and in the North. As a result SNGOs turn to their governments for assistance. In a way this helps SNGOs gain trust from governments, concerning their political motives and this decreases the level of competition between the two (that is SNGOs and Southern governments) for international financial support.

NNGOs are the ones who are still involved in administrative decisions and program/project design. They also monitor and evaluate projects carried out by their SNGO counterparts. However "Most joint-projects have failed because their design has often been based on the perspectives, criteria and priorities of northern development

agencies" (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995:23). Even the partnership issue was a Western initiative; SNGOs only act as implementers with a little input. Though NNGOs are trying to move away from the tradition of imposing their ideas on the South, it is apparent that they are still directing the process in the South (Lewis, 1998; Fowler, 2000; Edwards, 1996). From all this, it can be concluded that the issue of partnership has mixed support in the South.

Many writers have argued that relationships based only on the transfer of funds should not be considered as partnerships because there is no equality in such a relationship.

Because money is given a higher value than other resources, pure funding relationships established a donor-recipient dynamic whereby the party which contributes capital is seen to be more important than the party which supplies knowledge, labor and other goods (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995:22).

That is why some NNGOs demand that SNGOs have some input into the projects, be it money wise or even the inclusion of their former projects. Tapper (1986) argues that

'linkage projects should ensure that the old tradition where the North gives and the South receives is removed. Instead, groups in the North and South should realize that relationships based on equal exchange and interdependence are much stronger and longer-lasting than those based on power and dependence' (Tapper, 1986:14).

SNGOs argue that there is partnership in a relationship based on transfer of funds as long as there are shared objectives and the SNGOs can plan and implement their own development programs and project—as well as meeting monitoring and evaluation criteria (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995). Apparently in most cases the one who gives has more power than the recipient. Hence, NNGOs can decide which projects to fund and what rules to impose even though they may consult the recipients. As Dement notes, 'the principles that underpin partnership are incompatible with the notion of conditionality imposed by donors' (Dement, 2001: 61). This has caused some SNGOs to criticize the stringent accountability conditions imposed on them by NNGOs (Lewis, 1998; Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995). Such NGOs as the United States Agency for Development (USAID) require extensive information, which is seen as a setback on SNGOs' activities. However, some NNGOs like Oxfam need reports for their own donors who might want to know where there donations are going to. According to Rick Davies in Dement (2001) there are few laissez fare NNGOs, such as Christian organizations, which do not make any demands.

There have been criticisms that training that is given to Southern partners has only been minimal to make them to comply with Northern directives (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995). These authors further argue that in most cases the training is in the areas where they do not need any training. The educational programs are therefore meant to stigmatize the North and not really to empower them. These factors to a large extent show that the partnership relationship is only meant for taking advantage of the weak partners. At the same time awareness programs are necessary especially in the North so that the North can understand the South's developmental problems.

Fowler (2000) criticizes both the South and the North for failure of partnerships. He argues that SNGOs have organizational weaknesses and capacity limitations that they do not acknowledge and bad feelings arise when their weaknesses are pointed out by the North. The South does not value self-criticism and they are not willing to mobilize other resources to top what they get from NNGDOs. This tends to create dependency which is not healthy in a mutual relationship. On the Northern side, Fowler (2000) criticizes the North that it is organizationally less transparent than the South and there are low level dialogues between the northern and Southern program staff. Muchunguzi and Milne reiterated that, "the overwhelming majority of SNGO representatives agreed that the level of North-South, North-North and South-South information exchange and sharing was inadequate. There was a strong dialogue *on* the South rather than *with* the South" (Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995: 15). The Northern program staffs are often junior to Southern staff in terms of experience in the development field. All these organizational problems can lead to miscommunication, frustration and disappointment.

No matter how competent NGOs can be they will always have to deal with cultural, context-specific factors and social problems including ethnic, religious or caste differences. The problem has been that it took a long time to realize that there were barriers to culture, language and ideas used to define and describe partnerships. However, Tapper (1986) urges that there should be consideration of mutual respect for the differences in relationships.

Canada's North South Institute in a publication entitled *Time for Plain Speaking about Aid* (cited in Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995) gave the following as suggestions on improving partnerships:

- Increased grassroots participation

- Giving field staff and /or local partners autonomy

- A shift in emphasis from technical skills to facilitative skills

- Enhancing the role of women by increasing their representation at the management level

- Changing the relationships between Northern and Southern NGOs from one which only sees financial transfers to one which includes the transfer of experiences, information and skills

- Changing the way Northern NGOs depict the South in development education and fundraising campaigns

- Increased overseas representation on the boards of Northern NGOs.
  Creating information networks in the South that will help bring people and organizations together

- Creating consortia of NGOs that could transfer a wide range of skills, perspectives and experiences in a coordinated way to the South

- Increased direct funding of SNGOs

- Increased number of linkages that promote partnerships between the North and the south.

Building partnerships requires more resources, dedication and endurance. This may involve more staff time, vehicles, telephones and the need to share information with other agencies. Also emphasis on capacity-building means reflections of changes in

development thinking, away from simple transfer of skills and resources towards building autonomy and self-reliance (Sahley, 1995 in Dement, 2001; Wambua Mulwa, 1992). Strengthening partnerships should be an ongoing process, which most likely would take a long period of time (Macdonald, 1997; Muchunguzi and Milne, 1995). However, this should not be used as an excuse by most NGOs in defending their failure to bring development into Africa.

Assessment and Evaluation of NGO Partnerships

Social development has many goals including; sustainable development, participation, awakening of consciousness and encouragement of self-reliance. This raises many questions on how evaluation can be done effectively. 'Effective' should mean doing what should be done with available resources. Since development is constantly redefined, evaluation also needs to be constantly defined because of this changing nature of development (Marsden and Oakley, 1990). There is therefore a huge debate on social development measures and many types of measures have been suggested. This lack of agreement makes validity of NGO evaluations questionable. There is no consensus on the accuracy of the measures and indicators used to assess the impact of partnerships either.

Nevertheless, assessing NGO performance has been seen as a necessity because of the following reasons:

- Since the early 1980s, a growing proportion of financial resources used by NGOs have been derived from the official aid system, overtaking in terms of rate of

growth, their income from public giving (Fowler, 1992a). Public funds are accompanied by more stringent contractual demands for financial accountability and the realization of agreed-on impacts (Hawley, 1993 in Fowler, 1996).

- The post-cold war rationale for official overseas development assistance is further accelerating shifts in donor priorities toward the institutional restructuring of recipient countries, with a corresponding push on NGOs to alter their role in society. Effective management of such organizational transformations requires sound and timely information about achievement (Fowler, 1991 in Edwards and Hulme, 1992).

- NGOs tend to argue that they are more cost effective than governments in reaching and serving, people who are poor and marginalized and they are now being called upon to demonstrate that this is indeed the case (UNDP, 1993; Van Dijk, 1994).

- There is a growing realization that organizational effectiveness is positively correlated with an ability to learn from experience (Senge, 1990).

- People want to know how to measure the progress of the projects in which they have invested resources (Oakley and Marsden, 1990: 3).

- Evaluation has been used as a way of training people's organizations and other types of proponents in improving the technical feasibility and social relevance of their projects (Tiongson-Brouwers, 1990).

- NGOs want to increase their impact and effectiveness-hence the notion of scaling up (Hulme and Edwards, 1996).

Different authors have suggested various measures and indicators in order to ensure that aid that flows into third world countries can be effective. Broadly speaking, social development measures can be grouped into two categories, that is, qualitative and quantitative measures. Qualitative measures are those measures that give cost-effective analysis. The measurement is concerned with 'effect', 'effort' and 'efficiency' (Rahman, 1990). Quantitative measures are concerned with cost-benefit measures.

It has been argued that, 'it is not an easy matter to examine whether the goals of development are being met when those goals include the improvement of qualitative characteristics such as capacity which can not be directly observed' (Bryant and White, 1982 in Marsden and Oakley, 1990: 1). At the same time Rahman (1990) encourages qualitative evaluation in that it is holistic, it employs inductive analysis and it also implies a continuous and close contact with the participants of a program. Rahman criticizes quantitative measures, that they are not very useful when measuring social development because they have a limited and static form of evaluation whose outcomes of projects are not quantitative in nature. He also argues that besides quantitative evaluations are time consuming. They take most of staff time and there is always bias towards favorable quantitative measures.

Fowler (1996) suggests that evaluation measures should involve a vision of what society should be like and then action follows after that. This means that evaluations can be done prior to the execution of the plan (Tiongson-Brouwers, 1990). If there is no agreement then this shows ineffectiveness. Vision is directed by a mission, identity and role played by different NGOs in bringing social change. There have been various contributions by theorists concerning fulfilling a vision. One line of argument states that

the 'Blueprint approach' assumes that it is possible to predetermine the future (Roling and Zeeuw, 1987 in Edwards and Hulme, 1996: 170). Long and Long (1992) and Wolpert (1992) in Fowler (1996) question the whole issue of predicting the future. They point out that it is not possible to predict the future with so many people involved in the development process. People's behavior and how they use the resources will determine NGO performance (Edwards and Hulme, 1996). Normally identity and the role played by different NGOs depend on the type of governance within that country, which may assist or hinder in achieving the project's vision. Though the concept of having a vision has been questioned by some theorists, there are some who argue that predictability is possible because new technology causes effectiveness (Anderson, Arrow and Paines, 1988; Warldrop, 1993; Lewin, 1994; Gellmann, 1994) in (Fowler, 1996). It can be concluded that a vision is necessary to establish goals and performance measures, and to give people hope.

Drucker (1993) in Edwards and Hulme (1996) suggests five questions that NGOs should ask themselves in order to measure their performance:

1. What is our business (mission)?

2. Who are our customers?

3. What does the customer consider valuable?

4. What have been our results?

5. What is our plan?

This kind of evaluation does not really state how the results are going to be considered and measured.

Strategic planning is said to be essential for effectiveness. 'If done properly, strategic planning is a down-up-up down, inside-outside-inside process between the organization and its key stakeholders' (Fowler, 1996:48). Fowler also states that even if there is a strategy at times problems of poor information, miscommunication, and opportunism, lack of internal discipline, inadequate professionalism and mismatch between demand and supply can be a hindrance.

Rahman in Marsden and Oakley (1990) argues that when evaluating partnerships there has to be mutual understanding and the evaluation process should benefit the people rather than the resource providers. Rahman suggests that it is important to define the role of development and state whether people are in the center or the periphery.

Normally most NGOs prefer engaging an independent evaluator as a third part. There is a problem that the values of the evaluator can influence the evaluations (Tiongson-Brouwers, 1991). In some cases, some writers have observed that, those evaluators' results can strain partnership relations. Other writers have pointed out that the people themselves should evaluate themselves instead of bringing an outsider. If that is the case people should be equipped with skills on how to perform meaningful evaluations.

Pramod Unia in his paper "Social Action group strategies for Oxfam in the Indian sub-continent" states different problems in evaluating partnerships in social development. The following are some of the problems:

- Conflict of interests and the unequal power of the groups involved can make dialogue and agreement difficult.

- Political and cultural differences can take time to disappear.

- Regional and national differences result in different opportunities and constraints.

- People at different levels have different perspectives.

- Problems of time hinder evaluation (Adapted from Marsden and Oakley, 1990).

Fowler argues that there is upward accountability because NGOs take grants from official aid agencies (Fowler, 1991 in Edwards and Hulme, 1996). All these problems make it difficulty in achieving authentic partnership relations.

More often, NGOs in their reports talk of their effective performance, for example, when they successfully sink boreholes for clean water. However, quite often the benefits do not extend to political and financial stability. In such cases the effectiveness of the NGOs becomes questionable. Such NGOs are only dealing with the symptoms and not the root causes of poverty (Fowler, 1996; and Edwards and Hulme, 1996).

There is a problem that the various approaches to development tried for many decades have not changed the problems of poverty in Africa. One of the latest approaches, using the SAP appears to be exacerbating the poverty situation. Now the new thinking is to strengthen relations amongst NGOs. However, no matter what approach is adopted, the question remains whether the approach will bring positive change in Africa? Will the problems of poverty, crime, homelessness, illiteracy, social violence, street kids, government corruption and inequalities be tackled successfully in Africa? So far, we cannot conclude that the approaches used and their measures and indicators have strengthened NGO relations in developing positive solutions to poverty in Africa.

Theorists have criticized some of the measures used by NGOs. For example, Smillie (1996) criticizes the new Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) policy that it does not really clarify what needs to be accomplished. He argues that the policy is also full of repetition and leaves many questions unanswered. The lack of agreed universal measurements also makes the whole issue complex. Ideally, NGOs should have guidelines and criteria to measure their progress in development and the fight against poverty in Africa.

However, it has been argued that sustainable development for poverty alleviation is not produced by NGOs but by the poor people themselves (Lewis, 1988). This argument means that NGOs cannot be held accountable if they fail in their development efforts. Not everyone agrees with this position. The 1993 *Human Development Report* of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in fact criticizes NGOs for their failures to tackle problems of poverty. It is essential that NGOs should focus on how to reduce mistakes, and improve their strategies, decisions and evaluation measures in their approach to development.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to discuss alternative forms of development; why and how NGOs have comparative advantage over governments as agents of micro development. NGOs being perceived as the most appropriate agents of development formed partnership relations with other donor agencies. The problem is that these partnerships have not been as genuine and committed as they are supposed to be.

It can be concluded that to make partnerships more effective, it is the responsibility of individual donor agencies to be seriously committed in forming true and meaningful partnerships. Partnership relations can be good if properly coordinated and people from the North and South are brought together. To achieve concrete cooperation amongst donor agencies, the following suggestions from OECD should be taken into account:

- Have access to the body of information on the problems of development from governments and international organizations. The setting up of data banks would provide NGOs with basic information that they could then interpret and adapt for the different audiences they seek to reach.

- Have regular access to the mass-media, especially in countries where radio and television are state controlled.

- Develop strategies for NGOs to contribute to the introduction and implementation of development education programs in the national education structures and in continuing training. The aim of development agencies should not only to popularize aid but also to impart information about the diverse economic, social, cultural and political situations of developing countries. The public needs to be educated so that they can understand the international economic mechanisms.

- Increase the financial resources devoted to the activities discussed above (OECD, 1981).

Whilst the above are suggestions on how cooperation can be successful still there are problems which can hinder this success in Africa. Most African governments are

authoritative and repressive. Even if NGOs have been suggested as the best development facilitators in Africa, they are faced with difficult implementation challenges. As a result, most NGOs resort to economic and social development leaving political development. Partnership relations have not achieved the intended development agendas, in spite of pronouncements of success by NGOs.

Clearly, poverty is increasing instead of decreasing in Africa. The claim that NGOs are more suited for micro-development than governments is thus questionable. Alan Fowler (1988) argues that this can be objectively tested. He points out that "methodologically this is impossible as governments have exclusive access to and use instruments (e.g. price controls, taxes, legislation for monopoly purchasing or importing) which are meant to affect micro-development. NGOs do not have such instruments". (Fowler, 1988: 5). The conditions under which the types of organizations (that is, NGOs and Southern governments) are compared are not the same. It is unfair on the part of Southern governments because the claims of their incompetence seem to have been exaggerated by the North.

In short, it is concluded that NGO partnerships have failed to bring the much anticipated growth in Africa. They have failed to solve the problems with the SAP, which have worsened and keep on worsening. Claims that NGOs have comparative advantage over governments seem to be hollow. NGOs are only used by international agencies, which seek to pursue their own objectives.

Chapter Four

Case Studies of Partnership

Introduction

Five case studies (*see appendix 1, for more detail*) are reviewed in this chapter to better understand the cooperation between NNGOs and SNGOs. At first some background information is going to be given concerning Development and Peace and OXFAM, both based in Halifax. These two NGOs were selected partly because of their differences based on religious and non-religious basis. Development and Peace is church based and OXFAM is non-religious. A questionnaire that was used in the research will be appended, along with the responses (*see appendix 2*). For this study to be effective the same questions are going to be used for different organizations. It is hoped that these case studies will provide a comprehensive report on the nature of the partnership relations between the North and the South.

Development and Peace

Development and Peace is a catholic NGO. It was founded in 1967 by Pope Paul V1,

who took the idea of his friend in Chile, Bishop Don Manuel, that 'Development is the new name of peace'. The two agreed that the deaths and suffering caused by underdevelopment were an injustice that could not be accepted by a Christian. From these ideas, *Development and Peace* now means development has to bring peace and justice to all human creation and that without justice there is no peace.

The Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace (CCODP) adopted a similar vision to guide its operations. The organization also has partnerships with other NGOs, international institutions and third world partners. CCODP has a long-standing history in partnership which started since the 1970s though it was fully adopted in 1991 by the National Council.

To be successful in implementing different projects in the third world, the organization's resources are from different sources. Examples of these sources are as follows: CIDA, church members, corporations, provincial governments, individuals and many other well wishers. Also, CCODP has its own evaluation criteria to assess the effectiveness of their efforts. However, whether or not Development and Peace has made a difference in the third world development in the last 37 years depends on the scale of measurement that is being used.

Another dimension of the CCODP is a vision that is personal and collective. Visions help to guide organizations in implementing certain tasks. Without a vision many projects are doomed to fail. The CCODP claims to have an identity that embraces different religions, cultures, and languages. To some extend, this claim is illustrated in their vision which states as follows: 'Our vision and experience have to do with solidarity in building social justice; they have to do with the belief that life must be created and

sustained and that the earth can be organized to accomplish this' (Eaton, Lachance, Lebouf and McCarthy, 1992:10).

Development and Peace and its Partners

Solidarity is necessary for the whole world's security, survival and development (Labayen, 1992). In 1972 International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity (CIDSE) held a seminar in Blankenberge, Belgium on the meaning and implementation of partnership. Some CIDSE members at this seminar saw partnership "as knowing someone overseas who would work for them, someone who could provide the information needed for sound decision making on the CIDSE members' projects. So members were looking for people who could be their eyes and ears on the spot---and tell them what was happening so that they would be able to spend their money wisely" (Johnston, 1992: 69).

This view was not widely accepted at the conference. A critique given in response stated that,

in a donor-recipient relationship, the donor sets the rules of the game which the recipient must unconditionally observe in order to benefit from donor resources at all. Top down instructions are given by the donor to the recipient, with conditions attached to the receipt of the money. These conditions have to be met before further installments can be remitted (Wambua Mulwa, 1992:101).

Such conditions only serve interests of donors. According to Development and Peace, for solidarity to be successful, such stringent measures need to be eliminated. Development and Peace, therefore, has three models of partnership listed below:

1. The partnership that develops between Development and peace with the Southern groups and maintain a relationship within the framework of the program approach.

2. 'Sectoral' partnership between Southern partners and Canadian Social change groups. Development and Peace acts as a 'go between' in developing links between southern partners and Canadian social movements.

3. Relations between groups of Development and Peace members in a region, Southern partners and Canadian social groups. (Adapted from the National Council of the Roman Catholic Church, 1999).

CCODP collaborates with both national and international development agencies. In Canada, it collaborates with other NGOs such as Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and Canadian Council for International cooperation (CCIC). At the international level, CCODP collaborates with UN bodies and many other agencies.

CCODP's involvement in Canada includes public debates in trying to influence government policy on international development. Quite often, CCODP adopts a radical position that has in some cases left it at odds with government position. This has not stopped the organization from continuing to urge the government to change policies that it sees as counter-productive in terms of Third World development (Bouchard, 1992).

The catholic delegation which attended the UNCTAD conference in 1973 made a great contribution at this meeting. They convinced the UN body that they should be more involved in solving trade issues. They pointed out that the rules of trade were among the key factors that lock third world countries into perpetual development problems. Therefore a major challenge for donor agencies would be to influence their northern governments to adopt fair rules of trade with third world countries.

Development and Peace has partnership relations with hundreds of groups all over the world. In Africa their partners include Third World Network, African Trade Network, African Initiative in Mining, Environment and Society (AIMES), and Gender Economic Reform in Africa (GERA). Through these partners, the organization has pushed for positive changes in local development policies, including women's issues. At the international level, the organization has joined others in lobbying and campaigning against negative trade policies, more recently at the fourth WTO ministerial conferences in Qatar.

Evaluation Measures

Development and Peace members evaluate partnership annually with an animator. These evaluations help in bringing out the effectiveness of partnerships (Johnston, 1992). The following is the criteria used for evaluation:

- Whether the mutually agreed expectations were met.

- If educational programs were relevant, powerful or imparted knowledge.

- Whether there was change- if links with Canadian social groups improved, if membership of Development and Peace improved in the regions, if more people got involved in their activities.

- If fundraising improved in the region. (From the National Council of the Roman Catholic Church, 1999).

Fund Raising

CIDA contributes about 50% of CCODP's budget, even though the two agencies do not always agree on international development matters (Bouchard, 1992). Bouchard commented that CCODP does not want to invite government control by accepting more government funding.

As indicated, CCODP gets about half of its yearly budget from CIDA. The rest of the organization's funding comes from different fundraising activities such as Share Lent and Fall Action, and most of these funds are raised in Canada. Apart from raising development aid, these activities are also aimed at educating Canadians to make them aware of third world development issues.

Development and Peace's Involvement in the Development of Africa

Between 2001 and 2002 Development and Peace was involved in a number of development projects in Africa which are given in the table below.

Country	No. of Programs	Funds for projects (in Canadian dollars)
Burundi	5	178,000
DRC	4	250,000
Guinea	41	524,874
Kenya	5	190,000
Madagascar	2	117,000
Nigeria	3	341,000
Rwanda	5	406,000
Senegal	3	1, 055,000
Sierra Leone	5	174,000
South Africa	4	383,600
Togo	3	165,000
Zambia	4	264,000
Total	117	615,917,474

Source: CCODP, *Annual Report 2001-2002*)

For emergency relief, the Table below illustrates in dollars the money spent in some African countries.

Countries	No. of Programs	Amount spent (in Canadian dollars)
Algeria	1	30,000
Angola	1	50,000
DRC	4	204,400
Madagascar	1	80,000
Malawi	1	110,000
Nigeria	1	50,000
Zambia	2	80,000
Total	11	604,400

Source: CCODP, *Annual Report 2001-2002*)

In Africa, Development and Peace aided famine victims, the disabled, the chronically ill, orphans, HIV/AIDS patients, and refugees through its emergency relief fund. Partnership in Africa during 2000-2001 also resulted in active involvement of civil society in major debates within the continent. Development and Peace has also promoted initiatives for democratization and human rights in Africa. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it facilitated civil society groups to mobilize and campaign for peace. In Sierra Leone, the organization assisted in ensuring free and fair elections in May 2001. In Rwanda and Burundi, some human rights groups have operated under Development and Peace's initiative, even though this has been very difficult for them.

There are several other initiatives by CCODP that try to reduce the plight of their partners. In 1999 the organization launched the campaign 'The Earth is for all, not for Sale' in order to promote equitable and sustainable economy. In 2002 Development and Peace joined its partners and allies from the North and South in calling for the change in

the section of Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs) that require countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America to buy costly patented seeds (CCODP, *Fall Action*, 2002).

CCODP's literature claims that there has been some success in meeting their targeted goals. Although they agree that poverty is still widespread in Africa, they believe their assistance has made a difference in Africa and other third world places.

Oxfam

Oxfam (Oxford Committee to Famine) Canada was founded in Britain in 1963 after the 2nd World War, as a relief agency. The organization operates as an international development agency that is committed to equitable distribution of wealth and power through fundamental social change (Fyles, 2003). All the individual Oxfam organizations collaborate through the headquarters of Oxfam International in Britain.

Oxfam Canada supports third world community programs in food security, health, nutrition, and democratic development. The organization is also engaged in development issues that recognize social justice, a sustainable environment, and the equality of all people as imperatives. It works in relationships of solidarity and partnership to eradicate poverty, underdevelopment and powerlessness. Its mission states that:

Achieving economic and social rights requires more than addressing the material aspects of poverty and injustice. Addressing social and political rights is about empowering people to organize themselves for collective protection against oppression and exploitation and for the realization of just demands. Empowerment as an end in itself, as

well as a necessary condition for eradicating poverty, will continue to lie at the heart of Oxfam's mission and work (Fyles, 2003).

Oxfam is therefore involved in a number of activities in the Third World in order to fulfill its mission.

Funding

Oxfam Canada gets funding from different organizations. Most of its funding (about 40% to 45%) comes from CIDA. About 2% of its annual budget is sponsored by Oxfam International. The remaining funds come from numerous donors that include over 60,000 individual Canadians as well as church/labor groups, small businesses, corporations, foundations, provincial governments, and other local Oxfam organizations.

As shown in the chart below Oxfam Canada's budget for a period of five years to fund its overseas partner organizations in Africa was about $10million (from OXFAM Canada program budget projections, CIDA NGO Division- dates are not specified.)

Chart Showing Oxfam Canada's Budget

Direct Expenditures	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Total	CIDA	OXFAM	Total
Angola	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	150,000	112,500	37,500	150,000
Namibia	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000	1,000,000	750,000	250,000	1,000,000
Mozambique	125,000	125,000	125,000	125,000	125,000	625,000	468,750	156,250	625,000
Zimbabwe	319,145	319,145	319,145	319,145	319,145	1,536,529	1,152,397	384,132	1,536,529
South Africa	125,000	125,000	125,000	125,000	125,000	625,000	468,750	156,250	625,000
Regional	30,000	10,995	11,722	11,722	11,722	76,162	57,121	19,040	76,162
Subtotal	829,145	810,140	791,135	791,135	791,135	4,012,691	3,009,518	1,003,173	4,012,691
Southern Africa Region									
Salaries &benefits	46,485	46,485	46,485	46,485	46,485	232,423	174,317	58,106	232,423
Other costs	15,495	15,495	15,495	15,495	15,495	77,474	58,106	19,369	77,474
Total Southern Africa Region	891,124	872,119	853,115	853,115	853,113	4,322,588	6,251,459	2,083,820	8,335,278
Evaluation	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	100,000	75,000	25,000	100,000
Summary									
Salaries and Benefits -Cdn staff	311,353	311,353	311,353	311,353	311,353	1,556,763	1,167,572	389,1911	1,556,763
Direct program Costs	2,188,116	2,139,646	2,091,178	2,091,178	2,091,178	10,601,295	7,950,971	2,650,324	10,601,295
Salaries and Benefits									
Overseas Staff	131,239	131,239	131,239	131,239	131,239	656,197	429,148	164,049	656,197
Other costs	59,318	59,318	59,318	59,318	59,318	296,591	222,443	74,148	296,591
Evaluation	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	100,000	75,000	25,000	100,000
	2,710,026	2,661,556	2,613,088	2,613,088	2,613,087	13,210,845	9,908,134	3,302,711	13,210,845
Overhead(72%)	89,974	138,444	186,913	186,913	186,913	789,155	591,867	197,289	789,155
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	2,800,000	2,800,000	2,800,000	2,800,000	2,800,000	14,000,000	10,500,00	3,500,000	14,000,000
Percentage share							75%	25%	
Contributors	2,100,000	2,100,000	2,100,000	2,100,000	2,100,00	10,500,00			

CIDA 700,000 700,000 700,000 700,000 700,000 3, 500,000

OXFAM

Canada 2,800,000 2,800,000 2,800,000 2,800,000 2,800,000 14,000,000

Oxfam's partners

Oxfam's partners include international organizations, Canadian government, Canadians from different walks of life and grassroots from the South. At the international level, Oxfam Canada has occasionally participated in multilateral events such as the UN Summit on Education in Dakar (2000), summit of the Americas in Quebec City (2001), World Food Summit in Rome (2002), and the G8 meeting in Kananaskis (2002).

Oxfam Canada works with the UN from time to time. At home Oxfam Canada is involved in CCIC's discussion with CIDA. In the South, Oxfam Canada does not get too involved in the operations of its grassroots partner organizations (Fyles,2003). It leaves the local staff in the South to deal with implementation issues. 'For Oxfam Canada, this arms-length relationship reflects core values regarding the most appropriate role a Northern NGO can play in supporting development in the South' (Fyles, 2003:29).

Oxfam also acts as an intermediary between grassroots and financial institutions. For example, Oxfam tried to assist two poor districts of Malawi (Phalamombe and Mulanje) in 1987 that were affected by the closing down of ADMARC marketing depots due to the effects of SA. Oxfam relayed the plight of these districts to World Bank. Even though the intervention did not stop the closures in this case, however NGO advocacy can at times result in policy change by Northern governments and agencies.

Oxfam's Strategies

Oxfam Canada uses different strategies in trying to promote development in the third world. At home they engage in different campaigns, such as 'fair trade coffee', 'No sweat', 'Education Now', 'World Food Day'. Oxfam tries to educate Canadians to make them more aware of development problems in the South. Through lobbying campaigns, Oxfam Canada tries to influence the Canadian government to formulate policies that promote development in the South. For example, Oxfam Canada campaign for basic human rights tries to persuade governments that signed UN Human Rights agreements to put words into practice.

However, Oxfam has been criticized by Rodney (1981) that the organization never bothered to teach the South that capitalism and colonialism has contributed so much to the starvation, suffering, and misery that is in many third world countries. Rodney points out that colonialism created conditions that have led to undernourishment and malnutrition, which had not existed in African societies from time immemorial. This argument suggests that NGOs need to find suitable strategies that include development education in trying to reverse the consequences of capitalism and colonialism in Africa. Mario Padron in Rodney (1981) also criticizes the majority of NGOs for not spending much on development education.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring is done by Oxfam Canada's staff. Individual Oxfam projects and regional programs have different specific indicators but they must relate to the broader results statements within the program framework and then the Oxfam international strategic

action plan. Oxfam and its partners use a results based approach when monitoring. According to Oxfam reports overseas partners also get involved in the monitoring exercise.

Oxfam's Activities

Oxfam Canada operates in over 70 developing countries. According to Oxfam's literature, many communities they are assisting are victims of genocide, attacks upon civilians, mass rape, drought, drug dealing, family disintegration, unemployment, poverty, high illiteracy rates, and high infant mortality rates. Many of the victims flee into refugee camps and urban slums that are causing environmental degradation, international drug trafficking, organized crime, violence and regional tensions.

In Africa Oxfam assists communities so that they become more active in defining shared problems affecting their living conditions and working towards creative solutions. Oxfam with its partners are committed to addressing issues influencing health, nutrition and food security. They promote the improvement of the food nutrients produced and consumed by the poor. They try to achieve this through policy alternatives in favor of small-scale production by the poor.

In Africa, Oxfam has promoted various services in countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Namibia through working with CBOs and the marginalized. Watkins (1995) wrote that in the slums of Zambia, Oxfam's partners are working with communities that are attempting to maintain basic levels of education, health and nutrition under very difficult economic conditions. The organization has also been

lobbying governments to adopt HIV/ AIDS policies that can really tackle the AIDS pandemic and provide low costs treatment drugs.

To summarize Oxfam's agenda for change, Watkins (1995) came up with the following four categories:

1. Participation by popular groups involving institutional development which enables democratic participation through institutions that favor human rights.

2. The right of poor people to have access to basic needs- water, shelter, education and health care. This requires state support, instead of withdrawal from social service provision and application of user fees. Community based organizations can also assist in meeting these basic needs. Oxfam, for example, is active in organizing soup kitchens for the destitute and in building schools, clinics in Peru and Argentina.

3. Inclusion of both men and women in government, business, and other areas in order to end gender marginalization and discrimination, and the involvement of the poor in the management of markets. This would ensure gender equity in land redistribution and other programs and help in promoting social justice for both men and women, including the poor.

4. The right to live in an environment of peace and security. This is essential if there is to be any genuine progress in development and poverty reduction.

Oxfam also lobbies against SAP policies that have caused the debt crisis in Africa. Countries undergoing SA spend huge amounts of their foreign currency on debt repayments. These countries have very little to spend on health, education, and other

services after spending on foreign debt. Oxfam's campaign to reduce this debt crisis includes public pressure on the governments and international landing agencies in northern countries, including Canada.

Oxfam promotes citizen participation and democratic development in order to achieve political, economic and social justice in different countries. The organization believes that groups of citizens can organize themselves to ensure that their rights are taken into account by governments, and powerful institutions and corporations (Fyles, 2003). 'One of Oxfam's campaigns is to build a bridge between citizens in the North and South who are working to challenge the forces which deprive people of their rights at local, national and international levels' (Watkins, 1995: 6). The organization perceives effective civil society organizations as a precondition for equitable development. To this end, Oxfam has tried to assist and support groups affected by current political violence in Zimbabwe. Before that, it had worked in partnership with Amnesty International in trying to 'twin' Canadian and Zimbabwean members of parliament (Watkins, 1995). Apart from Zimbabwe, Oxfam monitored Namibia's elections in 1990 and also in South Africa and Mozambique in 1994.

Results from Case Study

Since this research sought to inquire about the role played by partnership approach theory in development, the prime method of data gathering used was through a questionnaire and telephone interview (*see appendix 2 for questionnaire*). By using this method, it was

hoped that NGO representatives could explain their experiences with partnership relationships and give their thoughts on expectations for the future.

The following were the most common themes that can be used in analyzing the responses collected:

- The role played by these NGOs in development especially in Africa

- How these NGOs have been involved in partnership management

- The evaluation measures that they use

- Recommendations for strengthening NGO partnerships.

There was consensus on the major role played by individual NGOs, which is to ensure that poverty is reduced through the implementation of their projects. The NGOs surveyed believe in sustainable and equitable distribution of wealth and power through fundamental social change. Their targets are:

- the economically and socially disadvantaged

- those suffering from the effects of conflict and systematic discrimination

- groups which have been excluded from the national development efforts.

These NGOs implement a wide range of projects, from emergency relief to long-term social development and policy advocacy. The approaches used in implementing these projects vary from NGO to NGO and also from project to project. In some cases some of the NNGOs implement the projects directly. In other cases, the organizations sub-contract other organizations for part of the implementation or implement the projects jointly with government agencies. Still, other projects are implemented jointly by

NNGOs and local or international partners. There is a trend towards joint implementation with different types of partners (government, private sector and civil society). The means by which projects and programs are implemented depends on a number of factors, involving the donor, the local government, the NGO context in which the project is taking place, and other factors.

Most of the NGOs have offices and their own staff in the developing countries. According to one NGO, from the case studies, 95% of the personnel in their offices abroad are nationals of that particular country. These offices carry out most of the implementation work required. One NGO stated that they work with 50 organizations in 8 African countries, namely: Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia and Djibouti. The trend seems to be that the bigger the NNGO the more partners it has and the smaller the NNGO the less number of partners it has.

Partnership Management

According to some NGOs, they were already familiar with the concept of partnership by the 1970s. However, there was dissatisfaction in the development field concerning the term 'partnership' since it was intended to strengthen national solidarity in support of development. There was also criticism during that time directed at those NNGOs that relied on foreign staff instead of local staff in implementing their development programs in the South.

With some NGOs, the adaptation of partnership relationships meant some changes in certain activities. Some of these activities were related to partner identification and

selection such as partner mapping, also, joint planning sessions or workshops. Capacity building activities and training became more prominent when partnership strategies were adopted, as well as developing and negotiating agreements. To some NGOs, it meant more staff visits to projects and more partner visits- from Canada to the South and from the South to Canada. Project committees became a new phenomenon and mechanisms on evaluation changed. So, while some NGOs acknowledged that there was a shift in management, some NGOs saw the change to partnership as an ongoing process.

All the NGOs agreed that they choose partners who have common mandates and missions to them. Typical selection criteria would include:

- Shared goals and values

- Having the necessary capacity

- Commitment to good governance

- Compatibility in terms of approach to development and philosophy.

It should be noted that different criteria are used depending on the program context and role that the partner will play. For example, some organizations are chosen to participate in a capacity building project. In such cases, NNGOs would be looking for SNGOs that already have well-developed capacity and an existing working relationships with NNGOs to be partners. Some of the partners may be recommended by other partners of that particular NGO. Therefore, various criteria are used by NNGOs when selecting their Southern partners.

There is consensus in that Southern partners play a role in the design, planning and

implementation of programs and projects. Southern partners sit on NNGO national boards, project committees and consultative meetings. At the same time, some programs that do not involve local civil society partners are often implemented in collaboration with local governments, depending on local conditions in the country. Some local partners may work with NNGO field staff to come up with joint projects. At times NNGOs draw capacity programs for their Southern partners. Regardless of the particular project or program, local participants are consulted in the design. Planning and implementation will normally involve those groups or agencies, including local government and all beneficiaries with a stake in the project.

Issues that have been raised by both the North and the South primarily involve trust, control, resources, accountability, conflict resolution and process of selecting both North and South representatives. One particular concern of the South is that the North, as the donor, has the upper hand in decision-making. This is why one NGO posed the question 'Can we talk of partnerships when it is based on finance?' This shows that the concept of 'partnership' does not mean equal input in decision making, even though Southern NGOs are consulted in program planning and implementation.

In most cases a true partnership is difficult to achieve. Organizations talk about 'partners' when the relationship may not be a true partnership. However, one NGO pointed out that even though the partnership relationship may not be on equal basis, the arrangement is still useful in achieving development goals. The Northern NGOs rely on their southern organizations to assess what needs to be done and the approach to take. It is clear from the questionnaire responses that although the term partnership may be misleading, respondents are satisfied that the approach is certainly appropriate to

achieving long-term development. They point out that success in the development process should be viewed more in terms of tangible benefits for the poor and the vulnerable than in terms of capacity building of their partners.

Evaluation Measures

There are various methods that are used by individual NNGOs to get feedback from the South. They include regular mail, telecommunication, e-mail, and visits to or from project partners. Seminars and conferences organized for both Northern and Southern NGO staff, including volunteers, are also useful in getting feedback. However, feedback mechanisms may vary from country to country, depending on how good communication systems are in the country.

Out of the three NGO respondents, two reported that evaluation measures depend on the source of funding. Since Canadian NGOs get most of their funding from CIDA, they are required to follow CIDA's evaluation format. One NNGO reported that, although it conducts evaluations, quite often external evaluators hired by the donor agency carry out some of its evaluations. The majority of NGOs indicated that they engage in participatory evaluation. This involves using staff from both the North and the South for joint evaluation. However, there was a consensus in that differences in each program ultimately influence the approach and type of evaluation measures used to assess the project.

Recommendations for Strengthening Partnerships

Based on the questionnaire, there is uncertainty as to whether the number of partnership relationships will increase, decrease or stay about the same. However, there is hope that partnership arrangements will continue to exist, although the nature of relationships may change.

One NGO noted that there are two contradictory changes that seem to be taking place. Firstly, partnership relations might decrease because of stiff rules set by NNGOs. Some NGOs reported that Northern governments are decreasing their funding, preferring direct funding to Southern governments and SNGOs. Some SNGOs are also doing their own fund raising activities. These changes can constrain the partnership relationships between NNGOs and SNGOs, since the SNGOs may feel less dependent and less accountable to their NNGOs.

Secondly, partnership relationships could actually improve if SNGOs become stronger and maintain ties with their NNGOs. One can picture relationships gradually shifting to one where the NNGOs provide support, some particular expertise or other input, and the SNGO takes lead in directing the design and implementation of projects. This trend would offer more opportunities for collaboration and more equitable partnerships.

One NGO recommended that the North needs to overcome the common perception that, only they have the expertise for the South. According to the same NGO, partnership is sharing and Southern expertise is important and should be considered, even though it may not be easily quantified. Southern partners have superior knowledge of their own

environments and realities that an outsider may not have. Partnership should imply sharing knowledge and expertise between all partners.

Southern partners should see that the Northern partners are actively working to change systems and structures in Canada to improve support for the South. Northern partners are lobbying institutional donors to see the value of these partnerships in helping to ensure that development programs they are supporting are improving the human condition of the poor.

Partnering organizations need to show greater understanding for each other's situation, line of accountability, capacities and limitations. Also, NNGO partners in particular need to find ways to make longer-term commitments to their Southern partners. NNGOs should be aware that funding regimens and the prevalence of the project focus make it difficult to commit and plan long-term partnerships.

One NGO recommended that 'collaboration' is a better word to use than 'partnership'. There has to be equitable collaboration between Northern and Southern NGOs in sharing rewards, success, vision, purpose and other responsibilities.

Conclusion

This study attempted to assess how Canadian based NGOs evaluate their performance in poverty reduction and development efforts in the third world, through partnerships. The study also tried to address the question of why, after more than a decade of partnership approach, the situation in the South is still depressed. The five case studies reported in the preceding confirm that there is dissatisfaction with North-South partnerships. There is a

concern that the term 'partnership' is misleading because the North controls the decision making process. However, the South does have some input through consultations, visits, seminars and conferences.

As has already been mentioned in the foregoing analysis, it can be seen that the theory of partnership tends to bring confusion in its interpretation. To some NGOs, the practice of partnering with people in the field was already taking place before the concept of partnership became popular. Others do not see genuine partnership between Northern and Southern NGOs because the North raises most of the funds and controls the implementation decisions. One conclusion from this study is that there are no easy ways to evaluate donor policies using the partnership approach. As suggested by one NGO, future theories should discard the use of the term 'partnership' and find some other suitable word to describe their relationship.

Most development practitioners would argue that addressing issues relating to partnership constraints can be a solution. It is true it can be a solution but realistically it is not easy to achieve authentic partnership relations. Even in real life situations it is hard to achieve such. Therefore strengthening partnership relationships can help but it is hard to achieve the desired goal since partnerships are based on equality and mutual benefit. Yet there are power inequalities between the North and the South. Relationships are mainly based on the transfer of financial resources that makes it impossible to achieve genuine partnerships.

Chapter Five

Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions

This thesis has looked at how NGOs have responded to the issues of third world development, international aid and what role their interventions have played in reducing poverty. Their efforts and resources to alleviate third world poverty have been extensive, and have led to the use of 'partnerships' as the dominant approach to development strategies by these NGOs.

The analysis of case studies revealed strengths and weakness in the partnership approach used by respondent NGOs in the development of Africa. It is apparent that, for NGOs to be successful, their partnerships need to be based on equitable relationships. However, so far, their efforts have not solved developmental problems in the South, even where there are equitable relationships. It is therefore crucial for development practitioners to search better ideas on ways to fight underdevelopment.

Prior to partnerships, practitioners involved in third world issues had for decades suggested various approaches to development. Some of their recent approaches to development such as SA/globalization failed to produce favorable results. As has been discussed in the second chapter of this thesis the rate of poverty is increasing rapidly in Africa and the other third world countries. According to the 1997 UN Human Development Report, the main beneficiaries of globalization are TNCs and other development agencies from the rich and powerful Northern nations; not the poor people and the poor countries that are supposed to be helped by development.

The North has enough resources for third world development. According to the

UNDP's 1997 *Human Development Report,* 'to provide universal access to basic social services and transfers to alleviate income poverty would cost roughly $80 billion—less than the combined net worth of the seven richest men in the world.' Clearly, even if poverty can not be totally eradicated, it could at least be reduced if there was genuine support in the North for development aid.

There has been a problem in the development arena in that the NGOs have not produced better results than governments. It can be recommended that NGOs should stop focusing on efficiency and concentrate on equity. Korten (1990) observed that most NGOs pay too much attention on marketing their projects rather than on the real needs of their beneficiary community. The important thing is not that equality 'should be completely attained, but that it should be sincerely sought. What matters to the health of society is the objective toward which its face is set, and to suggest that it is immaterial in which direction it moves, because whatever the direction, the goal must always elude, is not scientific, but irrational. It is like, using the impossibility of absolute cleanliness, as a pretext for rolling in a manure heap' (R.H Tawney in Watkins, 1995: 8). There are many development agencies offering to fight against poverty in Africa, but as noted by Tawney they need more sincerity and less selfish motives to achieve the objective.

Regarding partnerships, it is believed that the arrangement can produce better results than individual organizations working separately (Lister, 1992). The North and South with their resources brought together can produce excellent results. It should be noted that this is a process that could take long and require determination, sincerity, faithfulness, trustworthiness, and many other factors.

There is a notion of partnerships 'scaling up', or increasing their impact and

effectiveness and maximizing their contribution to the development of people in the third world (Edwards and Hulme, 1996; Mutlin and Satterwaite, 1992). However, this study has shown that the term partnership has become a mere rhetoric to many NGOs. From the literature reviewed it is clear that for the past decade partnerships have not brought much significant development into Africa and the third world in general.

Instead it seems partnerships have brought in a great deal of confusion in the field of development. One consequence of this is that partnerships are being defined differently by different NGOs. Muchunguzi and Milne (1995) argue that, in the 1980s, the Southern NGOs further broadened the definition because they did not want strings attached to the aid from the North. As a result different NGOs have different definitions of partnerships. The different ways these partnerships can be described show why there is no agreement on a common definition of a partnership. One could suggest that it might be better not to carry on using this confusing term.

On the issue of foreign aid, partnerships have not brought much change in how NGOs approach third world development. Most of the financial assistance to Southern partnerships is still accompanied by conditions.

Since there is little or no difference between what is now termed 'partnerships' and what used to be called 'charity', NGOs could continue with their work as charities. While it is undeniable that partnerships included in this study have made some positive contributions, the problem remains that they have only made a small difference, given the scale of poverty in Africa. There are also so many areas in Africa and the Third World where there are no NGOs. A whole army of NGOs would be needed to have a significant impact in Third World development. More resources from the North are needed for third

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world development.

There is a problem that NGOs claim success when there is little or no evidence of real development in the third world. As indicated in this study, it seems the exaggerated claims can be traced to flaws in the NGO evaluation measures. Therefore, the NGOs might wish to review whether they are using valid evaluation measures. The SNGOs also claim success in their development projects, but they may be doing this as a way to ensuring that they continue to get financial aid, since they benefit from the existing arrangement.

This study has also attempted to get a better understanding of the performance of partnership relations and how best relations can be developed. A better understanding of NGO partnership allows recommendations to be made for improving relationships and for NGOs to be more efficient. Since there is little documentation on NGO partnership performance assessment, it is recommended that future studies could focus on this area.

Many ideas have been advanced to try and explain how development can be achieved in the South-with partnership as the latest of these ideas. It is not clear what else will follow since 'partnerships' are not producing the anticipated developmental goals. Korten (1990) argues that, since absolute poverty is increasing in the third world, there is a need to re-examine past development practices and policies and the development role of governments, donors and NGOs. Based on results from this study, the following observations and recommendations can also be suggested for and against the partnership theory:

1. NNGOs should be aware that, although they have more resources than SNGOs, they also benefit by partnering with the South.

2. NNGOs can play a minor role in projects that are already established.

3. Building strong partnerships needs flexibility and time, to allow for adjustments and building trust among partners.

4. Partnership promotes the expansion of international experiences, and understanding of different cultures and points of view.

5. Partnerships help in establishing friendships and professional links.

6. 'Collaboration' is a better term that can be used in place of the term 'partnership'.

A major point in this study is that, since partnerships are failing to bring anticipated outcomes and are not easily defined, the term 'partnership' should be discarded. It is bringing a great deal of confusion in discussions on third world development. The term 'collaboration' does not have a connotation of equity in a relationship. It is therefore a more suitable term to use than 'partnership', which implies equality in the relationship. To continue using the term 'partnership' would be misleading because there is no equality and there likely will always be imbalances in the working relationship between the Northern and Southern NGOs.

It is undeniable that poverty undermines the development potential of a country and its people. People need to be economically and politically empowered so that they can have access to their resources, and the NGOs could do more for the poor by opening up the means to access these resources. Most Canadian based NGOs value capacity building as an important development approach. Eade (1997) argues that capacity building approaches are about building sustainable skills, structures and resources in order to allow people to define and achieve their development objectives. The poor

therefore need greater access to resources, and employment opportunities so that they can participate in the development process. Participatory development is crucial as is suggested by proponents of AD. This has proved to be one of the major obstacles to development in Africa. Economically, NGOs can make some input without challenge, but politically, it is hard because of the enormous challenge from the African governments. NGOs should therefore continue striving to empower the poor economically and leave politics of the third world alone for them to show their sincerity. When the poor are economically empowered eventually this can enable them to fight for their political rights.

It seems futile to continue theorizing on development when there is little evidence of real achievement in the South, and the North continues to be the main beneficiary through strings attached to foreign aid. It would appear that the lack of progress in the development field has created a laissez fare attitude in many development practitioners. This may explain why some practitioners promote the SAP and insist that the benefits will eventually arrive, despite the fact that more and more countries are being destroyed by SAP policies.

Trade rules and the SAP do not allow developing nations to form their own policies to protect their industries. At WTO conferences, developing countries have had to fight for any liberalization of trade agreements. The important changes secured for developing countries in the Doha Declaration on Patents and Public Health is an example of how their pressure can achieve results. The Doha Declaration now has special provisions that should help developing countries. It is recommended that developing countries should continue fighting against development policies that undermine their

progress.

The IMF's role in Third World development needs reassessment. The SAP needs to be redesigned to genuinely create an economic environment for social and economic recovery in the South. The world trade order needs to be reformed so that the South can also benefit.

Another issue is that very little is mentioned in history concerning how the developed countries acquired so much wealth. Many of them generated a great deal of their wealth from some form of exploitation of the third world. The methods used include slave trade, colonialism, and now trade liberalization. Increased financial aid from the North could help in redressing these issues. There is an argument that the North has a moral responsibility to assist the South because of its past role in the exploitation of the Third World.

It should be noted that no prosperity can be found in the south by using western model of development. In order to continue exploiting the South, political leaders in the North have created harmful economic conditions in the South so that the south returns to them for financial support. This system has been used to create disparities between North-South. There is enough evidence to prove that the old imperialists of Africa do not have any motive of improving living conditions of the majority of the people. It is also clear that as long as people in the South do not resist the pressure from the North, they will remain subjects of the west in the name of economic development which will most likely never come from the North.

Alternative development has failed just like all the previous theories on development. On the other hand partnerships have failed to bring the anticipated capacity

building. This is not new in development theory and practice. Since the 1940s theories of development have failed to solve problems of underdevelopment in the third world. The question to be asked is, "Why are these theories keeping on producing negative results when they are supposed to bring development?" The problem is that all these theories including AD are not attacking the roots of poverty. The Northern governments are the root cause of these perpetual problems of underdevelopment in Africa. Northern governments recommend prescriptions for development on third world countries which they wouldn't prescribe for their countries. For example they dictate to Southern countries on cutting subsidies yet in their countries they encourage subsidies on education, health and housing.

Current theories on trade liberalization are benefiting the North not the South. The problem really is that there is no sincerity in Northern governments when they talk of developing the South. It is clear that they (the North) have hidden agendas. As long as they keep on concealing their agendas talking about development in Africa will remain a fallacy. The motive of the North is based on how much can they benefit out of the development process. They want to keep on enriching themselves. The Northern governments have to take responsibility for the development problems of the South if development is to be achieved. Theorists can keep on theorizing about development but as long as the Northern governments won't stop their hidden agendas it will continue to be theorizing in vain.

AD has failed and one can predict that the future theories will continue to fail. Since NNGOs work in partnerships with their governments they are forced to accept and

implement the theories they (Northern governments) impose. Maybe if they were independent they would have brought development to Africa.

The Northern development agencies could do more to raise required foreign aid funds. Reduced military spending by both African and Northern governments could help if the savings could be redirected to development of African nations. The North could also help considerably by reducing debt-servicing burdens being carried by the South. It is true that there is too much corruption in many governments in Africa. The IFIs could set up more stringent conditions for assistance in order to cut down the corruption.

However, regardless of any assistance, the third world countries themselves need to have an environment of peace and security to make any progress. Currently, violence, crime, social and ethnic conflict, and even wars are wrecking the economies of many African countries. All these impediments hinder progress by NGOs. Without peace there cannot be genuine development and poverty reduction. Intervention by the International agencies such as the UN peacekeeping forces has been lacking in many cases in Africa. Assistance in post war reconstruction has also been lacking. There is a need to pressure development agencies not to ignore impending warnings of conflict in Africa and to respond swiftly and effectively. With collaborative efforts from development agencies, partners and African governments themselves there can be developmental progress in Africa. There is a need therefore to re-examine current development practices, policies, theories such as partnership and redefinition of the role of NGOs and other development agencies.

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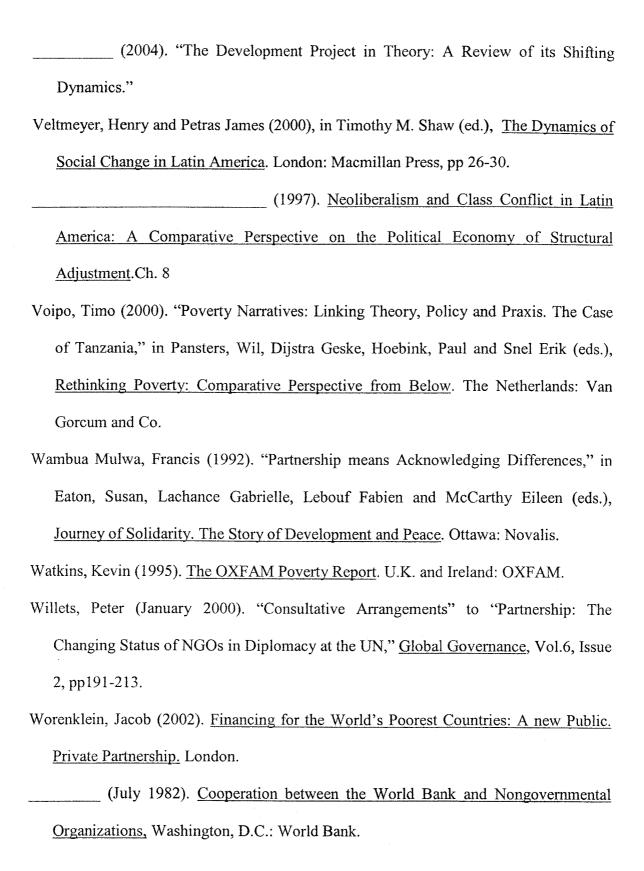
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Appendices

Appendix 1

Case studies

Respondents for the case studies were all guaranteed confidentiality and they are senior staff with the following organizations: OXFAM Canada, Canadian Crossroads International (CCI), and CARE Canada. CCI and CARE Canada responded to the questionnaire in writing. It was very easy for me to get response from CCI. As for OXFAM Canada a telephone interview was conducted through their head office in Ottawa. OXFAM's office in Halifax claimed that they do not deal directly with partners so they could not respond to the questionnaire. However OXFAM office in Halifax provided me with the literature on OXFAM and its partners which is at the beginning of Chapter four of this thesis. Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO) and Development and Peace did not directly respond to the questionnaire but offered material that was directed towards some of the questions. The literature collected from Development and Peace has been used at the beginning of Chapter four.

From my research experience I learned two things:

1. That it takes a long time to gather information using a questionnaire. One has to be patient. In my case I started the survey during summer of 2003. As a result most officials were giving excuses that they were going away for the summer vacation. In some cases I had to wait for more than a month. Due to long distance with NGOs like CARE Canada and OXFAM more time was needed because communication was mainly though email.

2. In this kind of research there is no option but to rely on the information you are given. The information given by most NGOs may not portray the reality because they seem to be defending their partnership relationships. Most of this information was generalized- not directed towards their NGOs. Only one NGO official criticized the partnership relationships and he hopes NGOs would stop using the term "partnership". On the other hand most respondents felt there was still hope in partnership relationships. However for future studies it will be worthwhile if information is collected from both the South and the North in order to compare the responses. I tried to communicate with friends and relatives from my country, Zimbabwe but it was hard to collect the required information. My conclusion was that it maybe easier to go there, conduct the research and get first hand information.

Appendix 2

Questionnaire used to conduct the research

1. Please briefly describe the goals and mandate of your NGO:

2. Do you have indigenous organizations as partners in your work in the South and, if yes, how many of these are in Sub-Saharan Africa?

3. What criteria are used by your NGO to select Southern partners?

4. What is the role of your Southern partners in the planning and implementation of your program?

5. What new activities, if any, were started when your organization changed to a partnership concept?

6. How do you get feedback from the South concerning your partnerships?

7. What issues, if any, have been raised by either the North or the South regarding your partnerships and how has your organization resolved these issues?

8. What evaluation measures do you have in place and what role is played by your Southern partners in project evaluation?

9. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the partnership approach to achieving your project goals and objectives?

10. Based on your expertise, please explain if you think existing North-South partnership relationships between the North and South will increase, decrease, remain about the same, or get replaced with different arrangements in the next few years.

11. Briefly outline any suggestions you may have concerning what you think should be done to strengthen the North-South partnership relationships in uplifting and developing the Third World.

Saint Mary's University

Certificate of Ethical Acceptability
of
Research Involving Human Subjects

This is to certify that the Research Ethics Board has examined the research proposal or other type of study submitted by:

Principal Investigator: Lily Nyajeka

Name of Research Project: Strengthening NGO Partnerships: The Role of
                                        NGOs in the Development Process

REB File Number: 03-056

and concludes that in all respects the proposed project meets appropriate standards of ethical acceptability and is in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement on the Conduct of Research Involving Humans.

> Please note that approval is only effective for one year from the date approved. (If your research project takes longer than one year to complete, submit Form #3 to the REB at the end of the year and request an extension.)

Date:

Signature of REB Chair:

Dr. John Young