QUESTIONS ON DEVELOPMENT NGO EFFECTIVENESS

A Systematic Process for Interpreting Peer-Reviewed Literatures on Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs): "Questions on Effectiveness"

By

Peter Charles, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Master of Arts

McMaster University

© Copyright by Peter Charles, September 2003

McMASTER UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

MASTER OF ARTS (2003) McMaster University

(Anthropology) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: A Systematic Process for Interpreting Peer-Reviewed Literatures on Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs): "Questions on Effectiveness"

AUTHOR: Peter Charles, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor D. G. Willms

NUMBER OF PAGES: viii, 214

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to the many front line NGO workers that live "development" every day. Through their dedication, toil, and sacrifice, good works are done.

Acknowledgements

Writing a thesis can be a painful process, and the many false starts of this one made it seem doubly so. Through the turmoil, the chops and changes, plus the plain bad luck that dogged the project in the early days, Dr. Dennis Willms never flagged in his support. I thank him for seeing me through this. I also offer my thanks to Dr. Wayne Warry for providing invaluable insights and support along the way. Of course, my family had to bear the brunt of my preoccupation. My son had to put up with a Dad who was always busy on those weekends that would have been so great for fishing. My wife supplied the inspiration when the perspiration was lacking. My daughter (also a McMaster Anthropology grad) supplied the occasional tonic of good sense. Finally, a thank you to my employer, the Business Development Bank of Canada, for allowing me to adjust my work schedule and take vacation time when it was needed.

Table Of Contents

Glossary

- *Action Inquiry* – A broad term used to describe any inquiry that develops into plans and action.
- *Action Science* – A methodology for understanding the reasoning underlying human actions and from that understanding, produce learning.
- *Anti-System Movement* – Activist movements that work on behalf of peoples considered to be oppressed by governments and/or economic conditions.
- *British International Non-Governmental Organisation* – (BINGO) NGOs, headquartered in Britain, that have an international mandate.
- *Careerists* – Individuals in the management cadre of organisations who place the interests of their careers before the interests of the organisation and those with whom they work.
- *Community Based Organisation* – (CBO) These are small organisations that are created within and work at the level of the local community. They are virtually indistinguishable from GROs.
- *Co-operative Inquiry* – An approach that relies upon a group or co-operative critical inquiry into a shared experience.
- *Evaluative ethnography* – An ethnographic approach whose outcome is used by decision-makers to assess the subject of the ethnography. It is usually used in an organisational setting.
- *Globalization* – A global economic and political process that conforms to a neo-liberal philosophy through trade liberalisation enforced by supra-national trade organisations. It effectively creates a global marketplace.
- *Grass Roots Organisations* – (GRO) Organisations that are locally inspired and constructed to meet the challenge of local problems.
- *International Political Economy* – The interaction of economics with international politics.

- *Logical Framework Analysis* – (LFA) A development planning methodology -- a systematic method for the creation of project management plans.

- *Neo-liberalism* – An economic/political/social philosophy which contends that unfettered market forces are the best means of organising society as it is held to be the most efficient method of utilising economic resources.

- *Managerialism* – A form of management practice where the processes and internal political concerns of the organisation are afforded undue attention at the expense of the organisation's stated goals.

- *Non-Governmental Development Organisation* – (NGDO) An NGO devoted to development work.

- *Non-Governmental Organisation* - (NGO) Organisations that are neither profit oriented nor operated by the government. These organisations are normally associated with charitable work but not exclusively so.

- *Participatory Action Research* – (PAR) A social research approach that encourages the participants in a study to be involved in all facets of that study, affording them access to control, decision making, and a valorisation of their knowledge.

- *Participation* – In a development context, participation means that the local community and/or its members, participate in a development project engaged for their benefit.

- *Participatory Rural Appraisal* – (PRA) A participatory approach utilising local knowledge; it allows the local populace to conduct their own analysis, appraisals and plans.

- *Western Epistemology* – The understanding of Western ways of knowing. It is rooted in Rationalism and Empiricism.

Abstract

This thesis addresses the question, "What makes for an effective Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO)?" It does this through a systematic, meta-analysis of peer-reviewed NGO related literatures. This is an evidence-driven approach, whereby the literature acted both as a databank and as informant. The thesis also contains a different methodology for the review of the literature and a portion of the thesis has been devoted to its description. To systematically examine the literature, I developed a methodology that applied an inductive approach to a process involving both data triangulation and an iterative reduction of the data into a series of questions on NGO effectiveness. After applying the methodology to the peer-reviewed literature, seventeen categories and 343 questions emerged which were reduced into a more manageable number of ten categories and 57 questions. These questions were then applied to the data to produce a profile of an effective NGO termed 'Adaptive-Visionary'. This is a my concept of an NGO capable of great flexibility in adapting to circumstance yet capable of maintaining a clear focus on particular development challenges.

Chapter 1

A Systematic Process for Interpreting Peer-Reviewed Literatures on Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs): "Questions on Effectiveness"

> These changes in the nature of local and global forms of collective action intersect with issues of vital concern to anthropologists. Study of these changes not only enriches our understanding of local and translocal connections that enable and constrain flows of ideas, knowledge, funding, and people, but also invites us to reconsider both conventional notions of governance and Foucaultian ideas of governmentality and how technologies of control affect both the personal and the political, and to examine changing relationships among citizenry, associations, and the state. However, while the associational revolution has generated tremendous enthusiasm and a large new interdisciplinary literature, anthropologists, to date, have made relatively limited contributions to it. This literature as a whole is based more on faith than fact: There are relatively few detailed studies of what is happening in particular places or within specific organisations, few analyses of the impact of NGO practices on relation of power among individuals, communities, and the state, and little attention to the discourse within which NGOs are presented as the solution to problems of welfare service delivery, development, and democratization. An enhanced anthropological contribution would enrich a literature the majority of which is replete with sweeping generalizations; optimistic statements about the potentials of NGOs for delivering welfare services, implementing development projects, and facilitating democratization; and instrumental treaties on building the capacity of NGOs to perform functions (Fisher 1997: 441).

William Fisher sets out in this quotation an eloquent and compelling rationale for the involvement of anthropologists in the NGO debate. Fisher refers to "unpacking the literature," stripping away the discourse of participation, empowerment, local, and community, to discover what lies beneath (Fisher 1997: 441).

This thesis research project is one small attempt to respond to Fisher's challenge. I will attempt to "unpack the literature" and utilize the concerns and criticisms of NGOs to build a positive approach toward NGO effectiveness. At the same time, I attempt to avoid the pitfall of generalization and reductionism, as if all NGOs should fit into some easy classification of "things to do" to become effective (Fisher 1997: 442). Rather, this paper will explore the ideologies, the approaches, and the discourses that have within them the potential for both NGO effectiveness and ineffectiveness. From the analysis of the positive and negative aspects of NGO effectiveness, I have produced a profile for an effective NGO that I have termed "**Adaptive-Visionary**" – an NGO capable of both great flexibility in method and clarity of purpose.

Fisher is quite correct that any attempt to produce an overarching comparative framework for all NGOs would be reduced to little value by the need for generalization (Fisher, 1997: 442). The NGO descriptor encompasses too vast and varied an arena of actors to be usefully described by one approach. Rather, the focus must be narrowed until a reasonable degree of homogeneity begins to emerge. To that end, I have narrowed my focus to small NGOs operationally involved in development projects.

Fisher discusses the need for comparative studies of NGOs, to enrich the currently weak field of data. The key word is "comparative". In a comparative study, it is useful to be able to situate the subjects within a theoretical and functional framework. I viewed this project as being of use by creating such a framework. Fisher sets out some guidelines as to how anthropologists might approach this task.

> Unpacking this literature, much of which obscures its political stance in simple categories and generalizations, requires attention to three sets of issues that have concerned some anthropologists: (a) how discourse about NGOs create knowledge, define sets of appropriate practices, and facilitate and encourage NGO behavior defined as appropriate; (b) how complex sets of relationships among various kinds of associations, the agencies and agents of the state, and individuals and communities have had an impact in specific locales at specific times; and (c) how we can avoid reductionist views of NGOs as fixed and generalizable entities with essential characteristics and contextualize then within evolving processes (Fisher 1997: 441-442).

There has been explosive growth in the number of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Non-Governmental Development Organisations (NGDOs) involved in development efforts over the past decade. A significant proportion of development work has been done by small NGDOs that may or may not have sufficient experience to ensure that the assistance they are capable of providing fits the requirements of the communities in need. The number of small NGOs have grown by orders of magnitude over the past two decades to the point where there are now reported to be over four million at work around the world. These development NGOs are taking on an ever-increasing load from governments and official agencies in the delivery of local economic development, health, educational, nutritional, and other forms of assistance. From this point forward, I will use the acronym NGO in reference to small, development NGOs.

This research project was a systematic meta-analysis of primarily peer-reviewed literatures that sought to develop an understanding of its meanings, context, and over-arching themes. It critically examined and evaluated essential factors for NGO effectiveness. To conduct this review, I developed an in-depth, inductive, and iterative methodology to enable the production of a meta-analysis that was strongly rooted in the data. The research examined literatures on NGOs of all sizes and types, however, the outcome of the research was oriented towards the smaller NGOs involved in development work. The methodology was used primarily on peer review, but also utilized grey, and NGO produced literatures, including Internet based sources.

Chapter 2

The Methodological Problem:

When engaging in a thesis project using existing material, one is faced with the task of building a satisfactory interpretive method that will do justice to both the material and the project. This raises the question: Can literatures be *interrogated* (or questioned) as an ethnographer might do with a living "key communicator" or subject. I make the assumption that this is possible to do. The method must satisfy a number of criteria in that it must be qualitative, inductive, ethnographic in approach and lead to an outcome that would draw new value from existing works. The approach I eventually selected contains the hallmarks of good ethnography in the sense that the material was *interrogated*[1] in much the same way as we would interview informants. In my mind's eye, each author became an informant and each article, the interview transcript. All articles, chapters and websites were interrogated with one simple question, "What does this author have to say about NGO effectiveness?" With these

[1] I struggled with the choice of an appropriate word to describe my process. I settled on 'interrogate' in the sense of, 'to question thoroughly'.

passages identified, it became a matter of determining the pertinence of these comments on the issue of NGO effectiveness and how the comments could be molded into an approach that could be used by NGOs in an exercise of self-assessment. The methodology I developed to organize and analyze this material forms part of the methodological (i.e., interpretive, systematic review, meta analysis) contribution made by this thesis.

My approach to this project was that of an ethnographer, seeing NGOs as a group of diverse cultures that have at least one goal in common "to be effective." Each NGO has its own organisational culture that interacts with other organisational cultures while immersed in the dominant culture of its larger society. In the performance of its mandate, it interacts with client communities that are of different cultures and in different socio-economic situations. Such interplay of cultures and values within the single theme of development poses an interesting field for an anthropological project.[2]

The definition of "effectiveness" is central to this thesis. In the context of an NGO project, whoever has the power to define what constitutes "effectiveness," controls the project. Neo-liberalism can be said to be all about

---

[2] In future, I would like to test this through NGO based interviews.

efficiency, so I deliberately avoided "efficiency" as a goal (though it is implied in "effectiveness"). To be efficient in the delivery of a project (i.e. to produce the most with the least expenditure of resources) does not necessarily produce an "effective" result. There are degrees of effectiveness; that an NGO can be more effective in one aspect of its operations as opposed to the rest; that its competencies may be unevenly spread throughout its operations. While most NGOs are not likely to be effective throughout the entire breadth of their operations, they can still be effective in delivering the development assistance that meets the needs of the local community.

In the end, it is the local community whose lives have been affected by NGO projects and it is supposedly for them that the project is carried out. If the project was participatory, then the community should have been intimately included in all aspects of the project. Therefore, they should be the ultimate arbiters as to whether or not the NGO's project was effective. A development project should meet its objectives; those objectives ideally should be determined with the active involvement of the community.

The project should make a material improvement in the quality of the lives of the individuals of the community and an improvement for the community generally. If the project has made a positive contribution and if it has met the expectations of the community, then the project can be said to have been "effective." By extension, if an NGO is capable of consistently delivering effective projects within these criteria, then the NGO can be considered to be "effective."

Chapter 3

Literature Review:

As William Fisher has made clear, anthropology has not made many contributions to the study of NGOs. Consequently the number of recent articles on NGO effectiveness in anthropological literatures are limited. I had to look outside anthropology into journals on economics, development, and international political economy (IPE) to gather sufficient material. Despite this wider search, with the exception of the journal *Development in Practice*, the number of articles concerned with NGO effectiveness were not plentiful.

The methodology commenced with a literature search that was essentially open in nature. I scanned library sources, bibliographies, booksellers, and web search engines for any material that provided commentary, case studies, accounts, or ethnographies on NGO development operations. Also included in the search were works that provided insights into the global political and economic conditions under which NGOs work. My initial search criterion was simple. Did the particular work have something to offer on the subject of

NGO effectiveness? The criterion was deliberately broad to lessen the potential of selecting a work that would predispose a given result. The initial search required a rejection phase as works that had originally appeared promising were found to have little to say and were thus discarded. From the core that remained, each work was carefully scrutinized for any commentary that could contribute to our understanding of the issues.

Initial searches were conducted utilizing Internet search engines, primarily www.google.com and a software called Web Ferret that scans multiple Internet search engines. The automated search engines of the online book retailers www.amazon.com and www.chapters.ca plus the libraries of McMaster University and the combined libraries of the University of Guelph, University of Waterloo, and Wilfred Laurier University were searched in a similar fashion. The keywords "NGO", plus combinations of "effectiveness," "development," and "accountability" were applied to the search functions of each source. Many of the journals mentioned in the following table have online reference sources. However, they usually do not have search engines that will scan the text of the articles. In these cases, each volume of the journal had to be searched individually.

In addition to Internet searches, I conducted a review of peer reviewed journal articles going back five years. Since there has been spectacular growth in NGOs over the last decade, the concern over effectiveness has only recently become an issue. I selected the five-year cutoff on the basis that the latest works would have been written within the current global NGO context. The periodicals chosen were:

- Development in Practice
- Human Organisation
- Journal of Developing Areas
- Annual Review of Anthropology
- Development Journal
- Third World Quarterly
- Population and Development Review
- Journal of Development Studies
- Review of International Political Economy

A number of anthropological journals, including American Anthropologist, American Ethnologist, and Cultural Anthropology were also surveyed using the same five-year period. And yet, I did not encounter articles that spoke directly to the issue of NGOs and development. The challenge then became one of ensuring the project retained an anthropological focus and did not stray too far into the fields covered by the non-anthropological journals. The lack of anthropological articles on NGOs is probably an indicator of the lack of attention anthropologists have paid to this field, underscoring Fisher's assertion attention anthropologists have paid to this field, underscoring Fisher's assertion (see p. 1). This lack of attention is interesting considering that both development NGOs and anthropology have strong interests in issues such as power and resistance, social justice, human development, and Globalization.

During the search, the preponderance of articles came from one journal: *Development in Practice*. While recognizing that it was important to maintain a balance of articles from as wide a range of journals as possible, the low numbers of NGO-related articles in other journals made it necessary to rely mostly on *Development in Practice*. As a consequence, I did not accumulate the maximum number of articles possible from this one journal to avoid having it completely dominate my data. I chose to leave out *Development in Practice* articles that repeated issues or arguments already contained in the other articles in my possession.[1]

While journal articles provided my data source, I relied on various books on NGO and development related issues to provide background context. The results of a preliminary Internet scan produced approximately 60 articles and

[1] As a matter of editorial practice, I strove to avoid a selection bias that would result if a preponderance of the articles reflected a particular ideological or theoretical position.

books plus over 200 web sites that contributed to the research question. This number was reduced by conducting a second review that separated the material that spoke directly to the issue of NGO effectiveness from those that only dealt with the subject manner in a general fashion (e.g. an article on participatory methodologies that did not specifically deal with the NGO application of those methodologies). All of the articles and books that were specific to the global context of NGOs, NGO operations, and issues of effectiveness were retained. Most of the general articles were discarded either due to duplication or because the material could only make an indirect or small contribution to the research question.

As the material was perused, certain themes and issues consistently arose. These were then recast into a series of topics with underlying questions. Each question was formed by taking a particular statement of the issue that emerged from the material and then re-phrasing it as a question. As an example, I continually encountered the issue that NGOs have mastered the discourse on development and yet, they have used this apparent confidence in development discourse to obscure their failure to advance effective

1. Is there evidence of self-deception in the discourse of/for development?

2. Are development issues and problems resolved by re-inventing the language of/for development?

Herein was a conundrum. I was using a non-judgmental, ethnographic approach to generate a series of questions that could be construed as highly charged and accusatory. I have reconciled this conundrum by viewing these questions in the context of their production. These questions were produced by a methodology that was implemented in as unbiased a manner as I was capable of producing. If these questions were generated by what was discovered, then it would be inherently dishonest not to let them stand on their merits (See Appendix A on Background and Biases).

Chapter 4

Development of the Methodology:

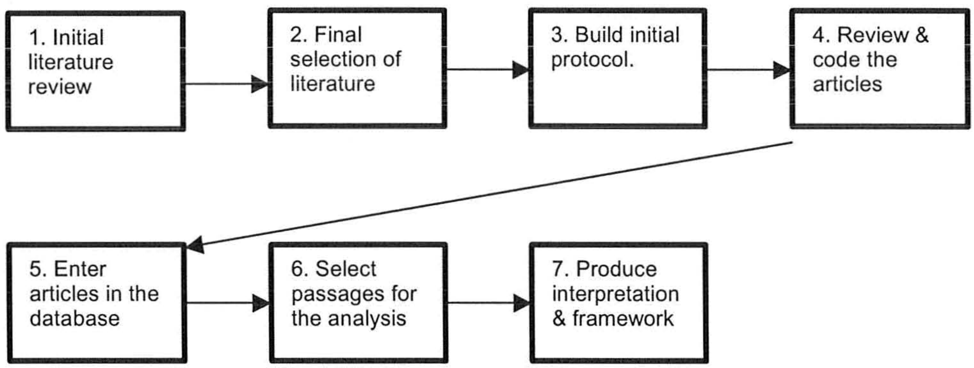
Initially, I struggled with selecting a methodology for the type of interpretation and analysis I intended to pursue. While the anthropological literature is rich in works on meaning and the understanding of texts, I was not successful in locating examples of the process requirements for interpreting and codifying texts. I surveyed a number of texts on qualitative research and analysis without success. While they spoke of conducting literature reviews and codifying/analyzing transcripts of interviews, they included little or nothing on the actual mechanics of analyzing text. One exception is Willms and Johnson (1995), where the authors delineate a nine step process for interpreting ethnographic data. Yet, it was not clear to me how their methodology might be applied to the systematic review of peer-reviewed literature. At this point, I decided to design a methodology that borrowed concepts from transcript analysis, (as espoused by Willms and Johnson 1995) interpretive methods, and hermeneutics.

As described by K.L. Ross, the "hermeneutic cycle" is the theory and practice of the interpretation of texts -- a cycle that attempts to draw new meaning from each reading of a text (Ross 2002: 1). According to Ross, hermeneutics is based on the thesis that "knowledge cannot be started from nothing", so attempts to create new knowledge must be based on what has gone before (Ross 2002: 1).

It is important to bear in mind that the process of developing this methodology proceeded concurrently with the interpretation and analysis of the data. As this was my first attempt at producing such a methodology, the development process resulted in steps that might be considered too onerous or even unnecessary. Much of this excess resulted from choices made early in the development process that complicated matters later on resulting in choices that could not be undone without starting over. One might consider this as the process of producing a 'prototype' model that leads eventually to a 'production' model. The seven step 'production' model is illustrated in the following diagram. These steps were identified as being essential to the methodology while the steps that proved to be extraneous have been removed. This diagram illustrates the steps that another researcher would utilize were they to employ this methodology in a text research project. However, the remainder of this section describes the full extent of the methodology that I used to produce the analysis of the data.

'Production' Model:

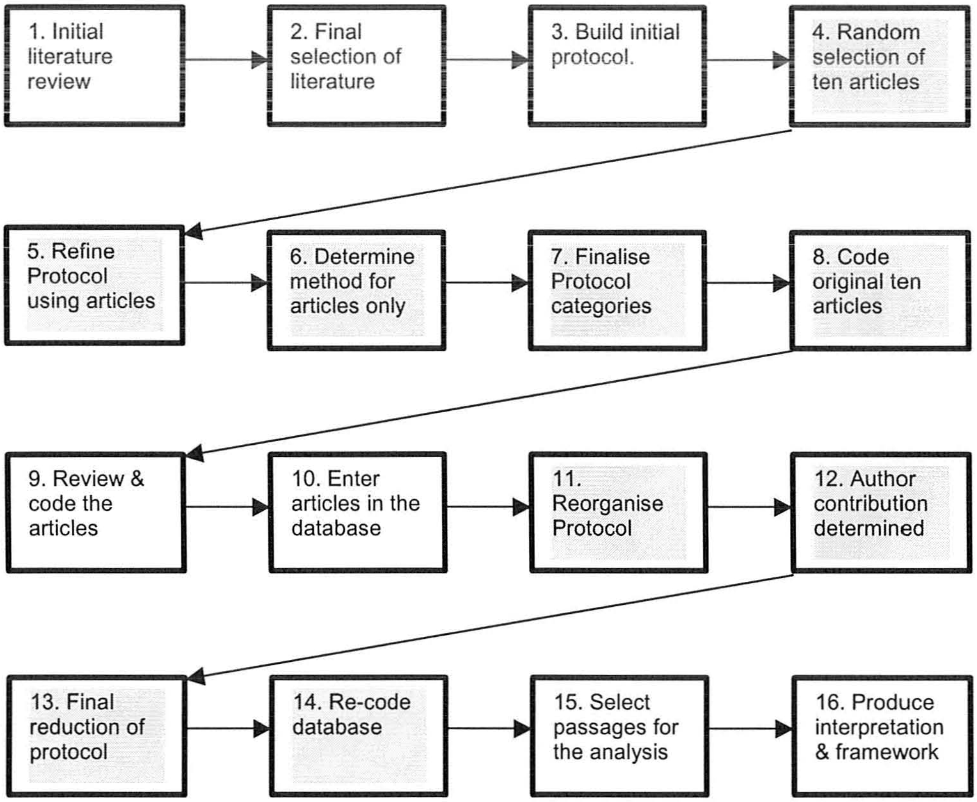
The following diagram illustrates the steps a researcher would use if he/she wished to replicate this methodology.



As an example of an early choice that generated later complications, I created an outline of the protocol based on information gained from the literature review and applied it to a selection of ten articles, as a means of testing the concept of the methodology. While the outline served its purpose as a 'proof of concept' it proved not only to be unnecessary for the analysis, but introduced an overly complicated structure into the protocol that added little value. These exploratory steps in the designing of the methodology are shown as numbers three through to eight in the following diagram. If I was to repeat this methodology in a future project, these steps (except for 3) would be left out (steps that proved to be unnecessary have been identified by the shaded boxes in the following diagram). Steps 11 through to 14, required to reduce the size and the complexity of the protocol, would also be eliminated as they had been made necessary by my decision to build the initial protocol outline before starting the in-depth review. As a result of the elimination of these steps the 'production' model would only contain steps 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 15, and 16 (these are renumbered 1 through to 7 on the production model). The description of two of the steps would be altered; step 3 would then be described as "review the articles and build the protocol" while step 9 would become "code the articles".

From this point on, the section describes the full methodological design process of the 'prototype' model. The following diagram outlines the sixteen steps that I followed in the concurrent process of designing the methodology and interpreting the data.

The Original Sixteen Step Methodology



I will explain each of these steps in turn.

1. Initial literature review

My initial search was based on very open criteria which might relate to NGO effectiveness. I did recognize that this approach ran the risk of amassing far too much material.

2. Final selection of literature

Once the initial article search was complete, I reduced the large quantity of data to a more manageable and meaningful collection. All articles that directly addressed NGO effectiveness were retained. The remaining articles and books (or the excerpts from some chapters) were considered more appropriate to the understanding of the context of NGO operations. I did not want to overburden the task with "too much context" as there was much duplication and overlap in this component of the collection. I eliminated the duplication by retaining works that were either produced by an author with a well-established reputation in development circles, or retaining a work with a unique perspective. For example, these would be authors who are frequently quoted by others in development literature (e.g. W. F. Fisher). I also attempted to retain as many articles/books that represented contrasting or opposing viewpoints. In this regard, I was successful in locating works by authors found on both sides of probably the most significant divide in NGO studies -- whether development NGOs should be more involved in work that assists in the creation of civil societies or whether they should remain focused on the "development nuts and bolts" of directly improving people's quality of life.

The heart of the methodology involved the use of an *interrogation* protocol (see Appendix B) created by taking issues raised by each author and recasting these issues as questions. The issues were identified by applying the following questions, "What does this author have to say regarding NGO effectiveness?" "What issues are raised by the author that concern NGO effectiveness?" and "Does this issue, identified by the author, have the potential to improve our understanding of NGO effectiveness?"

As I completed the initial reading of each article, more questions were added to the protocol. As a consequence, the protocol grew in a somewhat haphazard fashion. For the protocol to be useful in analyzing the articles, it had to be organized, yet to initially organize too tightly would run the risk of either continually having to restructure it each time a new topic was unearthed, or more significantly, try to force new material into the existing protocol. If I pre-judged the material and created an organisational structure too early in the process, I ran the risk excluding information that did not fit the structure or included too much data in areas where the fit was ideal. The structure had to reflect what I was discovering through the review as it progressed and it had to be capable of growing to accommodate new categories and new issues. I decided to identify the issues according to category as the article review progressed and solve the organisation problem at the conclusion of the process. This process fulfilled the iterative requirements of text/context and meaning which are reflected in hermeneutics, discourse analysis and interpretation texts.

3. Build initial protocol.

My initial literature review had provided me with a sufficient understanding of the scope of the issues surrounding NGO effectiveness to suggest an initial structure and set of questions for the protocol. The first version of the protocol was created from this set. Originally I had intended to produce the protocol as my analysis developed but I was concerned that it would lack sufficient structure and become disorganized. Eventually I settled on a three-step process. First, the original structure was created from information drawn from the original literature review with no specific reference to any article or passage. The second step verified the structure and initial content of the protocol through the review of ten randomly chosen articles. The final step involved applying the protocol to the remaining articles.[1]

4. Random selection of ten articles

The initial group of ten randomly chosen articles was reviewed with the intent to verify and improve upon the initial structure of the *interrogative* protocol. These articles were not selected with

[1] In the 'production' model, this step would be described as "review the articles and build the protocol".

any criteria in mind as that would tend to distort how the *interrogation* protocol was initially developed.

5. Refine Protocol using articles

The list of sections and questions grew as material was reviewed until a sufficient mass existed to verify initial organisational choices. The review and incorporation of these ten articles was essential for creating a structure for the rest of the data collection. The structure, which emerged from this review, was then applied to the remaining works. When the initial review was completed, seventeen categories on NGO effectiveness were established.

6. Determine method for articles only

It became apparent that I could not utilize this methodology for the review of books when using broad, open questions. It had the potential of generating hundreds if not thousands of data items for each book. To apply general questions to books and other long works would result in hundreds, perhaps thousands of responses, therefore, the application of general questions on NGO effectiveness could only be applied to journal articles and other shorter works.. This methodology could be used to analyze longer works only if the research questions were made very specific. As a consequence, I decided to proceed with the analysis using only the journal articles as the data source. I also included a few book reviews that had identified significant positions or issues from the original work.

7. Finalise Protocol categories

The function of the protocol was to identify all of the issues raised by the material that contributed to the understanding of "NGO effectiveness." Each issue was recast as a question and placed under the appropriate category. As a new thematic area was encountered in the material, the appropriate category was inserted into the protocol. The final version of the protocol included the following categories representing key thematic areas for NGO effectiveness:

1. NGO Mission and Objectives
2. Origins and History of Operations
3. Program Objectives
4. Program Outcomes and Evaluation
5. Funding and Accountability
6. Development Theory
7. Dominant Epistemology
    a. Participation and Participatory Action Research (PAR)
    b. Co-operative Inquiry
    c. Action Science and Inquiry
    d. Internally Reflexive
    e. Centrist-Authoritarian
    f. Anti-System Movement
    g. Proselytizing
    h. Profit Based
8. Power Relationships
9. Development Discourse
10. Political Ideology
11. Alliances, Allies, Networks, and Partners
12. Leadership
13. General Management Methods
14. Project Management Methods
15. Globalization and Neo-liberal policies and Their Effects
16. Use of Development and Professional Services
17. Bureaucratic Influences

(See Appendix C for an elaboration of the questions that reflect these criteria.)

As each article was reviewed, the number of categories and the number of issues grew. As each issue was discovered, I attempted to fit it into the existing protocol. If there was not a good fit, a new question and/or category was created. Each issue was entered into the protocol in the form of a numbered question. For example,

> *7.1.14 Is participation being used as a development "feel good" tactic that obscures a lack of progress in the material well being of the communities in need?*

Each category, question and sub-question was assigned a number. In this example, category seven, question one, sub-question fourteen would be assigned the number 7.1.14. However, the randomly selected batch of ten articles was not coded with these numbers during the initial process in the event I was forced to change the organisation of the categories due to oversight or some other error.

8. Code original ten articles

Once the *interrogative* protocol had reached a critical mass where most of the categories had been identified and had at least some questions assigned, the original ten articles were reviewed again and coded. Each of the previously highlighted themes or issues in the articles was assigned the number of its associated category and question in the protocol.

9. Review & code the articles.

From that point forward, the remainder of the material in my possession was reviewed in the same fashion. As the review progressed, new questions were added to the protocol without disrupting the numbering sequence imposed by the categories (which would have necessitating a re-coding of all of the previously coded articles). [2]

10. Enter articles in the database

Once an article was coded with its question numbers, the citation for it, along with the question numbers were entered into a Microsoft Excel (version Office 2000 Suite) database (Appendix D). On completion, the database (now numbering 757 entries) was re-sorted to array the article codes by category + question + sub-question. With the database thus sorted, it was possible to ascertain what all authors had to contribute about any given issue. This ordering of the database provided the data source for each question and formed the heart of the analysis.

11. Reorganise Protocol

With the protocol complete, the redundancies and the overlaps had grown to become a considerable problem. As anticipated it was virtually unusable in its current form. The protocol had to be reorganized and reduced to eliminate the problem areas without any significant loss of information. In the first step of reorganizing the protocol, a second Excel spreadsheet was created by transferring the seventeen categories and 343

[2] In the 'production' model, this step would be described as "code the articles."

questions from the original Microsoft Word document into Excel (Appendix E). This reorganization operation ran the opposing risks of either reducing the protocol to the point that it suffered a significant loss of data or not reducing it enough and having it still too large to be easily used. In the end, I opted to steer toward the latter, as I believed it was more important to err on the side of having too much data rather than too little. It was a decision that ended up considerably lengthening the time taken and the number of steps required to complete the work.

12. Author contribution determined

The spreadsheet permitted me to count the number of total responses to each question and the number of authors that contributed information to the question. The number of responses and the number of authors responding in each category/question provided an indication of the relative importance of each category/question based on the simple premise that the more important the issues would receive greater attention from the authors.

13. Final reduction of protocol

In the process of reorganizing, I had to create a new structure that would still recognize and respond to the emphasis supplied by the authors in the original protocol. Those categories and questions with the highest numbers were considered the most important. Those with the lowest numbers were rolled up and incorporated into other category/questions that were considered to be the best fit for them. This approach allowed me to eliminate a large number of questions without sacrificing important data. As an example, the entire sub-category structure under "Participation" was eliminated as most of the sub-categories had only a handful of questions and responses that could easily be incorporated under a single category. This process of eliminating redundancies, overlaps, and minimal response questions, was performed through a series of iterations in the Excel database. These amendments were incorporated by creating copies of the initial worksheet in additional worksheets and making a single type of change to each copy. As the changes were completed at each step, the finished product was copied into a new worksheet in preparation for the next step. These worksheets were named and used sequentially, as described below: (Appendix E)

- **Original Coding List –** The Word document containing the original protocol was replicated in a spreadsheet format and then sorted by the original codes. It provided the master copy for the rest of the worksheets.

- **Delete Selected & Quantity** - This step provided me with the previously mentioned counts and indications of the appropriate emphasis for each category/question, thereby identifying low response questions that could be rolled up into similar, higher response questions. It also identified any question that had received no responses and could safely be deleted without loss of data. For example, question no. 1.2 "What is the stated mission of the NGO?" received no response from the articles and was identified for deletion.

- **Blank Records Deleted** – All of the previously mentioned no response questions were deleted (these were questions created from the initial literature review that had not been specific to any article or passage) and the low response questions were grouped. This had the additional benefit of identifying categories with overall low responses that were candidates for rolling up into larger response ones. For example, Question no. 1.2 was deleted from the list along with all of the others so marked and the questions that received only one response were highlighted in red for later consolidation.

- **Redundancies Eliminated** – The entire database was scanned iteratively seventeen times, once for each category, to identify and group together questions that were very similar or that contained overlaps. These questions were then identified as candidates for replacement by a single question. For example, Question no. 1.4

"Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard to measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?" was considered essentially the same as question no. 3.2 "Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the community, or intangible ones?" so the two were marked for consolidation.

- **Combined & New Codes –** This worksheet was used to complete the new groupings and categories that had emerged from the previous exercise. At this point, the number of categories had been reduced from the original seventeen, to thirteen. For example, the previously mentioned questions 1.4 and 3.2 were re-coded to 2.1.

- **Author Counts Added –** This worksheet was used to create new counts of responses and authors to ensure that the original emphasis was retained and also to incorporate the counts within the new coding schema. Now that the questions had been consolidated, the number of responses and the number of authors represented, were tallied. As an example, question no. 2.1 now represented twelve authors and 53 responses.

- **Final Reconciliation -** It was obvious from the previous worksheet that some further reduction in categories could be safely performed without any significant loss of information. Consequently, they were reorganized by incorporating the lowest used categories into other categories with the best fit. This reduced the number of categories to the final ten incorporating 57 questions. However, the new coding schema was not changed; the codes for the eliminated categories were simply dropped from new schema. The counts were adjusted accordingly.

14. Re-code database

Once this process was completed, the resulting new coding schema was implemented on the main Excel database. This database had to be reorganized according to the new codes so that all of the records of the articles would be regrouped under the new schema. Four worksheets were produced to accomplish this (Appendix D).

- **Original database –** the original database created by entering all of the codes for all of the responses discovered, sorted by article. The database in its final form contained the references, 757 responses to the original 343 questions.

- **Level Sort –** Sorting the database by "level" (i.e. by category, sub-category, and question). This database provided the information for the previously mentioned counts and grouped the articles by question.

- **New Codes Added** – With the database sorted by code, the new replacement codes that corresponded to the old, were added under new columns.

- **New Codes Sorted** – A new sort was performed to regroup the articles according to the new codes.

15. Select passages for the analysis

With the database now sorted by the new codes, it was possible to locate all of the passages in the appropriate articles for any given question in the protocol. This was the critical juncture in the thesis analysis for the ten categories and 57 questions formed the heart of what constituted "NGO Effectiveness." A final consolidation was performed when I determined that even with the reduction of the protocol to 57 questions, a 300 to 400 page paper would result if all were answered comprehensively. To reduce the analysis to a more manageable size, some of the questions were grouped according to common themes and they were then addressed according to that single theme.

16. Produce interpretation & framework

The categories and questions were inserted into the main body of the thesis and the questions were answered and analysed by incorporating the most appropriate and/or descriptive passages from the various authors, using the database to locate the references. The comparative framework was then produced from the results of this analysis.

Chapter 5

Analysis:

The following analysis is divided up into ten sections representing the final ten subject areas of the *interrogation* protocol, each with its respective selection of questions identified in italicized print. At the end of each question, in parenthesis, is the author count and question count, giving some sense of the relative importance of the question based on the number of authors that have commented on the issue and the numbers of comments generated by the question. For example, the notation for author/question response to question no. 8.1 looks like **(A9, Q13);** in this case nine authors contributed thirteen comments to this question on alliances, partnerships, and relationships. The author counts only apply to the authors of the 30 articles used in the analysis. Authors quoted within passages are not included in the counts. The final version of the *interrogation* protocol has been reproduced in Appendix F.

Specific quotations that were identified and coded during the initial analysis were selected as responses to the questions from the material. There are a total of 757 quotations identified and coded in the database. Obviously they all could not be included in this thesis. However, those that I considered either representative or containing noteworthy information were reproduced (single spaced in reduced font size for easy identification) followed by my analysis of the particular quotation and its relevance and contribution to the question. This quote by quote analysis forms the basis of the comparative framework that follows this section. During this selection process, it became apparent early on that a small number of authors were predominating. At this point, I had the choice of either allowing this preponderance to stand or try to apply some form of 'quota' that would ensure more or less equal representation from all authors. I decided to allow the results to stand as is; to do otherwise would distort the results of the analysis and the interpretation. If some authors had more useful contributions than others, that was reflected in the analysis. In some cases, only a few authors contributed to a question. This raises an issue over the reliability of such questions. However, I considered it in the same manner as the previous issue – to let the results stand as they were rather than alter the process to deal with it. I believed that to alter the process so as to raise the counts for questions that I considered important would result in the imposition of my biases onto the process. The fact that important questions may have received only limited attention from the authors, is in of itself a significant commentary.

In this analysis chapter, I have generated 57 pertinent questions and statements that reflect what my systematic review of the literature posits on the advancement of (or resistance to) NGO effectiveness. Each is in bold italics (e.g. See 1.1 following). Taken in their totality, they comprise what I suggest is a conceptual understanding of NGO effectiveness. This conceptual understanding is summarized in the conclusion (see chapter 6, p. 130 to 140).

1 Mission, Vision, Objectives, Program

Each NGO will have established, formally or informally, its mission, vision, objectives, and program objectives. I am defining 'mission' as the purpose for which the NGO has been created and exists. 'Vision' can be defined as its direction for the future, 'objectives' are the specific goals the NGO has assigned to its work, and 'program objectives' are the specific goals given to individual projects or programs.

1.1 Every development NGO, has as essential elements, a mission, vision, objectives, and program; however the influence of these four elements can vary widely amongst NGOs in their contribution to effectiveness. We must gain an understanding of why and how these elements are critical to NGO effectiveness. (A-4, Q-5)[1]

Starting from its essential ideology, each NGO formulates a mission, vision, general objectives and program objectives. The degree to which this is formalized varies from NGO to NGO. However, it is probably a safe assumption

[1] The notation (A-4, Q-5) at the end of each question/statement, indicates the number of authors (A) and the number of questions/statements/issues (Q), drawing from these authors, that contributed to its creation.

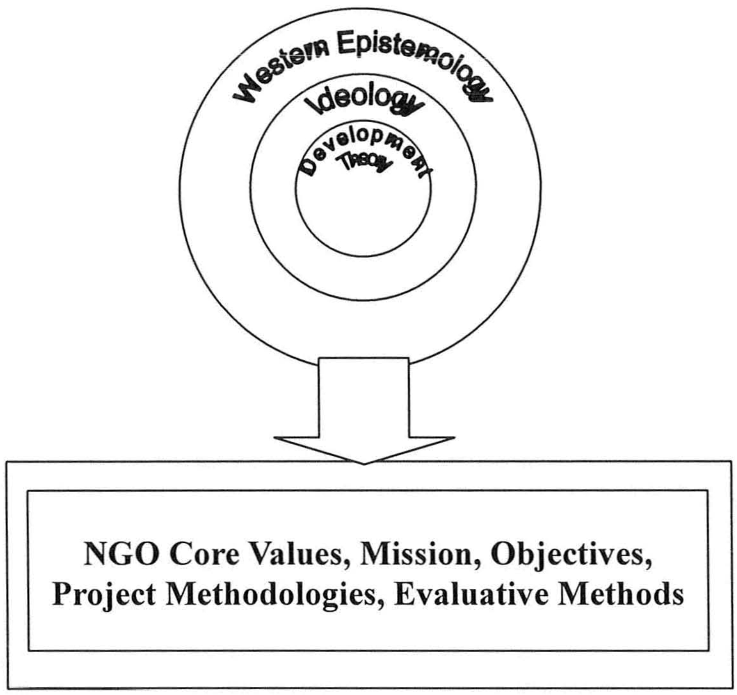
that even with NGOs that have not formalized these aspects will nevertheless have them implied through their discourse and actions. Obviously, objectives are a good thing but can they be too much of a good thing? Having no objectives and working toward no goals is a recipe for ineffectiveness at the very least and chaos at the most. Objectives that are too tightly confined can result in a form of bureaucratic ossification.

Formalized objective setting exercises -- within the confines of NGO or donor bureaucracies -- seem to preclude any participation by the local community in the decision making exercise. In this context, objective setting exercises are an expression of organisational power; therefore, we cannot view this process lightly. Furthermore, should not the organisational mission and vision of the NGO also reflect the needs of those it serves within the objective setting process? Later in this section I explore this tension between hierarchical objective setting processes and participatory methods.

With regard to northern development NGOs, I have situated the mission, vision, and objective setting processes hierarchically in relationship to Western epistemology, ideology, and development theory given that few if any of these NGOs emerge from within the context and realities of those they serve.

Examining the processes of NGO creation and formation enables us to see the manner in which epistemology, ideology, and theory inform the ideas that underlie mission, vision, and objectives.

The Underpinnings of NGO Behaviour



Unfortunately, this aspect of NGOs normally only ever is examined in hindsight (if it is ever examined at all) so we can only infer about this process. It is reasonable to assume, however, that individuals coming together to create an NGO will initially establish the NGO mission, vision, and objectives based on their understanding of the communities they wish to serve as developed from their experiences, knowledge, education, ideology, and culture. In essence, they might create an organisation that mirrors their understanding of what needs to be done and what they believe they are capable of doing. It is difficult to conceive of an NGO being framed contrary to this understanding. One would not create an organisation to do something one does not believe needs doing and/or is obviously beyond its capabilities. In this sense, the NGO mission, vision, and objectives outwardly reflect the epistemology, ideology and the understandings of development theory of its founders.

Once these aspects of the NGO have been constituted, the next question becomes one of appropriateness. Is the NGO oriented to doing what needs to be done? How does it ensure this? Essentially, every NGO must have a means of not only ensuring that its mission, vision, and objectives remain relevant and appropriate, but it also must have the means to challenge the epistemologies, ideologies and theories that underlie them. This statement is at the heart of my argument, at the heart of what constitutes an "effective" NGO. An effective NGO must be prepared, not only to question all aspects of its operations, but it also must share with those it serves, and it must open the window to its organisational soul. It cannot have any 'sacred cows' that are not open to challenge. I am not suggesting that the NGO should engage in some form of ideological purge and create an entity free of ideological influences. Rather, the NGO should be cognizant of how ideology affects their operations, and then be prepared to evaluate the effects.

1.2 The epistemology, ideology and development theories of the NGO have to be identified and the influence of these elements upon the vision, mission, and objectives of the NGO explored. We must understand how these elements work to influence, positively and negatively, the effectiveness of NGOs. (A-8, Q-48)

At the 'mission' level, an NGO has choices – either to work within the existing development paradigms or to seek to create new ones. Existing paradigms would see the development exercise in terms of the prevention of AIDS, building schools, or digging wells, while the alternate forms can perhaps be placed under the all-encompassing term of "building civil society." This all-encompassing term can cover the transformational efforts of NGOs working toward gender equality to the anti-development forces found on the streets of Seattle. Mission statements, by their nature, tend to be very broad, very positive – sometimes to the point of being meaningless platitudes. The actual mission of any given development NGO will be more specific and limited in scope and capability. Those limitations should be inherent in any expressed mission statement for the mission of the NGO is not a trite, much ignored, dust covered, mission statement nailed up on the office wall, rather it encapsulates the purpose for which the NGO was founded and is now currently engaged.

> ***1.3 The objectives and program of an NGO may produce both tangible and intangible benefits for a given community. Often there is a tension between seeking long term, less tangible benefits as opposed to more practical, tangible and immediate ones. There are legitimate questions regarding the role development NGOs should be filling; questions that are often expressed in this intangible – tangible benefits argument. (A-6, Q-18)***

This is probably one of the most contentious issues concerning northern NGO operations. Should the NGO be concerned with "goats and water" or in the wider socio-political issues of social justice -- building roads or civic consciousness? Is there really a divergence between these two issues or can both be achieved? The systematically reviewed data ranged across this spectrum with no definitive answer emerging; both sides made compelling cases. However, if we look at the core issues of development – making a difference in the material well being of the local populace – then inevitably we must lean toward the former rather than the latter. It does appear possible to work toward both concrete goals and laying the foundation for the less tangible, long term ones. Costa et al illustrates this point:

> We found NGOs to be most constructive when they limited their objectives and pursued pragmatic short-term goals. Less successful NGOs had mainly idealistic, long-range goals, such as raising civic consciousness, which they saw as key to changing the political system. The most effective NGOs usually shared such idealistic long-range goals, but they were also practical and work-oriented. They focused on capacity-building and finding financial support, including foreign funding, to develop their own projects. These focused NGOs adopted the view that ideology emerges from practice. Working on productive projects, they aimed for a parallel or eventual creation of collective consciousness and citizenship. (Costa et al 1997: 141)

Craig and Porter argue that these different goals are actually mutually dependent, that the less tangible goals are implicit in the performance of the concrete objectives, which are described by them as *project goals* and *specific objectives* respectively.

> Development projects are designed in terms of a number of conventional rationalities. These are *performative*, in that they define ideals, goals, fields, and mechanisms of project activities. These rationalities generally are of two different but mutually dependent kinds. The first are *project goals*, which reflect implicit values such as empowerment or growth, or improvement in, the specific objectives and inputs of projects, these ideals are timeless and highly moral. 'Improved standards of living and peace and order' reads the goal statement of one project, typical of many. The second kind of rationality is the *specific objectives* of the project. These are generally observable, objectively defined ends which are realised by the specific mechanisms of the project. (authors' italics) (Craig and Porter 1997: 231)

Craig and Porter use the terms *project goals* and *specific objectives* whereas I have termed them *NGO objectives* and *program objectives* respectively, utilizing the same meanings. We can find a relationship between their comments and my diagrammed hierarchy (see page 39), as their specific *objectives* are an expression of the *project goals* that in turn are driven by the ideals expressed in the mission and vision of the NGO. The ideals expressed in the mission and vision are in turn informed by the development theories, ideology, and epistemology of the NGO's founders and management.

Despite high sounding mission and objectives, NGOs can utilize them to conceal as much as they reveal. In discussing the fable of the Emperor's New Clothes, Hintjens (1999) uses the story as an allegory for development objectives, using the artifice present in the discourse between the tailors and the emperor to illustrate the deliberate vagueness of development objectives.

> The vagueness of their description [speaking of the tailors] compares with the vagueness of many of the qualitative objectives of the current social development orthodoxy, and resembles the inflated promises and expectations placed on many forms of socio-political conditionality (Hintjens 1999: 388).

A sampling of development NGO websites can reveal mission statements that resemble the point made by Hintjens. It leaves the skeptical reader with serious doubts as to how such a small NGO with such limited capabilities can possibly perform what they have set out for themselves. Within these "inflated promises" are perhaps contained the distorting effects of large, bureaucratic, official donors that demand adherence to certain bureaucratically formulated principles as a price for their continued support.

Where some of those quoted in this section stress the need for the "goats and water" aspects of development, de Senillosa sees the value in the direct action taken in the building of a civil society. He views this work as a politically dynamic partnership between Northern and Southern NGO allies that transforms the politics of aid. He suggests that northern NGO development objectives should contain the elements of collaboration, awareness building, and lobbying as described below.

> - collaboration with Southern NDGO allies provides their Northern counterparts with first-hand information and analysis of the political, economic, cultural, and social situation in those countries;
>
> - awareness raising activities both draw on and adapt this flow of information (opinions, concerns, struggles, readings of the international situation) and make accessible to their various target groups; and
>
> - lobbying activities based on seeing the repercussions of decisions taken in the North on the people who live in the South demand an attitude of solidarity, and condemnation of the stubborn defence of the privileges enjoyed by Northern interest groups. And while Northern NGDOs are putting pressure on their governments to spend their aid budgets effectively (through, for instance, the work done since 1972 on the 0.7 per cent of GNP platform), Southern NGDOs should be enabled to demand from their own governments that this aid be used to benefit those most in need. (de Senillosa 1998: 47-48)

His argument broadens the 'objectives' question as he offers a different view as to what Northern development NGO objectives should actually be –

"goats and water" or political activism. Hintjens questions this viewpoint as she argues those efforts spent on political activism do not contribute materially to the improvement of peoples' lives. The counterpoint argues that political activism must achieve its objectives before the material improvement can occur. Hintjens explains her argument as follows:

> Aid programmes are progressively more concerned with achieving intangible goals, which are gradually coming to override earlier concerns with 'goats and water' (as a development professional put it dismissively in a recent e-mail about one central African country). Yet ostensibly the main goal of development interventions has always been to improve people's daily lives in material terms. If this is no longer the aim, then it is difficult to see what such intervention is all about. Many projects are becoming increasingly abstract in their objectives, and include such goals as social transformation or capacity-building which are difficult to verify objectively (Hintjens 1999: 385).

Reading between the lines in Hintjens passage, I see a concern over the bureaucratization of the development act. Noble sounding intangible goals can be the mainstay of bureaucratization as success or failure can only be determined over very long time frames. The very act of making such determinations can be highly politicized and easily distorted to support the aims of the bureaucracy. These objectives can become the epitome of bureaucratic sustainability, ensuring its survival for the proverbial seven generations.

Tangible, measurable goals, as described by Craig and Porter, are readily evaluated after the work has been completed. If the goals are set only in very general or intangible terms, then a case can be made for compliance despite a less than desirable outcome. It can be argued that these types of measurable goals only solve short-term problems as attention is paid only to those aspects of the objectives that are subject to measurement. However, it is possible to craft these measurable goals with long-term, less tangible ones in mind. The achievement of each short-term, tangible goal becomes, in effect, one of many bricks that build the edifice called civil society.

1.4 Project objectives can be developed in a top-down fashion so that an NGO begins its work with a community with all objectives predefined. A more participatory approach would involve the community in the development of these objectives. (A-4, Q-17)

For a project to be considered fully participatory, the approach must be used in the objective setting exercise. However, objective setting within the context of technical planning and management tools has increasingly become the purview of development professionals, far removed from the objects of their attention. There are obvious incentives for NGOs to keep the objective setting process as an in-house activity. They are able to, not only to control the nature of the project, but also to maintain the objectives consistent with their core values and ideology; additionally, they can control the evaluation process. Opening up the objective setting process to genuine participation exposes the NGO to risks as the local community may take the project down a path upon which the NGO does not care to tread.

> The key point is that, while all projects require the combination of ideals and concrete objectives, the ability of local people to express their own desires and needs in these terms is often limited. (Craig and Porter 1997: 231)

> But to see the framing process, it is necessary to be more deliberately involved in two things: the *creation of space* and *enablement.* [author's italics] The first involves the ethical and political act of creating space to allow the subjects of development to make their own representations and projections... Enablement involves a determination to facilitate other people's access to the framing tools of our development; the language, the institutional acumen, the planning technologies. (ibid: 235-236)

This passage by Craig and Porter reflects on NGOs providing the local community with insufficient access to the objective setting process. The NGOs may not necessarily be deliberately restricting this access, but may simply be responding to pressures from large, institutional donors to conform to their requirements. In addition, the planning exercise is becoming increasingly technical (e.g. the use of planning tools such as Logical Framework Analysis) and local communities may not possess the necessary skills to permit them to become part of the process.

1.5 The exigencies of the community may be at odds with the objectives of the project once the NGO begins the implementation phase. How should this issue be resolved? (A-2, Q-3)

> As it happens, of course, in the less than ideal world of everyday project reality, the local participants rarely engage with our ideals and objectives in quite the way we intended. They do not fully disengage from their own ideals and dreams, but bring them along on the project journey, and try to realise them within the confined space of the project. In terms of the space, time, and categories allocated to them by the project, they become 'deviant'; or, by various means of foot-dragging and flight, they resist. As development workers, we are poorly equipped to deal with this reality in a positive way, one that can grasp the significance of the richly diverse means by which the local people try to capitalise on the opportunities the project might provide (Craig and Porter 1997: 235).

We can imagine that this can become quite frustrating for the development worker. In a participatory project that had included the local community in the objective setting exercise, it must come as a surprise to the NGO workers when the local community resists its implementation in any number of subtle or overt ways. Even when the project objectives seem to enjoy consensus, its framers must be cognizant that the community represents a heterogeneous mix of interests. Genuine consensus may be rare.

> To argue for the identification of interests is not to argue for an ideal or perfect consensus, where none exists. Indeed, the identification of interests is needed to develop an understanding of a blocking or controlling interest -- which could well include the donor -- that would need to be confronted. In the framework plan matrix, the column or measurable output may be a donor's controlling device, for example, which means "I will only fund this project if it has these predetermined outcomes." (Wield 1999: 40).

Undoubtedly there will be those who feel compelled to acquiesce to the will of the majority or the most influential. One can imagine that in a patriarchal culture, women may not really have a voice though the NGO may have taken pains to include them. They may feel too intimidated to give voice to their dreams. In other cases, village elites may stand to profit if the project includes certain elements, profits the remainder of the village may not share. These patterns of resistance would stand as testimony to the NGO's lack of understanding and appreciation of the political, social, and economic nuances of local life. However, to suggest that the NGO embark on a detailed ethnographic study before engaging in the project, would probably be a sufficient burden for the project not to commence. Therein lies the conundrum. To take the time and spend the money to understand the community would probably exhaust the resources of the NGO and the patience of the donor. To fail to do so risks project failure.

> The tension is always there, a reflection of the conflicting images of what projects are. The tension can be described simply, simplistically, as that between blueprint and process. The term blueprint comes from engineering images of detailed drawings showing exact product specifications, suggesting 'that the projects need to be systematically and carefully planned in advance, and implemented according to the defined plan' (Cusworth and Franks 1998: 8) – perfect imagery for both state-led and scientific management approaches, but not for the idea of multi-agent, process-based approaches (Wield 1999: 35).

The model I envisage for an effective NGO contains within it, a potential solution to this conundrum. An **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** (refer to page 69 for a full explanation of this term) would engage in the participatory objective setting process, fully aware that it is unskilled in local life and may very well not be receiving the inputs it needs to frame adequate objectives. If it assumes in the beginning that its objectives could be flawed in some way, that local participation could be flawed, and that resistance can later emerge, it would engage in the project with its "antennae up". The NGO would remain vigilant for signs of unhappiness and be prepared to meet with the disaffected to determine the source of their complaint. Once engaged in such a process, it may well find itself in the ethical dilemma of the 'greater good' as those inconvenienced by the project will have to live with the consequences. The NGO will have to face the prospect that future resistance may emerge that will undo the benefits of the project. The community and the NGO should be prepared to implement compensating strategies to ameliorate this potential outcome.

1.6 All NGO development projects will be subject to external influences, pressures and restraints from major donors, international agencies, and governments that will impact their project objectives. How does the NGO cope with these influences? (A-1, Q-2)

1.7 Some development NGOs use sophisticated planning methodologies and tools to aid in the development of program objectives. Do these tools produce superior objectives or are they likely to impose objectives on the community? (A-3, Q-18)

Both these questions reflect different elements of essentially the same issue, namely that external influences will produce objectives perhaps unsuited to the actual requirements and wishes of the community.

> Applied anthropologists, who tend to focus on the dynamics of specific interventions, should not ignore the role of external structures in setting the parameters for individual projects (Gezon 1997: 46).
>
> Project objectives and goals are supposed to travel down the length of this chain of organisations, and be reproduced intact within the target population. However, at each point on this chain, the project is filtered and re-framed to fit the objectives and categories of the organisation at that level. Local difference thus gets reduced to simple categories and objectives, often, so it appears, more for the primary benefit of the framing organisation than for the purposes of supporting local initiative and participation (Craig and Porter 1997: 234).
>
> A range of ritual, documentary techniques is now available to create the impression of order, and to provide confidence as the project moves from pre-feasibility studies to project design, implementation, and evaluation phases. Initially, conventional development objectives must be abstracted from the morass of local culture and community. Because these will be the basis of subsequent scrutiny of the project by others, they need to be framed as solidly as possible, providing the indicators of time (by when things will be achieved), space (where, geographically and institutionally), responsibility (by whom and with what chains of accountability upwards to the funding agency), and quantities of inputs, mentioned above, all well ahead of schedule, and often with little resort to a close knowledge of field conditions (Craig and Porter 1997: 233).
>
> Additionally, bureaucracies are made up of factions that represent many different and opposing interests. Disaggregating the conservation and development apparatus reveals multiple loyalties, competing objectives, and even internal jealousies. Local level offices may attune themselves more to the exigencies of working together with the local people, whereas national offices of international aid organisations may orient themselves towards accountability to donor agencies (Gezon 1997: 468).

Essentially, objectives are not likely to serve the best interests of the local community if they are conceived remote from the local context, devoid of participation, and formed in an organisation that is not only geographically distant, but also culturally, economically, socially, and politically as well. Separated, as such from the local, the formation of these objectives is open to pressures from internal and external forces while the fiction is maintained that these objectives are in the best interest of the local community. In Appendix A, I have elaborated on aspects of my work experience that have mirrored this issue.

As the objectives are passed down the organisational structure or from organisation to organisation, each level applies its own interpretation based on its beliefs and best interests. Once these objectives reach the local community in their final product as a project, there is little room left for the interests of that community.

> In seeking to achieve greater levels of participation, the various parties must recognize and become familiar with each other's bureaucratic [and] sociocultural contexts. Studies of the differences in business interactive styles, for example, have proven useful for creating an atmosphere conducive to cooperation and mutual understanding between Japanese and American business executives (Pfeiffer 1990; Maloney 1990) quoted in (Gezon 1997: 468).

I am interpreting this passage from Pfeiffer and Maloney in Gezon slightly differently, as support for my HOFD analysis (Appendix A), in that each level in the organisation will all have their own "bureaucratic and sociocultural contexts" as well as different organisations cooperating in the same project. This process of 'multi-level interests' applying their agendas upon the objective setting process has obvious implications for NGO effectiveness.

> So, account must be taken of the breadth of impact of a project, of the relationship between projects and ongoing activities, and of the development processes of which it is part. Projects take place in a sea of linked activities that involve multiple agencies 'an aggregate of organisations which are responsible for a definable area of institutional life' (Anheier 1990), where 'the objectives of individual organisations involved in the project do not necessarily add up to, and coincide with those of the project or the target group' and where issues are 'complex, ill-structured, interdependent and multi-sectoral' (Wield 1999: 35-36).

In such a complex web of competing and complementary interests as Wield and Anheier describe, it is apparent that the development industry in general and NGOs in particular will have to improve upon this process. This goes to the heart of NGO effectiveness for it is essential to ensure that program objectives meet the needs of the "target group". If the program objectives have been influenced toward other competing interests, one can expect that the program will not likely meet the needs of the "target group".

> In the aid business, form often substitutes for substance. In the case of the LFA[2], the victory of form over substance can be 'the filling in of the matrix' or it can be the tyranny of the manipulated 'participation'. One practitioner had this to say about one particular participatory tool, participatory rural appraisal (PRA): 'PRA leads to genuine participation and ownership. One of the problems . . . is that agency staff or consultants are not properly trained and in fact start creating short cuts in the methodology. Hence the "quick and dirty" type PRA work that is now very common (Wield 1999: 39).

What Wield is describing here seems to be a very common and widespread problem. Any well intended process, no matter how well crafted, will be distorted for the benefit of the bureaucracy that employs it. We have the concept of the 'Iron Rule of Oligarchy' to describe the process by which

---

[2] LFA - Logical framework Analysis is an NGO project planning tool typically used in a centralized management context.

organisations transition for democratic to oligarchic rule. We need a similar concept to describe the mechanisms by which processes are distorted – perhaps 'The Iron Rule of Co-opted Process'. Applying this concept to the objective setting process, it is clear that it will be distorted as well. The effective NGO must not only ensure that its objective setting processes are relevant to the needs of the local community it serves, but it also must ensure that these processes do not become co-opted, corrupted, and self-serving.

2 Program Evaluation

Any NGO receiving significant amounts of its funds from government agencies, official, or institutional donors will likely have to fulfill some requirement for evaluation as the funding agency has a responsibility to ensure that the taxpayer/source donor is receiving value for monies spent. However, will that result in an evaluative approach that merely fills bureaucratic requirements? The agency will have legitimate evaluation needs, but how does the NGO ensure that the evaluation process meets the needs of the multiple actors involved in the development process, not the least of which is the local community? Major donors, governments, NGOs, NGO alliances, individual NGO staff members, academia, Grass Roots Organisations (GROs), and the local community, all stand to gain from well-conducted program evaluation. Yet these groups will have different requirements to meet for the evaluation, while most likely, the time and resources will not be available to do the complete task.

2.1 At the heart of this project lies the question, "Has the NGO made a material difference in the lives of those it purports to assist?" It is difficult to know with any reasonable

degree of certainty the answer to this question without some form of post-project evaluation. Does the NGO conduct any form of rigorous evaluation of the results of a program and how does it go about it? (A-6, Q-13)

What constitutes a material difference? This question has to be answered before assessing results, as any project can be considered a success simply by redefining the criteria. Costa et. al. (1997) provide some examples of what they consider a successful participatory project would look like. "Evidence of success would include enhanced participation, greater civic consciousness, group sustainability, increased production, poverty reduction, and better diets and incomes" (Costa et. al. 1997: 144). Out of this list, perhaps the most obvious omissions are in the areas of social justice, specifically, gender equality/empowerment, political empowerment, and health (diets excepted). Improved access to services is inherent in these facets, with the ability of a pregnant woman to receive both pre- and post-natal care being one example. This is not to suggest that all projects must address all issues. Most NGOs will only have the capacity to address a few, or perhaps only one, but no matter what the area of concern is the community and individuals involved should be able to perceive an improvement. In all likelihood, the benefits of a well-conducted project will spread beyond its original objectives.

Costa et. al. (1997) in their evaluation of projects in the Northeast Brazil Development Program, used a form of pre-post testing utilizing the same questionnaire. "During our follow-up study, aiming to compare the time before and immediately after implementation of the program, we reinterviewed as many families of our previous sample as possible, using the same questionnaire" (Costa et. al. 1997: 144). This approach suggests that the project managers designed, controlled, and utilized the data according to their specific needs. While this is not necessarily a wrong approach, depending on the objectives and audience for the evaluation, participation can be extended to the evaluation process as well.

Gezon (1997) in her paper on an integrated conservation and development project (ICDP) in Madagascar, touched on an important aspect of the evaluative process regarding the atmosphere created by the evaluators and donors. Her suggestions required courage and trust plus transparent usage of the results of the evaluation, as there may be a natural tendency, especially from bureaucratic donors, to view evaluation criticisms defensively. The fear arises that "If we admit our mistakes, we may not get funded again."

> One of the most important factors in encouraging the success of ICDPs is in increasing the level of flexibility and autonomy that individual projects may have. Projects must be allowed to make mistakes and then to learn from them. The monitoring and evaluation process must actively encourage an atmosphere of critical self-examination where projects may analyze both what went wrong and

> what to do better next time. Project work plans must emphasize developing an effective operational process instead of focusing too closely on overly-specific interventions. Projects should be evaluated then on their ability to empower local people to become involved in innovative project activities.
>
> Donors and host governments can contribute to a positive intellectual and practical atmosphere by making it clear in both actions and words that criticism does not necessarily equal a total condemnation of an intervention or of the project as a whole (Gezon 1997: 469).

If we reconsider the issues raised in the previous section concerning objectives, we may find the same distorting effects found in the objective setting processes will also occur in the evaluation process as the same multi-level, multi-actor, multi-sector context exists for all stakeholders. It is, therefore, unlikely that the positive evaluation ideal described by Gezon would survive intact within the complex and competitive environment in which it must function. Given that the NGO will not likely have the resources to produce evaluations to meet all of these needs, it will need to choose carefully where to spend whatever evaluation resources it does possess. The donor/official agency evaluation requirements will be one obvious choice. However, the NGO will have its internal requirements and an obligation to provide evaluation information to its partners and the community. Unless the NGO is prepared to be evaluated both internally and by the community, it can be difficult to say that it has made a material difference in the lives of the members of the community. Given the difference in organisational priorities, it is doubtful that a mandatory, top-down, donor-driven evaluation will answer the question.

2.2 If the first question is, "does the NGO perform evaluations?" then the second must logically be, "what use do they make of the results of the evaluations?" (A-2, Q-6)

2.3 Should an NGO conduct evaluations? Does it extend participatory method to include an evaluation? What were the considerations for making this choice? (A-3, Q-11)

2.4 The type of evaluation methodology can have a significant impact on the results of the evaluation. What are the issues concerning these methodologies? (A-3, Q-14)

2.5 Institutional memory is essential for institutional learning. Does the NGO learn from past successes or mistakes, or does it seem to repeat old patterns? Does it share this learning? (A-6, Q-26)

These questions reflect how effectively the NGO evaluates itself. Ideally, every project would be subject to ongoing evaluations during the implementation phase, plus a number of evaluations post-project to determine short and long term results. Unfortunately, this type of detailed, critical evaluation is seldom carried out.

> Fortunately for the organisation, however, the events supposedly set in train by projects are seldom evaluated for long-term sustainability. What is sustained is the organisation, and its organizing, framing practices (Craig and Porter 1997: 235).

Looking back to the two previous sections, we see the same pattern emerging: the organisation's interests hold sway over the interests of the community it purports to serve. Evaluations are usually constructed for the purpose of convincing donors that their monies have been well spent.

> Loose ends are tidied away, and failures represented and filed (internally to the organisation) as lessons learned. Successes are trumpeted to supporters and donors in reports and promotional material, but very little is done to ensure that a close analysis of the mechanisms that led to the success is made available to other organisations (Craig and Porter 1997: 235).

Though in depth and ongoing evaluation would seem to be a practical necessity, it is doubtful that most smaller NGOs have the resources to maintain any form of long-term study. More over, if it must produce evaluations to satisfy the needs of its primary donors, these may be shaded to satisfy bureaucratic requirements.

I suspect that if one would conduct the same evaluation exercise with different actors within the scope of the project (e.g. local community, local GROs, local NGO works, NGO headquarters workers, donors, etc.), one would find that the further removed the respondent is from the community, the more divergence one would see in the results. Each level would interpret the results of the project within their context to serve their interests.

2.6 The act of choosing an evaluation methodology has within it, an element of ideology, power and politics. How do NGOs ensure that evaluative methodologies remain consistent with their core values? (A-4, Q-11)

2.7 Any evaluation intends to answer (at least partly) the question of the efficacy of the program. However, the framing of the evaluation influences what is being measured and to the extent it is measured. As in the choice of method, this too is potentially an ideologically charged component. (A-3, Q-5)

Inherent in any evaluation lies the potential that it can be designed to meet the agenda of those responsible for it. A badly conceived project can be made to look good through the careful inclusion and/or exclusion of evaluation criteria, the careful placement of the benchmarks, and by carefully selecting the source of the data. While an NGO may feel that subterfuge is justified to satisfy an official donor, it is hardly honest or useful for the internal uses of the NGO, their partners, or the community. A different approach is required -- one that includes and produces a result that is meaningful for the community.

Correspondingly, although usually a step behind, the *management* [authors italics] of development NGOs' programmes has also had to evolve, along with changing assumptions of what constitutes good performance and, therefore, good management (Padaki 2000: 421).

At the base of these assumptions are certain core convictions of what is *good* or (bad) and what is *right* (or wrong) [authors italics] about the tasks we undertake, and how we go about them. In other words, the organisational value system (Padaki 2000: 421).

- An acceptable theory of what values are (for 'there is nothing so practical as good theory').
- An acceptable methodology for observing and assessing these values.
- An empirical base to make comparative statements from the observations made (ibid: 421).

Considering that evaluation results can be distorted to benefit differing interests and requirements, Padaki (2000) offers a roadmap out of this potential quagmire by suggesting that evaluation processes remain true to the NGO's core values. His suggestions contain the hallmarks of good evaluation methodology by including the following: knowing what to measure, knowing how to measure it, and knowing how to analyze the results.

Currently, aid conditionalities are becoming more complex and vague. Objectives are no longer expressed solely in terms of numbers of vehicles, goats, classrooms, trained personnel, or kilometres of road. Appraisal, monitoring, and evaluation methods have[,] therefore[,] had to be adapted to suit the new conditionalities. Social development professionals are those thought able to assess the broadly socio-cultural and institutional outcomes of development projects and programmes (Hintjens 1999: 387).

In a relatively short time, social development has become quite a sizable sub-branch of the development business. In giving advice, social development experts will tend to conclude that there are signs of success, but that more needs to be done to make actors involved more sensitive to socio-cultural factors in the development process (Padaki 2000: 421).

While what has been suggested so far has merit, one must face the reality that not all project objectives lend themselves to easy evaluation. As Hintjens has described, many development projects have moved out of the "goats and water" mode, instead, concentrating on projects with more nebulous criteria, such as "building a civil society".

Such goals imply the need for long-term study, yet many NGOs lack the resources or the will to carry out such tasks. In addition, official donors frequently use such terms as 'participatory', 'sustainability', 'empowerment' and so forth, as part of their bureaucratic discourse, without significant regard for the realities implied by these terms. NGOs can take advantage of this by fulfilling evaluation requirements by adopting the discourse of the bureaucracy. However, that will usually guarantee an evaluation that has minimal usage for the NGO and the community.

> Wasting resources (whether time, money, or effort) does not enhance sustainability for instance, nor value for money, and does not make sense in the long run. Thus, measuring efficiency, timeliness, value for money, and so on is important. Paying attention to these aspects will hold practitioners more accountable for the resources they are using in the name of development (Meyer and Singh 1997: 63).

While I find it difficult to argue with the sentiments expressed by Meyer and Singh, these issues must be addressed. Yet they are not the only issues. A project incorporating "efficiency, timeliness, value for money" can produce a meaningful result for a community, or it may turn out to be irrelevant or perhaps even damaging. There is nothing implicit in these three criteria that measures improvement in the quality of life of the community. They are typical of donor-driven evaluations, responding to donor requirements for greater transparency and accountability. These are not necessarily bad things unless these demands are used to control a totally top-down, bureaucratically-driven development agenda.

> As for dangers, one is similar to the problem just mentioned with internally determined criteria for assessing development management when thought of in terms of tasks to be completed. What counts as being oriented towards development is relative to how the particular organisation conceives development, and a weak definition may make it relatively easy to appear to meet the criteria (Thomas 1999:16).

This passage by Thomas harks back to a previous comment -- that by simply altering the definition of success, one can turn a failure into a successful project. Weak or deliberately vague objectives do not address quality of life issues. Large, bureaucratic donors, as well as NGOs that have been co-opted by a bureaucratically driven agenda, enjoy the illusion of success, having fulfilled such objectives, while the communities they serve see little benefit.

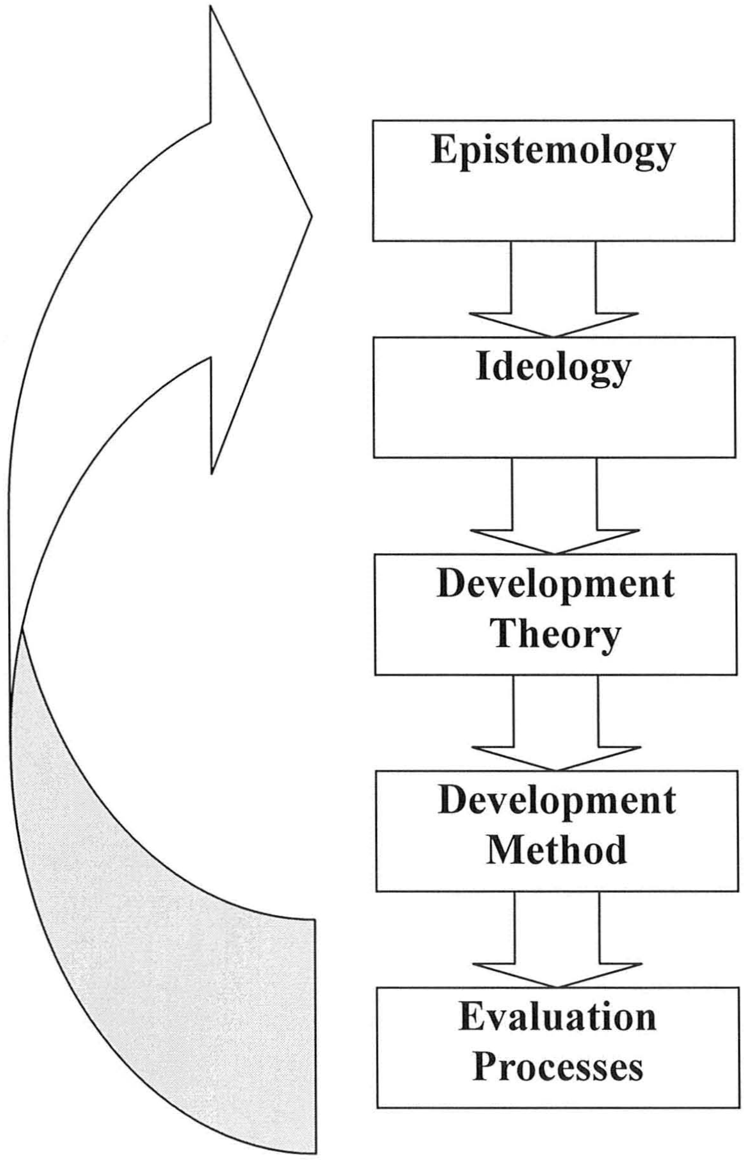
> There is a clear need for some external validation of what is done in the name of development management. At the same time, unlike the concept of profit, where arguments are mostly about how to measure it or how it is created rather than what it is, there is no universal definition of development and the debates about it readily take the form of value based conflicts (Thomas 1999: 16).

Given resource constraints and the need to fulfill donor requirements, an effective NGO has to balance competing demands while producing an evaluation that yields tangible benefits for both current and future projects. The local community must not only be involved in the evaluation, but also in the determination of the method by extending participation to include the evaluation process. Criteria would have to be tightly drawn around such issues as how to improve the quality of life; in this instance, it would have to use methods that enable the community to fully engage in the process and benefit from its results. In addition, the NGO has legitimate internal evaluation needs. However, I believe that through a participatory evaluation effort, it can also draw on what it needs for internal uses. Through all of this, the evaluation requirements of the donor will still be present. An effective NGO, therefore, develops techniques to balance both.

The NGO cannot be truly effective without thorough evaluative methodologies. It must be capable of learning from its successes, partial successes, and failures, applying what it has learned to all programs. The following two diagrams illustrate the differences between an **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** that applies lessons learned to all facets of its programs versus an ideologically driven NGO that only evaluates and applies lessons learned to its project methodologies.

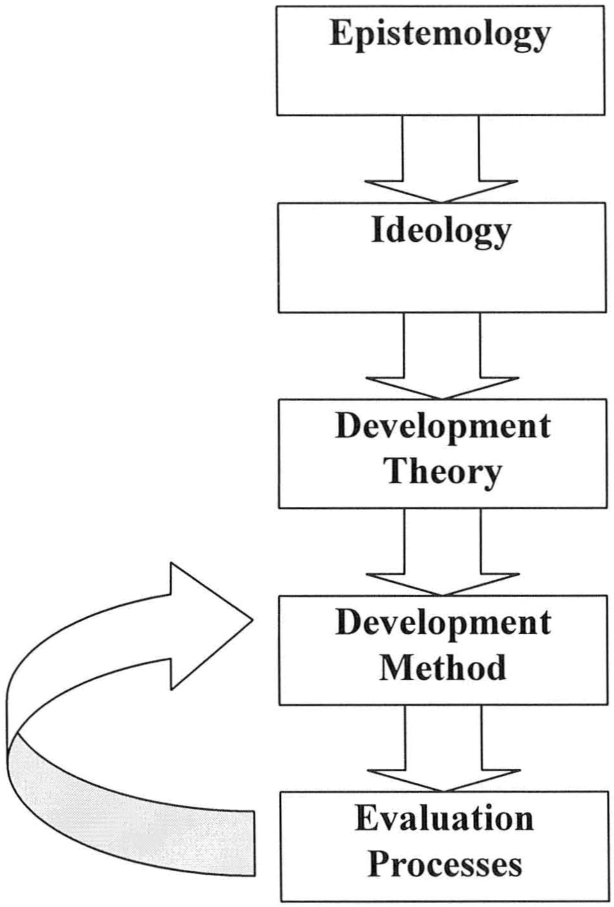
An **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** recognises that all assumptions are open to challenge. The **Complete Evaluative Loop** diagram describes an NGO that is prepared to challenge all assumptions, beliefs, and core values in its evaluative processes. In contrast, **the Restrictive Evaluative Loop** diagram describes an NGO whose Western epistemology, ideology, and theoretical understandings are not challenged by any evaluative process. Rather, it seeks to simply refine and advance its project methodologies.

The Complete Evaluative Loop



This diagram illustrates an iterative evaluation loop that includes all aspects of NGO operations.

The Restrictive Evaluative Loop



This diagram illustrates a restrictive, iterative evaluation loop where the NGO only includes project methodologies in their evaluation. Their epistemologies, ideologies and development theories remain unchallenged by the evaluation process.

3 Funding and the Role of Donors

The previous two sections have already addressed in a partial way the issue of funding and the role of the donor. The relationship of a large, institutional donor to the NGO is continuous throughout the development exercise. It is not easily separated out as a single area of study from the other issues that impinge upon development questions. The relationship itself can be characterized as patron/client, given the unequal power between a donor and a small NGO and the supplicant approach an NGO often must take to obtain funds.

3.1 An NGO can obtain the bulk of its funding from a single official, private, or corporate donor, or it may have a very broad funding base made up primarily of individuals. The former implies a dependency relationship that does not exist for the latter. This dependency relationship can and likely will influence the actions of the NGO. (A-8, Q-19)

3.2 The balance struck between reliance on a dominant donor and on individual donations can determine the degree of financial independence of the NGO. Ideally, an NGO would wish to be financially independent, however, the realities of development funding will normally result in at least some

dependency on a dominant donor. Is there an ideal balance? (A-4, Q-6)

3.3 Is the managerial, doctrinaire approach of large, bureaucratic donors and government agencies being replicated, on a smaller scale within the management of an NGO, as a result of their donor requirements? What impacts does this have on NGO effectiveness? (A-9, Q-27)

These three questions form the heart of the donor/NGO relationship. An NGO requires funds that do not take an inordinate amount of effort to raise. Institutional donors offer the opportunity to obtain these funds within the bounds of reasonable effort. In doing so, the NGO risks giving up independence and perhaps effectiveness. The result can be the development of a dependency relationship resembling contractor-sub-contractor or patron/client.

> The risk of donor-dominance is not so great for strong partners who can negotiate more, and who may have other financial options. But less-experienced Southern partner organisations may well ask donors to help them in their thinking and planning -- and will be more inclined to become (too) dependent on them (Borren 2000: 411).

This comment coincides with that of Hoksbergen and Madrid's article on British International Non-Governmental Organisations (BINGOs) in which a fear was expressed that southern NGOs would be unable to assert their independence from large, institutional donors. Perhaps this is a legacy of colonial thinking, perhaps an unpleasant reality, or a bit of both? Chances are southern NGOs will likely have less experience in dealing with large donors; as such this division of responsibility has already emerged between northern and southern NGOs.

These comments would seem to suggest that we should be more interested in southern NGO capacity building rather than doing the job for them. Southern NGO capacity building has to be part of long term projects as the ability of southern NGOs to establish adequate management and funding is essential to their sustainability. Northern NGOs should not try to avoid this role, either because of the perception that southern NGOs are not up to the task or that the northern NGOs may discover that they have become redundant.

> This question should be analysed in terms of power dynamics. Does the partner which is involved in or close to a particular emancipation process have the power to disagree with a donor who, in the name of solidarity, supposedly 'knows best'? How are the checks and balances in this unequal power relationship ensured? Organisational consultants (who do not carry with them the extra power of being donors) know the danger of stepping into the expert role. It may seem much-wanted support in the shorter run but can so easily lead to dependence (Borren 2000: 412).

Borren (2000) is raising this point regarding the provision of funding and advice from northern donors or large NGOs, to southern NGOs, GROs, or Community Based Organisations (CBOs). She expresses the same concern that some northern donors also have regarding the provision of funding and advice, in that it can lead to a state of dependency. This advances the case for the building of strong southern partners that can negotiate terms suitable for them and resist the swing toward dependency.

> The decrease in private funding in absolute terms and certainly relative to public funding especially assistance which is destined for humanitarian and emergency aid, will make it imperative that NGDOs should be doubly aware of the risk of co-optation or manipulation by the public authorities (de Senillosa 1998: 49).

It is an obvious ideal that small NGOs obtain the bulk of their funding from small, private donations. With such a diverse base of funding, an NGO is not tied to the dictates of large, institutional donors with the associated risks of co-optation mentioned by de Senillosa. While NGOs need to be aware of the risks as they strive to diversify their funding base, it remains a reality that large donors like the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) will provide the largest single portion of small NGO funds. Based on my systematic review of the literature, it appears that it is more important for a small NGO to learn to navigate these bureaucratic shoals than to strive for a funding independence that probably will be unattainable.

> However, if we take the estimates of the Development Aid Committee (DAC) of the OECD, while there are notable differences between countries, the total amount raised by NGDOs from their fellow citizens has practically stagnated in the last four years.
>
> The same is not true of the amounts received from public sources, since despite representing only 14 per cent of the total funds channel through NGDOs in 1993, these amounts increased 30-fold between 1983/84 and 1993, reaching US$956 million. Lastly, while no firm figures are available, direct bilateral funding to Southern NGDOs is increasing significantly (de Senillosa 1998: 43).

As de Senillosa makes clear, the trend is toward more funding from governments and other large institutional donors, rather than less. There is no doubt that it is easier to obtain a large block of funds from one source than to raise thousands of small contributions. This trend dovetails neatly with the reduction of services and the government contracting-out that has been ongoing for the last decade. This reaffirms my contention that it is more important for small NGOs to learn how to navigate this tide rather than try to swim against it.

3.4 *As governments retrench and reduce funding for their social services, NGOs have been filling the gap. This restructuring has progressed to the point that some NGOs can be viewed as contracting agents for the provision of social services. An NGO engaged in a contracting-out relationship with a government can expect to have to meet contract objectives, procedures, and results. What consequences can we expect from such a relationship? (A-5, Q-11)*

This appears to be another increasing trend: as governments retrench, NGOs, as contractors, supplant government-run services. As a contractor, the NGO will likely have to follow a government agenda and standards for service provision. Once an NGO moves into this role, should we be concerned with its development objectives and community representation? Can the NGO effectively represent the community to the government once it has adopted this role?

> Those NGDOs that depend largely on public finance run the risk of becoming near government subsidiaries by implementing activities formerly

carried out by their own governments or multilateral institutions (*substitution*) [author's italics] (de Senillosa 1998: 49).

> NGOs become contractors, constituencies become customers, and members become clients. Extranational connections entail another danger by exposing NGOs to attacks within their own countries, raising questions about whether they "legitimately" represent their constituents (Bratton 1989 quoted in Fisher 1997:454).

This raises an interesting point; if NGOs become contractors, substituting for former government-run services, should we then stop considering them as development NGOs? Are they not performing a different function? They have, in effect, become part of the government's apparatus, either providing basic services or fulfilling a government development mandate. While in terms of their organisation and stated mandate, they may still be NGOs, they may not behave as one.

3.5 Dominant donors are ever more insistent on transparency and accountability, especially regarding finances. However, an NGO is also accountable to others, particularly the community it serves. (A-5, Q-8)

3.6 To what extent is the nature of the project being dictated by the source of the funding? How does the NGO cope with tensions produced by attempting to reconcile these demands with what it perceives as needing to be done? Which route will it take? (A-2, Q-4)

3.7 Does the NGO have sufficient control over the use of its funds to reallocate resources within the project or to other allies or partners? (A-3, Q-19)

3.8 Does the NGO represent the local community to the dominant donor? (A-3, Q-3)

Accounting rules are not necessarily apolitical or benign. NGOs can be expected to comply with accountability requirements that are likely to become increasingly stringent. In the process, they may find their independence constrained and operating objectives altered by these requirements. Their challenge will be to maintain their focus while meeting these rules. It may be necessary to resist the implementation of rules that have negative political or operational consequences.

> A third and related issue is how donors negotiate minimum standards with their partner organisations. In part, this has to do with planning, purporting, and financial accountability; but it also concerns value ridden questions such as gender awareness or a non partisan ideology. Accountability to the donor often takes precedence over accountability to the participants of any particular program (Borren 2000: 412).
>
> In framing documents, close adherence to the framework of donor guidelines offers some security; filling in all the categories asked for, framing the project in terms of donors' current interests, relying on past experience (perhaps on an unrelated project in another part of the world), and on other conventional knowledge of what is acceptable (Craig and Porter 1997: 233).

Borren (2000) raises the important issue of 'to whom' is the NGO accountable, the donor or the community? From a human development perspective, the accountability to the community should be paramount but the power inherent in the role of the donor would suggest the trend would move the opposite way. The effective NGO would have to find ways to respond to the donor's legitimate demands for accountability while maintaining the community as the primary entity. This is a difficult balancing act.

3.9 Does the NGO maintain a patron-client relationship, in terms of the use of funds, with its GRO allies or partners? (A-3, Q-8)

This aspect has been dealt with in other sections of this paper as well, but the passage provided by Manji indicates there are definite patterns of Western NGO thinking that would have them hold on to control rather than trust their southern counterparts.

> Based on a questionnaire survey, this study provides a fascinating insight into the British NGOs (BINGO) psyche. It suggests that, despite years of exposure to and interactions with the Third World, there remains a considerable deficit of respect and trust for their counterparts in the South (Manji 1997: 175).
>
> According to the survey, most (80 per cent) of BINGOS are *opposed* [author's italics] to aid being channeled directly to Southern NGOs, for a number of reasons. They allege that Southern NGOs:
>
> - lack the experience to undertake rigorous monitoring and evaluation of projects;
> - lack experience of how to manage projects in accordance with donors' requirements;
> - with direct funding, would shift their accountability away from their own constituencies towards donor agencies;
> - would become more directly influenced by donor agencies in setting their agenda, and hence more 'donor driven';

- would eventually revolve around the availability of money than the meeting of needs;
- would end up filling a void created by a retrenching state;
- would be susceptible to manipulation by donor agencies, and more susceptible to political influence (Manji 1997:175)

While the evidence exists to support these contentions, they are self-fulfilling -- if southern NGOs do not get the opportunity to gain the experience and learn, this context may be slow to change. Ironically, are BINGOs holding up a mirror to themselves? Have they experienced these difficulties as well (mostly likely)? If this is true, why do these NGOs feel that they are able to cope while southern NGOs are not?

4 Participation and the Local

Of all of the aspects of [development] NGO effectiveness, participation is probably the most complex, problematic and controversial. The discourse on "participation" has reached a point where the word has become so elastic in meaning that it is found describing projects that are anything but participatory. It has become a magic word within bureaucracies -- as "sustainability" was before -- where its inclusion in a project proposal becomes mandatory. And yet, NGOs can make great efforts to ensure that a development project is truly participatory, or as Sarah White terms it, "transformational".

There are a host of potential difficulties in any participatory project. Good planning and good intentions will only go so far in ensuring a successful project. A participatory project is, by its very nature, a fluid, and elusive creature, dependent on intangibles for success.

4.1 NGOs practice participation to varying degrees, ranging from virtually none to a state where the local community has virtually complete control and power over the project. These differences in the degree of participation have

implications for the NGO, the community, and the effectiveness of the project. (A-8, Q-18)

Sarah White (1996) dismantles the aura around participation, describing four degrees of participation ranging from the 'Nominal', whose function it is to provide the illusion of participation, to 'Transformative' which describes participation in its fullest sense.

> The status of participation as a 'Hurrah' word, bringing a warm glow to its users and hearers, blocks its detailed examination. Its seeming transparency – appealing to 'the people' – masks the fact that participation can take on multiple forms and serve many different interests. ... If participation is to mean more than a façade of good intentions, it is vital to distinguish more clearly what these interests are (White 1996: 7).

Form	Top-Down	Bottom-up	Function
Nominal	Legitimation	Inclusion	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency	Cost	Means
Representative	Sustainability	Leverage	Voice
Transformative	Empowerment	Empowerment	Means/End

(White 1996: 7)

White describes "participation" as an interest and power-laden term. Large agencies can use the term for masking their top-down agenda while meeting the political exigencies of being 'participatory'. Being cognizant of these political realities, smaller NGOs may use the term liberally in project proposals to ensure they receive funding. As an example of how blurred the meaning of the term can become, when examining articles and websites on Logical Framework Analysis (LFA), it became obvious that some of the authors considered participation to be little more than an initial community meeting, organised merely for the purpose of telling everyone what will be going on.

> This paper has argued that the paradoxical consensus over the role of 'local participation' in a globalising world is fraught with dangers. Local participation can be used for different purposes by very different ideological stakeholders. It can underplay the role of the state and transnational power holders and can, overtly or inadvertently, cement Eurocentric solutions to Third World development. There is a need for critical analyses of the political use of 'the local', but also a need to develop a political imaginary [sic] that does not repeat these weaknesses (Mohan and Stokke 2000: 263-264).

Joseph (2000) describes some practical steps that can be taken at the village level to ensure that the opportunity for participation is genuinely provided.

- That the phrase 'participation' is commonly found in mission statements and institutional objectives of the NGO and that the philosophy of participation is articulated in other documentation and staff training materials.
- That there are clear descriptions of the participatory process in which the organisation is involved which are freely available in local and generic languages.
- That there are visual records (photos/videos/maps/matrixes) and written records (minutes/leaflets/posters) of participatory planning exercises freely available which reflects participation by a balance of different members of the community by gender, class, education, etc.
- That there are regular public meetings held in the local language attended by a certain percentage of identified members of the local community and the staff of the NGO, in which three-quarters of the speakers come from the local community.
- That 'group synergy' was observed during meetings and gatherings, reflected in body language, speed of discussion, type of words or jargon used, and a lack of 'our' or 'their' comments, etc.
- That the NGO staff receive training, literature, manuals, or are paid an incentive to ensure participatory approaches are applied and that local knowledge is promoted.
- That the majority of the staff of the NGO are living and working for at least three-quarters of their time in the local community, and can speak the local vernacular (Hailey 2000: 405).

> People's role in development should not be limited just to participating in decisions about how to address the effects of a given development model. They must be free to choose what development they want, both as individuals and as communities, two dimensions of our identities that are in constant interaction and tension. This means by which this free determination is achieved is essentially the exercise of democratic political activity (Joseph 2000: 394).

All of these authors are in agreement that participation requires the genuine sharing of power. The act of participation becomes part of the democratizing process, the building of civil society, and an exercise in local governance. This process requires that the NGO have trust and faith in the local community so as to manage this power well. We often speak of capacity building without tying it to a specific 'what'. Communities that infrequently have an opportunity to exercise power over their fate require the development of their capacity to use that power well. NGOs committed to participation first have to build the capacity for power sharing, both internally and in the community.

4.2 The act of participating in a development project can become a site of conflict and an act of power. The nature of the conflict and these power relationships need to be understood so that the NGO and the participating community can work effectively. (A-14, Q-30)

In the response to the previous question, we approached participation as a 'good thing'. Yet what if the results of participation result in the prolongation of a social, health, or political condition that is considered undesirable? The NGO provides the community with an opportunity to exercise real power, and the community (or more likely, its power elites) makes the choice to use it in a fashion that runs counter to the ideology of the NGO. The NGO is faced with the choice to intervene or to leave the issue aside. If it intervenes, it is imposing its will, its ideology, and its (western) values on the community. It has explicitly stated that the community cannot be trusted with the power it is exercising through participation, as it has produced the 'wrong' result. The choice might be fairly obvious. In the case of HIV/AIDS or female genital mutilation (FGM), the risks remain -- with the intervention, resistance will arise. It is as if the NGO stated to the community, "We will let you make your own decisions, but if you make a mess of it, we'll have to do it for you." It places the NGO in the uncomfortable position of either allowing participatory methods to run their course, or intervening in a 'colonialist' manner. This is one of the instances where having an entrenched ideology makes the choice easier but not necessarily "correct".

In such cases, would it not be better to pursue only a goal of limited participation? The NGO has a goal, the elimination of FGM for instance, and it knows it will meet local resistance. Whether it is palatable or not, some amount of coercion is likely to be employed. If the community is provided with the opportunity for full participation and it replies to the effect that it prefers things the way they are, then the NGO has, through the participatory methods it has adopted, made a doubly difficult problem for itself.

We should also consider that the combination of forces, the structures of globalization within which NGOs must operate, typical top-down official donor/NGO relationships, and the somewhat similar relationship that exists between northern (western) and southern (non-western) NGOs, all work to constrain solutions to those based on western epistemologies. There does not appear to be significant space for the operation of non-western approaches and solutions within this environment. The position of the NGO gives it the ability, not the right, to impose western-style solutions.

We must recognize that participation has progressed from a development methodology to an ideology. An **Adaptive Visionary NGO** needs to face the hard realities implicit in its mission and be prepared to use methods that are less than participatory when needed, while remaining committed to fully participatory methodologies. It takes courage to move from one position to the other, for inevitably, criticism and risk will accompany the move.

> A second issue in operational development work may concern how to deal with the existing power structures within a community which in themselves replicate patterns of oppression and exclusion. What should be done about marginalised groups, sometimes of different ethnic background, or with specific problems such as HIV/AIDS? Or about domestic violence, genital mutilation, child labour, and so on, if the agency is to develop and maintain a strong relationship with local leaders? Often the choice is to leave some of these thorny questions until 'the time is ripe'. Does this imply that certain forms of injustice and exclusion are therefore sanctioned? But is it possible to be accepted in a community while also challenging that community on some of these deeper human rights issues (Borren 2000: 413)?

At some point, the NGO will have to make hard choices about the greater good, and if it is fully committed to participation, allow the community to make hard choices. All problems cannot be tackled simultaneously and with equal effect. Choices will have to be made, and an NGO not constrained by ideology has a broad range of options.

4.3 Within the act of participation, interests (often competing ones) are included, excluded, formed, shaped, and exploited. (A-2, Q-7)

Who participates and to what extent? Each community has existing power structures. People will view the NGO's intervention as a threat or opportunity, and will react accordingly. Naturally, they will try to affect the proceedings to turn events their way — it is to be expected. The NGO may choose to allow the participatory efforts to follow existing power structures (tempting if the interests of the NGO and the elites coincide), or endeavor to bring those in the community who are powerless, into the process.

> An alternative, more conflictual, less 'nice' view of participation, but one that does not pretend to make grand claims, is to recognise that it often takes place in fundamentally adversarial settings where social power relations ultimately determine the outcomes. Here the trick is to strengthen the poor and powerless so that they are able to engage effectively and have a strong voice in these settings (Johnson and Wilson 1999: 53).

The challenge is to craft a method that leaves the "poor and powerless" less likely to face pressure from affected elites to attend to its affairs after the NGO has withdrawn. One must be careful not to produce a situation that makes a target out of those the NGO wishes to help, or at best, leave behind an unsustainable situation.

4.4 Does the NGO encourage criticism and participation by the local community and other stakeholders in the project evaluation? (A-3, Q-4)

While this has been dealt with more fully in the section on evaluation, it is worth emphasizing that participatory methodologies should be extended to the evaluation process, as the community has an interest in an assessment of the final outcome. The evaluation effort will become part of their local knowledge; it will also build expertise and confidence. It will provide them with a method to examine the development project on their terms and an incentive to maintain the momentum of a successful project in the long term. Each person involved will have formed his or her own opinion on the value of the project, drawn from whatever information source is available. Having a participatory evaluation process will shape and inform these opinions in a more reliable manner.

4.5 Is participation being used as a tactic to achieve a predetermined result? (A-3, Q-7)

Whenever participatory method is used in conjunction with a "top-down" approach, there exists a significant possibility that participatory methods are being used to provide the illusion of participation to conceal a predetermined result and to fulfill bureaucratically driven requirements for participation. Given that so much planning and decision-making is made in advance of local community involvement in a "top-down" approach, it is difficult to conceive of a situation where such an approach would lead to a fully participatory project.

4.6 Has the NGO recognized and attempted to reconcile participation with the practical realities of the project? (A-3, Q-19)

Craig and Porter (1997) make reference to the adoption by NGOs of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques, decentralisation, process consultation, and good governance, in an attempt to make management more participatory. However, they believe that these attempts can also be used as window dressing for a top-down approach.

> They look participatory from a distance, but at close quarters these measures, we believe, actually do little to tip the balance back toward participation. Instead they have effectively become new forms of management and control, which are just as costly but do not result in great benefits for project participants (Craig and Porter 1997: 229-230).

Judging from this comment, we could infer that project participants are being manipulated by the NGO so that it may fulfill its requirements to be 'participatory' without actually giving up power and control.

> In this politics of the local, state institutions, international donor agencies and social movements are some key actors. In examining the politicisation of the local, many aid-receiving governments who have paid lip service to participation are now doing so because they are aware that, since it has become the discourse

> of Western donors, they ignore it at their financial peril (Mohan and Stokke 2000: 254).

This passage is just another example of the bandwagon effect of governments and NGOs demanding participatory projects to meet donor expectations, rather than those of the local community. These attempts represent the very antithesis of genuine participation, conferring no real empowerment within the local community and are carried out, in effect, under a form of donor coercion.

4.7 What attitudes and approaches does the client community take toward the participatory efforts of the NGO? (A-5, Q-13)

Assuming, for a moment, that the NGO is engaged in genuine efforts toward a participatory project, it may still fail to meet its goals for participation. We seem to be making assumptions, perhaps based on Western arrogance and presumption, that local communities will engage in a participatory project simply because it is a 'good thing'. The NGO may presume to know what is good for the community. However, instead of deciding what sort of project is good for the local community, the NGO, being committed to participation, may decide that participatory methods are good for the local community. It then inflicts this methodology on the community. The first act of participation should involve the

NGO asking the community if it wants to participate! As White suggests (1996), they may well "choose positively to use their time in other ways."

> As participation is a process, its dynamic over time must be taken into account. Seen at its simplest, there is a strong tendency for levels of participation to decline over time. This is clearest in the Zambian case; thirty years ago, or even twenty, those same groups were highly active, with the enthusiasm of project workers matched that of the women themselves. This change may be due to disillusionment with the project, but it can also mean that people choose positively to use their time in other ways... One can grow tired of being an 'active citizen' (White 1996: 11)!

In this example of project fatigue, the NGO should plan for this eventuality in long term projects. It may wisely move from large-scale participation during the initial phases of the project, to a scaling back participation of to a 'maintenance mode' in the medium and long term. Even for projects that appear to have no logical end, replacements have to be created for no other reason than to rebuild the necessary momentum to continue.

4.8 Does the NGO use participatory methods to facilitate capacity building? (A-3, Q-4)

4.9 How does the NGO approach capacity building both, within itself and with those organisations and communities with which it works? (A-6, Q-21)

Participatory methods can either reinforce the positive or the negative. They permit opportunities to identify what the community can achieve or what it has so far failed to achieve. By favouring some members with participatory roles and not others, the NGO may create new centres of power and prestige within the community or permits old ones to become more dominant. Ngunjiri (1998) suggests that the following principles be applied to participatory projects so as to ensure that it results in a positive experience.

> Participatory methodologies are double-edged swords that can be used to destroy or build the capacities of those upon whom they are used ...
>
> - The principle of the power of positive thinking ...
> - Partnership of mutual knowledge and/or understanding between the two actors ...
> - The principle of reciprocal giving and taking.
> - The principle of shared credit ...
> - Local resources need to be identified and mobilized ...
> - Constructive participation and involvement of the community in the entire process ...
> - External support coming to supplement rather than to replace or duplicate local initiatives ...
> - External forms of support should complement each other rather than compete ...
>
> Unless the PMs [participatory methodologies] are used well and guided by these and other basic principles, many aspects of development will continue to go wrong. The above principles, if applied, will go a long way to building rather than destroying the capacity of the people with whom we work (Ngunjiri 1998: 466-467).

Guidelines for internal NGO capacity building are contained within these principles . With just a slight change of context, each principle if, followed, will build morale and capacity within the NGO.

5 Power Relationships

The issue of power has been infused into every section in this thesis. One cannot discuss donors, participation, or other issues without addressing the issue of power.

Questions raised in this section cover three centres of power: external agencies (state governments, institutional donors, international NGOs) acting in dominance over small NGOs and the community; NGOs acting as a power centre within the context of the community; and individuals and/or groups in a position of power within the community. At each layer in this spectrum of power, it is possible to replicate the familiar patterns of dominance, oppression, and resistance.

5.1 External agencies have the ability to exercise their power over the NGO through their funding, regulation, and the control over the provision of other resources. The exercise of this power has significant influence over the actions of the NGO. (A-2, Q-7)

Fisher (1997) paints a bleak picture of the NGO. He describes NGOs deeply embedded in a process of co-optation due to their powerlessness vis-à-vis large institutional donors. What he and other authors have not addressed, however, is an emerging pattern of resistance within NGOs.

> The vulnerability of their position as beneficiaries of outside funding and support may make NGOs less willing to advocate positions that run counter to those taken by the agencies funding them or their home governments (Clarke 1996). Multilateral development agencies (MLAs) tend to select for funding those NGOs that are MLA-friendly (Pratt & Stone 1995). The efforts of those selected NGOs are diverted away from social mobilization and toward the provision of services and development initiatives. This process has a ripple effect when well-funded SNGOs [Southern NGOs] are able to provide more employment opportunities and attract qualified individuals away from other local NGOs that continue to focus on empowerment and social mobilization (Pearce 1993). In the views of some observers, the degree of cooptation of NGOs by development agencies through funding and joint initiatives is so advanced that NGOs are destined to become the organizational mechanism for an international welfare system, doomed to be little more than the frontmen for the "lords of poverty" (Farrington & Bebbington 1993, Fowler 1996, Hancock 1989) (Fisher, 1997: 454).

One would expect that NGOs committed to social mobilization would find ways to resist such an encroaching erosion of their independence and mission. Yet Fisher (1997) later describes the tendency for NGOs to replicate the bureaucratic patterns of larger organisations, drifting from democracy to oligarchy. Given such a case, it is likely smaller organisations would align themselves with larger NGOs, and follow a path of least resistance. Bureaucracies are blunt, powerful tools, and often are inappropriate to the delicate, fine work of local development. If this scenario is valid, the future for development is not promising. In this context, an effective NGO would be capable of adapting its administrative methods to the funding bureaucracy, while maintaining a democratic philosophy and a commitment to its social mission. This is a difficult task.

5.2 The NGO is a centre of power vis-à-vis the local community. How does it work to ameliorate the effects of this exercise of power? Is it aware of the effects? (A-3, Q-3)

5.3 The local community expresses centres of power. And yet, an NGO can construct new centres of power and reduce or eliminate existing ones. Is the NGO aware of this potential, and if so, does it work to ameliorate its effects? (A-4, Q-10)

These two questions are inter-linked: the NGO conducts itself (inadvertently or not) as a power centre within a community that already contains its own centres of power. Hailey (2000) offers some practical steps to ameliorate the effects of the NGO's presence when it organises a local organisation to carry out development work.

- That representatives of the target community make up at least one-third of the board.
- That the organisation has members based in the local community, and that at least ten per cent of the membership attend public meetings.
- That public meetings are held on a regular basis, and at different locations in the community.
- That the organisation has regular contact with at least four other local NGOs, and has contact with the local NGO network.
- That at least two-thirds of staff and board members reflect local ethnic groups, religion, language, etc., and live within the local community.

- That the organisation disseminates reports in an appropriate style and language to the target community, the staff, and government departments (Hailey 2000: 406).

Should an NGO not go further before intervening in a local community? Should it not have an understanding of the political, social, and economic situation in the community, in order to anticipate some of the effects of its intervention? Should it not adopt participatory methods very early, to the level that White (1996) describes as "Representative" or "Transformative"? Even after having adopted a participatory approach, should the NGO not remain vigilant for signs of oppression or resistance in the local community?

White (1996) refers to a Bangladesh project that introduced a hand-tubewell project for agricultural irrigation. The local villagers considered the domestic water supply to be a greater priority and, as a result, moved the pumps to their homes. The NGO did not recognise this move for what it represented -- villagers resisting an outside agency attempting to determine what was best for them. The NGO responded by using plastic pipes that made the relocation difficult, and consequently, hand-tubewell applications declined. The NGO considered the project a failure (White 1996: 14).

This case is typical of the types of resistance NGOs may face. In other instances, participatory efforts can be co-opted by local elites and a similar pattern of resistance may evolve. Even when participatory methods have been used, the NGO must still remain vigilant and adaptive, ready to make alterations to this legitimate expression of the will of the community.

6 Development Discourse and Theory

Does the NGO "walk the talk" or just "talk the talk?" The development discourse can conceal as much as it reveals. The discourse of participation, empowerment, social justice, gender equality, sustainability, and development has melded into the discourse of bureaucracy and of plastic speech, where the appellation of "participation" can be given to a project that is virtually "top-down" in all respects. Each term has multiple flavours of meaning. Each term is used for different purposes at different levels of the development industry. An exploration of the discourse of a given NGO potentially reveals much of its approach to development.

Every NGO, whether explicitly or implicitly, expresses a theory on/of development theory. Whether this development theory is a natural extension of the ideology of its founders, its current leadership, and/or the influence of its stakeholders, it influences how the NGO responds to the development challenge. Inextricably mixed with the ideology of the NGO, this underlying development theory influences the actions and justifications of the NGO. From time to time, however, an effective NGO will hold its development theory up to the light and examines it for flaws.

6.1 The development discourse can be used to conceal as well as inform and enlighten. Are the problems of development being resolved or obscured through the discourse? (A-4, Q-10)

Hintjens (1999) and others have alluded to the way in which donors/NGOs that favour neo-liberal models of development have adopted the discourse of human development theories while changing nothing in their top-down way of doing business. Hintjens ponders whether or not this effort at concealment seeks to obscure a neo-liberal agenda or whether it simply represents a loss of confidence in prevailing methods. Adopting the discourse of human-centered development probably represents, on their part, a reaching-out to alternatives. There may be a third possibility – that the bureaucracies of institutional donors and agencies have adopted the language as a response to criticism. They do make adjustments. For example, the World Bank has made significant changes to some of its operational methods, but does the adopting of this particular discourse represent a real change in core values?

> In the face of growing economic insecurity, intensified exploitation, and legalised segregation in the developing world, some have argued that the orthodox, things-oriented development models of early post-war decades really are giving way to more holistic and human-centered approaches (Chambers 1995). Are these just fashionable new clothes which seek to compensate for a loss of confidence? Or does the claim to be wearing these transparent new clothes seek to distract attention from the underlying continuity in development policies, which continue to favour economic globalisation and the removal of remaining barriers to global capital movements (Hintjens 1999: 383).

There appears to be a need to match up core values, ideology, development theory, management, operating and evaluative methodologies with the development discourse so as to ascertain whether or not an NGO actually "walks the talk". In the case of the larger agencies, they may not be.

6.2 What underlying meanings does the NGO reveal in its participation in the development discourse? (A-2, Q-3)

This question can be reduced to whether or not the actions of the NGO remains true to the original meanings of the loaded words of development -- "sustainability", "participation", and "empowerment". To answer the question would require that the NGO explain how they view these terms, and the extent to which their actions live out the meanings. Contradictions that become evident are suggestive of a lack of understanding or appreciation of their original context, the influence of the institutional agencies and donors, or simply an act on the part of the NGO to throw up a smokescreen covering its less than effective actions. As in management and funding, there needs to be a transparency in meaning. When they speak of "empowerment"' do they actually mean authentic and sincere empowerment of the community, or the appropriate use of a buzzword to ensure funding?

> Thus questions such as; what is being sustained?, why?, and for whom? remain areas of contention, as do relative emphases on the environment and the social. In spite of (and because of) this inflation and diffuseness of meaning, we do not suggest that the terms be abandoned but rather that they be used to frame and enable debate and negotiation between stakeholders in development.

> While such concepts [participation, empowerment, gender equality, and democratisation] are now fully incorporated into officially sanctioned development policies, the original radicalism of related practices has been largely ignored. In being incorporated into bureaucratic norms and conditions, and being uprooted from their original political contexts, many of these terms have lost their bite, and become increasingly vague and disembodied (Hintjens 1999: 384).

6.3 Has the NGO taken a position opposite to the intent of the discourse it utilizes? (i.e. Does It follow a neo-liberal approach, yet speaks in terms of social movements and civil society) (A-2, Q-3)

6.4 Does the discourse reveal an adherence to a new development orthodoxy revealed in the usage of "Sustainable Development" and "Participation"? (A-6, Q-10)

6.5 Does the NGO speak of decentralization? Is this speak consistent with its actions? (A-1, Q-11)

6.6 Does the NGO speak of the local? Is this consistent with its actions? (A-1, Q-3)

These questions were not directly addressed in by the material. They can be answered more in terms of the described effects when development projects do not proceed as intended. We also see answers to these questions in other sections, especially those concerned with donors and participation. These questions go to the heart of the issue of NGOs espousing a particular development philosophy -- the 'Hurrah' words as White terms it. Yet the practical exigencies of development realities forces them along paths that are inconsistent with core philosophies.

6.7 Does the NGO fundamentally adhere to a market driven development approach? (A-2, Q-5)

The smothering effects of market and neo-liberal donor influences, force some NGOs down roads they may not wish to go. Yet other NGOs may openly embrace a neo-liberal philosophy as a legitimate alternative to current NGO development orthodoxy. Whether or not one agrees with this position, there is none of the distorting left-right tensions, within these NGOs, that emerge in the discourse of conventional NGO activities. Their work is seen through a neo-liberal lens, producing a different, perhaps unique view of participation and empowerment.

> Aside from their ideas about neoliberalism, we find in most cases that, in spite of their concerns, NGOs are actually working in concert with neoliberalism and have been doings so for years. In their work with the poorest of the poor, NGOs provide privately owned housing at low rates of payment; they teach basic literacy, sound health practices, and improved agricultural techniques; they help people develop marketable skills; they supply the poor with raw materials and capital equipment. In the process, these NGOs have been working at developing a sense of responsibility and ownership among the poor by encouraging the people's involvement, engagement, and active participation, all of which are central to the development of neoliberal society (Hoksbergen and Madrid 1997: 48).

This is an interesting viewpoint as we sometimes fail to grasp that a neo-liberal theory has its own version of 'the local.' Expressed as such, neo-liberalism can very well be a route to "the people's involvement, engagement, and active participation" Hoksbergen and Madrid (1997). This is consistent with the model of the **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** in that a small development NGO may reject the larger context of global neo-liberalism while embracing its local expression to achieve the development aims of the community.

6.8 Is the NGO attempting to develop new models of development? (A-4, Q-7)

When the discourse of development is spread over such a wide variety of actors, and when they all espouse a diversity in philosophy while utilizing the same language, there is a need to establish clarity in this cacophony of distorted meanings.

> The need for unpacking the literature becomes clear when we consider the degree to which the literature on NGOs relies upon several key terms – participation, empowerment, local, community – each of which has been given a variety of meanings and linked in different ways to analyst's perceptions of the origins, capacities, objectives, and impacts of NGOs. Ironically, with reference to these terms, NGOs have been embraced and promoted in the past decade by international development agencies like the World Bank as well as by radical critics of top-down development (Fisher 1997: 442).

Whether it expresses a new model or provides clarity in expressing an old one, the effectiveness of individual NGOs is affected. It is important to unify the development discourse and connect inherent meanings with actions and project outcomes.

7 Political Ideology

The discussion on ideology forms one of the central pillars of the hypothesis that NGOs, in espousing a strong ideological line, limit their choices and, as such, are inherently less effective than those that do not. In this thesis, ideology is viewed as existing at two levels: party affiliation and political philosophy. A discussion of party affiliation was not considered useful, as development NGOS usually attempt to avoid being identified with a given party. However, every development NGO has at the core of its values an underlying political philosophy that informs much of their mission, objectives, and methods. This philosophy may be quite overt, such as an NGO that follows a clear Marxist orientation. It may also be more subtle. This section examines the influences of ideology on the values and actions of NGOs in an attempt to tease out any ramifications for NGO effectiveness.

7.1 Many NGOs attempt to navigate an ideologically neutral path. How successful are they in doing this? Does this neutrality conceal or reveal a basis in a particular ideology? (A-5, Q-9)

Attempting to steer an ideologically neutral path will create stresses for the NGO. Hintjens illustrates this point.

> Since both Neo-liberals and neo-Marxists reject the status quo in favour of some other ideal, it is perhaps not surprising that they tend to be more highly critical of development assistance than those who place themselves neither on the left nor on the right of the political spectrum (Watkins 1994 in Hintjens 1999:384).

The implications here are that NGOs that steer the neutral path can find their methods assailed by both sides. Not only must NGOs face left-right criticisms, they must also endure forces that pull them to one side or the other. The constant struggle for funding, especially from bureaucratic sources, creates what Joseph terms "subordination in terms of ideology... " (Joseph, 2000:391), as NGOs find that they must appear to ideologically align themselves with their dominant donor.

This extends the notion of ideological neutrality to include those NGOs that may espouse a position on one side of the left-right spectrum, yet remain willing to use methods and approaches from across the spectrum. By extension, only NGOs that restrict themselves to those methods that are ideologically compatible with their underlying philosophy can be considered non-neutral.

7.2 How does an NGO navigate its way through the ideological spectrum? How do these forces influence it? (A-8, Q-23)

Neo-liberalism is the dominant ideological force with which most NGOs must contend. While some NGOs operate within Socialist or Marxist regimes, these regimes must operate within neo-liberal-influenced world structures. This conundrum might be solved if NGOs were able to develop an alternative approach designed to work within the strictures of neo-liberalism. Joseph (2000) posits a 'neo-structuralist' approach that seeks to ameliorate the harshness of neo-liberal policies. As Joseph suggests;

> Many NGOs, especially those that started out with Socialist or Marxist leanings, have often been very cautious and restrained in their critiques of Neo-liberalism because of the loss of their own ideological footings and paradigms, particularly since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Other NGOs (the minority) have maintained a radically critical discourse, but in practice their work on the ground has also been confined to attempts to alleviate the effects of the [Neo-liberal] model. As we see it, in neither case have NGOs succeeded in identifying where to start in order to develop a critical, holistic, and practice-based analysis (Joseph, 2000: 394).

To remain effective in navigating these neo-liberal tendencies, it would seem that NGOs require "critical, holistic, and practiced-based analysis." This would require that NGOs have an effective approach for working under the dominant ideology, one that is perhaps not yet emerged. Such an approach would have the development NGO asserting a particular strategy, rather than simply responding to the one that neo-liberalism thrusts upon it. No single NGO could achieve such a response. However, an international coalition possibly could do so. It would seem that NGOs must work within larger, like-minded structures, to achieve any lasting success in bringing a human face to neo-liberal policies.

7.3 Does the NGO espouse a particular ideology, and if so, what influences does it have on the totality of its operations and its relationships with the local community and others? (A-7, Q-11)

As in the previous case, the possibility of an NGO successfully holding to a neo-liberal ideological position seems to be greater than that of a neo-Marxist position, given the pervasiveness of neo-liberal policies. This is the question: "What are the consequences of a neo-liberal position, on the totality of its operations and its relationships with the local community and others?" First, one must consider what neo-liberalism represents; it is an economic/political theory that regards market forces as preeminent. It regards inequality as normal, perhaps even desirable, and the accumulation of wealth the end goal of an economy, as opposed to providing a suitable quality of life for the people. It is assumed by neo-liberals that as market forces work upon the economy and as wealth is accumulated, the majority of people will enjoy a better quality of life. The philosophy does not seem to be concerned with those who are left out.

One can look at the effects of neo-liberalism as being similar to fractals in mathematics, in the sense that as we subdivide human communities into progressively smaller and smaller units, they still replicate the structures of the largest units. If neo-liberalism creates wealth, tensions, inequality, and conflict across and within nation states, we can also expect to see the same issues replicated in a small, poor village. A few members of the village will gain wealth, some will have their lives unchanged, while others will lose ground and become progressively poorer. Hintjens (1999) considers these effects on community-based organisations (CBOs):

> The incorporation of community-based organisations (CBOs) into top-down economic liberalisation policies may undermine these organisations' abilities to meet their own members' needs.
>
> Some forms of socio-political conditionality may appear progressive or radical including, for example, intervention in the household to tackle gender inequalities. But even such well-meaning interventions tend to encroach on the hinterland of people's own collective and individual survival strategies. Fragile livelihoods can be threatened, creating new conflicts, and even result in violent suppression. Support for civil society, for example in the form of support for NGOs, may simply facilitate marketisation and control of various informal sector activities, including those oriented to survival. In the process, the poor may become even more vulnerable, and may be disempowered rather then empowered (Hintjens 1999: 385-6).

The imposition of an ideological stance by an NGO, even one that is progressively motivated, stamps an ideological image upon the community. The NGO places the obligation upon the community to rise to the challenge of fulfilling the expectations of that (usually Western) ideological image. It goes to the essence of NGO development work and to the issues of participation, the 'local,' and representation. If NGOs truly wish to live the reality implied by these ideals, they have to enter into each development situation with a position as ideologically empty as possible.[1]

[1] This underscores the fact that no social institution is ever ideologically or value-neutral. As such it is a call to be self-critical and reflective.

8 Alliances, Partnerships, Allies, and Networks

No development NGO can do effective work completely independent of any other organisation. NGOs routinely build a web of alliances and partnerships featuring government agencies, corporations, private donors, other NGOs, GROs, CBOs, NGO associations, and expert consultation. The more effective an NGO is in building and maintaining these partnerships and networks, the more effective it will be overall. While this is generally true, it is not without problems and risks.

8.1 Development NGO operations are virtually impossible without having built and sustained alliances, partnerships, and relationships with donors, governments, other NGOs, GROs, other agencies and with local groups. How well does the NGO achieve alliance building? (A-9, Q-13)

The image of an NGO's web of relationships could be drawn either as a hierarchy or as a spider's web. The hierarchical view would recognize the power relationships inherent in the web, whereas the spider's view would recognize relationships and interdependencies.

The hierarchical model presumes that control of both resources and the regulatory environment rests at the top. As we view downwards, each layer in the hierarchy frames the development context and controls the resources doled out to the level immediately below. Looking upward, each level expects a commitment from the one above so as to provide resources that are needed. The upper level may not wish to commit itself to the amount of resources and commitments.

One alternative, or perhaps a modification of the top-down approach, has seen the shift by some Northern NGOs from operational development projects, to that of providing information and expertise to Southern NGOs, leaving Southern compatriots with the task of operational projects. Warren Nyamugasira (1998) describes this division as:

> To enhance their effectiveness at advocacy, NGOs have evolved a new division of labour. Northern NGOs are relinquishing the more operational roles to concentrate on ideas, research, empowerment, and networking (Clark 1992). They are increasingly focusing their efforts on development education, advocacy, and information flows, and challenging policies of their governments, and of the corporations and multilateral institutions that are perceived to block, undermine, or co-opt 'genuine' development initiatives. They are leaving the 'hardware' – the time-bound, geographically fixed projects, such as building schools or health centres, or installing oil mills and so on – to their Southern counterparts (Nyamugasira 1998: 298).

Part of this process involves the assumption that southern NGOs are better able to represent local communities, facilitate local empowerment, and are more suited to deliver assistance meeting local needs. However, such a division is not without its problems. Southern NGOs often lack sufficient expertise, experience, and resources to perform adequately (Nyamugasira 1998: 298).

8.2 Are alliances and partnerships utilized to facilitate a top-down driven agenda or is there a sharing of power, influence, and knowledge? (A-8, Q-12)

In an examination of British international NGOs (BINGOs), Firoze Manji (1997) illustrates how this top-down provision of resources both drives a Western agenda and tends to place southern allies in subordinate, patron-client relationships.

> What is needed today is a greater reflection by Northern NGOs on the nature of their relationship with their Southern counterparts. If we are seriously committed to the struggle to eliminate poverty and injustice and their causes, then we need to assess the degree to which the nature of that relationship may be hampering rather than enhancing our common goals. We need to examine how to build alliances with Southern NGOs that are based on solidarity, not charity. We need to look at whether we are being used, albeit unconsciously, by aid agencies to achieve ends that subvert rather than promote those values we hold dear (Manji 1997:177).

Part of this collaborative, alliance-building process, involves the cooperation of NGOs with governments (both state and local) in development projects. Costa et. al. (1997) examine two elements for cooperation. They place an NGO as part of an alliance with government, NGO and GROs. They examined the successes and failures of NGOs in Brazil and noted two key alliance-building components of NGO effectiveness -- the ability of NGOs to work effectively with both governments and local organisations.

> NGOs have played an important role in pressuring the Brazilian government toward participatory development. But some NGOs (along with some state governments) have also created obstacles to their own participation in development activities. For example, they have contributed to a confrontational atmosphere that has discouraged rather than enhanced their participation.
>
> Still we had no trouble finding examples of effective NGO-government collaboration. NGOs seemed to work more effectively in communities where there were already associations, unions, or cooperatives. We also found NGOs to be especially effective in implementing participatory rural development under certain conditions: (1) when the NGO did not resist working with the state and, (2) when the NGO accepted working in a limited area (Costa et. al. 1997:141).

In this environment, one can visualize how the NGO could be placed in a 'middle-man' position, balancing off the top-down, perhaps neo-liberal driven agenda of the state against the participatory objectives of local organisations. In all probability, this would be a typical case whenever NGOs, GROs, and governments join together on a development project. An effective NGO in this context would, in addition to its other roles, also be required to act as a facilitator and/or mediator.

8.3 Local partners are frequently essential for achieving the goals of the project. How effectively does the NGO build, utilize, and sustain local partners? (A-8, Q-63)

An NGO engaged in a project with a local partner (GRO or CBO) is faced with a multitude of complex issues to resolve. Since the NGO may be in the position of controlling funds, there is the risk of a patron-client relationship being established. The NGO is also likely to possess greater technical skills, have access to state organisations, have benefited from experiences in past projects, and be capable of mobilizing external resources. While the NGO may attempt to establish a participatory context, its development expertise creates the risk of the community organisation developing a dependency relationship. It is incumbent upon the NGO to ameliorate the effects of this position of power through the use of participatory methodologies and deliberately not replicate the same patron/client relationships that typify large donor/small NGO relationships. The comments of Manji regarding the attitudes and methods of BINGOs that were first used in the 'Donors' section are re-introduced here.

> Based on a questionnaire survey, this study provides a fascinating insight into the British NGOs (BINGO) psyche. It suggests that, despite years of exposure to and interactions with the Third World, there remains a considerable deficit of respect and trust for their counterparts in the South (Manji 1997:175).
>
> According to the survey, most (80 per cent) of BINGOS are *opposed* [author's italics] to aid being channelled directly to Southern NGOs, for a number of reasons. They allege that Southern NGOs:
>
> - lack the experience to undertake rigorous monitoring and evaluation of projects;
> - lack experience of how to manage projects in accordance with donors' requirements;
> - with direct funding, would shift their accountability away from their own constituencies towards donor agencies;
> - would become more directly influenced by donor agencies in setting their agenda, and hence more 'donor driven';
> - would eventually revolve around the availability of money than the meeting of needs;
> - would end up filling a void created by a retrenching state;
> - would be susceptible to manipulation by donor agencies, and more susceptible to political influence (Manji 1997:175)

The list that Manji provides, when reversed, become a roadmap for northern NGOs wishing to build capacity in its southern allies and highlight the risks (such as being 'donor driven') that the Northern NGO would work to ameliorate. Some of the concerns expressed here are genuine, but they should not be seen as a reason for maintaining the patron/client relationship with southern allies. The effective northern NGO would seek ways to reduce the risks rather than use these reasons as excuses to maintain old patterns of behaviour.

Additionally, the NGO will wish to withdraw from the project while the local community may require the project to continue. This requires that the NGO be able to hand off control of the project to the community organisation. To do so, the NGO will have had to build the capacity of the community organisation, and also assisted the community in establishing stable sources of funding and other resources. Not only do these issues address the potential for a patron/client relationship between northern NGOs and southern allies, but it also addresses the needs for southern NGO project sustainability as well. If the northern NGO has not taken steps to empower and build capacity in the southern NGO, then there is very little chance the project will remain viable once the northern NGO has moved on.

9 Management Methods and Approaches

9.1 Growth can present unique challenges for an NGO. Has the NGO positioned itself for growth or does it seek to remain at a certain size and capacity? (A-9, Q-27)

Fisher (1997) contends that as NGOs grow, they begin to replicate the bureaucratic patterns of other large organisations, drifting from democratic to oligarchic rule. It opens the question as to whether or not small NGOs should seek to grow, or deliberately remain small. If they choose to grow, how can the resist the "Iron Rule of Oligarchy"?

> NGOs are vulnerable to all the problems that befall other kinds of institutions, including the dangers of routinization and the gradual conversion of democratic to oligarchic rule (Fisher 1997: 456).
>
> Some NGOs face routinization, bureaucratization, and institutionalization that encourage the drift toward oligarchy or sap them of their creative potential, while other NGOs are in a process of permanent resistance against that which is "never inherently evil but always dangerous (Gordon 1991: 47 and Simon 1995: 87 referred to in Fisher 1997: 456).
>
> Thus the two approaches to the definition of development lead to different ideas of what is meant by development management, which might be summarised as *management in development* and *management of development* (Thomas 1999: 9). [author's italics]
>
> I would argue that a combination of all three approaches is needed. To this end I intend to develop further the idea of development management as a style of management, of 'management for development' (Thomas 1999: 11)

Thomas (1999) suggests an approach that has the NGO living (managing) the act of development rather than trying to manage the details of development. Development, as an ideology, pervades the organisation, so that all facets of the organisation follow the precepts of development in the normal workday. They 'live' development rather than 'do' development.

9.2 Many NGOs utilize a cadre of professional development officers? How is their influence felt throughout the NGO? (A-4, Q-10)

Perhaps an indirect way of looking at this question would be to examine what is probably the main tool of the development professional -- Logical Framework Analysis (LFA). On the one hand, there is not much doubt that LFA is an effective planning and management tool. However, when used in a typical, large development agency, the result is heavily top-down and definitely non-participatory. In reaction to this form of criticism, LFA has been amended to include some form of participatory effort, usually consisting of meetings with the local community that fit White's minimum level of "Nominal". As Weild (1999) mentions, this top-down or "slavish" approach to LFA tends to "cement" the analysis rather than make it an adaptable vehicle.

> A slavish adherence to the LFA would focus on making the most of the constraints rather than on changing them. LFA experts would argue that that is precisely why there needs to be iterations of the LFA in a process-based way, but there are numerous examples where the emphasis on assumptions has cemented a constraint rather than try to change it (Wield 1999: 40).

Weild has a preference for iterations of LFA. Perhaps efforts should be made to integrate LFA with a genuinely participatory exercise. This brings us back to the question -- How development professionals integrate such management tools into the workings of the NGO?

9.3 How does the NGO ensure that its management methods remain consistent with its core values? (A-2, Q-12)

Increased demands for accountability and professional management have increased along with the trend for increased funding by institutional donors. At some point, these demands run counter to the values of an NGO.

> Correspondingly, although usually a step behind, the *management* [author's italics] of development NGOs' programmes has also had to evolve, along with changing assumptions of what constitutes good performance and, therefore, good management. Most NGOs, at one time or another, will have confronted conflicts between the requirements of good management and the demands of good development (for instance, the 'product' outcomes versus the 'process' outcomes). At the base of these assumptions are certain core convictions of what is *good* or (bad) and what is *right* [author's italics] or (wrong) about the tasks we undertake, and how we go about them. In other words, the organisational value system (Padaki 2000: 421).

Padaki highlights a valid concern that goes to the heart of the creeping bureaucratization which is mentioned by Fisher (1997) -- the victory of processes over values. Properly executed, 'management for development' places core values first and process a distant second. The key to addressing these conundrums would appear to fit neatly within the concept of an **Adaptive-Visionary NGO.** This involves maintaining focus on core values and the vision for the future, while adapting to new requirements, new demands, and new issues, using whatever means considered appropriate.

9.4 Does the NGO tend to replicate its management structures within the GROs and other local organisations with which it works? (A-3, Q-3)

Consider a three-tiered context with an institutional donor, funding a small NGO that has organised a CBO to conduct the project. The donor places reporting and accounting obligation on the NGO that necessitate the adoption of a set of management processes. As the CBO is actually conducting the project, the NGO might, in turn, force down these requirements to the CBO, perhaps impairing the participatory efforts of the CBO. An alternate method would have the NGO shield the CBO from donor demands until the CBO has gained sufficient experience to manage the donor demands on its own terms. This alternative underscores Manji's criticism of British international NGOs; yet it differs in one regard. According to Manji (1997), BINGOs tend not to devolve authority with responsibility to smaller, southern allies and other community groups. The quick-fix would entail replicating management procedures at the local level, while retaining power at higher levels. By first building community group capacity and then passing on both power and responsibility at a later time, it allows the CBO to take on both on its terms.

9.5 NGOs rely heavily on the dedication of their staffs. This places a heavy burden on staff, contributing to burnout, turnover, and other difficulties. What methods and approaches does the NGO use to ensure that its staff does not suffer these difficulties? (A-4, Q-20)

Development personnel work for very low pay and few benefits. NGOs heavily rely on the dedication of their staff and they must remain cognizant that it is not a bottomless well. Project sustainability, in large measure, depends on a stable, committed workforce. An NGO must take steps to ensure that staff needs are met.

10 Globalization and Civil Society

Globalization is not a recent phenomenon. As some argue, the process has been going on for hundreds of years. Yet there is no doubt that its pace has accelerated rapidly in the past two decades. In this same time span, there has been a rapid rise in the number of NGOs.

Globalization has created fertile ground for NGOs by constantly pushing progress in technology, world finance, supra-national regulatory bodies that NGOs utilize, while simultaneously forcing the retrenchment of social programs and exacerbating poverty. Globalization not only appears to provide the "market" for the NGO, it also provides the tools to the NGO to enable them to serve that "market." Considering that neo-liberalism remains the primary ideological driving force for Globalization, for any development NGO to conduct its operations, it must be capable of working within national, international rules and structures, created and/or fostered by a neo-liberal ideology. It relies on agencies with a neo-liberal agenda, such as the World Bank, for resources and assistance. All the while, the NGO tries to undo the social, political, economic, and human damage that neo-liberal forces are accused of having wreaked. Given this dichotomy, the typical observer can be forgiven if he/she becomes confused as to whether neo-liberalism and Globalization is the villain or the saviour in the piece. It is hardly surprising then, that NGOs can be found operating on either side of this ideological divide, while ostensibly working toward similar goals. This raises the question: "Can an NGO be truly effective if it chooses one side of the fence or the other?"

10.1 All development NGOs must work within economic and political structures and forces created by Globalization. Has the NGO been co-opted by these forces? How have they had an impact on its operations? (A-5, Q-20)

The phrase "co-opted by these forces" is judgmental, and can leave the reader with the impression that the following arguments will follow a forgone conclusion. The process of "co-optation" does not preclude the possibility that a "co-opted" NGO will perform valuable work. Rather it is a recognition that NGOs must, at least in some sense, conform to a neo-liberal agenda. Whenever an NGO steps in to replace a withdrawn government service, it is fulfilling a portion of a neo-liberal agenda.

Should an NGO consciously choose an ideological side, it walls itself off from what the other side has to offer. It becomes a classic worldview problem, as the NGO, immersed in its beliefs, ideology, values, and attitudes, cannot see and therefore cannot avail itself of a full range of options before it. Fisher (1997) illustrates this problem as:

> The need for unpacking the literature becomes clear when we consider the degree to which the literature on NGOs relies heavily on several key terms – participation, empowerment, local, and community – each of which has been given a variety of meanings and linked in different ways to analysts' perceptions of the origins, capacities, objectives, and impacts of NGOs. Ironically, with reference to these terms, NGOs have been embraced and promoted in the past decade by international development agencies like the World Bank as well as by radical critics of top-down development. Whether NGOs are seen as the progressive arm of an irresistible march toward liberal democracy that marks the "end of history," an extension of the push toward privatization, or a means to resist the imposition of Western values, knowledge, and development regimes depends on the perspective and agenda of the imaginer (Fisher 1997: 442).

These malleable terms participation, empowerment, local, and community, -- can be located both in the discourses of the most bureaucratic, "top-down" of government agencies, and that of radical, anti-Globalization, activist NGOs. The struggle for domination over the meanings of these terms serves to illuminate the ideological struggle as a whole. Each side has its proponents and critics.

What are the implications for an NGO that seeks to follow an independent or apolitical path? As Fisher puts it:

> Development agencies and international NGOs, in particular, support local NGOs for their effectiveness in pursuing the goals of what some have called a "new policy agenda," a heterogeneous set of policies based on a faith in two basic values – neoliberal economics and liberal democratic theory (Biggs and Neame 1996; Edwards & Hulme; 1996; Moore 1993, Robinson 1993 in Fisher 1997: 444).

This suggests that local NGOs are more likely to receive the resources they need if they align themselves with the goals of the "new policy agenda." However, as Fisher continues to point out:

> NGOs have also been supported by advocates of the new policy agenda, because it is believed that they contribute to democratizing processes. Optimistic

> expectations for democratization have been boosted in the past decade by the successful challenges citizens made to formerly strong states in Eastern Europe and Latin America. But while NGOs are valued as part of a growing civil society that can engage with the state, few scholars have examined the actual contribution NGOs make either to political change and democratization or to political continuity (for exceptions, see Bongartz et. al. 1992; Ndegwa 1993). The connections among development, empowerment, and democratization remain speculative and rhetorical... While prevailing policies assume that democratization is a by-product of development, some analysts have argued that the objectives of development and democratization requires contradictory efforts (see, for example, Carroll 1992) (Fisher 1997: 444-445).

There seems to be choice for NGOs that believe in the development of civil society. If the links between the new policy agenda and the building of a civil society are truly tenuous, then NGOs must begin looking for alternatives. Fowler (1999) looks at the issue from a different perspective:

> The final section argues that globalization calls for a truly international response from NGDOs, namely the formation of global associations. Together, 'downward' devolution and ' upward' association are the strategic response that NGDOs must follow if they are to be relevant players in shaping the type of 'globalization' they want in the twenty-first century (Fowler, 1999:143).

To place these issues in the context of NGO effectiveness, NGOs cannot assume that following a new policy agenda will automatically lead to the holy grail of a civil society. Rather they must consciously work within the structures of Globalization to produce this result. As Fowler (1999) states, it is up to them to shape Globalization as they are being shaped by it. This requires the NGO to live up to the expectations of the new policy agenda so that it may continue to draw support from its proponents, while constantly striving to move the process of building a civil society from rhetoric to reality.

10.2 Does the NGO actively work against the forces of Globalization? Does it seek to defend the local community it serves, against its effects? (A-8, Q-24)

What about NGOs that actively work against neo-liberalism and Globalization? Can these NGOs expect to gain better results? Are they more effective in building a civil society than ones that work within the structures of Globalization? Hintjens (1999) puts this issue into starker terms:

> The present world order resembles a form of global apartheid in which the basic rights of most humanity are denied by international systems of trade, investment, migration control, and information flows (Alexander 1996). In this context, there are pressures on donor agencies to submit to the competitive forces of economic globalization and restructuring. Their operations and employment practices increasingly resemble those of multinational companies operating under a situation of oligopoly, albeit on a more modest scale (Hintjens 1999: 386).

This seems to suggest that any NGO that does not "play by the rules" of the systems and agencies Globalization, risks being marginalized. Perhaps the only NGOs that could swim against this tide, would be ones with completely independent financing, -- i.e. large numbers of small donors that eliminate their reliance on large agencies with a new policy agenda. One example of how such an NGO might be effective comes from an example of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union (KWRU) located in the very poor Kensington/North Philadelphia area of Philadelphia. Honkala et. al. (1999) describe how this union organized by local poor women retains its independence of action.

> KWRU is a fiercely grassroots organisation. We receive some money from individuals and a few small foundation grants but survive primarily off the commitment and creativity of members and allies. KWRU actively fights the 'social service mentality' of going to the system and expecting to be given something. We know that the social services are being cut and that the welfare state is dying and cannot and will not meet peoples' needs. While KWRU's Projects of Survival do include welfare advocacy and navigating city services that force people to jump through endless hoops. [sic] Those who are helped in this process are expected to join the fight, help others, and organise [sic] to build a movement to end poverty (Baptist 1997 in Honkala et. al. 1999: 532).

In the example of the KWRU, we can see a strategy for effectiveness outside of the agencies of the new policy agenda. The KWRU not only maintains fiscal independence, but it uses the efforts of those it helps to augment its future efforts. The more work it performs, the more volunteers it is able to call upon.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

One consistent theme emerged through this thesis. Authors and commentators were sometimes at odds over which approach was the most effective, each supplying evidence to support their case. Taking each article or book at face value, reading each in isolation, one can gain an appreciation of these points of view. The examples cited in works provide convincing evidence of the problems and the advantages of the NGO development approach. Yet when one pulls these works together, the contradictions are glaring. Every argument or point of view seemed to have merit; yet all could not be right. For every ideological, religious, managerial, bureaucratic or theoretical approach, one finds advantages, weaknesses, contradictions, and counter-arguments. Drawing from this, one can say that all development methodologies and approaches are suspect to a greater or lesser extent. All ideologies are inherently exclusionary and are therefore at best, insufficient. All development theories are open to challenge, revision, and re-invention, and all management approaches are fraught with difficulties and pitfalls. Therefore, we can say with total comfort that no 'ism' has a complete answer to the development conundrum.

The problem begins with the very definition of 'effectiveness'. When driven by the forces of bureaucratic accountability, merely changing the criteria can cause an ineffective NGO to appear effective. Vague, hard to measure mission and objectives can produce the same result. The criteria can be blurred to such an extent that assessments can evaluate 'efficient' programs as 'effective' programs (as if being efficient ensures effectiveness – the assumption of "market forces" ideologies), yet the contrary of being inefficient or amateurish is hardly an attractive alternative. Compounding this, programs can be effective over the short run of the project, yet be ineffective when measured on a longer time frame. It simply requires an alteration of the time scale to render the desired conclusion. Ultimately, it is the client community that must be the final judge of NGO effectiveness, using criteria that follow along the lines of, "Has the project improved the quality of our lives?" Only the community can truly answer this question.

Given all of this, no NGO can engage in development activities with complete confidence in its theories, methods, and approaches. Yet to engage in development activities without confidence in one's abilities is hardly a recipe for success. How can this be reconciled? Essentially, an effective NGO can never be satisfied with itself. It must always be in a self-critical mode, excluding no aspect, especially its Western epistemology, ideology, and core values. It must be capable of learning from its past efforts, the local community, and any other source that influences its operations. Of course, there is a potential downside to this. An NGO could spend more of its efforts in evaluation and criticism than in doing. There is a time for planning, for evaluation and a time for action. The effective NGO has to find a balance by making evaluation a part of their routine operations.

The development discourse conceals as much as it reveals. The development NGO must be cognizant of its usage and what it reveals/conceals. There is a disturbing trend to utilize the discourse to conceal a bureaucratic, top-down agenda. It is understandable how an NGO may 'play the game' and utilize this bureaucratic language to enable it to access the funds it needs. Nevertheless, an NGO must be clear-eyed about the usage to ensure it does not begin to "believe its own press releases" so to speak. Simply stating in the funding approval documentation that a given program is participatory and sustainable, does not make it so. There is a corrupting influence in this process that values form over substance. And as the cynical might say, the odds of obtaining such funding are directly proportional to the mastery of the bureaucratic discourse and process. The situation is not changing. If anything it is likely to worsen as official donors take on an increasing role and the pressure for 'accountability' (in bureaucratic terms) increases. If a development NGO is largely reliant on official funding sources then it must be capable of navigating these bureaucratic processes through the artful use of the discourse, while remaining true to its values. Internally, the NGO must also remain cognizant of its usage of the discourse for even if it successfully navigates these bureaucratic shoals, the capacity for self-delusion remains.

The effective NGO is guided by experience, motivated by principle, and committed to development in the totality of what that word implies. Development is an all-encompassing act, effecting not only those who 'enjoy' its end product but all those who deliver it. The effective NGO must essentially live the act of development – it should never be seen as something that is done by it to others. In this sentence lies the heart of the resolution of the power problem. An NGO, by its very position, is a bastion of power within the community and an influence on the power balance within the community. An NGO that views development as an act that is done to others can potentially exacerbate the power issue. One that lives development as an all-encompassing act will likely ameliorate the distorting effects of its presence.

Some will argue that for an NGO to be truly effective, it must be a catalyst for change, even when that need is resisted by the community. A catalyst that, by its very nature, can upset the power balance of the community. When dramatic issues such as female genital mutilation are concerned, it is difficult not to take such a hard-line advocacy position. But one must ask the question, "What happens when the NGO leaves?" For if the NGO were to take such a position, the lasting resentments created should surely overwhelm the fragile structures it may have created. Lasting positive change cannot be instilled without lasting, positive commitment on the part of those involved. Lasting, positive commitment is never instilled by imposition from above.

An effective NGO engaged in an activist-interventionist role will not only create the conditions necessary for change, it will help create the acceptance of the need for change and the acceptance of the results. In such endeavours, there are legitimate arguments concerning the actions of NGOs as a neo-colonizing force, imposing Western values on an unwilling non-Western populace. There is validity to these arguments as the line between progressive NGO development actions and old style Modernization policies is finer than one might think. When an NGO takes an activist role to discourage FGM, HIV propagation, or the cultural practices that exacerbate infant mortality from diarrhoeal diseases, we would likely applaud the effort despite the cultural dislocation that may result. Yet there is still a certain Western cultural arrogance behind these actions even though most would agree that they constitute a "good thing." The distinctions start to become increasingly blurred when the NGO delves into local politics and economics. At what point does the NGO activist-interventionist role begin to become a Western neo-colonial one? Obviously, there can be no magic line in the sand, instantly recognizable before it is over-stepped. One cannot create rules that specify, -- "This is acceptable while this is not." For no two cases will ever be exactly the same. Rather, one must create within the NGO, the capacity to critically analyse its intended actions so that it may select the most appropriate response, understanding where that line may be, and understanding when it is about to be over-stepped.

Probably the most critical element to be evaluated concerns the NGO's understanding of the totality of its impacts upon the local community. Any development NGO entering a local community sets itself up as a power centre. Its actions can interrupt the existing power structures within the community. It can exacerbate power inequities. Participation is an act of empowerment and to deny participation is to deny access to power. To create the conditions whereby the local community fully exercise its power may result in the community deciding to leave things as they are with the desired change not occurring. Going back to my three previous examples of "good things", an NGO desirous of creating a change that might be resisted may lack the will to fully engage in a participatory development project that could result in the community deciding not to proceed. The NGO may feel that it is faced with the quandary of either doing it the right way or getting the job done. Participation to its fullest extent can be viewed as an impediment to getting the job done. As a solution, it may decide to sidestep the problem by encouraging participation by only those who are not likely to thwart the project. So in the case of gender equality and empowerment, it might only choose to include the women in the participatory exercise cognizant that the males are likely to resist. It may be hoped that whatever structures are eventually erected, that they are formidable enough to withstand the predictable male backlash once the NGO withdraws. Odds are, they will not. Currently in the news, a Canadian army unit is refusing to assist a village school in Afghanistan unless the school admits both boys and girls. The village will probably acquiesce, as its need is so great, yet one has to wonder if the girls will still be in school once the army and the media have left. In such a situation, those who are most likely to resist the development actions are the ones most in need of engagement by the NGO. One does not help victims by making victims out of the victimizers. It may be satisfying but it is rarely a permanent solution.

Ideologies are inherently exclusionary. They specify what is acceptable and what is not, who is acceptable and who is not. Considering the development NGO that is both ideologically driven and committed to participation, there is a fundamental contradiction in practicing a methodology of inclusion while also motivated by exclusionary beliefs. How can an ideologically driven NGO explore a full range of development options and methods with a participating community, when part of that range is ideologically unacceptable? For an NGO to avail itself of the full range of potential solutions, it must have the flexibility, the adaptability to explore them. However, it must be capable of maintaining its focus on both short and long term development goals. Consequently, an effective NGO will be both adaptive and visionary. The following table illustrates how the differences between ideologically driven NGOs of the right and left versus an Adaptive-Visionary one.

The future for development NGOS will be more demanding and less certain. Successful NGOs must be capable of meeting these demands, coping with the uncertainty, while maintaining their vision of development for communities in need – a feat that will require considerable ideological, theoretical, and methodological agility. They will have to find ways to successfully blend pragmatism with an activist's passion. In taking a cafeteria approach to theory and method, they risk losing their way and becoming more susceptible to the siren song of major donors.

Comparative Framework: the Spectrum Of Development NGOs

Characteristics	Modernization / New World Order NGO	Adaptive Visionary NGO	Civil Society / Activist NGO
Ideology	Neo-liberal / Conservative.	Guided by principles rather than ideology.	Socialist / Marxist.
Epistemology	Western, rational, scientific.	Values non-Western as well as Western thought – utilizes both.	Rooted in Western, rational, scientific thought but open to other epistemologies.
Theoretical Development Model	Modernization.	Choose theoretical model best suited for a given situation.	Dependency.
Development Methodology	Application of projects based on market rules.	Pragmatic methodologies chosen for best effect.	Building of a civil society.
Scope	Short-term – project-by-project.	Short-term project achieve that builds toward long-term goals.	Long-term – social change.
Objectives	Narrowly focused on needs as articulated by its projects.	Short-term objectives fit into long term ones.	Broadly focused on long-term change.
Development Management Approach	Top-down.	People oriented bottom-up.	Bottom-up.
Decentralization	Decentralization of action, not control, resources or power.	Decentralization of all aspects but respecting donor requirements for control.	Decentralization of all aspects.
Empowerment	Limited.	A fundamental component of the objectives but capable of working with local elites and power structures.	A fundamental component of the objectives – tendency to confrontation.
Representation & Voice	Limited.	Develops methodologies to permit the marginalised to speak for themselves.	Seen to represent the poor and marginalised to the West.
Accountability	Accountable to the dominant donor.	Accountable first to the community and only then to the donors and others.	Varying degrees of accountable to the many actors involved.
Efficiency	Managerial approach usually results in projects meeting budget and schedule requirements. Usual definition of efficiency in market terms.	Able to meet the management demands while resisting pressures to become managerial in outlook and diminishing participation as a result.	Participatory approach leads to loosely defined projects that do not appear to have clear frameworks. Appear to be poorly managed, inefficient.
Power Relationships	Maintains power in a client-patron relationship.	Cognizant of its power position in the community. Works to ameliorate the resulting distorting effects.	Retains power in a more subtle fashion.
Resistance	Attempts to overcome resistance through the use of its levers of power.	Inclusive practices utilizing consensus and recognizing resistance as a legitimate.	May attempt an inclusive approach but may also try to sideline or marginalize those who are opposed.
Participation	Very limited actual participation – little more than "listening" to the client.	Uses genuine participatory practices up to and including the decision on whether or not to conduct a participatory project.	Utilizes participatory methods to varying degrees.
Knowledge	"Knowledge is Power" – shares very little.	Shares knowledge with allies and community.	Shares knowledge with allies and community.
The 'Local'	Recognizes the value of the 'local' only within a limited context that does not threaten top-down control.	The local is not an ideal, it is a reality, the context in which the NGO must serve, utilize, and respect.	Valorization of the 'local'.
Donor Community	Very close and generally smooth relationship with large, institutional donors – implements donor agenda.	Maintains good relationships with large, institutional donors but strives to limit influence at the project level.	Eschews becoming dependent on large, institutional donors, yet may not have a choice.
Local Alliances	Incorporates local allies within top-down management.	Builds local alliances with attention to long-term sustainability.	Builds local alliances.
Evaluation Methods	Quantitative, tied closely to project framing.	Capable of meeting a variety of evaluation needs.	Qualitative, lacking in measurable results.

The Adaptive-Visionary concept establishes an ideal for NGO effectiveness. It is predicated on a development environment that will become more difficult, more challenging, more demanding, and more uncertain. Already, the clamouring has started in political circles to turn development over to the private sector as first official development agencies and now NGOs have "failed to produce". Past failures (or the presumption of failures) have increased the demands for a bureaucratically and politically driven accountability that does little for improving program effectiveness at the community level. We see governments closing the circle. Having given up providing aid and services directly and having turned over development to the NGO sector, they now seek to bind the development NGO close to their bureaucratic breast, reasserting the primacy of their role. Having become disenchanted with NGOs as their 'service provider of choice' one can assume that the ideological jump to the private sector will be a short one.

Chapter 7

Adaptive-Visionary Reprised:

No NGO would be without an underlying epistemology, ideology, and development theory that informs their work. An **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** would have to recognise how these underlying factors distort as well as guide their efforts in leading them to choose one path over another. An **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** does not attempt to rid itself of these factors but rather, it remains always cognizant of their potentially distorting effects. It uses evaluative processes that examine not only its performance but also critically examines their underlying assumptions.

Development NGOs have become more dependent on official donors or large international NGOs and with that dependency has come pressure to conform the ideologies and procedures of these donors. An **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** would, out of necessity, find itself in the same position regarding these donors, as would any other development NGO. However, an **Adaptive-Visionary NGO**, while maintaining its core values and vision, will adapt its processes to meet the bureaucratic requirements of the donor. It would recognise that all stakeholders have legitimate interests and would strive to ensure that the interests of the donor are respected while maintaining its focus on the client community. It is in this tension of competing interests that the concept of an **Adaptive-Visionary NGO** is best illustrated for it will strive for the best balance it can achieve, adapting its processes and methods to suit, critically evaluating its results, yet all the while, remaining true to its vision.

Appendix A

Background and Biases:

Originally, my thesis was to cover the importance of relationships in the crafting of an effective NGO. As part of the project research, I intended to interview NGO management to elicit their views on the subject. During the initial planning of the project, I indulged in a thought exercise based on my then 29 years of experience in working in medium sized and large financial institutions. It had occurred to me that the problems experienced between the Head Office and the branch offices of a bank would likely be replicated in kind through the headquarters and field operations of an NGO, or alternately, between the operations of the NGO and its major donor, or between a northern NGO and its southern ally. This thought exercise resulted in a concept that I had termed the **Head Office – Field Dynamic** (HOFD.) Through this vehicle, I was able to explore my experiences and biases from a life spent working in and interacting with large bureaucracies. I believe that the HOFD concept does in part, explain some of the issues I have encountered in my research.

Interestingly, during my first attempt at a thesis research project, I contacted and interviewed managers in four NGOs for the purpose of arranging the logistics of organizing the research. During these logistical interviews, I described the project and its potential benefits by highlighting some of the difficulties in forging relationships in a small, geographically spread and culturally diverse organisation. These few interviews produced small revelations for the managers as they saw in my descriptions possible explanations as to why various NGO projects of theirs had not lived up to expectations. Within their revelations, I found confirmation that I was indeed on the right track and that my work experiences were mirrored in the NGO experience.

The following is a description of HOFD that I had originally drawn up for my first research proposal.

The Head Office – Field Office Dynamic (HOFD):

> Given that organisations fulfill such vital roles in our lives, I am often surprised at the seeming lack of attention Anthropology pays to organisational culture. In my estimation, it is a very rich and important field where Anthropology could play a significant role. In my first research proposal, I spoke about the Head Office – Field Dynamic (I have invented the acronym HOFD "hoffdee" for easy reference) and it became apparent to me as I researched evaluative ethnography, that HOFD seemed to be playing a part in the institutional uses of the approach. In every large organisational culture, there are regional or departmental variations that can often frustrate operations. I believe that HOFD represents the key ingredient explaining those differences. First, an overview of HOFD:

HOFD describes the conflicts resulting from differing worldviews that occur in a bipolar relationship between a central authority and a remote (either geographically and/or institutionally) unit and/ or individual. HOFD is fundamentally a power relationship, however, it is unique compared to the other classic forms of power relationships in that:

- Both parties in the relationship share the same, similar, overlapping, or complementary objectives.
- The relationship is symbiotic - operates for mutual benefit.
- The "Head Office" component is responsible for setting policy, making most of the decisions and has control over the majority of the resources.
- Very little or no coercion is involved.

In the case of organisations and individuals, both parties freely entered into the relationship and both parties are free to leave it (contractual relationships notwithstanding.)

As examples, HOFD type relationships can be found in:

- Head Office – Field Office relationships in corporate environments (from which the dynamic obtains its name.)
- Classic military hierarchy and its corporate/government derivatives.
- Mother country – colony.
- City – hinterland

- Seller – Buyer
- Service provider – service user
- NGO – field project
- Northern NGO – southern NGO
- AIDS Service Organisation – HIV/AIDS patient

> Obviously, this list can be extended considerably. All of these types of relationships have, at their core, the characteristics of a HOFD relationship. One would think that given these characteristics, the relationship would be smooth, however, the subtle differences in situation, context, objectives, and motivations produce distinctly different worldviews. These differences complicate the relationship and can lead to its eventual dysfunction or failure.

One glaring error in this original draft of the HOFD concept, is that in some of the situations identified, coercion is indeed a factor to be considered. Despite some weaknesses in its presentation, I believe it forms a potential analytical basis for the discussion of the influences on NGO objectives.

Appendix B

This appendix contains the original *interrogation* protocol on NGO effectiveness, produced from the review of the thirty articles on development NGOs. The protocol was developed through three stages: a draft outline during the initial literature review, a test development stage where it was applied to ten articles, and the final development stage where it was applied to the remaining articles. The final version grew to 17 categories and 343 questions, which was simply too large and cumbersome to use. It was subsequently reduced to 10 categories and 57 questions through an iterative process described in the Methodology chapter and illustrated in Appendices D and E.

1. NGO Mission and Objectives

1.1. What is the stated mission of the NGO?

1.2. What are the development objectives of the NGO?

1.3. Are their objectives oriented to tangible, measurable improvements in the quality of life of the client community?

1.4. Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?

1.5. Does the NGO live up to its mission and objectives?

1.6. Does the NGO know how and/or possess the resources to adequately determine if it is living up to its mission and objectives?

1.7. Are external allies, funders, and/or government agencies imposing their objectives and agendas on the NGO?

1.8. Who sets the objectives?

1.9. Who determines if they are successfully met?

1.10. Who defines success?

1.11. How does the NGO embrace / manage growth?

1.12. Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?

1.13. Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?

1.14. Are the objectives, mission, and values shared equally across the NGO?

1.15. If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it appropriately represents those for whom it advocates?

1.16. Does the NGO identify and nurture its core values?

2. Origins and History of Operations

2.1. What were the circumstances of the founding of the NGO?

2.2. Who were the originators and how was the NGO organized and operated?

2.3. Who were the principle funders?

2.4. Who composed the original client community?

2.5. How have these characteristics changed over time?

2.6. How best should the NGO be identified in terms of Korten's Generations?[1]

2.7. Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principal founder?

2.8. Is the NGO associated with, or was once associated with a government or other organization that had a less than desirable reputation?

2.9. Has the NGO gone through a period of significant growth / mergers?

2.10. Has the NGO undergone a cathartic reform of its fundamental principles and methods?

2.11. Has the NGO undergone a period of significant decline or stagnation?

---

[1] Korten (1990) has posited that there are four types of development NGOs that have emerged over time, starting with *Relief and Welfare*, then progressing through *Community Development*, *Sustainable Systems Development*, to *People's Movements*.

3. Program Objectives

3.1. What are the primary program objectives?

3.2. Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?

3.3. In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?

3.4. To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?

3.5. Does the NGO program include political lobbying?

3.6. Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.

3.7. Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global, social model?

3.8. Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives where it is difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?

3.9. Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?

3.10. Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?

3.11. If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the powerful and/or articulate?

3.12. How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original objectives?

3.13. Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maintained?

3.14. Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client community?

3.15. Does the NGO impose specific project time cycles as part of the framing process?

3.16. Is the process of project evaluation bound to the original framing of the project?

3.17. Are the project objectives framed to meet the requirements of the principal funder?

3.18. Are project objectives and approvals based on the results of sophisticated technical analysis?

3.19. Are project objectives approvals subject to a long climb through the bureaucracy where each level is able to filter or amend the project?

3.20. Does the NGO negotiate local acceptance of the project objectives that were originally derived from the principal donor's requirements?

3.21. Are project objectives re-evaluated when they are confronted with real limitations in the abilities of local development workers and the client community to implement the project?

3.22. Are attempts to evaluate program effectiveness based on broad socio-economic outcomes that may be difficult to measure?

3.23. Does there appear to be a deliberate vagueness in program objectives?

3.24. If the NGO program includes advocacy, was this function developed from practical experience or academic thinking?

3.25. Are program objectives determined within a wider context than the client community?

3.26. How does the NGO attempt to balance its advocacy position with the practical realities of "getting the job done"?

3.27. How does the NGO resolve the tension between project simplicity and local tensions?

3.28. Is the NGO able to translate project ideas into action?

3.29. Does the NGO manage by project or take a wider view?

3.30. Does the NGO use Logical Framework Analysis (LFA), Results based Management (RBM), or some form of Management by Objectives (MBO) style project design and management?

3.31. Is the LFA performed by a consultant?

3.32. Does the LFA process incorporate participation and if so, to what degree?

3.33. How is the LFA used?

3.34. Are the projects managed in a top-down fashion?

3.35. Does the use of LFA type tools result in the elimination, suppression, or dilution of participation?

3.36. Does the NGO work to achieve long term civil society goals through the use of short term, pragmatic project goals?

4. Program Outcomes and Evaluation

4.1. How are the outcomes of the programs determined?

4.2. How are they assessed for effectiveness?

4.3. Does the NGO have an established procedure for evaluating outcome effectiveness?

4.4. Does an outside agency place pressure on the NGO to evaluate outcomes?

4.5. Are evaluations seen in a positive light (i.e. a means to improve program effectiveness) or a negative one (i.e. merely fulfilling a bureaucratic requirement?)

4.6. Does there appear to be a disconnect between the evaluation of a program by the client community and local workers on the one hand and the NGO management on the other?

4.7. Are the results of outcome evaluations used to improve future programs or are they used to fulfill bureaucratic requirements?

4.8. Does the NGO appear to be working against, or pulling away from stated objectives?

4.9. What transpired when program outcomes adhered to program objectives but did not meet the needs of the client community?

4.10. Are efforts made to conduct long-term analyses on the benefits of various projects?

4.11. How are project failures handled? Are they hidden away from scrutiny or are they used as lessons to improve future programs?

4.12. Are any efforts made to use successful programs as models that may be beneficial either internally or with other NGOs?

4.13. Does the NGO maintain a procedure to ensure that the results of past programs server to improve future ones?

4.14. Do program evaluations reflect core values as well as standard reporting tools?

4.15. Are the program evaluation methodologies participatory in nature?

4.16. Are the program methodologies designed to facilitate participation?

4.17. Can participants use the evaluation results to inform and improve their lives?

4.18. Does the NGO use some form of pre-post project evaluation process?

4.19. Has the program lead to a material improvement in the quality of life of the local community and its individual members?

4.20. Do the NGO's evaluation methodologies and approaches fit LFA or other typical top-down methods?

4.21. Does the NGO use a structured, multi-level evaluative approach, recognizing different needs and different audiences?

4.22. Are evaluations conducted in a manner appropriate to both the local community and project requirements?

4.23. Does the NGO discount or avoid using various evaluative methodologies and/or approaches that are considered contradictory to its core ideology?

4.24. Does the NGO actively measure fiscal effectiveness?

4.25. Has the NGO attempted to determine if its use of participatory methods has actually proved beneficial?

4.26. Has the NGO adopted a rigorous approach to evaluation that ensures that "development" has occurred both in the technical completion of the project and in its broadest sense -- both for the NGO and the community?

5. Funding and Accountability

5.1. What are the proportions between private, corporate and public funding of the NGO?

5.2. What influences of funders are at work in the operations of the NGO?

5.3. Do the requirements of 'accountability' result in control or undue influence of the NGO's operations by a dominant funder?

5.4. What are the NGOs primary strategies and methods for fund raising?

5.5. Do these methods influence the activities of the NGO by creating commitments to donors -- an image that must be maintained -- or result in the subsuming of the NGO's mandate to that of the donor's?

5.6. Has the proportion between private funding on the one hand and corporate plus public funding on the other, shifted significantly over recent years toward the latter?

5.7. Does the NGO have a significant degree of economic independence?

5.8. Has the NGO become essentially a "contracting out" agency for a government, performing what was once a government-run service?

5.9. Does the NGO cooperate and/or share its funding experience with others?

5.10. Is the NGO transparent in its funding and accounting practices?

5.11. When the NGO is faced with reconciling the often contradictory requirements of accountability and participation, to which side does it lean?

5.12. Are funding decisions made on the basis of proposals drawn from evaluation reports containing little or no field or client community input?

5.13. Is the funding subject to the "flavour of the year" where types of projects fall in or out of favour based on fads in the development industry?

5.14. Is the NGO willing to risk its funding to pursue a goal consistent with its humanitarian principles, should that goal run counter to the beliefs/objectives of its main source of funds?

5.15. Does the NGO have stable and sufficient funding, and if so, how does this influence its approach?

5.16. Is the NGO heavily scrutinized by outside donors and/or public institutions?

5.17. Does the NGO have the flexibility, under the terms of its financial arrangements, to re-allocate financial resources to meet the unexpected?

5.18. Is the NGO's funding sustainable?

5.19. If the project is to be handed over to local organization(s), has the NGO planned and/or taken steps to ensure continued funding and accountability?

5.20. Has the NGO compromised its core values in its competition for funds?

5.21. Does the NGO operate in a transparent and accountable way toward its client community?

5.22. Does the NGO have legitimacy with its client community?

5.23. Does the NGO "represent" the local community to the dominant funder?

5.24. Does the NGO act as if it is in a patron-client relationship regarding the disbursement of funds and the provision of other resources to Grass Root Organisations and Community Based Organisations?

5.25. Does the NGO support or oppose funds being channeled directly to southern allied NGOs?

5.26. Is the NGO "downwardly" accountable?

5.27. Do the requirements of accountability and funding result in the NGO playing some form of role in the foreign policy of its native country?

6. Development Theory

6.1. Does the NGO espouse a market approach to solving the development issues of its clients? If so, does it concern itself or attempt to ameliorate the inequalities that arise from free market methods? Does it espouse market freedoms as a means toward political and social freedoms?

6.2. Does the NGO follow a liberation path that views the free market as a neo-colonial force? (Dependency Model)[2]

6.3. Is the NGO attempting to follow a third way or new model?

6.4. Does the NGO accept participation as a means of ensuring the relevance of its work?

6.5. Does the NGO believe that by working through local NGOs, CBOs, or GROs ensures relevancy?

6.6. Does the NGO view development as the "development of the individual"?

6.7. Development as a form of power – has the NGO closed off alternative ways of thinking?

6.8. Does the NGO view development as a "Western" solution?

6.9. Does the imposition of "Western" solutions "create a need" for development?

---

[2] A Marxist model of development based on the radicalization of a theory of deterioration in the terms of trade between the powerful *centre* and weak *periphery* (First and Third Worlds) as first identified by Latin American economists of the Economic Commission for Latin American (CEPAL) in the 1940s and 1950s (Escobar 1995: 80-81).

7. Research Method/Approach

7.1. Participatory Action

7.1.1. Are participatory methods being used appropriately (i.e. serves the community)? In what way?

7.1.2. Participation can be seen as a dynamic process that itself is a site of conflict. How does the NGO manage these potential conflicts?

7.1.3. Participation also has inherent in it, a power relationship between the NGO and its clients. How is this resolved?

7.1.4. Is incorporation into participatory methods used as a means of control?

7.1.5. White describes NGOs using participation at different levels: Nominal, Instrumental, Representative, Transformative. Where does this NGO fit in to this model? (see p. 82)

7.1.6. How does the NGO attempt to implement participatory practices?

7.1.7. Does participation within the NGO/project take on different forms and serve different interests?

7.1.8. Are the various interests competing within the participatory project identified?

7.1.9. What are the various interests competing for?

7.1.10. Does the process of sharing - as a component of participation -- result in the sharing of power?

7.1.11. Who participates in the project?

7.1.12. Who decides who participates in the project?

7.1.13. Is there any attempt to evaluate participatory practices? Results?

7.1.14. Is participation being used as a development "feel good" tactic that obscures a lack of progress in the material well-being of the communities in need?

7.1.15. Is participation used as a means to incorporate local groups into an agenda of top-down economic liberalization that works against members needs?

7.1.16. Does the NGO espouse an egalitarian model consistent with participation?

7.1.17. How does the NGO reconcile the ideals of participation with the practical realities of project management and accountability?

7.1.18. Does the client community (or portions thereof) share the enthusiasm for participation as established by the NGO?

7.1.19. Does the NGO win the confidence of the client community that their interests will be represented through participation?

7.1.20. Are individuals from the client community brought into the project to make for a perceived lack of participation?

7.1.21. Does participation reshape and/or create "interests"?

7.1.22. Does the opportunity for community participation diminish as the NGO asserts control over the program?

7.1.23. Are participatory methods being used to conceal a top-down, authoritarian approach?

7.1.24. Is the NGO attempting to improve its participatory methods?

7.1.25. Is the NGO actively working to improve local capacity and empowerment through participatory methods?

7.1.26. Does the NGO encourage participatory learning?

7.1.27. Does the NGO modify its participatory practices so as to align them with local, traditional means of social organization?

7.1.28. Does the NGO use participatory methods that result in negative self-perceptions within the local community?

7.1.29. Does the NGO facilitate local organization building?

7.1.30. When the NGO commits to participation, does it amend its methods to permit the client community to fully participate or does it use the exclusiveness of its method to wall off the community?

7.2. Co-operative Inquiry

7.2.1. Is "co-operative inquiry" being used appropriately (i.e. serves the group) (Reason 1998: 267-268)? In what way?

7.2.2. Does the NGO approach the client community as "self-determining"?

7.2.3. Does the NGO utilize co-operative inquiry methods when participatory approaches prove problematic?

7.2.4. Is an "inquiry" methodology used to find common ground or build consensus?

7.3. Action Science and Inquiry

7.3.1. Is action inquiry being used appropriately (i.e., does it serve the individual practitioner)? In what way?

7.3.2. Are action inquiry research methods being used to preserve the research within the domain of the development professional?

7.4. Internally Reflexive

7.4.1. Does the NGO encourage internal critique?

7.5. Centrist-Authoritarian

7.5.1. The interests of "top-down" do not match "bottom-up." What are these interests?

7.5.2. How does the "top" impose its will to ensure that its agenda is met?

7.5.3. Does the "top" attempt to hide its power and control through participation and empowerment?

7.5.4. Does the "top" work to thwart the community's legitimate interests?

7.5.5. Have they adopted the discourse of participation without adapting their methods?

7.5.6. Does the NGO operate primarily in a "top-down," authoritarian fashion?

7.6. Anti-System Movement

7.6.1. Does the NGO adhere to a philosophy that is primarily anti New World Order? Does it reflect a New Social Movement (NSM)

7.6.2. In what way does the NGO contribute to the growth of a civil society?

7.6.3. Does the NGO contribute to the building of a civil society with the end goal of transforming the state and/or enhancing social capital?

7.6.4. How does the NGO reconcile its civil society building goals and efforts with the lack of progress in effecting global structures that perpetuate poverty and injustice?

7.7. Proselytizing

7.7.1. Does the NGO have a significant proselytizing agenda?

7.7.2. What effects does a proselytizing agenda have on the NGO's development agenda?

7.7.3. As a faith based NGO, does the NGO prohibit proselytizing as being inimical to the development process?

7.8. Profit based

7.8.1. Is the NGO essentially a profit making operation?

8. Power Relationships

8.1. Are community leaders co-opted or pressured into cooperation?

8.2. Is power shared?

8.3. Is incorporation used as a means of control?

8.4. Is empowerment being used as a means to a predetermined end?

8.5. What "weapons of the weak" are employed by the disadvantaged to alter the power relationships in their favour (Scott 1985)?

8.6. Do project processes shape power relationships, and in what way?

8.7. What external power relationships impinge on the client community, NGO, partners, and alliances?

8.8. In what way is the project affected by these relationships?

8.9. Is there renegotiation of empowerment as the project proceeds?

8.10. Is knowledge used as power?

8.11. Are the relationships that the NGO depends upon for its continued, successful operation, well understood?

8.12. Does the NGO actively work to ameliorate its power advantage over the client community and local organizations?

8.13. How does the NGO reconcile participatory method with powerful local elites whose position it may harm?

8.14. Are expedient choices made to further the project that leave unequal and unjust power structures unchallenged?

8.15. How does the NGO reconcile its advocacy position with host country elites and/or governments that may be openly hostile to its advocacy position?

8.16. How does the NGO respond to power inequalities based on gender?

8.17. How does the NGO respond to the attitudes of local elites [adversely] affected by the project?

8.18. How does the NGO emphasize the “local” while leaving existing power inequalities intact and unchallenged?

8.19. Does the NGO view the “local” within its broader context?

9. The Development Discourse

9.1. Is there evidence of self-deception through the language of development?

9.2. Are development issues and problems resolved by re-inventing the language of development?

9.3. What are the meanings with the NGO's use of the development discourse?

9.4. Are there elements of postmodernist or poststructuralist approaches in the discourse of the NGO? If so, how does the NGO attempt to relate these approaches with the apparent need of an NGO to be grounded in the experiences of its client communities? Do these approaches point to an over intellectualized approach by the NGO?

9.5. Does the use of the language of development conceal an underlying adherence to the methods and approaches of economic Globalization?

9.6. Does the discourse of development conceal a bureaucratic approach that has become self-serving and ineffectual?

9.7. Has the current development discourse created a new orthodoxy that the NGO appears to follow?

9.8. Has the term "Sustainable Development" had its meaning inflated by the NGO to the point that it becomes a "metafix"?

9.9. Does the NGO critically examine its use of the development discourse and the effects its usage has had on its approaches?

9.10. Does the term "participation" tend to produce unrealistic goals?

9.11. Has the NGO alternately embraced then discarded development "fads"?

9.12. Does the NGO appear limited or constrained by the discourse of development?

9.13. How does the NGO interpret and utilize the meaning of the terms "development," "participation," and "empowerment?"

9.14. Does the NGO speak of "Third World" societies in romantic terms?

9.15. Does the NGO view its efforts in the context of building a civil society, anti-authoritarian and pro-democratic? Does it view its efforts as a transformative force?

9.16. Are the elements of "anti-development" thinking within the NGO?

9.17. In what context does the NGO utilize "decentralization?"

9.18. In what context does participation and decentralization interact

9.19. Does the NGO value "the local" to its fullest extent?

9.20. Does the NGO maintain the local and the non-local as discrete entities?

9.21. Has the NGO embodied neo-liberal positions within the body of development and participatory discourses?

10. Political Ideology

10.1. The development industry is criticized by the left and the right. Many NGOs exhibit a centrist, populist, political stance that is enunciated using the language of the left and practiced within the national and international economic and political context of the right. Does this produce unresolved tensions within the NGO?

10.2. There can be a disjunction between the populist policies of the NGO and the right-wing political realities in which it must operate. How does it manage this disconnect? Does it force compromises on NGO operations that result in impaired results? Is the language of development being used to mask this impairment?

10.3. Is the term "democracy" used in elastic terms to incorporate "goodness" into the process?

10.4. Is the NGO allied with a political party?

10.5. Is the NGO an extension of a political party?

10.6. Is the NGO morphing into a political party?

10.7. Does the NGO utilize the politics of confrontation and activism?

10.8. Does the NGO espouse a particular political/religious ideology?

10.9. Are the operations of the NGO rooted in a particular faith?

10.10. Has the NGO undergone ideological struggles within its own ranks, with its supporters and/or with like-minded NGOs?

10.11. An NGO that attempts to maintain a politically and ideologically neutral stance may draw criticism from both the right and the left. How does it cope with this?

10.12. Does the NGO seek to co-opt CBOs or GROs into its dominant ideology?

10.13. Has the NGO become a conduit for spreading a market-oriented ideology?

10.14. Does the NGO work within the concept of "common good" and "public spaces"?

10.15. Is the NGO attempting to situate itself within a new ideology -- looking for new ways, models and alternatives?

10.16. Is the political landscape of the NGO well understood?

10.17. Are the relationships between the NGO and social movements well understood?

10.18. Does the NGO recognize the expanding web of relationships and its role within that web?

10.19. Are the activities of the NGO driven by its ideology?

10.20. Does the ideology of the NGO emerge from its activities?

10.21. Does the NGO fall into a "revisionist neo-liberalism" or "post-Marxist" positions?

10.22. Has the NGO politicized the "local" as a counter to state and/or centralizing forces? (post-Marxist position)

11. Alliances, Allies, Networks, and Partners

11.1. What alliances, networks is the NGO involved with?

11.2. What partnerships has the NGO joined/built?

11.3. What influences do these alliances, networks and partnerships have on the NGO?

11.4. Does the NGO use a local partner to implement the project?

11.5. Are local allies used to legitimize "top-down" driven development objectives?

11.6. Has the NGO engaged in or been perceived as "competition" by like NGOs?

11.7. Is the NGO displacing its local allies?

11.8. Has the NGO aligned itself in a North–Ideas and South–Operations orientation?

11.9. Does the NGO have a long term and deep relationship with its partners?

11.10. Does the NGO share its analysis and learning with its partners?

11.11. Does the NGO incorporate itself into the local and host country situations and institutions?

11.12. Does the NGO have a plan for the handing over of a project to a local NGO, GRO, or CBO?

11.13. Has the NGO ensured that the program is sustainable after the hand-over?

11.14. Does the NGO work to train and equip local organizations for eventual hand-over?

11.15. Has the NGO created or facilitated the necessary local organizational systems and structures required for the hand-over?

11.16. Has the NGO planned for or worked toward ensuring the sustainability of adequate representation of all groups – specifically gender equality and democratic methods?

11.17. Has the NGO worked to prevent a dependency relationship from emerging after the hand-over to local organization(s)?

11.18. Has the NGO decentralized its operations to GRO allies and/or partners?

11.19. Does the NGO supplant government agencies in development decisions?

11.20. Is the NGO committed to building the capacity of local GROs?

11.21. Does the NGO attempt to critically review its relationships with southern partners in a constant effort of improvement?

12. Leadership

12.1. How does the NGO recognize and reconcile the need for leadership both within the NGO and within the client communities, yet maintain an egalitarian, reflexive approach?

12.2. Does the NGO tend to adopt or is it co-opted by the dominant forms of leadership in the client communities?

12.3. Does the NGO demonstrate transformational leadership balanced with the exercise of power (see p. 82)?

12.4. Does the NGO play a leadership role amongst like-minded NGOs?

12.5. Does the NGO rely on local elites for leadership?

12.6. What is the dominant leadership approach of the NGO?

12.7. Does the NGO define and maintain leadership jurisdictions both internally and externally?

13. General Management Methods

13.1. Who are the managers / leaders?

13.2. How is the NGO organized?

13.3. Does the NGO exhibit the use of top-down management methods in contrast to its use of a language of inclusion?

13.4. Does the NGO management team resemble a corporate oligopoly in its operation?

13.5. Does the staff of the NGO receive training? Of what type and frequency? Are the outcomes of the training reflected in the operations of the NGO?

13.6. Are the decision-making methods of the NGO transparent? To whom?

13.7. Is the NGO positioned or managed for growth?

13.8. Is the NGO adept in using modern communication and computer technologies in its operations?

13.9. Is the NGO decentralized?

13.10. Does the NGO tend to reduce the act of "development" to a series of technical development exercises?

13.11. Does the NGO tend to replicate its management structures and methods within the local organizations it has helped to create or support?

13.12. Does the NGO use the mass media to reach and influence its donors?

13.13. If the NGO is decentralized, can it reconcile this philosophy with the need to maintain performance at the local level?

13.14. Is the NGO adept at consensus building within its own ranks, with its supporters, and/or with its allies and like NGOs?

13.15. Does the NGO offer clear career paths to its staff?

13.16. Does the NGO rotate its staff through various assignments either within or seconded to other organizations?

13.17. Does the NGO have a plan to avoid staff burnout?

13.18. Does the NGO recruit staff (especially senior staff) from the region of their work?

13.19. Does the NGO experience dramatic staff losses at the end of assignments?

13.20. Is the NGO staff gender and culturally representative?

13.21. Does the NGO have an institutional memory and does it utilize it?

13.22. Does the NGO periodically and systematically review its operations?

13.23. Does the NGO have an approach or plan for building organizational capacity?

13.24. Does the NGO build commitment within the organization as well as within the client community and allies?

13.25. Does the NGO have the capacity for organizational learning?

13.26. Is the NGO and its staff under pressure, thereby exposing problems and fault-lines and a tendency not to live up to core values?

13.27. Does the NGO appear to have embraced a new managerialism, perhaps at the expense of core values?

13.28. Does the NGO explicitly work to ensure that its core values inform its methods and approaches?

13.29. Is the NGO aware of and explore its core values to consciously use them?

13.30. Does the management of the NGO manage for sustainability of the NGO?

13.31. Does the NGO continually negotiate the framing and approaches of its work with all of the actors involved?

13.32. Is the NGO management best described as an oligopoly or a team that continually learns and negotiates?

13.33. Does the NGO replicate the traditional patterns of patron/client relationships that were associated with the previous development era?

13.34. Has there been a drift toward bureaucratization and/or managerialism or has it been successfully resisted (the Iron Rule of Oligarchy, Fisher 1997: 456)?

13.35. Does the NGO use a bottom-up management method where the local people are involved in the determination of project goals?

13.36. Is the focus of management's efforts on the act of development and/or the activities of development?

13.37. Is the NGO oriented toward progressive change? Internally? Externally?

13.38. Does the NGO manage for development or the client community, or are other agendas at work?

14. Development Management Methods

14.1. How does the NGO cope with project fatigue?

14.2. Where the project is locally managed, is the responsibility for the project management diffused through the community or does it rest in the hands of a few?

14.3. Does the NGO frame its projects in technical development terms, producing technical solutions and achieving technical results?

14.4. Are development officers employed in such a manner that their career fortunes depended on the perceived success or failure of the projects under their responsibility?

14.5. Is the NGO using development management methods or ones styled more appropriately to business or government models?

14.6. Are project management methods and approaches considered sufficient to ensure competently conducted projects?

15. Globalization and Neo-liberal Polices and their Effects

15.1. Do the actions of the NGO synchronize with the forces of Globalization and neo-liberalism?

15.2. Does the NGO use the discourse of development to obscure these influences?

15.3. Has the NGO been co-opted by neo-liberal forces and influences?

15.4. How does the NGO cope with delivering a service based on the notions of social equality and fairness in the context of an international order dedicated to inequality?

15.5. Does the NGO genuinely defend the interests of the client community against economic forces that work to impoverish it?

15.6. Does the NGO believe in and use neo-liberal philosophy and methods to improve the well being of client communities?

15.7. What position does the NGO take when the culture of the client community runs counter to the tenants of neo-liberalism?

15.8. Does the NGO promote the interests of individuals over that of the community?

15.9. Have the NGOs primary official donor agencies conformed their policies to current neo-liberal thinking?

15.10. Does the NGO possess a vision that differs from the neo-liberal position?

15.11. Does the NGO espouse a neo-liberal approach or an effective means of promoting a civil society?

15.12. Does the NGO's view of neo-liberalism encapsulate the need to improve efficiency/effectiveness of institutions and cohabitation within existing power structures?

15.13. If the NGO espouse a market/neo-liberal approach, does it take a "revisionist" view that market forces alone are insufficient to achieve development?

16. Use of Development and Professional Services

16.1. Professional development officers and consultants will follow their training in producing their recommendations. Is this aspect self-reinforcing a tendency toward a continuation of failed development policies?

16.2. Is the use of external development professional resources consuming ever increasing amounts of the NGO's budget?

16.3. Are these requirements for professional services being forced by outside agencies?

16.4. Are self-evident truths denied by development professionals so as to maintain their positions?

16.5. What is the dominant ideology of the development professionals associated with the NGO?

16.6. Are the development professionals engaged in "proving" or "validating" development policy through specifically targeted programs and research?

16.7. Are the development professionals aware of the connections between the socio-economic situation of the client community with wider (global) economic circumstances?

16.8. How is their advice being used?

16.9. How do they view the conjunction of top-down bureaucratic policy based control with bottom-up, local, experientially based discourse?

16.10. Is the use of the development professional, a source of conflict?

16.11. Do stakeholders force an artificial simplification of projects?

16.12. Does the NGO tend to view GROs as not possessing the necessary management skills to take over a project?

16.13. Does the NGO try to build the capacity of its associated GROs so that they manage the project independently?

16.14. Is the NGO staff made up of former government workers, resulting in an operating environment that amounts to the contracting out of services by the government, to the NGO?

17. Bureaucratic Influences

17.1. Is there evidence of a systematic denial of self-evident truths?

17.2. Are their development issues swallowed up by bureaucratic agendas and norms?

17.3. Are NGO operations hampered by internal or external bureaucratic conflict?

17.4. Does the NGO attempt to understand and work with the different bureaucratic cultures that it comes in contact with?

Appendix C

This appendix contains an elaboration of the criteria for each of the heading in the original protocol.

NGO Mission and Objectives:

This section captured all aspects of the NGO's primary mission, it's overarching objectives, the vision of its founders and leadership, and how the NGO views its role within the larger development context. This section was of fundamental importance for, not only formed the core of how the participants in the NGO viewed their mission, but also it forms a cornerstone for the assessment of NGO effectiveness.

Origins and History of Operations

The understanding of the current context of an NGO begins with an understanding of its origins and history. Many of the important "why" questions are better understood with an appreciation of the processes that formed it.

Program Objectives

Each program that an NGO undertakes requires a set of objectives to define what is to be achieved by the effort. Every program has both explicit and implicit objectives that clearly enunciate what is to be achieved by the effort.

Program Outcomes and Evaluation

The objectives provide the context for the project outcomes. Upon completion, the program should be evaluated to ensure that it indeed meet its objectives, that 'development' did occur, that the quality of life of the participants actually did improve, and to learn for the future.

Funding and Accountability

Typically when the subject of accountability is raised, the conventional thinking is to assume that this accountability is upward; toward a dominant donor, a large NGO partner, a government agency, or host country government. As NGOs take on an increasing role of the delivery of social services that were previously the purview of governments, there is increasing pressure for them to become more transparent in their affairs. However, many commentators and critics of NGO operations are also suggesting that NGOs be downwardly accountable to the people they serve; that this transparency be downward also.

Development Theory

Whether or not the development NGO is consciously aware of it, every one operates within the overarching precepts of development theory. Their beliefs, values, assumptions, and understandings will be, at least in part, informed by such theories. Understanding and determining these underlying theories will provide insights into the motivations and decisions behind their operations.

Dominant Epistemology, Approach, or Orientation

Participation:

In development NGO circles, participation is held to be "a good thing." However, the level and nature of the participation by the individuals for whom the development assistance is intended, can vary greatly from NGO to NGO.

Co-operative Inquiry

Does the co-operative inquiry approach offer an effective methodology for NGOs to assess community need, the effectiveness of the projects, and the operations as a whole?

Action Science and Action Inquiry

Does the action inquiry approach offer an effective methodology for NGOs to assess community need, the effectiveness of the projects, and the operations as a whole?

Internally Reflexive

Is the NGO self-critical? Does it honestly and effectively assess its methods and operations?

Centrist-Authoritarian

Does the NGO show a marked preference for top-down, bureaucratic management?

Anti-System Movement

Does the NGO soundly reject the Neo-liberal model, preferring to build a civil society through the creation of new models and movements?

Proselytizing

If the NGO was founded and/or maintains a strong religious orientation to its operations, does it include proselytizing as an objective?

Profit Based

Does the NGO operate either whole or in part with a Neo-liberal, profit based orientation?

Power Relationships

The operations of a development NGO cannot help but be fraught with power relationships, with its clients, Grass Roots Movements (GROs) and other local organisations, other allies, donors, corporations, and governments. When an NGO strives for participation with a local community, it has to not only navigate the power relationships inherent in that community, but also understand the new relationships being created by its presence. Understanding how the NGO navigates and utilizes these relationships is an essential part of understanding NGO effectiveness.

Development Discourse

How an NGO expresses the language of development provides insights into its ideology, development approaches, and clues to the issues that impact its effectiveness.

Political Ideology

Ideology has an inherent inclusion/exclusionary nature. When an NGO expresses its ideology, whether through discourse and/or actions, it reveals what values and approaches it includes and perhaps more importantly, what it excludes.

Alliances, Allies, Networks, and Partners

No NGO can function in total isolation. This section analyses how the NGO utilizes a web of allies, partners, and associates to perform its work. These alliance relationships are frequently critical to successful operations. Understanding this facet of NGO operations will provide critical evidence toward an "effectiveness approach."

Leadership

Leadership can be seen as a counterpoint to management. Does the top echelon of the NGO exhibit leadership traits?

General Management Methods

Much of the points previously raised are expressed in one form or another by the actions of the management of the NGO. An examination of general management methods not only provides direct evidence of the NGO's effectiveness but also tangential data on these other issues.

Project Management Methods

The NGO project is the heart of the delivery of "development." An examination of the practical aspects of project approaches and methodologies will reveal how the ideology, relationships, methods, and development approaches are expressed in the "act of developing."

Globalization and Neo-liberal policies and Their Effects

Globalization is frequently held by the popular press and development journals to be the enemy of the poor and the heart of the "anti-development" forces that maintain world poverty. Development NGO will have learn to contend with and adapt to these forces.

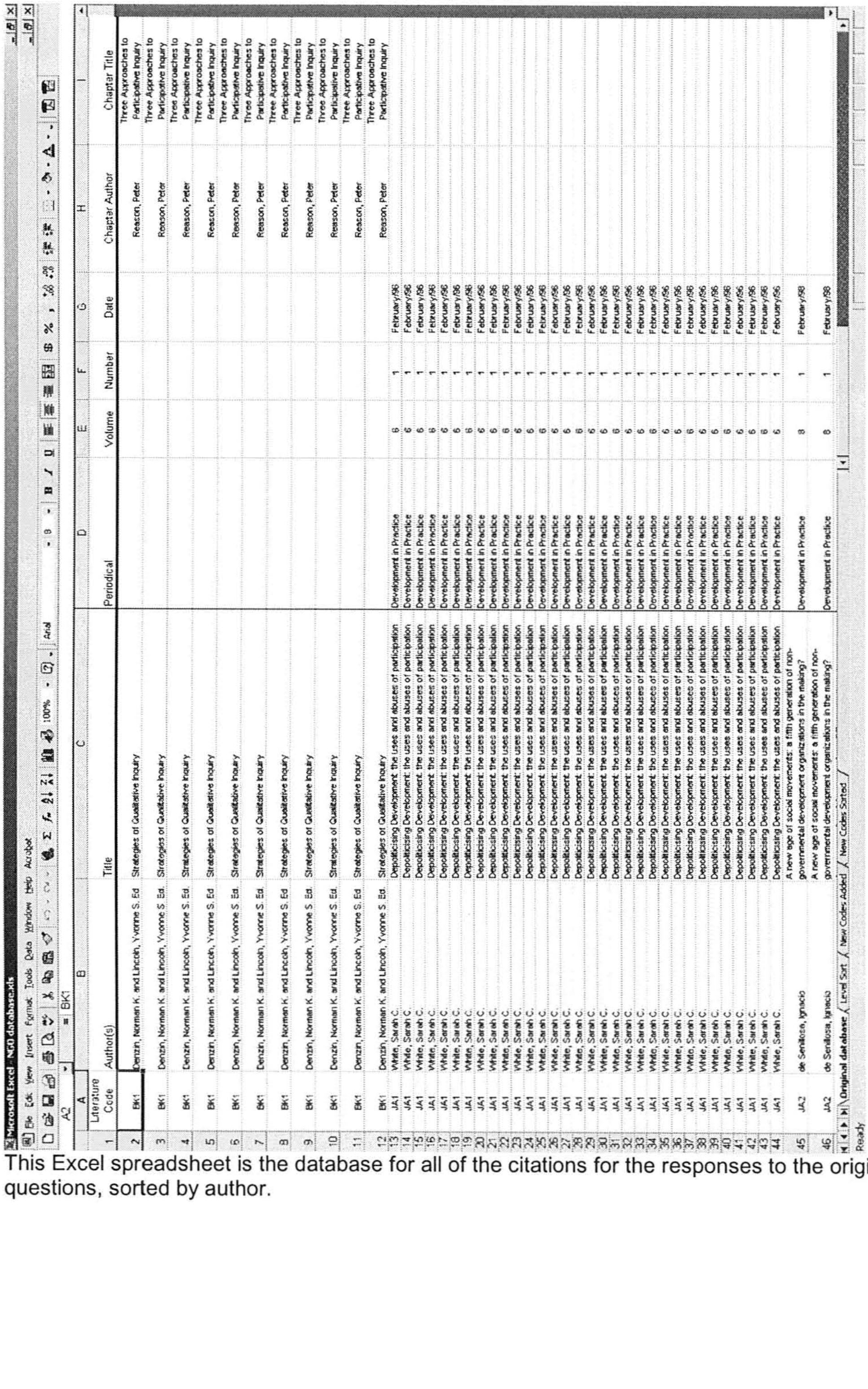
Use of Development and Professional Services

Do the demands of major donors conform to their methodologies and requirements, resulting in the employment of development professionals?

Bureaucratic Influences

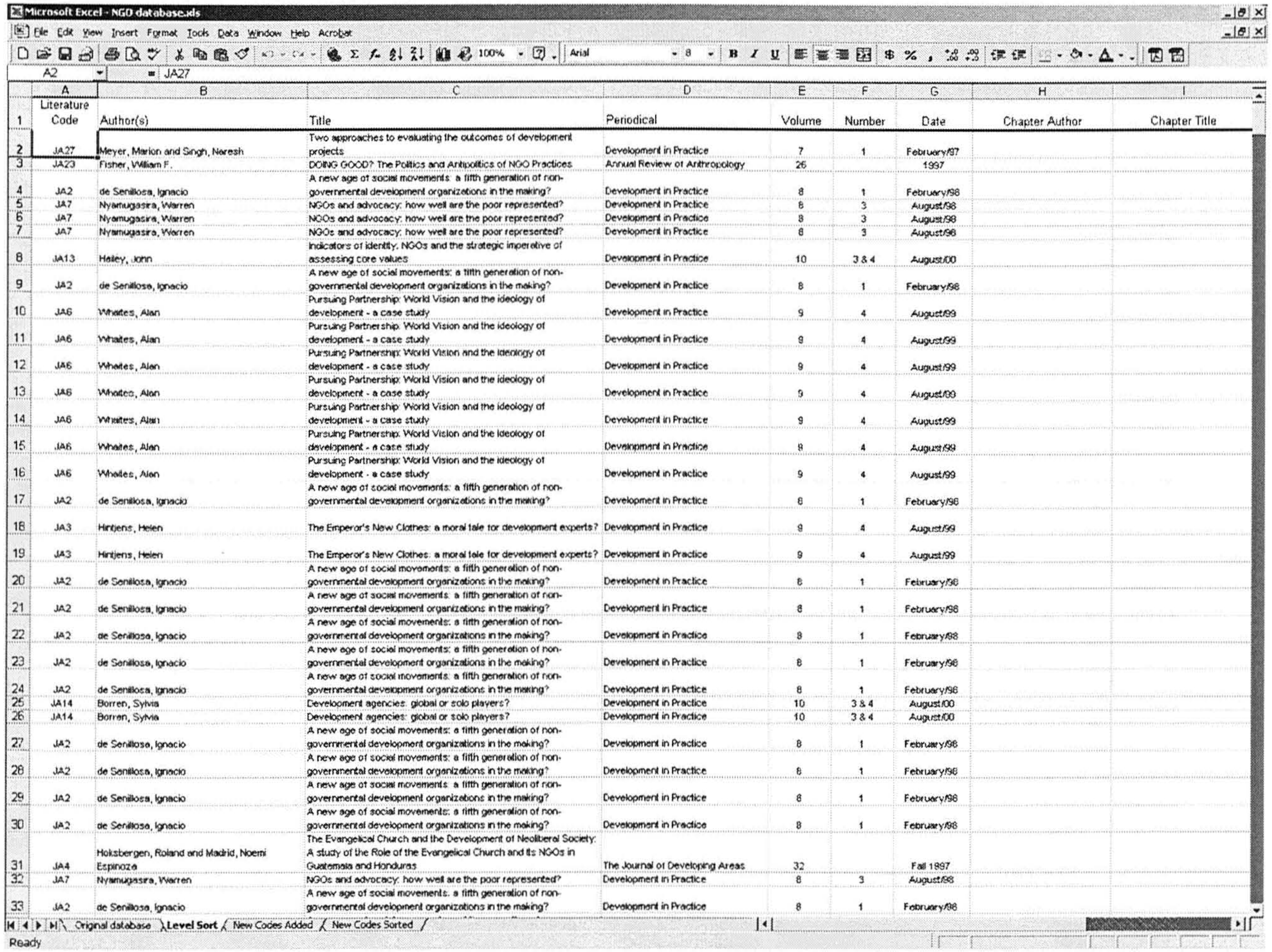
What bureaucratic influences are impacting NGO operations and what are the effects?

Appendix D



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	Literature Code	Author(s)	Title	Periodical	Volume	Number	Date	Chapter Author	Chapter Title
2	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
3	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed.	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
4	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed.	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
5	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
6	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed.	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
7	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed.	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
8	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
9	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed.	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
10	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed.	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
11	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
12	BK1	Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonne S. Ed.	Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry					Reason, Peter	Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry
13	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
14	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
15	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
16	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
17	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
18	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
19	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
20	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
21	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
22	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
23	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
24	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
25	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
26	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
27	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
28	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
29	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
30	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
31	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
32	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
33	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
34	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
35	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
36	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
37	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
38	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
39	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
40	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
41	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
42	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
43	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
44	JA1	White, Sarah C.	Depoliticising Development: the uses and abuses of participation	Development in Practice	6	1	February/96		
45	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
46	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		

This Excel spreadsheet is the database for all of the citations for the responses to the original questions, sorted by author.



Microsoft Excel - NGO database.xls

A2 = JA27

	Literature Code	Author(s)	Title	Periodical	Volume	Number	Date	Chapter Author	Chapter Title
2	JA27	Meyer, Marion and Singh, Naresh	Two approaches to evaluating the outcomes of development projects	Development in Practice	7	1	February/97		
3	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	Annual Review of Anthropology	26		1997		
4	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
5	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	8	3	August/98		
6	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	8	3	August/98		
7	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	8	3	August/98		
8	JA13	Hailey, John	Indicators of identity: NGOs and the strategic imperative of assessing core values	Development in Practice	10	3 & 4	August/00		
9	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
10	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
11	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
12	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
13	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
14	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
15	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
16	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
17	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
18	JA3	Hintjens, Helen	The Emperor's New Clothes: a moral tale for development experts?	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
19	JA3	Hintjens, Helen	The Emperor's New Clothes: a moral tale for development experts?	Development in Practice	9	4	August/99		
20	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
21	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
22	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
23	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
24	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
25	JA14	Borren, Sylvia	Development agencies: global or solo players?	Development in Practice	10	3 & 4	August/00		
26	JA14	Borren, Sylvia	Development agencies: global or solo players?	Development in Practice	10	3 & 4	August/00		
27	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
28	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
29	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
30	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		
31	JA4	Hoksbergen, Roland and Madrid, Noemi Espinoza	The Evangelical Church and the Development of Neoliberal Society: A study of the Role of the Evangelical Church and its NGOs in Guatemala and Honduras	The Journal of Developing Areas	32		Fall 1997		
32	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	8	3	August/98		
33	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	8	1	February/98		

Original database | Level Sort | New Codes Added | New Codes Sorted

Ready

In this second worksheet, the database has been resorted by the original question codes.

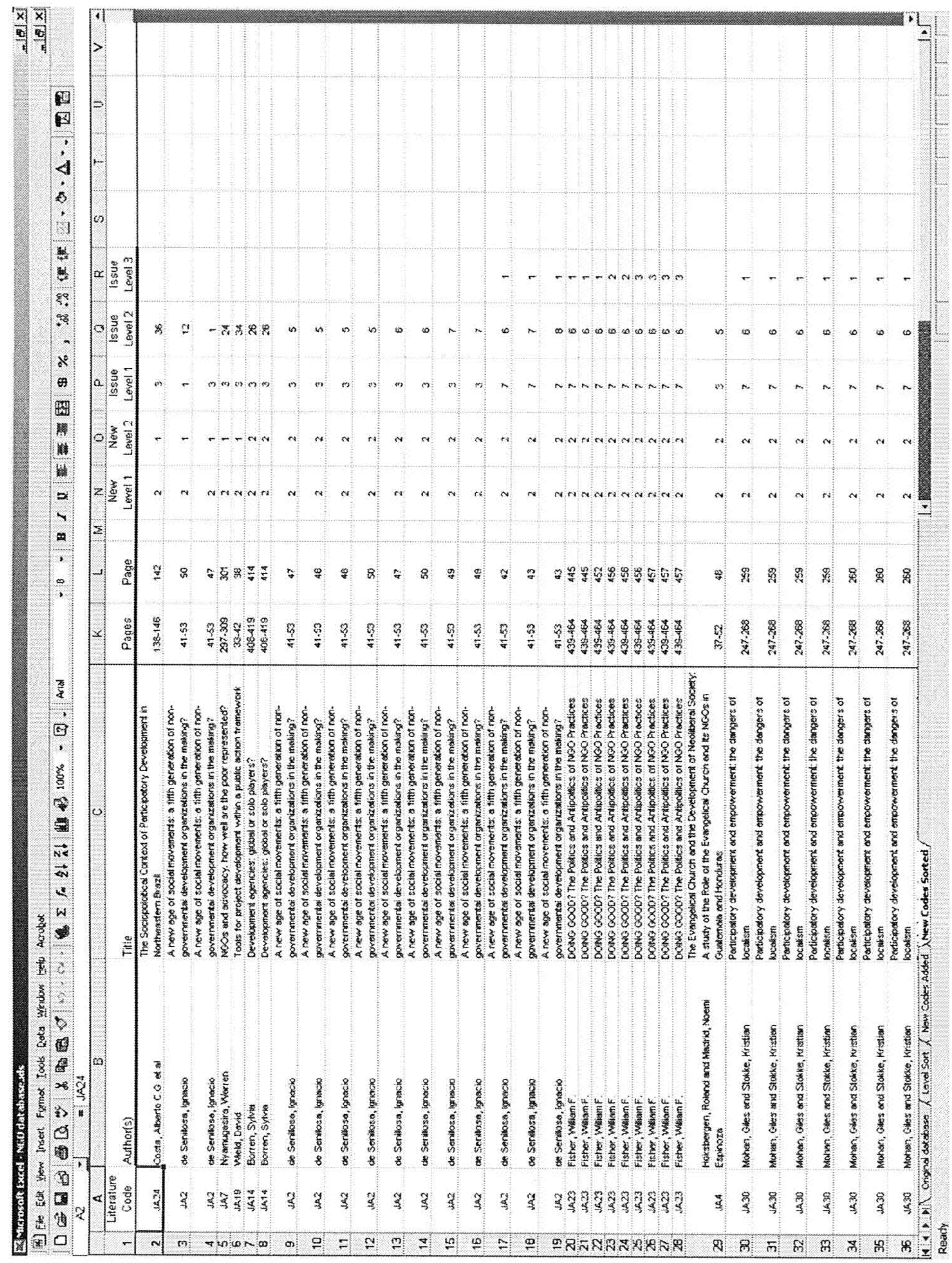
Microsoft Excel - NGO database.xls

	Literature Code	Author(s)	Title	Periodical	Pages	Page	Issue Level 1	Issue Level 2	Issue Level 3	New Level 1	New Level 2
2	JA27	Meyer, Marion and Singh, Naresh	Two approaches to evaluating the outcomes of development projects	Development in Practice	59-64	59	1	4		2	1
3	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	Annual Review of Anthropology	439-464	449	1	7		10	2
4	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	50	1	12		2	1
5	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	297-309	297	1	13		2	2
6	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	297-309	301	1	14		11	8
7	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	297-309	303	1	15		2	1
8	JA13	Hailey, John	Indicators of identity: NGOs and the strategic imperative of assessing core values	Development in Practice	402-407	402	1	16		11	8
9	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	46	2	6		5	2
10	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	410-423	413	2	7		1	1
11	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	410-423	413	2	8		1	1
12	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	410-423	414	2	9		1	1
13	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	410-423	414	2	10		11	6
14	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	410-423	420	2	10		11	6
15	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	410-423	420	2	10		11	6
16	JA6	Whaites, Alan	Pursuing Partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development - a case study	Development in Practice	410-423	420	2	10		11	6
17	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	47	3	1		2	1
18	JA3	Hintjens, Helen	The Emperor's New Clothes: a moral tale for development experts?	Development in Practice	382-395	385	3	2		2	1
19	JA3	Hintjens, Helen	The Emperor's New Clothes: a moral tale for development experts?	Development in Practice	382-395	383	3	3		2	1
20	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	47	3	4		2	1
21	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	47	3	4		2	1
22	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	48	3	4		2	1
23	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	50	3	4		2	1
24	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	50	3	4		2	1
25	JA14	Borren, Sylvia	Development agencies: global or solo players?	Development in Practice	408-419	417	3	4		2	1
26	JA14	Borren, Sylvia	Development agencies: global or solo players?	Development in Practice	408-419	417	3	4		2	1
27	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	47	3	5		2	2
28	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	48	3	5		2	2
29	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	48	3	5		2	2
30	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	50	3	5		2	2
31	JA4	Holsbergen, Roland and Madrid, Noemi Espinoza	The Evangelical Church and the Development of Neoliberal Society: A study of the Role of the Evangelical Church and its NGOs in Guatemala and Honduras	The Journal of Developing Areas	37-52	48	3	5		2	2
32	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	Development in Practice	297-309	298	3	5		2	2
33	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	Development in Practice	41-53	47	3	6		2	2

Original database / Level Sort / **New Codes Added** / New Codes Sorted

Ready

In this third worksheet, the new codes developed in the coding list spreadsheet (Appendix E) have been added, effectively re-coding all of the author entries by the new codes.



	Literature Code	Author(s)	Title	Pages	Page	New Level 1	New Level 2	Issue Level 1	Issue Level 2	Issue Level 3
2	JA24	Costa, Alberto C.G. et al	The Sociopolitical Context of Participatory Development in Northeastern Brazil	138-146	142	2	1	3	36	
3	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	50	2	1	1	12	
4	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	47	2	1	3	1	
5	JA7	Nyamugasira, Warren	NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented?	297-309	301	2	1	3	24	
6	JA19	Wield, David	Tools for project development within a public action framework	33-42	38	2	1	3	34	
7	JA14	Borren, Sylvia	Development agencies: global or solo players?	408-419	414	2	2	3	26	
8	JA14	Borren, Sylvia	Development agencies: global or solo players?	408-419	414	2	2	3	26	
9	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	47	2	2	3	5	
10	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	48	2	2	3	5	
11	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	48	2	2	3	5	
12	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	50	2	2	3	5	
13	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	47	2	2	3	6	
14	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	50	2	2	3	6	
15	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	49	2	2	3	7	
16	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	49	2	2	3	7	
17	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	42	2	2	7	6	1
18	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	43	2	2	7	7	1
19	JA2	de Senillosa, Ignacio	A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making?	41-53	43	2	2	7	8	1
20	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	445	2	2	7	6	1
21	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	445	2	2	7	6	1
22	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	452	2	2	7	6	1
23	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	456	2	2	7	6	2
24	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	458	2	2	7	6	2
25	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	456	2	2	7	6	3
26	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	457	2	2	7	6	3
27	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	457	2	2	7	6	3
28	JA23	Fisher, William F.	DOING GOOD? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices	439-464	457	2	2	7	6	3
29	JA4	Hoksbergen, Roland and Madrid, Noemi Espinoza	The Evangelical Church and the Development of Neoliberal Society: A study of the Role of the Evangelical Church and its NGOs in Guatemala and Honduras	37-52	48	2	2	3	5	
30	JA30	Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian	Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism	247-268	259	2	2	7	6	1
31	JA30	Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian	Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism	247-268	259	2	2	7	6	1
32	JA30	Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian	Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism	247-268	259	2	2	7	6	1
33	JA30	Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian	Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism	247-268	259	2	2	7	6	1
34	JA30	Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian	Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism	247-268	260	2	2	7	6	1
35	JA30	Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian	Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism	247-268	260	2	2	7	6	1
36	JA30	Mohan, Giles and Stokke, Kristian	Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism	247-268	260	2	2	7	6	1

In this worksheet, the author list has been resorted according to the new codes. This worksheet became the reference for all of the citations used in the Analysis section of the thesis.

Appendix E

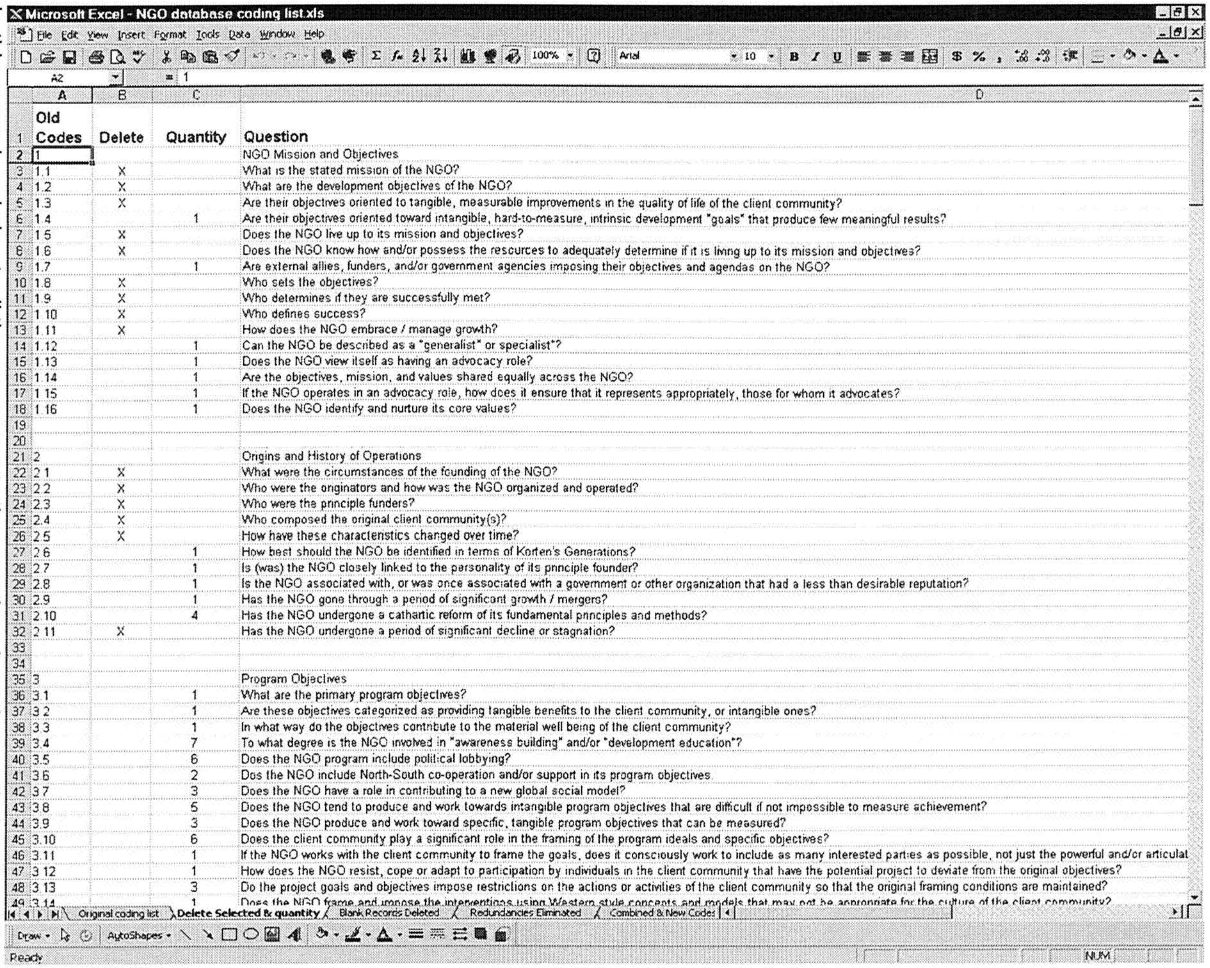
Microsoft Excel - NGO database coding list.xls

	Old Codes	New Codes	Combined with	Question
2	1			NGO Mission and Objectives
3	1.1			What is the stated mission of the NGO?
4	1.2			What are the development objectives of the NGO?
5	1.3			Are their objectives oriented to tangible, measurable improvements in the quality of life of the client community?
6	1.4			Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?
7	1.5			Does the NGO live up to its mission and objectives?
8	1.6			Does the NGO know how and/or possess the resources to adequately determine if it is living up to its mission and objectives?
9	1.7			Are external allies, funders, and/or government agencies imposing their objectives and agendas on the NGO?
10	1.8			Who sets the objectives?
11	1.9			Who determines if they are successfully met?
12	1.10			Who defines success?
13	1.11			How does the NGO embrace / manage growth?
14	1.12			Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?
15	1.13			Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?
16	1.14			Are the objectives, mission, and values shared equally across the NGO?
17	1.15			If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it represents appropriately, those for whom it advocates?
18	1.16			Does the NGO identify and nurture its core values?
19				
20				
21	2			Origins and History of Operations
22	2.1			What were the circumstances of the founding of the NGO?
23	2.2			Who were the originators and how was the NGO organized and operated?
24	2.3			Who were the principle funders?
25	2.4			Who composed the original client community(s)?
26	2.5			How have these characteristics changed over time?
27	2.6			How best should the NGO be identified in terms of Korten's Generations?
28	2.7			Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principle founder?
29	2.8			Is the NGO associated with, or was once associated with a government or other organization that had a less than desirable reputation?
30	2.9			Has the NGO gone through a period of significant growth / mergers?
31	2.10			Has the NGO undergone a cathartic reform of its fundamental principles and methods?
32	2.11			Has the NGO undergone a period of significant decline or stagnation?
33				
34				
35	3			Program Objectives
36	3.1			What are the primary program objectives?
37	3.2			Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?
38	3.3			In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?
39	3.4			To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?
40	3.5			Does the NGO program include political lobbying?
41	3.6			Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.
42	3.7			Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global social model?
43	3.8			Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives that are difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?
44	3.9			Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?
45	3.10			Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?
46	3.11			If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the powerful and/or articulate?
47	3.12			How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original objectives?
48	3.13			Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maintained?
49	3.14			Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client community?
50	3.15			Does the NGO impose specific project time cycles as part of the framing process?
51	3.16			Is the process of project evaluation bound to the original framing of the project?
52	3.17			Are the project objectives framed to meet the requirements of the principal funder?

Original coding list / Delete Selected & quantity / Blank Records Deleted / Redundancies Eliminated / Combined & New Codes / Author C

Ready

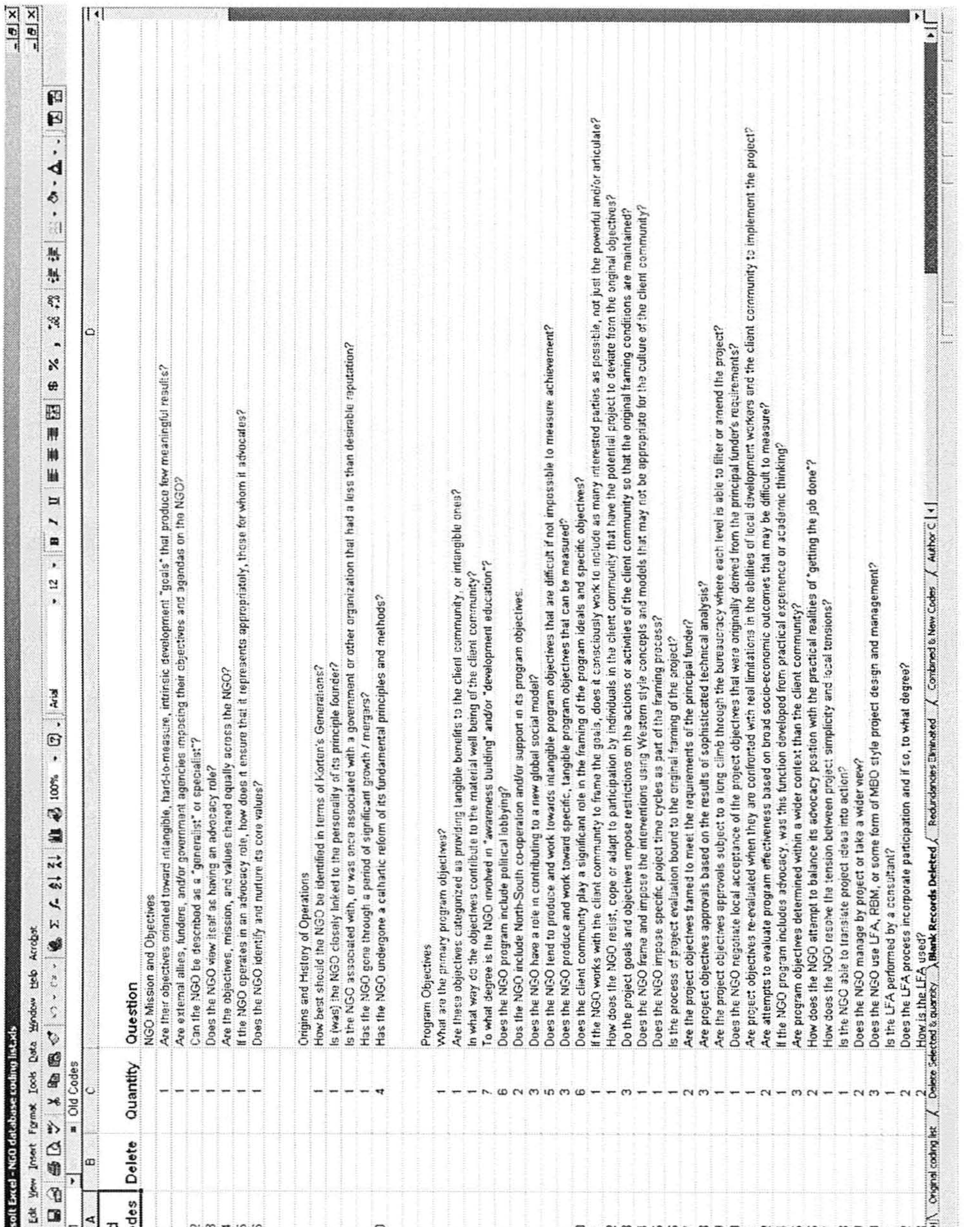
The original Word document coding list entered into an Excel spreadsheet.



Microsoft Excel - NGO database coding list.xls

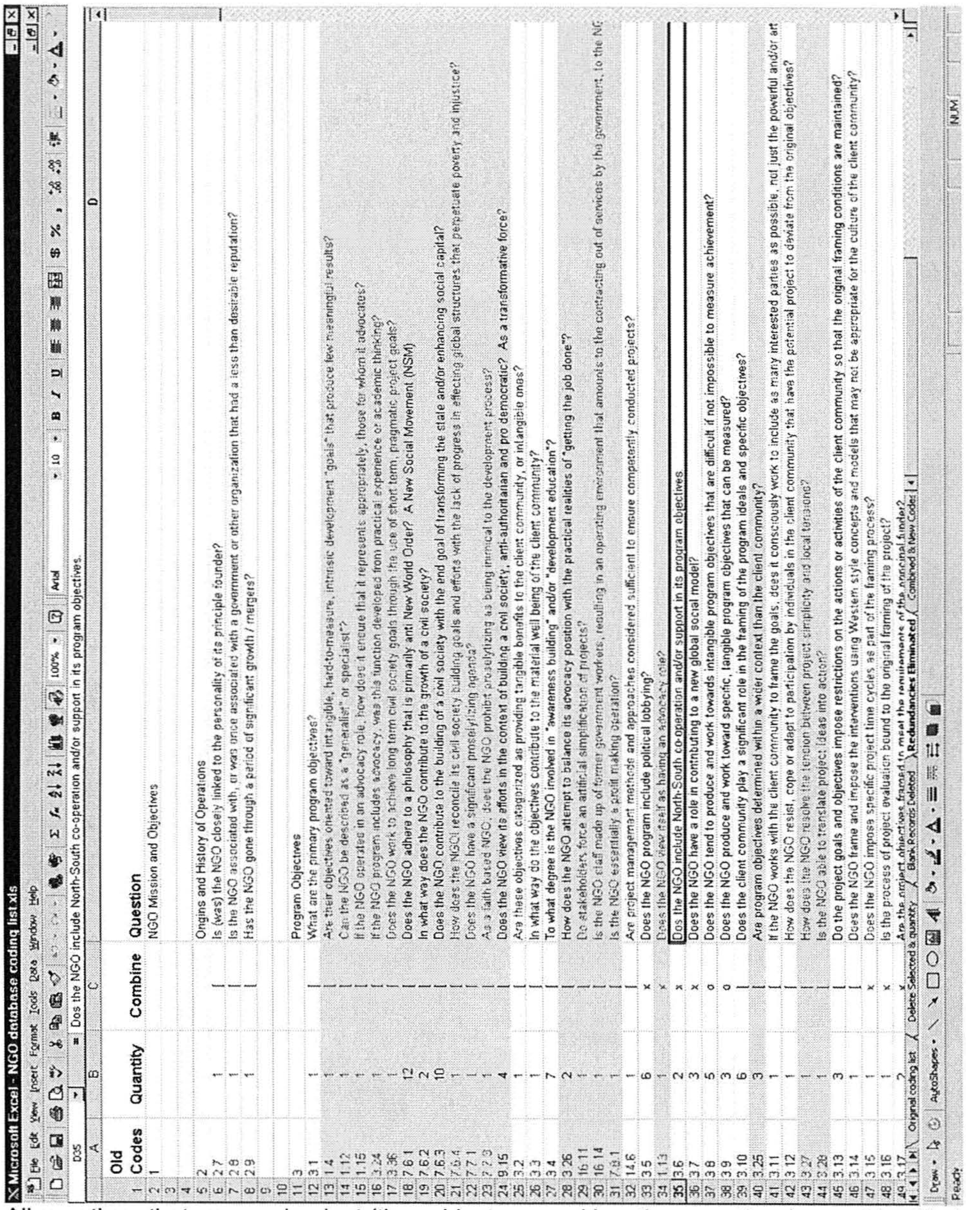
Old Codes	Delete	Quantity	Question
1			NGO Mission and Objectives
1.1	X		What is the stated mission of the NGO?
1.2	X		What are the development objectives of the NGO?
1.3	X		Are their objectives oriented to tangible, measurable improvements in the quality of life of the client community?
1.4		1	Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?
1.5	X		Does the NGO live up to its mission and objectives?
1.6	X		Does the NGO know how and/or possess the resources to adequately determine if it is living up to its mission and objectives?
1.7		1	Are external allies, funders, and/or government agencies imposing their objectives and agendas on the NGO?
1.8	X		Who sets the objectives?
1.9	X		Who determines if they are successfully met?
1.10	X		Who defines success?
1.11	X		How does the NGO embrace / manage growth?
1.12		1	Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?
1.13		1	Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?
1.14		1	Are the objectives, mission, and values shared equally across the NGO?
1.15		1	If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it represents appropriately, those for whom it advocates?
1.16		1	Does the NGO identify and nurture its core values?
2			Origins and History of Operations
2.1	X		What were the circumstances of the founding of the NGO?
2.2	X		Who were the originators and how was the NGO organized and operated?
2.3	X		Who were the principle funders?
2.4	X		Who composed the original client community(s)?
2.5	X		How have these characteristics changed over time?
2.6		1	How best should the NGO be identified in terms of Korten's Generations?
2.7		1	Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principle founder?
2.8		1	Is the NGO associated with, or was once associated with a government or other organization that had a less than desirable reputation?
2.9		1	Has the NGO gone through a period of significant growth / mergers?
2.10		4	Has the NGO undergone a cathartic reform of its fundamental principles and methods?
2.11	X		Has the NGO undergone a period of significant decline or stagnation?
3			Program Objectives
3.1		1	What are the primary program objectives?
3.2		1	Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?
3.3		1	In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?
3.4		7	To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?
3.5		6	Does the NGO program include political lobbying?
3.6		2	Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.
3.7		3	Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global social model?
3.8		5	Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives that are difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?
3.9		3	Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?
3.10		6	Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?
3.11		1	If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the powerful and/or articulat
3.12		1	How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original objectives?
3.13		3	Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maintained?
3.14		1	Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client community?

In this second worksheet, all the responses to the questions have been tabulated and those lacking any responses were marked with an 'X' from deletion.



Old Codes	Delete	Quantity	Question
1			NGO Mission and Objectives
1.4		1	Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?
1.7		1	Are external allies, funders, and/or government agencies imposing their objectives and agendas on the NGO?
1.12		1	Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?
1.13		1	Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?
1.14		1	Are the objectives, mission, and values shared equally across the NGO?
1.15		1	If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it represents appropriately, those for whom it advocates?
1.16		1	Does the NGO identify and nurture its core values?
2			Origins and History of Operations
2.6		1	How best should the NGO be identified in terms of Korten's Generations?
2.7		1	Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principle founder?
2.8		1	Is the NGO associated with, or was once associated with a government or other organization that had a less than desirable reputation?
2.9		1	Has the NGO gone through a period of significant growth / mergers?
2.10		4	Has the NGO undergone a cathartic reform of its fundamental principles and methods?
3			Program Objectives
3.1		1	What are the primary program objectives?
3.2		1	Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?
3.3		1	In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?
3.4		7	To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?
3.5		6	Does the NGO program include political lobbying?
3.6		2	Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.
3.7		3	Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global social model?
3.8		5	Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives that are difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?
3.9		3	Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?
3.10		6	Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?
3.11		1	If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the powerful and/or articulate?
3.12		1	How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original objectives?
3.13		3	Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maintained?
3.14		1	Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client community?
3.15		1	Does the NGO impose specific project time cycles as part of the framing process?
3.16		1	Is the process of project evaluation bound to the original framing of the project?
3.17		2	Are the project objectives framed to meet the requirements of the principal funder?
3.18		3	Are project objectives approvals based on the results of sophisticated technical analysis?
3.19		1	Are the project objectives approvals subject to a long climb through the bureaucracy where each level is able to filter or amend the project?
3.20		1	Does the NGO negotiate local acceptance of the project objectives that were originally derived from the principal funder's requirements?
3.21		1	Are project objectives re-evaluated when they are confronted with real limitations in the abilities of local development workers and the client community to implement the project?
3.22		2	Are attempts to evaluate program effectiveness based on broad socio-economic outcomes that may be difficult to measure?
3.24		1	If the NGO program includes advocacy, was this function developed from practical experience or academic thinking?
3.25		3	Are program objectives determined within a wider context than the client community?
3.26		2	How does the NGO attempt to balance its advocacy position with the practical realities of "getting the job done"?
3.27		1	How does the NGO resolve the tension between project simplicity and local tensions?
3.28		1	Is the NGO able to translate project ideas into action?
3.29		2	Does the NGO manage by project or take a wider view?
3.30		3	Does the NGO use LFA, RBM, or some form of MBO style project design and management?
3.31		1	Is the LFA performed by a consultant?
3.32		2	Does the LFA process incorporate participation and if so, to what degree?
3.33		2	How is the LFA used?

In this third worksheet, all of the questions without responses have been deleted and those with only one response have been marked in red for consolidation. These were questions were deemed to be 'low value' as they had drawn only one response from the various authors.



Microsoft Excel - NGO database coding list.xls

D35 = Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.

	Old Codes	Quantity	Combine	Question
2	1			NGO Mission and Objectives
3				
4				
5	2			Origins and History of Operations
6	2.7	1	[	Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principle founder?
7	2.8	1	[	Is the NGO associated with, or was once associated with a government or other organization that had a less than desirable reputation?
8	2.9	1	[	Has the NGO gone through a period of significant growth / mergers?
9				
10				
11	3			Program Objectives
12	3.1	1	[	What are the primary program objectives?
13	1.4	1	[	Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?
14	1.12	1	[	Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?
15	1.15	1	[	If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it represents appropriately, those for whom it advocates?
16	3.24	1	[	If the NGO program includes advocacy, was this function developed from practical experience or academic thinking?
17	3.36	1	[	Does the NGO work to achieve long term civil society goals through the use of short term, pragmatic project goals?
18	7.6.1	12	[	Does the NGO adhere to a philosophy that is primarily anti New World Order? A New Social Movement (NSM)
19	7.6.2	2	[	In what way does the NGO contribute to the growth of a civil society?
20	7.6.3	10	[	Does the NGO contribute to the building of a civil society with the end goal of transforming the state and/or enhancing social capital?
21	7.6.4	1	[	How does the NGO reconcile its civil society building goals and efforts with the lack of progress in effecting global structures that perpetuate poverty and injustice?
22	7.7.1	1	[	Does the NGO have a significant proselytizing agenda?
23	7.7.3	1	[	As a faith based NGO, does the NGO prohibit proselytizing as being inimical to the development process?
24	9.15	4	[	Does the NGO view its efforts in the context of building a civil society, anti-authoritarian and pro democratic? As a transformative force?
25	3.2	1	[	Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?
26	3.3	1	[	In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?
27	3.4	7	[	To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?
28	3.26	2	[	How does the NGO attempt to balance its advocacy position with the practical realities of "getting the job done"?
29	16.11	1	[	Do stakeholders force an artificial simplification of projects?
30	16.14	1	[	Is the NGO staff made up of former government workers, resulting in an operating environment that amounts to the contracting out of services by the government, to the NG
31	7.8.1	1	[	Is the NGO essentially a profit making operation?
32	14.6	1	[	Are project management methods and approaches considered sufficient to ensure competently conducted projects?
33	3.5	6	x	Does the NGO program include political lobbying?
34	1.13	1	x	Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?
35	3.6	2	x	Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives
36	3.7	3	x	Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global social model?
37	3.8	5	o	Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives that are difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?
38	3.9	3	o	Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?
39	3.10	6	[	Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?
40	3.25	3	[	Are program objectives determined within a wider context than the client community?
41	3.11	1	[	If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the powerful and/or art
42	3.12	1	[	How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original objectives?
43	3.27	1	[	How does the NGO resolve the tension between project simplicity and local tensions?
44	3.28	1	[	Is the NGO able to translate project ideas into action?
45	3.13	3	[	Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maintained?
46	3.14	1	[	Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client community?
47	3.15	1	x	Does the NGO impose specific project time cycles as part of the framing process?
48	3.16	1	x	Is the process of project evaluation bound to the original framing of the project?
49	3.17	2	x	Are the project objectives framed to meet the requirements of the principal funder?

Original coding list / Delete Selected & quantity / Blank Records Deleted / Redundancies Eliminated / Combined & New Codes

All questions that were redundant (the subject covered by other questions) were identified in yellow highlighting.

Microsoft Excel - NGO database coding list.xls

E49 = Does the NGO attempt to understand and work with the different bureaucratic cultures that it comes in contact with?

	A	B	C	D	E
1	Old Codes	Quantity	Combine	New Codes	Question
2	2			1	Origins and History of Operations
3	2.7	1	|	1.1	Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principle founder?
4	2.8	1	|	1.1	Is the NGO associated with, or was once associated with a government or other organization that had a less than desirable reputation?
5	2.9	1	|	1.1	Has the NGO gone through a period of significant growth / mergers?
6					
7					
8	3			2	Program Objectives
9	3.1	1	|	2.1	What are the primary program objectives?
10	1.4	1	|	2.1	Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?
11	1.12	1	|	2.1	Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?
12	1.15	1	|	2.1	If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it represents appropriately, those for whom it advocates?
13	3.24	1	|	2.1	If the NGO program includes advocacy, was this function developed from practical experience or academic thinking?
14	3.36	1	|	2.1	Does the NGO work to achieve long term civil society goals through the use of short term, pragmatic project goals?
15	7.6.1	12	|	2.1	Does the NGO adhere to a philosophy that is primarily anti New World Order? A New Social Movement (NSM)
16	7.6.2	2	|	2.1	In what way does the NGO contribute to the growth of a civil society?
17	7.6.3	10	|	2.1	Does the NGO contribute to the building of a civil society with the end goal of transforming the state and/or enhancing social capital?
18	7.6.4	1	|	2.1	How does the NGOI reconcile its civil society building goals and efforts with the lack of progress in effecting global structures that perpetuate poverty and i
19	7.7.1	1	|	2.1	Does the NGO have a significant proselytizing agenda?
20	7.7.3	1	|	2.1	As a faith based NGO, does the NGO prohibit proselytizing as being inimical to the development process?
21	9.15	4	|	2.1	Does the NGO view its efforts in the context of building a civil society, anti-authoritarian and pro democratic? As a transformative force?
22	3.2	1	|	2.1	Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?
23	3.3	1	|	2.1	In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?
24	3.4	7	|	2.1	To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?
25	3.26	2	|	2.1	How does the NGO attempt to balance its advocacy position with the practical realities of "getting the job done"?
26	16.11	1	|	2.1	Do stakeholders force an artificial simplification of projects?
27	16.14	1	|	2.1	Is the NGO staff made up of former government workers, resulting in an operating environment that amounts to the contracting out of services by the gover
28	7.8.1	1	|	2.1	Is the NGO essentially a profit making operation?
29	14.6	1	|	2.1	Are project management methods and approaches considered sufficient to ensure competently conducted projects?
30	3.5	6	x	2.2	Does the NGO program include political lobbying?
31	1.13	1	x	2.2	Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?
32	3.6	2	x	2.2	Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.
33	3.7	3	x	2.2	Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global social model?
34	3.8	5	o	2.3	Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives that are difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?
35	3.9	3	o	2.3	Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?
36	3.10	6	|	2.4	Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?
37	3.25	3	|	2.4	Are program objectives determined within a wider context than the client community?
38	3.11	1	|	2.4	If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the pc
39	3.12	1	|	2.4	How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original ol
40	3.27	1	|	2.4	How does the NGO resolve the tension between project simplicity and local tensions?
41	3.28	1	|	2.4	Is the NGO able to translate project ideas into action?
42	3.13	3	|	2.4	Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maint
43	3.14	1	|	2.4	Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client comi
44	3.15	1	x	2.5	Does the NGO impose specific project time cycles as part of the framing process?
45	3.16	1	x	2.5	Is the process of project evaluation bound to the original framing of the project?
46	3.17	2	x	2.5	Are the project objectives framed to meet the requirements of the principal funder?
47	3.19	1	|	2.6	Are the project objectives approvals subject to a long climb through the bureaucracy where each level is able to filter or amend the project?
48	17.3	1	|	2.6	Are NGO operations hampered by internal or external bureaucratic conflict?
49	17.4	1	|	2.6	Does the NGO attempt to understand and work with the different bureaucratic cultures that it comes in contact with?

Delete Selected & quantity / Blank Records Deleted / Redundancies Eliminated / Combined & New Codes / Author Count Adc

Ready NUM

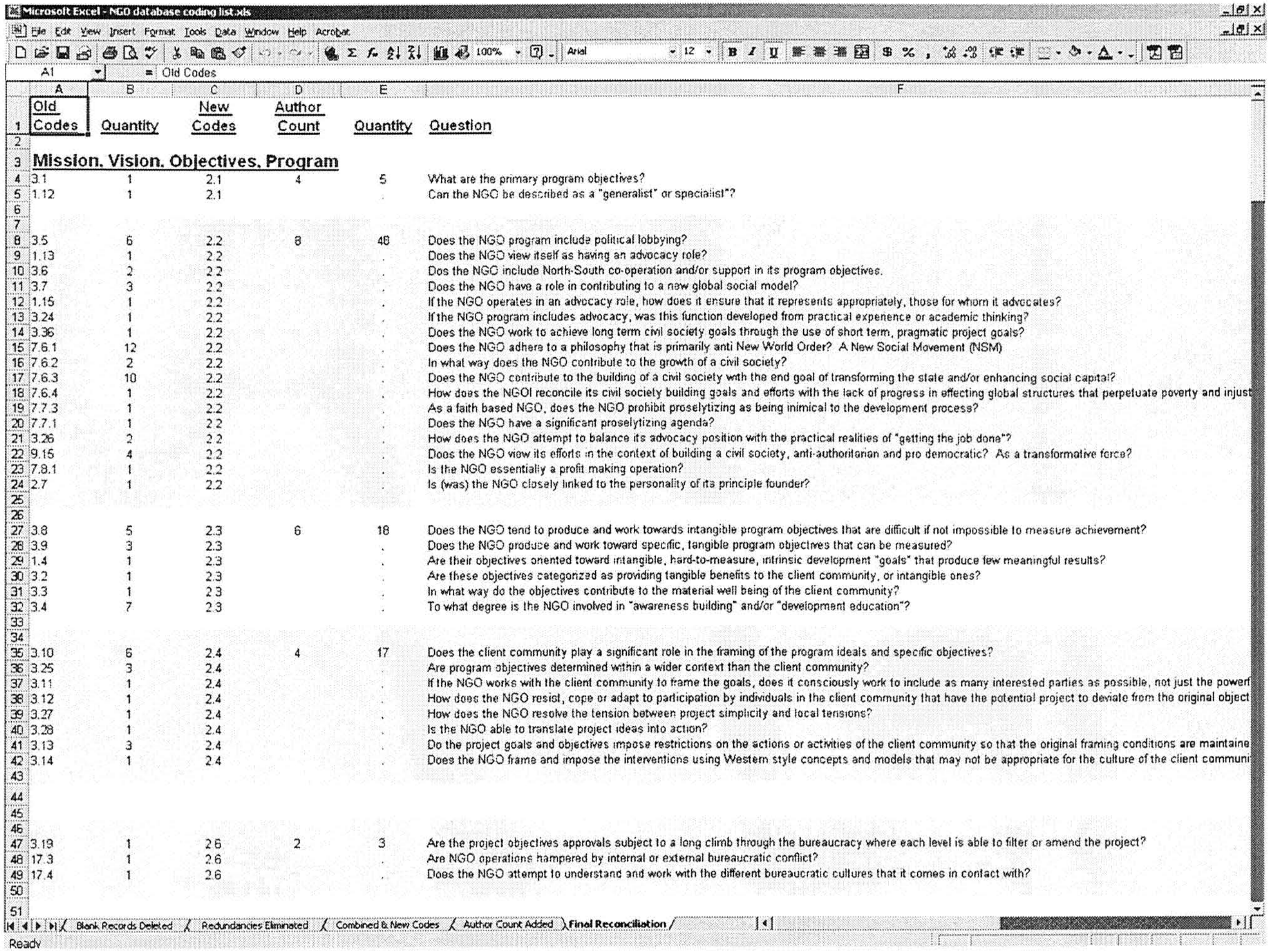
On this worksheet, all of the redundant questions were recoded so that they would be consolidated.

Microsoft Excel - NGO database coding list.xls

	New Codes	Author Count	Quantity	Question
2	1.1	1	3	Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principle founder?
3	1.1		.	Is the NGO associated with, or was once associated with a government or other organization that had a less than desirable reputation?
4	1.1		.	Has the NGO gone through a period of significant growth / mergers?
5	2.1	12	53	What are the primary program objectives?
6	2.1		.	Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?
7	2.1		.	Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?
8	2.1		.	If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it represents appropriately, those for whom it advocates?
9	2.1		.	If the NGO program includes advocacy, was this function developed from practical experience or academic thinking?
10	2.1		.	Does the NGO work to achieve long term civil society goals through the use of short term, pragmatic project goals?
11	2.1		.	Does the NGO adhere to a philosophy that is primarily anti New World Order? A New Social Movement (NSM)
12	2.1		.	In what way does the NGO contribute to the growth of a civil society?
13	2.1		.	Does the NGO contribute to the building of a civil society with the end goal of transforming the state and/or enhancing social capital?
14	2.1		.	How does the NGOI reconcile its civil society building goals and efforts with the lack of progress in effecting global structures that perpetuate poverty and injustice?
15	2.1		.	Does the NGO have a significant proselytizing agenda?
16	2.1		.	As a faith based NGO, does the NGO prohibit proselytizing as being inimical to the development process?
17	2.1		.	Does the NGO view its efforts in the context of building a civil society, anti-authoritarian and pro democratic? As a transformative force?
18	2.1		.	Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?
19	2.1		.	In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?
20	2.1		.	To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?
21	2.1		.	How does the NGO attempt to balance its advocacy position with the practical realities of "getting the job done"?
22	2.1		.	Do stakeholders force an artificial simplification of projects?
23	2.1		.	Is the NGO staff made up of former government workers, resulting in an operating environment that amounts to the contracting out of services by the government, to the NGO?
24	2.1		.	Is the NGO essentially a profit making operation?
25	2.1		.	Are project management methods and approaches considered sufficient to ensure competently conducted projects?
26	2.2	3	12	Does the NGO program include political lobbying?
27	2.2		.	Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?
28	2.2		.	Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.
29	2.2		.	Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global social model?
30	2.3	3	8	Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives that are difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?
31	2.3		.	Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?
32	2.4	4	17	Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?
33	2.4		.	Are program objectives determined within a wider context than the client community?
34	2.4		.	If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the powerful and/or articulate?
35	2.4		.	How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original objectives?
36	2.4		.	How does the NGO resolve the tension between project simplicity and local tensions?
37	2.4		.	Is the NGO able to translate project ideas into action?
38	2.4		.	Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maintained?
39	2.4		.	Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client community?
40	2.5	2	4	Does the NGO impose specific project time cycles as part of the framing process?
41	2.5		.	Is the process of project evaluation bound to the original framing of the project?
42	2.5		.	Are the project objectives framed to meet the requirements of the principal funder?
43	2.6	2	3	Are the project objectives approvals subject to a long climb through the bureaucracy where each level is able to filter or amend the project?
44	2.6		.	Are NGO operations hampered by internal or external bureaucratic conflict?
45	2.6		.	Does the NGO attempt to understand and work with the different bureaucratic cultures that it comes in contact with?
46	2.7	1	2	Does the NGO negotiate local acceptance of the project objectives that were originally derived from the principal funder's requirements?
47	2.7		.	Are project objectives re-evaluated when they are confronted with real limitations in the abilities of local development workers and the client community to implement the project?
48	2.8	2	15	Does the NGO manage by project or take a wider view?
49	2.8		.	Are project objectives approvals based on the results of sophisticated technical analysis?
50	2.8		.	Does the NGO use LFA, RBM, or some form of MBO style project design and management?
51	2.8		.	Is the LFA performed by a consultant?
52	2.8		.	Does the LFA process incorporate participation and if so, to what degree?

Delete Selected & quantity | Blank Records Deleted | Redundancies Eliminated | Combined & New Codes | **Author Count Added** | Final R

On this worksheet, all of the author responses were re-tabulated for the newly coded questions.



Microsoft Excel - NGO database coding list.xls

A1 = Old Codes

	Old Codes	Quantity	New Codes	Author Count	Quantity	Question
3	**Mission. Vision. Objectives. Program**					
4	3.1	1	2.1	4	5	What are the primary program objectives?
5	1.12	1	2.1		.	Can the NGO be described as a "generalist" or specialist"?
8	3.5	6	2.2	8	48	Does the NGO program include political lobbying?
9	1.13	1	2.2		.	Does the NGO view itself as having an advocacy role?
10	3.6	2	2.2		.	Dos the NGO include North-South co-operation and/or support in its program objectives.
11	3.7	3	2.2		.	Does the NGO have a role in contributing to a new global social model?
12	1.15	1	2.2		.	If the NGO operates in an advocacy role, how does it ensure that it represents appropriately, those for whom it advocates?
13	3.24	1	2.2		.	If the NGO program includes advocacy, was this function developed from practical experience or academic thinking?
14	3.36	1	2.2		.	Does the NGO work to achieve long term civil society goals through the use of short term, pragmatic project goals?
15	7.6.1	12	2.2		.	Does the NGO adhere to a philosophy that is primarily anti New World Order? A New Social Movement (NSM)
16	7.6.2	2	2.2		.	In what way does the NGO contribute to the growth of a civil society?
17	7.6.3	10	2.2		.	Does the NGO contribute to the building of a civil society with the end goal of transforming the state and/or enhancing social capital?
18	7.6.4	1	2.2		.	How does the NGOI reconcile its civil society building goals and efforts with the lack of progress in effecting global structures that perpetuate poverty and injust
19	7.7.3	1	2.2		.	As a faith based NGO, does the NGO prohibit proselytizing as being inimical to the development process?
20	7.7.1	1	2.2		.	Does the NGO have a significant proselytizing agenda?
21	3.26	2	2.2		.	How does the NGO attempt to balance its advocacy position with the practical realities of "getting the job done"?
22	9.15	4	2.2		.	Does the NGO view its efforts in the context of building a civil society, anti-authoritarian and pro democratic? As a transformative force?
23	7.8.1	1	2.2		.	Is the NGO essentially a profit making operation?
24	2.7	1	2.2		.	Is (was) the NGO closely linked to the personality of its principle founder?
27	3.8	5	2.3	6	18	Does the NGO tend to produce and work towards intangible program objectives that are difficult if not impossible to measure achievement?
28	3.9	3	2.3		.	Does the NGO produce and work toward specific, tangible program objectives that can be measured?
29	1.4	1	2.3		.	Are their objectives oriented toward intangible, hard-to-measure, intrinsic development "goals" that produce few meaningful results?
30	3.2	1	2.3		.	Are these objectives categorized as providing tangible benefits to the client community, or intangible ones?
31	3.3	1	2.3		.	In what way do the objectives contribute to the material well being of the client community?
32	3.4	7	2.3		.	To what degree is the NGO involved in "awareness building" and/or "development education"?
35	3.10	6	2.4	4	17	Does the client community play a significant role in the framing of the program ideals and specific objectives?
36	3.25	3	2.4		.	Are program objectives determined within a wider context than the client community?
37	3.11	1	2.4		.	If the NGO works with the client community to frame the goals, does it consciously work to include as many interested parties as possible, not just the powerf
38	3.12	1	2.4		.	How does the NGO resist, cope or adapt to participation by individuals in the client community that have the potential project to deviate from the original object
39	3.27	1	2.4		.	How does the NGO resolve the tension between project simplicity and local tensions?
40	3.28	1	2.4		.	Is the NGO able to translate project ideas into action?
41	3.13	3	2.4		.	Do the project goals and objectives impose restrictions on the actions or activities of the client community so that the original framing conditions are maintaine
42	3.14	1	2.4		.	Does the NGO frame and impose the interventions using Western style concepts and models that may not be appropriate for the culture of the client communi
47	3.19	1	2.6	2	3	Are the project objectives approvals subject to a long climb through the bureaucracy where each level is able to filter or amend the project?
48	17.3	1	2.6		.	Are NGO operations hampered by internal or external bureaucratic conflict?
49	17.4	1	2.6		.	Does the NGO attempt to understand and work with the different bureaucratic cultures that it comes in contact with?

Blank Records Deleted / Redundancies Eliminated / Combined & New Codes / Author Count Added / **Final Reconciliation**

Ready

On this final worksheet, a few remaining redundancies were consolidated and the codes and author counts were finalised. This consolidation was used to draft the questions used in the Analysis section.

Appendix F

The 57 questions/statements/issues in the *interrogation* protocol, that emerged from the analysis, have been included in this appendix.

1 **Mission, Vision, Objectives, Program**

1.1 Every development NGO, has as essential elements, a mission, vision, objectives, and program, however the influence of these four elements can vary widely amongst NGOs in their contribution to effectiveness. We must gain an understanding of why and how these elements are critical to NGO effectiveness. (A-4, Q-5)

1.2 The epistemology, ideology and development theories of the NGO have to be identified and the influence of these elements upon the vision, mission, and objectives of the NGO explored. We must understand how these elements work to influence, positively and negatively, the effectiveness of NGOs. (A-8, Q-48)

1.3 The objectives and program of an NGO may produce both tangible and intangible benefits for a given community. Often there is a tension between seeking long term, less

tangible benefits as opposed to more practical, tangible and immediate ones. There are legitimate questions regarding the role development NGOs should be filling; questions that are often expressed in this intangible – tangible benefits argument. (A-6, Q-18)

1.4 Project objectives can be developed in a top-down fashion so that an NGO begins its work with a community with all objectives predefined. A more participatory approach would involve the community in the development of these objectives. (A-4, Q-17)

1.5 The exigencies of the community may be at odds with the objectives of the project once the NGO begins the implementation phase. How should this issue be resolved? (A-1, Q-2)

1.6 All NGO development projects will be subject to external influences, pressures and restraints from major donors, international agencies, and governments that will impact their project objectives. How does the NGO cope with these influences? (A-2, Q-3)

1.7 Some development NGOs use sophisticated planning methodologies and tools to aid in the development of program objectives. Do these tools produce superior objectives or are they likely to impose objectives on the community? (A-3, Q-18)

2 Program Evaluation

2.1 At the heart of this project lies the question, "Has the NGO made a material difference in the lives of those it purports to assist?" It is difficult to know with any reasonable degree of certainty the answer to this question without some form of post-project evaluation. Does the NGO conduct any form of rigorous evaluation of the results of a program and how does it go about it? (A-6, Q-13)

2.2 If the first question is, "does the NGO perform evaluations?" then the second must logically be, "what use do they make of the results of the evaluations?" (A-2, Q-6)

2.3 Should an NGO conduct evaluations? Does it extend participatory method to include an evaluation? What were the considerations for making this choice? (A-3, Q-11)

2.4 The type of evaluation methodology can have a significant impact on the results of the evaluation. What are the issues concerning these methodologies? (A-3, Q-13)

2.5 Institutional memory is essential for institutional learning. Does the NGO learn from past successes or mistakes, or does it seem to repeat old patterns? Does it share this learning? (A-6, Q-26)

2.6 The act of choosing an evaluation methodology has within it, an element of ideology, power and politics. How do NGOs ensure that evaluative methodologies remain consistent with their core values? (A-4, Q-11)

2.7 Any evaluation intends to answer (at least partly) the question of the efficacy of the program. However, the framing of the evaluation influences what is being measured and to the extent it is measured. As in the choice of method, this too is potentially an ideologically charged component. (A-3, Q-5)

3 Funding and the Role of Donors

3.1 An NGO can obtain the bulk of its funding from a single official, private, or corporate donor, or it may have a very broad funding base made up primarily of individuals. The former implies a dependency relationship that does not exist for the latter. This dependency relationship can and likely will influence the actions of the NGO. (A-8, Q-19)

3.2 The balance struck between reliance on a dominant donor and on individual donations can determine the degree of financial independence of the NGO. Ideally, an NGO would wish to be financially independent, however, the realities of development funding will normally result in at least some dependency on a dominant donor. Is there an ideal balance? (A-4, Q-6)

3.3 Is the managerial, doctrinaire approach of large, bureaucratic donors and government agencies being replicated, on a smaller scale within the management of an NGO, as a result of their donor requirements? What impacts does this have on NGO effectiveness? (A-9, Q-27)

3.4 As governments retrench and reduce funding for their social services, NGOs have been filling the gap. This restructuring has progressed to the point that some NGOs can be viewed as contracting agents for the provision of social services. An NGO engaged in a contracting-out relationship with a government can expect to have to meet contract objectives, procedures, and results. What consequences can we expect from such a relationship? (A-5, Q-11)

3.5 Dominant donors are ever more insistent on transparency and accountability, especially regarding finances. However, an NGO is also accountable to others, particularly the community it serves. (A-5, Q-8)

3.6 To what extent is the nature of the project being dictated by the source of the funding? How does the NGO cope with tensions produced by attempting to reconcile these demands with what it perceives as needing to be done? Which route will it take? (A-2, Q-4)

3.7 Does the NGO have sufficient control over the use of its funds to reallocate resources within the project or to other allies or partners? (A-3, Q-19)

3.8 Does the NGO represent the local community to the dominant donor? (A-3, Q-3)

3.9 Does the NGO maintain a patron-client relationship, in terms of the use of funds, with its GRO allies or partners? (A-3, Q-8)

4 Participation and the Local

4.1 NGOs practice participation to varying degrees, ranging from virtually none to a state where the local community has virtually complete control and power over the project. These differences in the degree of participation have implications for the NGO, the community, and the effectiveness of the project. (A-8, Q-18)

4.2 The act of participating in a development project can become a site of conflict and an act of power. The nature of the conflict and these power relationships need to be

understood so that the NGO and the participating community can work effectively. (A-14, Q-30)

4.3 Within the act of participation, interests (often competing ones) are included, excluded, formed, shaped, and exploited. (A-2, Q-7)

4.4 Does the NGO encourage criticism and participation by the local community and other stakeholders in the project evaluation? (A-3, Q-4)

4.5 Is participation being used as a tactic to achieve a predetermined result? (A-3, Q-7)

4.6 Has the NGO recognized and attempted to reconcile participation with the practical realities of the project? (A-3, Q-19)

4.7 What attitudes and approaches does the client community take toward the participatory efforts of the NGO? (A-5, Q-13)

4.8 Does the NGO use participatory methods to facilitate capacity building? (A-3, Q-4)

4.9 ***How does the NGO approach capacity building both, within itself and with those organisations and communities with which it works? (A-6, Q-21)***

5 Power Relationships

5.1 ***External agencies have the ability to exercise their power over the NGO through their funding, regulation, and the control over the provision of other resources. The exercise of this power has significant influence over the actions of the NGO. (A-2, Q-7)***

5.2 ***The NGO is a centre of power vis-à-vis the local community. How does it work to ameliorate the effects of this exercise of power? Is it aware of the effects? (A-3, Q-3)***

5.3 ***The local community expresses centres of power. And yet, an NGO can construct new centres of power and reduce or eliminate existing ones. Is the NGO aware of this potential, and if so, does it work to ameliorate its effects? (A-4, Q-10)***

6 Development Discourse and Theory

6.1 The development discourse can be used to conceal as well as inform and enlighten. Are the problems of development being resolved or obscured through the discourse? (A-4, Q-10)

6.2 What underlying meanings does the NGO reveal in its participation in the development discourse? (A-2, Q-3)

6.3 Has the NGO taken a position opposite to the intent of the discourse it utilizes? (i.e. Does It follow a neo-liberal approach, yet speaks in terms of social movements and civil society) (A-2, Q-3)

6.4 Does the discourse reveal an adherence to a new development orthodoxy revealed in the usage of "Sustainable Development" and "Participation"? (A-6, Q-10)

6.5 Does the NGO speak of decentralization? Is this speak consistent with its actions? (A-1, Q-11)

6.6 Does the NGO speak of the local? Is this consistent with its actions? (A-1, Q-3)

6.7 Does the NGO fundamentally adhere to a market driven development approach? (A-2, Q-5)

6.8 Is the NGO attempting to develop new models of development? (A-4, Q-7)

7 Political Ideology

7.1 Many NGOs attempt to navigate an ideologically neutral path. How successful are they in doing this? Does this neutrality conceal or reveal a basis in a particular ideology? (A-5, Q-9)

7.2 How does an NGO navigate its way through the ideological spectrum? How do these forces influence it? (A-8, Q-23)

7.3 Does the NGO espouse a particular ideology, and if so, what influences does it have on the totality of its operations and its relationships with the local community and others? (A-7, Q-11)

8 Alliances, Partnerships, Allies, and Networks

8.1 Development NGO operations are virtually impossible without having built and sustained alliances, partnerships,

and relationships with donors, governments, other NGOs, GROs, other agencies and with local groups. How well does the NGO achieve alliance building? (A-9, Q-13)

8.2 Are alliances and partnerships utilized to facilitate a top-down driven agenda or is there a sharing of power, influence, and knowledge? (A-8, Q-12)

8.3 Local partners are frequently essential for achieving the goals of the project. How effectively does the NGO build, utilize, and sustain local partners? (A-8, Q-63)

9 Management Methods and Approaches

9.1 Growth can present unique challenges for an NGO. Has the NGO positioned itself for growth or does it seek to remain at a certain size and capacity? (A-4, Q-10)

9.2 Many NGOs utilize a cadre of professional development officers? How is their influence felt throughout the NGO? (A-4, Q-10)

9.3 How does the NGO ensure that its management methods remain consistent with its core values? (A-5, Q-25)

9.4 Does the NGO tend to replicate its management structures within the GROs and other local organisations with which it works? (A-3, Q-3)

9.5 NGOs rely heavily on the dedication of their staffs. This places a heavy burden on staff, contributing to burnout, turnover, and other difficulties. What methods and approaches does the NGO use to ensure that its staff does not suffer these difficulties? (A-4, Q-20)

10 Globalization and Civil Society

10.1 All development NGOs must work within economic and political structures and forces created by Globalization. Has the NGO been co-opted by these forces? How have they had an impact on its operations? (A-5, Q-20)

10.2 Does the NGO actively work against the forces of Globalization? Does it seek to defend the local community it serves, against its effects? (A-8, Q-24)

References – 30 Data Source Articles

Borren, S.
2000 Development agencies: global or solo players? Development in Practice, Vol.10, Nos. 3 & 4; pp 408-419.

Castelloe, P. and Watson T.
2000 The Participatory Change Process: a capacity building model from a US NGO. Development in Practice, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 240-244.

Costa, A. C., C. P. Kottak, and R. M. Prado
1997 The Sociopolitical Context of Participatory Development in Northeastern Brazil. Human Organization, Vol. 56, No. 2, pp 138-146.

Craig, D. and D. Porter
1997 Framing participation: development projects, professionals, and organisations. Development in Practice, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp 229-236.

de Senillosa, I
1998 A new age of social movements: a fifth generation of non-governmental development organizations in the making? Development in Practice, Vo. 8, No.1, pp 40-53.

Eade, D.
1997 Change and continuity: the challenge of transition. Development in Practice, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 501-504.

Fisher, W. F.
1997 Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices. Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol.26, pp. 439-464.

Fowler, A.
1999 Relevance in the twenty-first century: the case for devolution and global association of international NGOs. Development in Practice, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 & 2, pp 143-151.

Gezon, L.
1997 Institutional Structure and the Effectiveness of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects: Case Study from Madagascar. Human Organization, Vol. 56, No. 4, pp 462-470.

Grzybowski, C.
2000 We NGOs: a controversial way of being and acting. Development in Practice, Vol. 10, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 436-444.

Hailey, J.
2000 Indicators of identity: NGOs and the strategic imperative of assessing core values. Development in Practice, Vol. 10, Nos. 3 & 4, pp 403-407.

Hintjens, H.
1999 The Emperor's New Clothes: a moral tale for development experts. Development in Practice, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp 382-395.

Hoksbergen, R. and M. E. Madrid
1997 The Evangelical Church and the Development of Neoliberal Society: A Study of the Role of the Evangelical Church and Its NGOs in Guatemala and Honduras. The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. Fall 1997, No. 32, pp. 37-52.

Honkala, C., et al.
1999 Globalisation and homelessness in the USA: building a social movement to end poverty. Development in Practice, Vol. 9, No. 5, pp 526-537.

Johnson, H. and G. Wilson
1999 Institutional sustainability as learning. Development in Practice, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 43-55.

Joseph, Jaime A.
2000 NGOs: fragmented dreams. Development in Practice, Vol.10, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 390-401.

Manji, F.
1997 Collaboration with the South: agents of aid or solidarity? Development in Practice, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp 175-178.

Meyer, M. and N. Singh
1997 Two approaches to evaluating the outcomes of development projects. Development in Practice, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp 59-64.

Mohan, G. and K. Stokke
2000 Participatory development and empowerment: the dangers of localism. Third World Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp 247-268.

Ngunjiri, E.
1998 Participatory methodologies: double-edged swords. Development in Practice, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp 466-470.

Noponen, H.
1999 Participatory Internal Learning for Grassroots NGOs in Micro-credit, Livelihoods and Environmental Regeneration. Development, Vol. 42, No. 2, pp. 27-34.

Nyamugasira, W.
1998 NGOs and advocacy: how well are the poor represented? Development in Practice, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp 297-308.

Padaki, V.
2000 Coming to grips with organisational values. Development in Practice, Vol. 10, Nos. 3 & 4, pp 420-435.

Postma, W.
1998 Capacity-building: the making of a curry. Development in Practice, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 55-63.

Storey, A.
2000 Post-Development Theory: Romanticism and Pontius Pilate politics. Development, Vol. 43, No. 4, pp. 40-46.

Strachan, P.
1996 Handing over an operational project to community management in North Darfur, Sudan. Development in Practice, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 208-214.

Thomas, A.
1999 What makes good development management? Development in Practice, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 & 2, pp 9-17.

Wield, D.
1999 Tools for project development within a public action framework. Development in Practice, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 & 2, pp 33-41.

Whaites, A.
1999 Pursuing partnership: World Vision and the ideology of development--a case study. Development in Practice, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 411-423.

White, S. C.
1996 Depoliticising development: the uses and abuses of participation. Development in Practice, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp 7-53.

Willms, D. and Johnson, N.
1996 Essentials in Qualitative Research: A Notebook for the Field.

References - Other

Alexander, T.
1996 Unveiling Global Apartheid: An Overview of World Politics. Cambridge: Polity Press

Baptist, W.
1997 'The Next Step Organising School', Lecture delivered 5-7 September 1997, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Biggs, S. D. and Neame, A. D.
1996 Negotiating Room to maneuver: reflections concerning NGO autonomy and accountability with the new policy agenda. See Edwards & Hulme (1996), pp. 40-52

Bongartz, H. Dahal, M. K. Aditya, A. Dahal, D. R.
1992 Foreign Aid and the Role of NGOs in the Development Process of Nepal. Kathmandu: Nepal Found. Adv. Stud.

Bratton, M.
1989 The politics of NGO-government relations in development. IDR Work. Pap. No. 8. Boston: Inst. Dev. Res/Boston Univ. Sch. Manage.

Burchell, G. Gordon, C. Miller, P. eds.
1991 The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press

Carroll, T. F.
1992 Intermediary NGOs: The Supporting Link in Grassroots Development. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian

Chambers, R.
1995 Paradigm shifts and the practice of participatory research and development. In Nici Nevon and Susan Wright eds., Power and Participatory Development: Theory and Practice, London: IT Publications

Clark, J.
1992 'Policy influence, lobbying and advocacy' IN Making a Difference: NGOs and Development in a Changing World, M. Edwards and D. Hulme eds., London: Earthscan

Cusworth, J. W. and T. R. Franks
1993 Managing Projects in Developing Countries, Harlow: Longman.

Edwards, M. and D. E. Hulme
1996 Beyond the Magic Bullet: NGO Performance and Accountability in the Post-Cold War World. Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

Escobar, A.
1995 Encountering Development: The making and unmaking of the Third World. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Farrington, J. and Bebbington, A. eds.
1993 Reluctant Partners? Nongovernmental Organizations, the State and Sustainable Agricultural Development. London: Routledge

Fisher, J.
1998 Non Governments: NGOs and the Political Development of the Third World. Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc.

Fisher, W. F.
1995 Toward Sustainable Development: Struggling Over India's Narmada River. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc.

Fowler, A.
1996 Assessing NGO performance: difficulties, dilemmas, and a way ahead. See Edwards and Hulme (1996) pp. 169-86

Gordon, C.
1991 Government rationality: an introduction. See Burchell et al 1991, pp 1-53

Hancock, G.
1989 Lords of Poverty: The Power, Prestige, and Corruption of the International Aid Business. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press

Korten, D. C.
1990 Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda. Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc.

Maloney, D. D.
1990 What you Should Know about "No." In Language, Culture and Society: Readings. In Linguistic Anthropology, James M. Wallace, III, ed., pp. 37-38, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co.

Moore, M.
1993 Good Government? Introduction. IDS Bulletin, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp 1-6

Ndegwa, S. N.
1996 The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and Politics in Africa. West Hartford CT: Kumarian

Pearce, J.
1993 NGOs and social change: agents or facilitators? Development in Practice, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 222-27

Pfeiffer, John
1990 How Not to Lose the Trade Wars by Cultural Gaffes. In Language, Culture and Society: Readings in Linguistic Anthropology, James M. Wallace, III, ed., pp. 27-33, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co.

Pratt, B. and Stone A.
1995 Multilateral agencies and NGOs: a position paper. Oxford: Int. NGO Train. Res. Cent.

Reason, Peter
1998 Three Approaches to Participative Inquiry. In Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry, eds. Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonna S., pp. 261-291. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Robinson, M.
1993 Governance, democracy and conditionality: NGOs and the new political agenda. In Governance, Democracy and Conditionality: What Role for NGOs? Ed. A. Clayton, Oxford: Int. NGO Train. Res. Cent.

Ross, K. L.
2002 Foundationalism and Hermeneutics, [http://www.friesian.com/hermenut.htm]

Scott, J. C.
1985 Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Simon, J.
1995 Foucault and the Political. New York: Routledge

Watkins, K.
1994 'Aid under threat', Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 66, pp. 517-523.