

DISSECTING ACCOUNTABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF INTERNATIONAL
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION (INGO) WORK: CONVERGING AND
DIVERGING PERSPECTIVES BETWEEN ACADEMIA AND THE FIELD

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Saskatoon

By

STAN YU

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ABSTRACT

International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs) have undergone a dramatic growth and evolution in recent history. Along with the growth in numbers, INGOs have also experienced an increase in their scope of responsibilities, and the freedom and autonomy to implement their policies into practice (Charnovitz, 1997; Iriye, 1999, 2002). However, the twenty-first century has also witnessed a growing body of criticism against INGOs suggesting the increasing demand for INGOs to demonstrate accountability and effectiveness (Charnovitz, 2006; Lister, 2003; Steffek & Hahn, 2010). This thesis explored the perspectives of two INGOs, and their staff members and volunteers on how they view, understand and experience issues of accountability and effectiveness as it relates to their work. Using content analysis of publicly obtainable organizational documents and conducting qualitative interviews with staff members and volunteers, this thesis found that key themes identified are: multi-faceted donor accountability where different donors exert their own pressures on INGOs; the ability to sustainably support Partners working in the Global South as the primary focus of INGO work; the summative and descriptive reporting of impact; and the continuing challenge of conducting impact assessment. This study concludes that despite sampling INGOs using two different models to further the goal of international development, there were more similarities in the issues of accountability and effectiveness faced than differences. By considering the perspectives of INGOs and those working on the field, we can move towards developing constructive approaches that can meaningfully assist INGOs in documenting and assessing their own accountability and effectiveness.

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DEDICATION

To whoever is reading this right now. It is because of you that people like me continue to write.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century marked a period of unprecedented growth and evolution for International Non-governmental Organizations (INGOs). This thesis investigates an increasingly pertinent debate in the world of INGOs. Specifically, it examines the notions of accountability and effectiveness as it relates to the work of INGOs. As Kenneth Boulding articulates, “The rise of international nongovernmental organizations has been spectacular...this is perhaps one of the most spectacular developments of the twentieth century, although it has happened so quickly that it is seldom noticed” (Iriye, 1999, p. 424). Whereas before 1859 there were less than ten INGOs, the number has increased to over 10,000 by the end of the twentieth century (Kaldor, 2003; Davies, 2008). Along with the growth in numbers, INGOs have also experienced an increase in their scope of responsibilities, and the freedom and autonomy to implement their policies into practice (Charnovitz, 1997; Iriye, 1999, 2002). The evolution of INGOs in the twentieth century has resulted in the attainment of legitimacy as international actors in the deliberation of global issues (Fisher, 1997).

In the twenty-first century, INGOs have continued to expand rapidly in numbers, activity and support. However, the twenty-first century has also witnessed a concurrent growing body of criticism against INGOs. In 2003, *The Economist* published an essay, headlined by the title, “Who Guards the Guardians?”, which introduces a ‘novel idea’ of auditing NGOs. Specifically, the piece writes that, “Non-governmental organi[z]ations, as many charities are pompously described these days, often escape the sort of scrutiny that they, themselves, like to apply to governments and companies” (The Economist, 2003, p. 1). In other words, the article questions the standards and regulations that INGOs themselves must follow in order to receive that legitimate position to criticize others. This view is echoed by Grant and Keohane who argue

that INGOs often have very few defined procedures and practices that transparently demonstrate their accountability to the public; rather, they only need to demonstrate their worth to a small set of constituents (Charnovitz, 2006). Meanwhile, Edwards and Hulme (1996) argue that the image of INGOs as being the “magic bullet” for solving global issues often carries very little evidence to support it. Evaluations of INGOs are rarely conducted and when evaluations are released, they are either wrought with problems of generalizability or elicit sentiments of propaganda rather than objective measures (Edwards & Hulme, 1996). Ultimately, I suggest that these criticisms reflect the increasing demand for INGOs to demonstrate accountability and effectiveness (Charnovitz, 2006; Lister, 2003; Steffek & Hahn, 2010).

This thesis aims to contribute to this current debate in three ways. First, it presents the current critiques of accountability and effectiveness against INGOs, based on what has been found within the existing literature. Second, I argue that what has largely been missing within the literature are the voices of INGOs and those working within INGOs themselves on issues of accountability and effectiveness as it pertains to their work. In turn, this thesis illuminates on the perspectives of two INGOs and those that work in the field, and highlighting their opinions and experiences on issues of accountability and effectiveness. My overarching research question is: How do INGOs themselves view, understand, experience and address the issues of accountability and effectiveness raised within the research literature? Finally, I compare these findings to the existing scholarship with the goal of highlighting areas of convergences and divergences between the two perspectives. Through this comparative analysis, I identify areas of convergence between the two perspectives on where accountability and effectiveness is most needed, which can help to specify the focus of future efforts in this area of study.

1.1 Defining International Non-governmental Organizations

INGOs, as Martens (2002) argues, are often treated by social scientific studies as a “rubbish bin” or “catch-all word” for everything that is not governmental. As a consequence, the definition of INGOs has largely been taken-for-granted rather than clearly articulated (Martens, 2002). Furthermore, there lies inherent difficulty with capturing such a spectrum of organizations found in the INGO community with, “diversity deriv[ing] from differences in size, duration, range and scope of activities, ideologies, cultural background, organizational culture and legal status” (Princen & Finger, 1994, p. 6). Nevertheless, a formal definition for INGOs, as they are conceptualized within this study, serves as a good starting point and I propose that a formal definition for INGOs can be derived through examining its main characteristics.

First, INGOs are ‘nonuninational’ and hence, their goals, interactions and activities extend beyond borders (Martens, 2002; Skjelsbaek, 1971). This separates these organizations from national non-governmental organizations that operate on the local, regional and/or national level within a certain country. In addition, members of these organizations span across borders and are bound together by shared values, common discourse and the exchange of information and services (Keck & Sikkink, 1999). For Tilly, the international nature of these NGOs is unique in that they work to illuminate issues not bounded by national borders while being able to address the relevant authorities directly on these issues, whether the directed authority is international or of a different country (Kaldor, 2003). In other words, they work to make rules, set standards and proliferate issues through appealing to principles of “humanity” vis-à-vis states and other actors (Boli & Thomas, 1999).

Second, INGOs presuppose the exclusion of governments or governmental components within the inherent foundations of the organization itself (Martens, 2002). How strictly organizations follow this principle varies dramatically in regards to the level of

governmental membership and support associated. While some advocate for complete disconnection between government and INGOs, others follow a more liberal approach where government components can act as members as long as the organization retains the autonomy to determine their own activities (Martens, 2002). State-created organizations to purposefully fulfill a state's mandate or objective would not apply in this case (Cooper, 2009). Some organizations further reject any forms of governmental financial support to retain complete autonomy; however, a large number of INGOs do receive governmental funding (Brown & Moore, 2001). Whether this constitutes erosion towards the term "non-governmental" remains an issue of debate (Martens, 2002). INGOs are also commonly understood as not seeking governmental power within their goals and activities (Martens, 2002).

There has also been debate as to whether international organizations furthering the pursuit of profit are considered to be International Non-governmental Organizations as they are also non-governmental (Keane, 2003). In response, Martens (2002) proposes that INGOs are constitutive of only nonprofit making entities, which draws the important distinction between INGOs and international non-state profit-making actors, such as multinational corporations. Additionally, it has also been maintained that the "nonviolent" characteristic of INGOs works to further distinguish them from terrorists, national guerilla or liberation organizations, and organized crime which are also non-governmental actors (Martens, 2002).

Finally, the notion of 'organization' distinguishes INGOs from other forms of collective action, such as public protests or social movements. While there are often intimate linkages between protests and INGOs, in terms of values and causes, INGOs operate with a formal organizational structure, and a pool of paid and permanent staff, of whom many emerge from diverse professional backgrounds (Martens, 2002). This dramatically shifts the previously

held perception that INGOs are ‘voluntary organizations’, in which private people come together to work towards a bigger ideal and cause beyond monetary or personal gains (Kaldor, 2003; Martens, 2002). In contrast, Kaldor (2003) argues that INGOs have emerged to become an independent institution. Thus, through adopting and coalescing those unique characteristics, I suggest that a definition of International Nongovernmental Organizations as: formal (professionalized) independent societal organizations, whose primary aim is to promote and actively work towards common goals that span across national boundaries (Martens, 2002; Skjelsbaek, 1971).

1.2 Thesis Outline

Chapter 2 begins with the historical evolution of INGOs in the 20th Century, providing context on their growth in terms of numbers, access, scope of responsibilities, and the autonomy to implement their work, as well as documenting pivotal moments in their brief history that contributed to their evolution. The short, yet rapid evolution in twentieth century has led INGOs into the twenty-first century with even more accelerated growth and support. The rise, promise and potential of INGOs in the twenty-first century have worked to captivate the attention of states, donors, policy makers, the public, academics and the media alike (Edwards, 2004; Martens, 2005). I conclude that the result of this historical evolution of INGOs has resulted in their attainment of legitimacy as international actors.

Chapter 3 highlights the concurrent growing body of criticism of INGOs that has emerged in the twenty-first century. I propose that the central debate can be encapsulated into the increasing need for INGOs to demonstrate accountability and effectiveness as it pertains to their work. In turn, this chapter elucidates on these two concepts. Here, the perspectives of previous academic studies are introduced. Specifically, as documented in the literature, the nature of

INGO work inherently involves the constant need for accountability from multiple stakeholders, such as their clients, donors, members, and those within the INGO community at large (Najam, 1996; Szporluk, 2009). In terms of effectiveness, INGOs are increasingly being challenged to demonstrate the impact, sustainability and replicability of their projects and interventions, as well as whether empowerment of the communities they serve actually occur (Atack, 1999; Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Fowler, 1997).

Chapter 4 is a review of the research methodology, the research methods used, the data collection process and the data analysis procedure used in this thesis. To gauge the perspectives of INGOs regarding questions of accountability and effectiveness, this thesis followed a qualitative approach. Qualitative methodology is data-driven, fluid and flexible, and animated by an understanding that any data produced in social scientific research is often complex, multi-layered and textured (Mason, 2004). A qualitative approach was found to be optimal in addressing the primary research question of the thesis. As such, two qualitative research methods were used to answer my research questions. Specifically, I conducted a content analysis of publicly obtainable organizational documents, such as annual reports, foundational documents and media publications. Moreover, qualitative interviews were conducted with staff members and volunteers working within the organizations.

Chapter 5 is devoted to a detailed reporting of the findings related to issues of accountability that emerged within the data. In regards to issues related to accountability, key themes were found to be: multi-faceted donor accountability where different donors exert their own pressures on INGOs; the primary client, according to both organizations, is the Partners they work with in the Global South; and both organizations currently work within large transnational networks as opposed to individually.

Accordingly, Chapter 6 documents the key themes related to issues of effectiveness. Here, the key themes were found to be: the summative and descriptive reporting of impact and the continuing challenge of conducting impact assessment for both organizations; the ability to support their Partners in the Global South as the primary goal of sustainability; empowerment strategies are inherent within the design of programmes and interventions in the Global South; and the issue of replicability and scaling up was a minimal theme for both organizations.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes and concludes the main findings of the study and initiates a larger discussion on how accountability and effectiveness is understood and experienced by the two participating INGOs, how it compares to the literature, and the significance of these findings to the overall debate.

CHAPTER 2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF INGOs IN THE 20TH CENTURY

2.1 Introduction

Despite the seemingly short history of INGOs, I argue that this explosion of popularity did not happen overnight. Rather, a look back at the development of INGOs during the 20th Century reveals a period characterized by an evolution of INGOs resulting in an increase in numbers, support, responsibilities, recognition, roles and ultimately, legitimacy as an international actor. This chapter will retrace this progression of INGOs in the 20th Century and describe some of the pivotal events that led to its current state, including a provision to declare INGOs in a consultative status within the UN Charter in 1949, which has paved the road for increasing collaboration and connection between INGOs and the UN in the latter half of the twentieth century; the shift in their work to engaging with causes more political in nature, and the increasing access and engagement in decision-making processes as epitomized by the 1990s

Campaign to ban landmines. All these events significantly contributed to the furthering of INGOs as legitimate international actors. In turn, this evolution in the twentieth century has led to an ‘explosion’ of growth, support and activity in the twenty-first century.

2.2 Early Historical Context

International Non-Governmental Organizations first emerged during the mid-19th Century (Iriye, 1999; Boli & Thomas, 1999). While different forms of non-governmental organizations had previously existed, what was unique during this initial period of emergence was the development of individual awareness of shared interest beyond borders and a commitment to cooperation amongst individuals that assisted them in promoting their identities at an international level (Charnovitz, 1997; Lewis & Kanji, 2009). This can be seen in the World Congress of International Associations in Brussels in 1910 where 132 international associations gathered to tackle issues such as: transportation, intellectual property rights, narcotics control, public health issues, agriculture and the protection of nature resulting in the decision to create the Union of International Organization (Keane, 2003; Lewis & Kanji, 2009). This decision symbolically represented this emergence as INGOs were beginning to have either a direct or indirect influence on issues of peace, intellectual property, prostitution, narcotics, labor, and nature protection policy measures in Europe (Charnovitz, 1997; Keane, 2003). Whereas before 1859 there were less than 10 INGOs, their numbers grew from 32 in 1874 to 135 in 1910 (Davies, 2008).

While INGOs had already experienced a modest growth, it was not until after the First World War that significant expansion in numbers began (Iriye, 1999). According to Iriye (1999), this can be attributed to a reaction against the traditional system of interstate relations that was considered to have brought about the unprecedented tragedy. Instead of sovereign states playing

the game of power politics, some men and women after 1919 were determined to develop new institutions on the basis of which a more durable and just international order would be constructed. International organizations involving members of governing bodies from individual sovereign countries or Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) were created, such as the League of Nations (Charnovitz, 1997, 2006).

As a result of the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations was created in 1919 with its primary goal to prevent war through collective security, disarmament and settling international disputes through peaceful means (The Avalon Project, 2008). During this period, the League of Nations also demonstrated its support for INGOs by sending representatives to INGO conferences while also inviting INGOs to participate in their meetings even without a constitutional directive to do so (Charnovitz, 1997). For the first time, INGOs began to move away from their status as ‘outsiders’ to one in which they attempted to bring important issues to the attention of the international system of government, utilizing outlets such as international forums to raise their views (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). Consequently, INGOs played significant roles within the League of Nations, working on issues of finance and trade, statistics, transportation, health, narcotics, refugees and relief, minority rights, mandates, disarmament, children, women, and nature (Charnovitz, 1997; Snider, 2003). At this point, the growth of INGOs was no less impressive as the League of Nations’ handbook of international organizations reported that there were 478 international organizations by 1929, 90% of which were private (Iriye, 2002).

During this period, nearly half of these organizations dealt with issues, economic interest or learned societies and research organizations. This was followed by educational and cultural exchange, and religion with political organizations only constituting a small fraction of the INGO landscape (Kaldor, Anheier & Glasius, 2003). While INGOs continued to exist in an

embryonic state, their involvement with the League of Nations was frequent enough to warrant expectations for its recurrence, signaling a sign of mutual respect (Charnovitz, 1997).

By 1935, much of the world shifted its focus on the political tensions in Europe. Inevitably, this period affected the growth and activity of INGOs (Charnovitz, 1997; Skjelsbaek, 1971). While INGOs mobilized to campaign for peace during the war, this period of INGO history was ultimately defined as “disengagement” by Lewis and Kanji (2009) as Europe steered into a state of authoritarianism, nationalism and war.

2.2.1 Inclusion into the United Nations Charter

On April 25th, 1945, delegates from fifty countries assembled in Washington to attend the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, an international conference aimed at addressing the need for a postwar international organization to maintain peace and securing amongst postwar nations and to succeed the League of Nations (Borchard, 1945). Amongst the national delegates were also representatives from forty-two INGOs and NGOs (Snider, 2003). While other INGOs were not formally invited to the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, they sent unofficial delegates to monitor and witness how the Conference unfolded. It was estimated that close to 1,200 INGOs were in attendance (Maiyegun, 2007).

Through their involvement in the Conference, INGOs worked to achieve two significant inputs into the official UN Charter (Alger, 2002; Snider, 2003). First, the term, “individual human rights” was successfully included within The UN Charter. According to John P. Humphrey, INGOs, “conducted a lobby in favor of human rights for which there is no parallel in the history of international relations, and which was largely responsible for the human rights provisions of the Charter” (Charnovitz, 1997, p. 252). Second, as opposed to the League of Nations whose opening phrases in its preamble began with, “The High Contracting Parties”, the

United Nations' Preambular opening paragraph states, "We the peoples of the United Nations" (Maiyegun, 2007, p. 9). This was attributed to discussions between the to-be formed United Nations and INGOs, as alluded to by the UN Secretary General (Maiyegun, 2007).

Perhaps the most significant point in INGO history came when Article 71 was enacted in the UN charter, providing for, "consultative arrangements" with the Economic and Social Council or ECOSOC (Snider, 2003; Martens, 2002; Willetts, 2000). It stated that:

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations, which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned. (United Nations, 2012, p. 1)

This Article marked the first official documentation recognizing the work of INGOs, denoting a momentous step towards the opening of spaces for voices outside of governmental bodies in the deliberation and decision-making process in regards to global issues. (Maiyegun, 2007; Willetts, 2000). It also acknowledged the long-standing relationship between INGOs and the United Nations (and its predecessor, the League of Nations). Furthermore, this recognition served as a reminder that INGOs have played an important role in the UN since its inception (Alger, 2003). This five year period from 1945 to 1950 also saw the number of INGOs increased from 477 to 795, a period that theorists described as a 'reintensification' of INGOS with momentum picking up right where it left off before the war (Iriye, 2002).

2.2.2 Growth, Scope and Significance

While the 1950s witnessed a global historical narrative often dominated by the Cold War, the work of INGOs was one that attempted to paint a different portrait on global issues. This period saw a movement in North America, Europe and Japan to protest against atomic tests, calling for

the abolishment of nuclear weapons (Iriye, 1999). This movement was especially unique in post-war Japan where the initiative was inspired not by communists or radicals, but from citizens and grassroots movements (Iriye, 2002). This movement led to the emergence of organizations such as the Japan Committee against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, the National Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy, and initiating movements such as the Pugwash conference in Canada in 1957 which was organized by a group of distinguished scientists led by Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell (Iriye, 1999; 2000)¹.

Further, the 1950s marked the beginning of organizations going beyond traditional humanitarian relief towards more extensive efforts in developing countries. This marked the first shift where INGOs attempted to implement a long-term commitment to working with communities as opposed to a temporary alleviation of conditions due to war (Iriye, 2002). For example, the Ford Foundation, the largest philanthropic organization in the United States, was the one of the first to establish an office overseas to oversee developmental projects that were being undertaken abroad (Iriye, 2002). The work in the area of human rights also intensified during this time, fuelled in part by the Cold War and also by the ongoing Korean War. Specifically, INGOs participated in the Human Rights Commission's "working group on economic, social, and cultural projects" in hopes of drafting an international covenant of human rights, aimed at solidifying and specifying the principles already laid out by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Iriye, 2002). The efforts from INGOs spawned new initiatives to be created, with one example being a conference that was proposed and later held by INGOs to coordinate their work in the prevention of discrimination against minorities. By the end of the

¹ The Pugwash Conferences was awarded a Nobel Peace Prize in 1995 for its work in advocating for the end of nuclear weapons in four decades.

1950s, the total number of INGOs had increased to approximately 1,200 – 1,300 (Iriye, 1999; Skjelsbaek, 1971).

In the 1960s, a trend within INGO work emerged where international humanitarian relief now tended to merge into, or be overshadowed by, developmental assistance (Iriye, 2002). This could be attributed to the newly gained independence of countless countries.(Iriye, 1999; 2002). In turn, an initiative to assisting nation-building within these former colonies became a major international issue. INGOs and IGOs became critical in those countries on issues such as economic development, educational reform, population control and dealing with modernization (Iriye, 1999). Accordingly, Skjelsbaek (1971) found that INGO representation in Africa, where many countries achieved independence during that period, grew significantly, from 0.2% in 1951 to 6.8% in 1966. As coined by the United Nations, the 1960s was denoted as the “decade of development” with nations responding by creating official aid programs such as the Alliance for Progress in the United States or the International Development Agency in Canada (Lewis & Kanji, 2009). Through these agencies, countries began strategically channeling funds into development projects. For example, Australia was seen to consistently give over two percent of national budgets on developmental assistance.

The 1960s also saw a shifting opinion, dictated by emerging global awareness, anti-war discourse and conceptions of individuals that were being rendered more complex by gender, ethnic and racial considerations, asserting itself in the midst of the Vietnam and Cold War (Charnovitz, 1997). This proved to be a match to ignite an explosive situation as international non-governmental organizations catalyzed and facilitated the furthering of movements such as environmentalism, antinuclear and the women’s movements. These movements were also not carried out in isolation. A good example of this is the creation of Greenpeace, which was a new

organization in the late 1960s concerned with environmental effects of past and planned nuclear tests (Iriye, 2002). In only a few years, Greenpeace grew and became arguably the most active environmental organizations in the world.

The 1970s witnessed a period of “intensification” for INGOs in many areas (Charnovitz, 1997, p. 261). The number of INGOs grew phenomenally during the 1970s with the Union of International Associations estimating the growth to 12,686 organizations (Iriye, 2002). This period saw ECOSOC and the U.N. General Assembly call upon INGOs to assist in planning for international conferences (Charnovitz, 1997). Consequently, INGO gatherings at world conferences, such as the 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest, the 1974 World Food Conference in Rome, the 1975 International Woman’s Year Conference in Mexico City and the 1976 U.N. Conference on Human Settlements in Vancouver, became common practice. Among these World Conferences, the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm constituted the pinnacle of INGO involvement. There were 113 governments and at least 225 INGOs. Within the Conference, INGOs made a formal statement to the delegates and they distributed a daily newspaper, a practice that was popularized and subsequently regularized at conferences (Charnovitz, 1997).

During this period, environmental INGOs were instrumental in drafting, deliberating and implementing treaties. For example, the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) worked closely with governments to draft the treaty of 1973 to protect polar bears, and the Antarctic and South Ocean Coalition (ASOC) played an instrumental role in the successful campaign to keep Antarctica off limits to mineral resource extraction in 1978 (Charnovitz, 1997; Iriye, 2002). Moreover, the growing distribution of INGOs beyond the Western World could no

longer be ignored. In 1977, for instance, there were 6,830 active organizations working in Africa, and 9,725 in Asia (Iriye, 2022).

While the nature of INGO work during the 1980s and 1990s did not fundamentally change from its previous decades, its growth and expanded scope increased at a much more rapid pace (Iriye, 2002; Martens, 2002). Keane (2003) estimated that 90% of the current operating INGOs were formed since the 1970s.

During these two decades, the global significance of INGOs could be witnessed through examples such as Greenpeace efforts to launch a fleet of ships in the South Pacific in protest after one of their ships, the “Rainbow Warrior”, was blown up by French intelligence². This protest worked to attract International attention, reignited the antinuclear campaign and gave Greenpeace unprecedented exposure to the public (Iriye, 2002; Keane, 2003).

The International Campaign to Ban Landmines is another example, which illustrates the global significance of INGOs. This campaign, which advocated for eliminating the use of landmines in war, gained the support of approximately forty governments, and members of governmental bodies began working with INGOs towards this aim (International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 2010). Backed by the strong support of the Canadian government, a conference in 1997 was held in Ottawa where fifty governments and twenty-four observers met to discuss possible ways to realize this ban (International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 2010). Jody Williams, ambassador for the campaign, describes a pivotal moment during the Ottawa Conference:

The primary objectives [of the conference]...were to develop a declaration that states would sign signaling their intention to ban antipersonnel mines and an "Agenda for Action" outlining

²In response to the French nuclear testing as part of the nuclear arms race in the 1980s.

concrete steps to reach such a ban. We were all prepared for the concluding comments by Lloyd Axworthy, the Foreign Minister of Canada...but the Foreign Minister did not end with congratulations. He ended with a challenge. The Canadian government challenged the world to return to Canada in a year to sign an international treaty banning antipersonnel landmines. Members of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines erupted in cheers...it was really breathtaking. (International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 2010, p. 1)

On December 3rd, 1997, the treaty was adopted in Norway and signed by 122 States in Ottawa, Canada, on December of that same year (the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, 2010). This successful campaign was also the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1997.

These two campaigns became historical benchmarks for INGOs. Specifically, the Greenpeace protests illustrated the amount of international attention an INGO campaign can garner while the International Campaign to Ban Landmines demonstrated the potential for what partnerships between governments and INGOs are capable of accomplishing (Iriye, 2002). The partnership between governments and INGOs, and its potential for social change has also been witnessed in INGOs' relationship with the United Nations.

2.2.3 INGOs' Relationship to the United Nations

The formal establishment of INGOs in ECOSOC during the formation of the United Nations paved the road for a long-standing relationship between INGOs and the UN. Inevitable tension and contradiction arise, however, when INGOs seek to challenge the behavior of states through an intergovernmental arena where states ultimately control (Clark, 1995). INGOs continue to be classified as having "consultative status", denoting a secondary role that is restricted to being able to give advice as opposed to being part of the decision-making process (Willets, 2000). In other words, INGOs can participate in the deliberations, but cannot vote (Clark, 1995).

Moreover, the right to participate in deliberations with UN officials was also dependent on the classification an INGO obtains³. Here, the more experienced the INGO representative or the more technical the issue at hand was usually a determining factor as to how much participation an INGO can have within the UN structure (Charnovitz, 2005; Otto, 1996).

Despite these restrictions, INGOs have been seen to increase their role within the UN system in three aspects. First, there has been a broadening of INGO involvement in the UN headquarters, from playing a peripheral role in the main plenary bodies to having a significant influence on smaller-sized committees in fields, such as human rights, population planning, and sustainable development (Willettts, 2000). Second, INGOs have increased their communication with the UN where, in 1990, it was found that there were ninety-three offices within the UN system that exclusively dealt with INGO relations located in cities scattered around the globe (Alger, 2002). Finally, INGOs increased their participation in UN Conferences. The 1992 U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) provides a good example where INGOs were heavily involved in the preparatory committee for the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio De Janeiro in 1992 (Charnovitz, 1997; Iriye, 2002; Otto, 1996). Subsequently, over 650 INGOs and 178 governments attended the conference, marking an occasion where non-governmental bodies played a dominant role in both the preparation of

³For example, in 1993, there were 978 INGOs/NGOs classified as consultative status. On the other hand, there were three categories contained in this status, including: forty-two in category 1 or NGOs with general competence in ECOSOC activities; three-hundred-seventy-six in category 2 or NGOs with special competence in particular ECOSOC activities; and five-hundred-sixty on the roster or NGOs who can make occasional useful contributions to ECOSOC activities (Otto, 1996, pp. 109).

and in the actual deliverance of an international conference (Iriye, 2002; Lewis & Kanji, 2009). Since UNCED in 1992, U.N. Conferences have often consisted of heavy INGO participation (Otto, 1996).

This relationship between INGOs and the major UN agencies has further been highlighted in their increasing collaboration on the field. In complex humanitarian emergencies, UN agencies traditionally viewed INGOs as subordinate subcontractors who were paid for their services as opposed to equal partners during relief operations (Natsios, 1995). Conversely, in the 1990s, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, one of the major UN agencies, initiated monthly coordination meetings with INGOs in New York and Geneva to exchange information, and engage in deliberations and discussions pertaining to policy and procedure in times of complex emergencies (Natsios, 1995).

While the UN and INGOs are far from achieving any sort of a peaceful friendship, Natsios (1995) asserts that a mutual dependency does exist between the two in times of emergencies as they provide complementary activities. On the one hand, INGOs work to provide relief and development at the grassroots level, providing means of empowerment and addressing issues at the familial and communal level of crisis such as: community-based health care, road and bridge construction, and water and sanitation work (Natsios, 1995, p. 415). On the other hand, UN agencies cultivate relationships with senior policy makers, negotiating country-wide access in conflict areas, exemptions from custom duties for relief commodities and protection agreements for relief workers from the violence of the conflicts (Natsios, 1995).

Thus, the twentieth century also witnessed INGOs pave new relations with international governmental bodies. From their informal relationship with the League of Nations to being formally included within the UN declaration to increased opportunities to work with the United

Nations, INGOs had become increasingly woven into the fabric of international governance. This continues to be supported within the UN millennium report whereby Secretary-General Kofi Annan re-emphasized to, “give full opportunities to [international] non-governmental organizations and other non-state actors to make their indispensable contribution to the Organization’s work” (Martens, 2005, p. 4). At the end of the twentieth century, INGOs had gained the attention of the world. More importantly, its potential and promise for social change provided an avenue for hope, constituting what Michael Edwards (2004) calls, “the big idea” for the twenty-first century.

2.3 INGOs in the 21st Century

Today, scholars estimate that there are approximately 50,000 existing INGOs working at a global level (Anheier, 2004; Keane, 2003). The most prominent areas of INGO involvement are in the fields of human rights, environmentalism, women’s rights, international development, humanitarian aid, peace, and family issues, although they continue to engage in issues relating to disarmament and military surveillance and less controversial topics such as: recreation clubs, academic exchanges and sports associations (Martens, 2005).

The share INGOs receive from official aid has doubled since the 1970s when it received 11% of the OECD official aid, even though the overall percentage of aid has experienced an overall decrease (Kaldor, Anheier & Glasius, 2003). Further, while the overall percentage of aid has decreased in the 1990s, private donations including individual, foundation and corporate contributions for INGOs have more than doubled, increasing from \$4.5 billion dollars in the 1980s to \$10.7 billion in the 1990s (Kaldor, Anheier & Glasius, 2003). Some experts have estimated the net worth of the international non-profit sector grosses over one trillion dollars per year in the 21st Century (Collingwood, 2006).

The growth of INGOs can also be illustrated via their international presence. While Europe and North America continues to show the greatest number of INGOs and the highest rate of membership, INGO memberships have also been seen to show dramatic increases in other countries as well with the highest expansion rates witnessed in central and eastern Europe, central Asia, East Asia and in the Pacific since the 1980s. This indicates a trend towards diffusion of INGO presence as opposed to continuing to be concentrated (Kaldor, Anheier & Glasius, 2003). In 2005, the Make Poverty History campaign created media excitement with the ambitious, “Live 8” concert where ten venues in nine different countries simultaneously featured concerts broadcasted through radio, television and the Internet with the message to eradicate global poverty (Nash, 2008). In response, it was reported that Live 8 was watched by 3 billion people around the world (Nash, 2008).

Growth can also be gauged through the operating budgets of INGOs. Ossewaarde, Nijhof and Heyse (2008)’s study on the impact of INGO intervention on the 2004 Tsunami found that INGOs operated during the crisis with an estimated budget of \$3.5 billion American dollars, of which 77% were donated by the general public. In 2010, the devastating earthquake in Haiti was met by a tremendous response from Canadians, donating approximately \$120 million to the Red Cross, which was the largest single country donor response in the agency's history and nearly \$25 million to World Vision; both of which are staggering numbers (Scrivener, 2010).

While a full historical analysis of the work of these organizations is beyond the scope of this research, I suggest that the evolution of INGOs illustrates that despite their short history, INGOs have achieved a sense of legitimacy as an international actor. This rise, promise and potential of INGOs have worked to captivate the attention of states, donors, policy makers, the public, academics and the media alike (Fisher, 1997; Lister, 2003; Walsh & Lenihan, 2006).

Consequently, in a short amount of time, INGOs have experienced exponential growth in the number of active organizations and an expanded scope of practice within the organizations; their role and relationship with international governmental bodies has increased along with their responsibilities in all areas of their work.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted an evolution of International Non-Governmental Organizations in the 20th Century where INGOs were seen to experience tremendous growth and development in three major areas: numbers, support and responsibilities. Whereas in 1859, there were less than ten operating INGOs, there are over 50,000 today. INGOs have also shifted from being an outsider to increasingly being considered an insider in spaces of international deliberation, governance and decision-making. While their relationship with the United Nations (and formerly, the League of Nations) has always been tense and challenging, it cannot be refuted that INGOs are recognized as encompassing a role of increasing importance and competence. Lastly, INGOs have also witnessed a shift in responsibilities. In 1929, nearly half of the active INGOs operated under issues of economic interest, learned societies, research, education and cultural exchange and/or religion. By the 1950s-1960s, a shift was seen whereby INGOs became increasingly involved with issues of human rights, environmentalism and international development. The growth in numbers, support and responsibilities has accelerated in the twenty-first century and INGOs are increasingly viewed as providing a legitimate voice to issues of international importance. However, the twenty-first century has also witnessed a growing sentiment of criticism and skepticism towards INGOs. This will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 HIGHLIGHTING THE DEBATE ON ACCOUNTABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF INGOS

3.1 Introduction

Along with the rapidly increasing growth, scope, responsibilities, exposure and possibilities for INGOs, the twenty-first century has been characterized by the emergence of critical voices against INGOs. In the literature, we find critical questions becoming more common. Who are these INGOs and what are their agendas? Who runs these organizations? Who funds them? To whom are INGOs accountable? And what mechanisms exist whereby the public can examine this accountability? These kinds of questions have become prevalent amongst politicians, critics, academics, the media and the public (Jordan & van Tuijl, 2006; McGann & Johnstone, 2005). I assert that these criticisms can be encompassed within the demand for INGOs to better demonstrate accountability and effectiveness of their work. This chapter will unpack these two concepts of accountability and effectiveness as it has been documented within the existing scholarship. First, INGOs are increasingly in need to demonstrate their accountability to multiple stakeholders, such as their clients, donors, members, and those within the INGO community at large (Najam, 1996; Szporluk, 2009). Second, INGOs are also being challenged to demonstrate the impact, sustainability and replicability of their projects and interventions, as well as whether empowerment of the communities they serve actually occur (Atack, 1999; Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Fowler, 1997).

As these critical voices continue to surface, the need for INGOs to address these criticisms has become an increasingly pertinent issue for INGOs to remain as a legitimate actor in the eyes of the public.

3.2 Accountability

One of the main concerns surrounding INGOs is their lack of accountability (Atack, 1999; Ebrahim, 2003; Fowler, 1992; Harsh, Mbatia & Shrum, 2010). This position is elicited in an editorial piece found in the New York Times, titled *Holding Civic Groups*

Accountable(2003):

These groups, part of the exploding sector of nongovernmental organizations, or NGO's, are now part of the power structure, too. They receive donations from the public and advocate policies that each group claims are in the public interest. As they become part of the established political landscape worldwide, these groups owe it to the public to be accountable and transparent themselves. (p. 1)

Accountability can be defined as, “[a]n actor (whether an individual or an organization) is ‘accountable’ when that actor recognizes that it has made a promise to do something and accepted a moral and legal responsibility to do its best to fulfill that promise” (Brown & Moore, 2001, p. 570). Brown and Moore (2001) further add that accountability cannot be rooted purely within principle as an actor or organization may feel that it is actively working towards an ideal, yet lacks concrete structures and processes to demonstrate this progress. In other words, for accountability to be meaningful, it must be demonstrated within empirical observation.

This discussion on accountability is complicated by the fact that INGOs do not work in isolation. The nature of INGO work inherently involves other stakeholders, and any discussion on accountability has to be extended to encompass the wide range of relationships, each with its own complexities (Szporluk, 2009). Ebrahim (2003) explicates that INGO accountability consists of an external component of being ‘held responsible’ by others, and an internal component where INGOs ‘take responsibility’ for their own organization as expressed through their own actions and organizational mission. For Ebrahim (2003), any meaningful discussion on INGO accountability must incorporate an appreciation for these multiple accountability demands on INGOs, how they permeate and influence work within the organization, and how

INGOs respond to these demands.

Najam (1996) offers a thorough typology that classifies INGO responsibilities and subsequently, their accountabilities into three distinct categories: NGO accountability to donors, NGO accountability to themselves and NGO accountability to clients. The next section will highlight the nature of these relationships and how accountability is manifested in these relationships.

3.2.1 INGO Accountability to Donors

Perhaps the most well-documented relationship in the INGO literature is the relationship between INGOs and donors¹. This relationship is defined largely by a commitment of support by the donors to the work of INGOs. Najam (1996) explicates that the dynamics of this relationship is manifested in two common dynamics: fiscal and policy.

Fiscal support has been and continues to be the most common form of support that is provided to INGOs by donors. As INGOs are non-profit organizations, their livelihoods are reliant on this continuous stream of financial support (Ebrahim, 2003). In turn, fiscal responsibility and accountability has been a central and recurring point of tension within the relationship between donors and INGOs.

For INGOs, a lack of fiscal accountability can become extremely problematic. For instance, Gibelman and Gelman's (2004) literature search of the public scandals involving INGOs from 2001 to 2004 found a total of fourteen international and twenty-six U.S. cases of fraud, embezzlement, mismanagement, corruption and theft. In certain examples, the amount at stake was well over one million dollars. Their study concluded that a wide majority of these scandals could be attributed to a problem in governance within the INGO, citing that:

¹ Donors consist of governments, foundations, corporations and the public (Charnovitz, 2006).

[s]ymptoms of governance failures suggested in the cases examined include failure to supervise operations, improper delegation of authority, neglect of assets, failure to ask the ‘right questions’, lack of oversight of the CEO, failure to institute internal controls, absence of ‘checks and balances’ in procedures and practices, and isolation of board members from staff, programs, and clients. (Gibelman & Gelman, 2004, p. 372)

Furthermore, in Harsh, Mbatia & Shrum (2010)’s research on INGO accountability issues in Kenya, an employee working for an NGO reveals how the bureaucratic and fragmented nature of resource flows in INGOs can be utilized to their own self interest:

NGOs are very good about preaching about drinking water while they drink wine. I have evidence and cases where there have been massive corruption and misuse of donor funds by NGO. How? One is for the last decade...there was what we call in NGOs, the ‘Pajero culture².’ (p. 264)

As the INGO-donor relationship has been built on an element of trust, scandals automatically intensify the caution within donors, whether it would be governmental, corporate or private. In addition, it taints the reputation of INGOs.

Meanwhile, Michael Edwards and David Hulme argue that INGOs are experiencing an increasing financial dependence on donors (Szporluk, 2009). Financial assistance towards INGOs has skyrocketed in the 21st Century. Scholars have also documented the consequences of this relationship that could affect INGO practices. Brown and Moore (2001), Parks (2008) and

²The Pajero culture is also referred to as “lodging” or the tendency in INGO work where resources become jammed or embedded in locations downstream from the original source of funding, but upstream from their intended destination (Harsh, Mbatia & Shrum, 2010).

Stewart (2006) describe the danger of INGOs becoming increasingly likely to adhere to donor demands and accountability becomes framed within donor expectations.

In addition, the INGO-donor relationship is becoming increasingly rooted within “grants”, creating substantive terms that impose general demands on organizations, and “contracts” which can be more exacting with substantive terms varying from the focus on outcomes or on the specified activities that INGOs are expected to participate in (Brown & Moore, 2001). As a consequence, INGOs are expected to work within short time frame for donor-funded projects and focusing on demonstrating dramatic, systematic and quantifiable results rather than projects that take longer than the time allocated but would likely lead to a much bigger impact and focusing on sustainability (Smith, 2008; Szporluk, 2009).

Of course, it is not easy for INGOs to challenge those who provide the funds they need to operate. Those who fail to fulfill their end of this relationship may be subjected to having their grants cancelled, their funding cut, collaborative arrangements reconsidered, accreditation revoked and lose their capacities to help the clients they seek to aid (Brown & Moore, 2001; Najam, 1996). This becomes even more problematic if donors significantly alter their priorities, creating a divergence in philosophies. INGOs are then faced with a moral and ethical dilemma. A refusal to adhere to donors may lead to sanctions and their declining support while an overadherence to donor needs runs the risk of what Najam (1996) calls the ‘puppetisation’ of INGOs. The danger, of course, then becomes a growing vulnerability amongst INGOs due to the expected overaccountability to clients. As Edwards and Hulme (1996) describe, this structure shifts the focus from accountability to “accountancy”, and fosters a culture of auditing rather than learning. Consequently, Edwards and Hulme (1996) warn of the voices of the communities that may get lost in the INGO project.

In the case of INGOs, the literature remains ambivalent as to what role donors should play and how their wishes should be honoured. For certain INGOs, they have responded to this risk by making clear definition of what donors they are willing to accept contributions from. For example, Oxfam America refuses to accept government money to be less reliant on their sets of demands (Brown & Moore, 2001). Szporluk (2009) further cites that certain European countries have promoted a new model structured upon partnership whereby donors provide unrestricted funds to INGOs that have a proven track record and a shared commitment on common values while other donors have begun to emphasize their commitment on common learning. While these examples provide us with certain forms of responses that may be utilized to address the donor-INGO accountability relationship, the tension surrounding this relationship continues to be one that needs to be addressed systematically within the INGO literature.

3.2.2 INGO Accountability to Themselves

In addition to accountability to donors, INGOs are also responsible to their staff, their members, to fellow INGO/NGO partners and to the NGO community itself. One of the dangers that has stemmed from the previously stated issue of INGO overaccountability to donors is compromising the INGO's own original vision and thereby alienating their internal supporters (Najam, 1996). As pressure mounts, Tendler found that NGOs are often too easily swayed by donors' wishes or the influence of charismatic leaders and thus, willing to change their original vision to align to the product demanded by donors instead of remaining loyal to their stated vision (Najam, 1996).

Another internal accountability issue within INGOs is organizational capacity. In addition to the issues of diverting assets to personal benefit and aligning projects to donor expectations, Moore and Ryan (as cited in Szporluk, 2009) suggest that waste of resources in organizational

operations and ineffectiveness of organizational methods in achieving desired results constitute important concerns in the work of INGOs. In a *Harvard Business Review* article, former U.S. Senator Bill Bradley estimated that the nonprofit sector wastes \$100 billion annually because of inefficiencies in fundraising, administration, and program delivery (Moore & Ryan, 2006). This illustrates the tension rising within organization capacity within INGOs. On the one hand, organizational inefficiency inevitably runs the risk of ineffectiveness as it exposes INGOs to a plethora of issues ranging from miscommunication amongst internal to disorganization and poor execution of INGO practice (Jordan & Tuijl, 2006). An organization requires technical infrastructure, and a working and living environment to attract and retain competent employees (Ossewaarde, Nijhof & Heyse, 2008). On the other hand, overcompensation on organizational capacity runs the risk of poor fiscal accountability (Pishchikova, 2006). Establishing a professional mode of organization is expensive and an INGO that spends too much on organizational capacity elicits the image of taking care of themselves instead of the clients they should be helping. Furthermore, as INGOs continue to be heavily reliant on funding, it would be very difficult to justify the need for high operational costs, regardless of how necessary it may be and that may also produce negative effects for the organization (Walsh & Lenihan, 2006).

INGOs are also accountable towards their partners and the NGO community. As argued by Townsend & Townsend (2004), collaboration and partnership have been terms popularized within the 21st Century INGO literature, advocating for the involvement of multiple INGO/NGOs to work together in an effort to maximize impact. For Southern NGOs³, the most

³Townsend & Townsend (2004) use this term to denote the difference between INGOs from Western industrialized countries working in developing countries or “Northern” INGOs as

common form of partnership or collaboration is with a Northern INGO. Though initiated with good intentions, what begins as cooperation and solidarity amongst INGOs can lead to unequal power relationships reminiscent to that of a master-server relationship where the Northern INGO becomes the donor and the Southern NGO spearheads a local project; thereby, reinforcing the cycle of donor-centric accountability (Malholtra, 2000; Pishchikova, 2006; Townsend & Townsend, 2004). Thus, what gets lost in this arrangement is room for grassroots deliberation and dialogue between Northern INGOs and Southern NGOs (Smith, 2008).

Finally, INGOs are also accountable towards the INGO community. Opportunities to share information, exchange best practices, and to offer support and interest for each other's work can increase collaboration and strength (Sanyal, 2006; Szporluk, 2009). InterAction, a network of over 165 INGOs based in the United States, has been aimed to fulfill such a need. Its mandate is to improve INGO performance by developing, facilitating and sharing tools and resources in the network while encouraging cooperation between INGOs (Szporluk, 2009). The counterargument, posed by Townsend & Townsend (2004), warns about how the issue of financial stability may work to erode collaboration. In order to secure its own livelihood, INGOs are often competitors for funding rather than collaborators (Pischchikova, 2006). This becomes even cutthroat when INGOs work in similar fields. While it is common sense that INGOs should work to strengthen their community, at times, this becomes at odds with vying to maintain the jobs of an organization's internal staff. The fear then becomes a culture of secrecy rather than sharing which increases the likelihood of INGOs constantly reinventing the wheel while making

opposed to NGOs who are working in countries who are receiving assistance, or "Southern" NGOs.

it more difficult to discover best practices. Amongst the negative outcomes from such a culture are the needs of INGOs' clients.

3.2.3 INGO Accountability to Clients

Clients are considered to be any individuals, groups and/or communities whom INGOs are working with in hopes to provide a form of goods, service or development. Fundamentally, this formally constitutes the central focus of INGO work. In turn, for INGOs, accountability towards the clients should inherently take primacy over all other accountabilities and this goal can be achieved by being responsive the community's needs while fostering a collaborative effort between both parties (Brown & Moore, 2001; Najam, 1996). By being responsive and collaborative, INGOs can help clients' foster interest in their own development needs and building skills that will allow the community to continue to work towards sustaining a long-term commitment towards development (Brown & Moore, 2001). This way, clients are likely to be willing to collaborate if the problem, skills and results pertain to a problem they see as important.

In reality, this is often not the case. As Najam (1996) argues, INGO workers, like all humans, have a tendency to come in with an idea of what they would like to do and often hear what they want to hear and thereby creating phenomenon Najam calls "aspiration manipulation" (p. 345). In other words, participation within the community is no more than just agreeing with what the INGO had already intended to do. Another possible issue is that the INGO may not be talking to people who represent the communities they are there to serve. An example would be if INGOs end up interacting with traditional tribal or clan elites within the community while neglecting the voices of marginalized populations (Brown & Moore, 2001). Another issue in accountability to clients occurs in the failure to fulfill expectations of what INGOs propose. In Ossewaarde, Nijhof and Heyse's (2008) study of the 2004 Tsunami that hit the countries surrounding the Indian

Ocean, they found incidents of uncoordinated and overlap in INGO work; one of which had one INGO constructing houses in an area where the community had already planned a road with another INGO.

While accountability mechanisms should be in place to ensure that INGOs work with community members in a manner that protects the community's well-being, respects their opinions and fosters the development that the community is seeking, such mechanisms are often lacking and clients often don't have means to exercise a form of a challenge towards INGOs (Szporluk, 2009). Unlike donors, clients cannot withdraw their funding. Unlike nation-states, they cannot impose conditions on INGOs.

In summary, three dimensions (donors, themselves and clients) currently exist within issues of INGO accountability and each encompasses a complex set of priorities, responsibilities and relationships. This next section will be addressing this issue of INGO effectiveness.

3.3 Effectiveness

The second concern surrounding INGOs is their lack of effectiveness. At its core, effectiveness is the degree to which the stated policy and goals of the INGO have been or are being achieved (Covey, 1995). Within the previous scholarship on INGOs, the critique on effectiveness can be divided into two interrelated issues: uncritical claims and limited demonstrations of effectiveness. First, critics claim that effectiveness in INGO work has largely been exaggerated or assumed (Atack, 1999; Harsh, Mbatia & Shrum, 2010; Najam, 1998). As Fisher (1997) explains, in the 21st Century, the untainted image of INGOs as "doing good" to provide the world with, "The service of a social need neglected by the politics of the State and the greed of the market," was suddenly met with the sobering reality that after thirty years of increased numbers, budgets and responsibilities, INGOs had yet to show the world any

substantial change (Atack, 1999; Fisher, 1997). Conversely, mounting research was demonstrating quite the opposite; that INGOs were not as effective as they claim to be. Ossewaarde et al.'s (2008) research documents that despite a substantially larger budget for INGO efforts during the 2004 Tsunami, INGO efforts was wrought with a lack of coordination creating overlaps in aid between INGOs, an inflation of organizational cost which took budget away from the mission, and low quality aid.

Narayan further criticizes INGOs for their inability to truly benefit those they set out to help, citing that, "...[clients] give NGOs mixed ratings. Given the scale of poverty, NGOs touch relatively few lives...some NGOs are largely irrelevant, self-serving, limited in their outreach and corrupt, although to a much lesser extent than the State..." (Kelly, Kilby & Kasynathan, p. 696). Edwards and Hulme (1996) have also documented concerns within INGO efforts being a "patchwork quilt of social services" where only certain regions are supplied by well-resourced INGOs while others are left to fend for themselves under a weak central oversight (p. 5). Thus, Fisher (1997) proposes the argument that the INGO literature as a whole has largely been based more on faith than fact.

Concomitantly, a second camp of critics suggest that it is the demonstration of effectiveness within INGO work that has largely been lacking, as opposed to INGOs having no impact at all (Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Fowler, 1997). For instance, Riddell, Kruse, Kyllonen, Ojanpera and Vielajus's (1997) research project aimed to consolidate and analyze existing assessment reports of INGOs. As a result, they found that assessments of developmental projects pertaining to poverty varied considerably with the vast majority failing to provide baseline data or evidence of monitoring and assessing projects and programmes on a consistent basis. Moreover, assessments

conducted often remained outside the public domain, not having published or INGOs unwilling to release the data (Fowler, 1997; Riddell et al., 1997).

The existing literature has also documented other factors that further hamper the development of a strong focus on effectiveness within INGOs, such as: the culture of INGOs which values action more than reflection, the lack of financial flexibility to implement a formal assessment programme and the limitations of the instruments and expertise INGOs use to monitor, evaluate and review (Barber & Bowie, 2008; Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Fowler, 1997). Riddell et al. (1997) adds that assessing effectiveness is often difficult due to three common practices in INGO work: objectives are not cited; objectives are too vague; and there are too many objectives.

Despite these barriers, the challenge for INGOs to ascertain effectiveness remains arguably the most critical area within INGO research. Based on the existing scholarship, four common dimensions of INGO effectiveness can be uncovered. They include: intended and unintended impact, sustainability, empowerment, and replicability and ‘scaling up’. The next section will highlight these categories and how they relate to INGO work.

3.3.1 Intended and Unintended Impact

At its most basic level, the key question surrounding the concept of impact consists of assessing what changes, if any, had been experienced as a result of INGO work and how did INGOs contribute or not contribute to those changes? (Kelly, Kilby & Kasynathan, 2004). In response, Chris Roche defines impact assessment as, “the systematic analysis of the lasting or significant changes – positive or negative, intended or not – in people’s lives brought about by a given action or a series of actions” (Gosling & Edwards, 2003, p. 5). As previously mentioned, critical voices have argued that it has been rare for INGOs to undertake consistent, reliable and

quality analysis to demonstrate who is reached as a result of their intervention (Riddell et al., 1997). This can be attributed to the complexity surrounding INGO work (Fowler, 1997).

While the success of businesses are ultimately determined by profit, any bottom line success measures pertaining to non-profit work will shift depending on the specific situation of the program or intervention (Edwards & Hulme, 1996). Typically, they aim to meet some sort of human need or to alter some sort of human behavior, such as: providing clean water, or improving conditions in health, economic structures, education, etc. (Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Walsh & Lenihan, 2006). These types of goals make it inherently difficult to measure its success. Moreover, INGO programs and interventions must function as natural open systems, which are sensitive to instability and rapid change through its external environment (Edwards & Hulme, 1996). On the one hand, this means that INGOs can never completely control for all the historical, local and environmental factors such as power relations, motivations and cultural values within their intervention, regardless of how well planned the intervention is (Fowler, 1996). On the other hand, the success of an intervention may also be contributed by those same factors. Thus, when taking into consideration the complexity of factors that are involved in influencing the outcomes of INGO work, any assessment of INGO work must not oversimplify this concept of impact.

Consequently, in order to measure impact, Fowler (1997) argues that there are different dimensions, each with its own analytical focus. First, INGO work can be measured in “outputs” or the effort of INGO work where the indicators are the implementation of activities. Second, “outcomes” pertain to measuring the effectiveness of INGO work. Here, the measurement follows the effects of outputs and the sustained production of benefits. Finally, “impact” to measure change or the difference from the original situation can be assessed. A hypothetical

example is given by Fowler (1997) to illustrate this model. If the issue at hand for the community is ill health due to issues with watery supply and an INGO postulates that this issue can be alleviated with the creation of community-managed potable water supplies, the impact assessment of the INGO project would look at: first, the outputs of INGOs or the number of wells installed in the community; second, outcomes or the sustained availability of clean water for proper domestic use, and; finally, impact or the reduction in mortality and morbidity within the community.

For impact assessments, INGOs often employ a methodology consisting of three parts: monitoring, evaluation and review (Fowler, 1997). Monitoring constitutes an ongoing process of observation on the implementation and outcomes of programme initiatives and any information gathered is placed against expected and unexpected outcomes. This process is often simultaneously formal and informal. Evaluation is a (semi-)independent assessment of the outputs, outcomes, impact and relevance of an INGO initiative. Evaluations ideally identify both the intended and unintended effects of the INGO initiative, promote learning and inform future decision-making within the organization. Lastly, reviews are a periodic (semi-)independent appraisal of an entire INGO organization. While these reviews occur on a much more infrequent basis, they are aimed at assisting decision-makers in informing the future direction of the organizations, taking into consideration how the organizations has translated their vision(s) into practice, public standing, legitimacy and future viability.

In short, impact assessment has shifted dramatically to becoming a central concern within INGO work. As Attack (1999) suggests, the operational indicators of success, experience and competence contribute to the overall credibility of INGOs when they engage in the deliberation of policies and campaigning. Senese and Flora (2003) add that, "...without impact

evaluations, we cannot show that our programs are critical investments in times of austerity at the federal, state and local levels” (p. 2). Thus, the potential for impact assessment within INGO work remains a critical area where the effectiveness of an organization can be demonstrated.

3.3.2 Sustainability

For INGOs, the subsequent challenge following that of demonstrating impact is the sustainability of the project, programme or intervention. Sustainability, in this context, is defined by Aldaba, Antezana, Valderrama and Fowler (2000) as, “the capacity of [INGOs] to consolidate and to increase their interaction with society to fulfill their mission” (p. 676). For Aldaba et al. (2000), the sustainability of INGOs ultimately leads to a justification of their existence. In turn, existing studies have tended to focus on INGO sustainability in two main areas: financial sustainability and organizational sustainability (Riddell et al., 1997).

Not surprisingly, most existing research on INGO sustainability has focused largely on the notion of financial sustainability (Aldaba et al., 2000; Riddell et al., 1997). This is contributed by three dominating trends within the INGO literature. First, there is consistent trend of fluctuating declines in official financial aid for developing countries throughout the past two decades (Riddell et al., 1997). This creates a crippling effect for grassroots organizations considering unofficial estimates of donor dependency range from at least 50% to at most 95% of their annual budgets (Riddell et al., 1997). This has also been seen to lead to increased competition between INGOs for funding and more financial restrictions imposed on INGOs who receive funding. Specifically, donors have begun to withdraw their commitment for financing long-term programmes and long-term initiatives in favor of shorter term “projects” with demands for instantaneously observable results (Aldaba et al., 2000). Moreover, in a macro review of existing assessments on INGO impact, Riddell et al. (1997) reported that many INGO projects were not

sustainable and that the poorer the targeted clients of the INGO intervention are, the less likely that intervention is going to be financially sustainable.

For INGOs, these positions create substantial tension, if not a complete contradiction between, on the one hand, increasing demands by donors that limit their funding to projects that are likely to achieve financial sustainability and the evidence that many, if not most, projects have little chance of being financially sustainable. Therefore, financial pressure from donors may cause INGOs to veer away from helping the very poorest. Based on a Finnish assessment of INGO activity in Ethiopia, this has been the case (Riddell et al., 1997).

In response, some theorists have argued for INGOs to undertake different strategies to overcome this issue of financial sustainability. The notion of cost-effectiveness constitutes the first dominant theme. Research has ranged from asserting that there is an overall need for INGOs to improve on their skills to balance financial risks versus benefits, better management, and acquire better technical and financial expertise as programme costs are usually higher than INGOs believe them to be (Aldaba et al., 2000; Ramia, 2003; Ridell et al., 1997). Further, it has been suggested that INGOs attempt to self-generate revenues through strategies such as micro-financing, business activities or sale of services (i.e. training, consulting and technical assistance) (Aldaba et al., 2000). The other alternative that INGOs have adopted is to access resources from different sources as opposed to an overreliance on official aid. This could include, but are not limited to, corporate, private or local institutional sources (Aldaba et al., 2000). In other words, INGOs need to become more creative, innovative and flexible in terms of how to acquire resources.

The second form of sustainability for INGOs is organizational sustainability. While financial sustainability is integral to the livelihood of an organization, it only constitutes one factor that

can affect its own sustainability and the sustainability of the ongoing projects, programmes and partnerships within an organization. Other factors that must be considered, including the internal efficiency within the organization, the skills of staff members, the ability of management and a good internal government (Adbalda et al., 2000; Riddell et al., 1997). In addition, having a clear overall vision, and sound planning and design in an INGO is vital. As Riddell et al. (1997) document, major weaknesses in projects are often traced back to projects put together hurriedly, projects commencing which should either have not been implemented or ought to have been implemented in different ways. In addition to project preparation and project design, the ability to monitor and evaluate is equally critical (Aldaba et al., 2000). Not only does monitoring and evaluation work to document, analyze and demonstrate impact, they also lead to future planning.

The final factor that plays a large role in organizational sustainability is the organization's ability to relate to its environment (Aldaba et al., 2000; Riddell et al., 1997). In other words, organizations are more likely to sustain their activities if they keep informed and analyze the actors, forces, movements and arenas around them. In turn, Fowler (1997) asserts that it is important for INGO activities to merge into ongoing processes within the surrounding environment rather than clearly standing apart from them. The integration of INGO benefits into the existing or emerging social fabric creates the optimal condition for these benefits to remain once the external assistance withdraws (Fowler, 1997). More importantly, for INGOs, the sustainability of a project is indicated when the central locus of control over the choices, decisions and resources within the project shifts from the organization to the hands of the community.

3.3.3 Empowerment

The third dimension of effectiveness is the notion of empowerment. Empowerment, as defined by Atack (1999), is the desired process by which the clients or recipients of INGO intervention are to take direct control over their lives, achieve independence, and ideally, work towards their own objectives rather than a continued reliance or influenced on external forces (Atack, 1999). For INGOs, this often constitutes the ideal result for a designed programme or intervention as it both fulfills and exceeds the goals of impact and sustainability. Furthermore, it inevitably leads the organization to anticipate withdrawal from the community (Fowler, 1997).

However, the concept of empowerment is one of the least documented activities in INGO work because often, projects do not end due to organizations relinquishing the decision-making responsibilities to the community; but rather, it is more likely caused by factors such as funds running out, donor fatigue, transfer of staff or the tiredness of the INGO (Fowler, 1997). In other words, projects are halted or aborted rather than integrated into the community. Projects can often be prone to succumb to the phenomenon Fowler (1997) calls, ‘seeds of dependency’, where a client community’s livelihood becomes reliant on INGO finances and creates difficult conditions for INGOs to withdraw from the community. Researchers have documented how this phenomenon negatively affects the future outcomes for both the community and the organization alike (Fowler, 1997).

For INGOs to avoid those pitfalls and successfully implement empowerment strategies, two strategies have been suggested: participatory methodology and forming partnerships (Atack, 1999; Fowler, 1997). Participatory methodology is the process by which INGOs ensure that the community, ‘‘become[s] actively involved at all levels of decision-making’’ (Atack, 1999; p. 861). For participatory methodology to be effective, authentic participation must occur at the start and subsequently, throughout the INGO intervention (Fowler, 1997). This is likely to be

successful if INGOs place the locus of control within the community, address the community's real concern instead of the INGO's projected concerns and focus on capacity building.

In practice, rarely do INGOs completely cut ties with the community; rather, when opportunity or resources permit, they phase over to another area or community. In order to achieve both an empowerment and transference of responsibilities to the original community and transitioning into another community, INGOs often respond through the building of partnerships whereby their efforts are coordinated (Fowler, 1997). In such a strategy, INGOs may serve as an intermediary to coordinate the efforts of grass-roots organizations and provide them with assistance, while simultaneously diffusing themselves to engage in new relationships while slowly phasing out of old ones (Edwards & Hulme, 1992). For INGOs, coordinating bodies are able to minimize duplication and waste between organizations, while also facilitating the exchange of information between organizations in an area (Dutting & Sogge, 2010; Fowler, 1997).

While both strategies provide INGOs with concrete strategies to achieve empowerment, critics are also quick to point out certain pitfalls. For Brohman, organizations that utilize participatory methodology often run the risk of conceptualizing communities as homogeneous (Atack, 1999). As a consequence, class, ethnic, gender, and other social and political divisions within communities and households may be ignored, resulting in projects or programs involving only local elites or specific social groups. In turn, existing local inequality, power structures and discrimination may end up being reinforced rather than subverted (Atack, 1999). In addition, INGO coordination may work to suppress organizational independence and compromise creativity for uniformity and consensus. INGO coordination also demands a substantial workload that is often delegated to staff members who are already overworked. Though ideal,

empowerment continues to be arguably the most difficult stage to achieve for any INGO-based programme and/or intervention.

3.3.4 Replicability and ‘Scaling up’

The term ‘scaling up’⁴ pertains to the drive within INGO work to improve the organization’s capacity to more systematically package their experience, efforts and success to develop effective and efficient models for the potential to expand their mission or for others to replicate their mission in another setting (Wils, 1997). There are divergences in opinion as to whether the notion of scaling up should be a goal that INGOs ought to pursue. On the one hand, Edwards and Hulme (1992) argue that despite empirical support of impact, the positive effect of INGO interventions is often localized and transitory. Studies have supported this view, citing that most INGO projects are small and tend to work best in specific environments (natural, social, political, etc.) as opposed to those that attempt growth or replication assumed under universal conditions (Atack, 1999; Riddell et al., 1997). On the other hand, there is a growing realization that organizational effectiveness is positively correlated with an ability to learn from experience, either from within the organization or from another organization (Fowler, 1996). Thus, replicability and scaling up can work to regain attention on issues of “best practices” within the INGO community. As Fowler (1997) advocates, without external standards, arguments and discussions of effectiveness continue to be limited.

⁴The term “scaling up” is often mistaken for strategies to increase the size of INGOs or the funded projects INGOs work on. Conversely, Edwards and Hulme (1992) define ‘scaling up’ as strategies to expand INGO operations through some form of transfer or catalytic effect on other organizations.

In response to this drive for INGOs to scale up, Wils (1997) lists the different approaches organizations have utilized when given opportunities to scale up. First, the most common approach is called the “BINGO” option where INGOs simply increase the size of their staff, budget and/or organizational capacity (Wils, 1997). This is the most common approach and is often catalyzed through access to more funds by donors (Fowler, 1997). Second, INGOs have sought to multiply the scale of projects via working with and through other organizations located in various countries. Through partnerships, outreach strategies and diffusion of knowledge, INGOs pass on their experiences and expertise in support of an existing organization attempting to replicate their success elsewhere or assisting a new organization that’s attempting to adopt their model. Third, INGOs have attempted to broaden their horizon by incorporating multi-actors in their programs, such as regional planning corporations, chambers of commerce, parishes, colleges and professional associations in the development of a programme. For INGOs that follow this route, the challenge comes that they must be prepared to work with government and the private business sector, accept money from them and reconcile the inevitable shift in demands.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted two dominant criticisms surrounding INGO work: accountability and effectiveness. Within the literature, accountability has been categorized into three distinct themes: INGO’s accountability to donors, beneficiaries and themselves. Meanwhile, effectiveness consists of demonstrating and measuring intended and unintended impact, sustainability, empowerment, and replicability and scaling up.

Some academics have raised their concerns on the effect of these rigorous critiques on the INGO sector. J.D. Clark explains, “Agencies need this magic image...a bright reputation as the ‘virtuous Davids’ fighting the Goliaths of famine, government inequity, slavery and oppression”

(Townsend & Townsend, 2004, p. 274). The concern expressed by Clark reveals the moral argument in favor of INGOs in contrast to the stark reality of a world without them. However, Clark's statement is also problematic in that it continues to paint INGOs in the light of a 'magic bullet' and 'virtuous Davids', which elicits a patronizing mythical imagery as opposed to highlighting the work of INGOs within a pragmatic and empirical context.

In contrast, I advocate that addressing these criticisms is the necessary next step for INGOs after their initial achievement of legitimacy. As the 21st Century has been characterized by an unprecedented growth of INGOs, a reflective dialogue regarding issues of legitimacy becomes critical if INGOs are to continue to grow at this rapid pace. In contrast to J.D. Clark, I argue that a meaningful academic discussion of accountability and effectiveness within INGO work can actually serve to strengthen INGOs, both on an institutional level as well as on an organizational level.

It is my position that what is ultimately missing within the existing literature are the key voices from within INGOs themselves. While this chapter has intended to examine the concepts of INGO accountability and effectiveness, it reflects the opinions of scholars and existing research rather than of INGOs. In response, I set out to uncover the perspectives of INGOs and those working within INGOs in how they view, understand and experience issues of accountability and effectiveness within their own work.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The goal of this thesis is to explore the views and opinions of two INGOs, and their respective staff members and volunteers in relation to how issues of accountability and effectiveness are experienced within their organization. Thus, I propose that integrating two different qualitative methods (content analysis and qualitative interviews) to examine the same research questions, but in different ways, better addressed the multiple existing levels within the organizations themselves. This chapter will introduce the thesis's methodology, methods and research design. It will further explicate the process of data collection and analysis.

4.1 Why Qualitative Methodology?

There are several important reasons for selecting a qualitative research strategy. First, qualitative methods effectively address the exploratory and descriptive characteristics of this project. Qualitative research is data-driven, fluid and flexible (Mason, 2004) and driven by an understanding that any data produced in social scientific research is often complex, multi-layered and textured: “qualitative research aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data. There is more emphasis on ‘holistic’ forms of analysis explanation in this sense, than on charting surface patterns, trends and correlations” (Mason, 2004, p. 4). Qualitative research is flexible and sensitive to the social context within each research project, including aspects such as: the experiences of everyday life, actions, perceptions and beliefs (Mason, 2004). Further, qualitative research provides illumination on the importance of meaning, relationships, social processes, and institutions, and how they work (Mason, 2004). Thus, a qualitative research approach is suitable to address my research question because it incorporates an understanding of the importance of the social environments INGOs work within and how that environment interacts with the opinions and experiences of staff members and volunteers.

4.1.1 Methodologies of the Study

This thesis incorporated two qualitative research methodologies. For the organizational perspectives, my research interest rested in their communications and documentation connected to the constituent elements of accountability and effectiveness. While there may have existed a much more complex, fluctuating and multi-faceted response towards these two concepts within the workings of the organization as a whole, the official documentations found on the organizations' websites constitute the primary and most accessible source whereby they communicate their positions to the majority of their audience. Consequently, I propose the use of content analysis of the official publications and organizations reports of INGOs would offer important insight for the purposes of this research project.

Second, I aimed to gauge the views and opinions of those working within INGOs. This involved a different level of analysis than that of the organization level. Whereas the documentation and communications of INGOs offer a macro outlook at the official views, positions and opinions of the organization, I was much more interested in the understandings, experiences, beliefs and accounts of those working within INGOs, how they viewed the concepts of accountability and effectiveness, and how it interacted with their day-to-day activities within the organization. In turn, I propose that conducting individual qualitative interviews with INGO staff members and volunteers would effectively achieve this level of analysis.

The incorporation of these two methodologies within the research project further created the opportunity for triangulation¹. This is an important strategy often used as an effective means to offset the inherent biases in respective methods (Vitale, Armenakis & Field, 2008). Furthermore,

¹Mason (2004) defines triangulation as, “the use of a combination of methods to explore one set of research questions” (pp. 190).

these two methodologies offered two separate, yet interrelated levels of analyses. When brought together meaningfully via triangulation, these two methodologies can create an integrated and unified explanation for the central phenomenon. The next section introduces these two methodologies and how it was incorporated in the study.

4.1.1.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a qualitative methodology that aims to gather and analyze the content within text. As explicated by Neuman (2004), content, in this sense, can refer to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated, while text is anything written, visual, spoken or any medium that serves to facilitate communication. In turn, this methodology directs the researcher to systematically probe, examine and analyze the symbolic content found in a medium(s) of communication (Neuman, 2004). Content analysis is useful in revealing aspects of the text that often remain undetected during casual observation.

When discussing the notion of systematic process in relation to analyzing data, content analysis borrows elements from quantitative methodological techniques and applies them to qualitative methodology by quantifying symbolic content within the text. This approach has previously been referred to as a quantitative analysis of qualitative data (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). Specifically, as Hsieh & Shannon (2005) explicate, “[C]ontent analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent meaning” (p. 1278). Such categories can be explicitly and/or implicitly communicated within the medium. Consequently, analysis is conducted on the content of text data through a systematic process of classification coding, identifying themes or patterns from the identified codes, and creating an interpretation through the basis of these themes or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Within content analysis methodology, there are varying approaches. The two most common are conventional content analysis and directed content analysis. Conventional content analysis begins with a research design in which the ultimate goal is descriptive or exploratory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This approach to content analysis is common where existing theory and literature pertaining to the research is limited. Thus, the researcher aims to develop new insights based on the data obtained; in other words, this approach is reminiscent of inductive theory. In contrast, directed content analysis is driven by an existing theory and its goal can range from testing the validity of the theory, address missing pieces of that theory or extending that existing theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This can also be classified as deductive theory.

For this thesis, I borrow elements from both conventional content analysis and directed content analysis. On the one hand, the research methodology is driven by existing research and the key concepts and variables related to INGO accountability and effectiveness, previously identified and operationalized within the research. However, there is a concurrent element of inductive analysis to capture data that cannot be identified and categorized into an existing category of codes, and data that was not previously considered. Depending on the type and breadth of a category, they may be identified as a subcategory or an extension to an existing category, or become its own stand-alone category. Where the existing scholarship of INGOs constitutes the main guide and focus of the analysis, this concurrent inductive approach further allows for new insights to emerge that can be used to refine, enrich and extend the existing scholarship.

Content analysis was chosen for this research project as it allows for a quantitative description and comparison between two organizations in how they address questions of accountability and effectiveness. In this analysis, the focused medium was the publicly accessible documents of the

selected INGOs. Content analysis is useful for this purpose as it can reveal either overt or subtle themes, and characteristics of the text, which may be difficult to detect with casual observation (Neuman, 2004). This research project utilized characteristics such as: the amount of times organizations address certain issues of accountability and effectiveness, the connotation of the content utilized to address these issues, the strength and depth of the content and the amount of space allocated to addressing these issues (Neuman, 2004). These will be explored further in the following *Observations & Findings* chapters of the master's thesis.

4.1.1.2 Qualitative Interviews

The second key component of this research project was to gauge the views and opinions of staff members and volunteers of the organizations, particularly how they come to understand, interpret and interact with the concepts of accountability and effectiveness within their everyday experience in their organization. Whereas official documentation from organizations represents a broad, overarching understanding of the organization's stance on the two concepts of interest, this may, in fact, be quite different from the understandings of individuals working within the organization. On the one hand, there may be more passionate, spontaneous and emotive aspects within individual experiences as opposed to written documents. On the other, there may also be more contradictory, inconsistent and conflicting perceptions on their organization's accountability and effectiveness. Conducting qualitative interviews can effectively capture the depth, richness and multidimensional characteristics of this data.

Qualitative interviewing encompasses a wide range of variations, from a one-on-one interview to a focus group, from a telephone interview to face-to-face, with the intention of creating an interactional exchange of dialogue surrounding a specific topic (Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Mason, 2004). Often qualitative interviews are designed in a semi-structured manner

where the researcher has a number of pre-designed topics, themes or issues which is directly related to the research project while also having a fluid and flexible structure to allow for the development of new and/or unexpected themes (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Qualitative interviewing is rooted in the perspective that knowledge is situated and contextual (Mason, 2004). In contrast to the notion that qualitative interviewing elicits the process of facts simply being reports by the interviewee to the researcher, Mason (2004) asserts that data and knowledge are constructed and reconstructed through interaction during the interview. Therefore, the structure of the interview itself must be rooted in context in order to conjure up the social experiences or processes of which the researcher is trying to explore (Mason, 2004; Vitale et al., 2008).

Another important strength to qualitative interviewing is its inherent emphasis on depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in the data (Mason, 2004). This helps the researcher in gaining a richer and more complex understanding of the participants' experiences and the social environment through those experiences (Keats, 2009). In addition to the participants' experiences, qualitative interviewing takes into consideration the meaningfulness of their knowledge, views, opinions, understandings, interpretations and interactions in its methodology (Mason, 2004). As the central focus of this research project is to explore how the concepts of accountability and effectiveness are conceptualized and experienced amongst those working within an INGO setting, understanding the depth of the process by how these two concepts manifest within individuals is essential.

Through qualitative interviews, it can also further work to shed light on the examination of organizations. This has been documented in previous literature surrounding organizational understanding and change (Vitale et al., 2008). In an organizational context, qualitative

interviewing can facilitate an understanding of activities and the coordination of activities within an organization (Campbell & Gregor, 2002). In turn, perceptions, knowledge and actions within an organizational setting are often either directly and/or indirectly shaped through organizational processes and organizational constraints. For those experiencing this in a day-to-day setting, it easily passes as common knowledge; however, for Campbell and Gregor (2002), these pieces of information are critical in discovering and illuminating linkages surrounding the organizational structure, processes and the existing social relations within. In turn, the perspectives of individuals working within organizations also provide an important piece in uncovering the inner workings of the organization.

In this section, I have argued that qualitative methods of content analysis and qualitative interviews are appropriate methodological approaches to capture both the opinions and views of the organization and those working within INGOs. Equally important to the success of the research project is a fitting research design.

4.2 Research Design

The primary focus of this research project was to study two International Non-governmental Organizations. The two participating organizations for this research were selected on the basis of the following criteria. First, for research interests, I was interested in focusing the research on organizations with international developmental² interests. Second, both organizations must have operating chapters across Canada. Third, both organizations had to have an organizational

²International development can be defined as, engaging with economically disadvantaged regions in the world to empower people towards greater quality of life for humans and to address causes of poverty (University of Oxford, 2012).

capacity that was comparable to one another. Once a list of eligible INGOs was compiled, a letter of invitation to participate in the research project was first delivered to eligible organizations electronically, and then by mail. Upon contact from an interested organization, the researcher met with the manager of the local branch to discuss the details of the research project while also giving an opportunity for the researcher to address any questions or concerns the manager may have had. Consequently, permission to study the organization was attained by signing and dating the consent form³ by both the manager (serving as the representative for the organization) and the researcher. The consent form was earlier approved by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board as part of the research proposal. Organizations were selected on a first come-first serve basis.

4.2.1 Data Collection – Documents Considered

The first portion of data collection for this research project consisted of obtaining publicly available annual reports, foundational documents, media releases and official publications from the two participating INGOs. These were collected through accessing the organizations' official websites and subsequently asking the manager⁴ from each organization whether the information found on their websites represented their organization's position on the focus of the current research project well and whether there was supplemental information that could be provided in order to obtain a fuller understanding. Any related documents published from third party sources were not included as the project's intent was to capture the perspective from the INGOs themselves. Next, the parameters of collection included all previously stated documents of the

³See Appendix A.

⁴These representatives, both of whom were in managerial positions within the organization, were also the ones who consented to have their organizations be part of the research study.

selected INGOs from the past five years; in other words, from 2005 – 2011. This timeline was selected to be one that was both current, yet also provided means for a longitudinal analysis. The intent of analyzing publicly obtainable reports and documentation was to collect information regarding how INGOs present issues of accountability and effectiveness, and their approaches to addressing these issues to the general public. For anyone who is interested in these organizations, official publications and reports constitute the preliminary source of where information about the organization can be found. Therefore, in terms of issues surrounding accountability and effectiveness, the views contained in these documents is reflective of the organization's official position, which addresses one of the master thesis's primary research questions. The subsequent analysis was conducted utilizing content analysis via the NVivo 8 qualitative data analysis program.

4.2.2 Data Collection – Respondents for Qualitative Interviews

The second phase of data collection consisted of conducting qualitative interviews with staff members and volunteers from the two selected INGOs. The manager of the local branch was contacted by invitation, and a meeting was scheduled between the manager and the researcher to discuss facilitating the invitation to staff members and volunteers of the organization. The sample was then obtained by using two methods. First, the manager of the local branch of the organization administered the open invitation and consent form package from the researcher to every name contained in their emailing list within the organization and those that had wanted to participate in a qualitative interview would contact the researcher directly. Thus, the researcher only knew the identities of interested individuals while retaining the privacy of those who did not wish to participate. Furthermore, this method concurrently ensured that the entire population of staff members and volunteers of the organization was sampled. However, during the course of

the interviewing process, it became clear that perspectives from certain positions within the organization were needed to better address certain dimensions of the research topic. In order to obtain the fullest understanding of the organization, a snowball sampling technique was then used with the participating staff members and volunteers recommending other staff members and volunteers they saw as ideal contacts for a qualitative interview. The staff member then facilitated the invitation to the recommended staff member and only once the recommended staff member had consented to be contacted would the researcher contact said staff member. Due to the snowball sampling method, the selection of interview participants for the study expanded to encompass directors and board members, in addition to staff members and volunteers, and the targeted location of participants expanded to include chapters of the organization located outside of Saskatoon.

4.2.2.1 Conducting Qualitative Interviews

The qualitative interviews were conducted in a semi-structured format with the researcher utilizing an interview guide⁵, containing several open-ended questions relating to specific issues of accountability and effectiveness within INGO work, and how these issues were experienced and addressed within participants' own organizations based upon their situated accounts, perspectives, practices and experiences (Mason, 2004). Participants in the interview were selected upon initiating contact with the researcher, and subsequent agreement to participate. Interviews were conducted with the researcher and participant meeting in person; and for participants located outside of Saskatoon, telephone interviews were conducted.

For face-to-face interviews, the location of the interview was decided by mutual agreement between the researcher and participant. Often, the interview was held in the researcher's office at

the University of Saskatchewan or the participant's place of residence. Pending on the time of the interview, either breakfast or lunch, and refreshments were provided to the participants. At this time, participants were presented with a detailed consent form⁶, outlining the purpose and objectives of the study, the possible risks and benefits, and the procedures that will follow in the interview. Participants were informed at the beginning that the interview would be audiotaped; however, participation is voluntary and they are free to withdraw any or all of their comments during the duration of the interviewing process.

Confidentiality and anonymity was stressed with the researcher explicating that pseudonyms would be utilized in replacement of the participants' identities and that any information from the interviews included in the final copy of the thesis would either be paraphrased or the researcher would completely remove all identifying information from the interviews.

Furthermore, on the consent form, participants were presented with the option to review the complete transcript of the interview. While the aim of the interviews was to capture what the participants meant to say in regards to issues surrounding the research topic, this may not always be reflected in a verbatim transcript; thus, an opportunity for the participants to review the transcript assisted to minimize that risk. In turn, upon receiving the transcript, participants could add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as they saw appropriate without consequence.

Finally, on the consent form, participants were also presented with the option to receive a summary report of the study via mail or email upon completion of the project. The summary report will also include an invitation for a follow-up meeting with the researcher during the results dissemination phase. The follow-up meeting will consist of an informal discussion and

⁵ See Appendix B.

dissemination of the aggregate results with the participants. Consent was given then by signing and dating the consent form by both the participant and researcher before the qualitative interview began.

For phone interviews, the explication of the consent form was facilitated over the telephone, and consent was signed and dated by both the researcher and the participant electronically. A PDF copy of the signed consent form was created by the researcher and then mailed electronically to the participant before the qualitative interview began.

Data from the individual interviews was captured using a digital audio recorder then verbatim transcripts were produced from the audio recordings. For participants that requested a copy of the transcript for review, a copy of the transcript with a return, stamped envelope was mailed to the address specified by the participants on the consent form. Participants made the necessary alterations on the copy of the transcript and the returned transcript to the researcher constituted the official copy of the transcript. The responses were coded and content analyzed using guidelines for analyzing qualitative data; i.e. by using the NVivo 8 Data Analysis program.

4.3 Confidentiality and Ethical Considerations

Anonymity and confidentiality was ensured throughout the entire research and dissemination process. Due to the sensitive nature of the research topic, the identity of the participating organizations was kept confidential in the findings of this study and pseudonyms were assigned. Thus, the two organizations will be referred to as, ‘Organization A’ and ‘Organization B’ in the thesis. The researcher further ensured that any publications, organizational reports and annual reports from INGOs that are used in the research were publicly accessible. Moreover, the data derived from these public documents were reported in an aggregate manner. For interview

⁶ See Appendix C.

participants, pseudonyms were used for both the transcriptions and any direct quotations used in the research project. Any identifying information that could potentially identify the individual participants was removed from the report. The original recordings of the individual interviews, the transcripts and any supporting documentation were stored in a locked and secure location at St. Thomas More College, located at the University of Saskatchewan. For electronic information, all names, addresses and email addresses were saved in a UBS memory stick by the researcher and also stored in the location previously stated.

4.4 Coding and Focusing Data

For both content analysis and qualitative interviews data, the constructs of what will be measured were operationalized with a coding^{7,8} scheme or coding system. Coding schemes begin with defining the unit of analysis. Pending on the research project, this can be defined as a word, a phrase, a sentence, a newspaper article, a characteristic, etc. (Neuman, 2004; Seekamp, Harris, Hall & Craig, 2010; Vitale et al., 2008). Meanwhile, Miles and Huberman (1994) add that an important rule of thumb is to assign the most appropriate or encompassing unit of analysis that best captures the information related to the research question at hand. For this research project, the chunks of text coded varied in length. Rather than standardizing the unit of analysis, the

⁷Coding is defined as: [Analyzing] for...specific examples of discourse that illustrate or allude to a code. These examples may be symbolic or metaphorical statements concerning the code, clearly stated descriptions of how the affinity becomes manifest in the experience of the respondent, or proximate descriptions of other codes in the context of the one being addressed. (Northcutt & McCoy, 2004, p. 242)

⁸Coding system is defined as, “a set of instructions or rules on how to systematically observe and record content from text.” (Neuman, 2004, p. 220)

length of each code was responsive to the context of the text and the researcher coded the text as much as it was needed until the appropriate context was uncovered. Often, this ranged from a few sentences to a few short paragraphs.

4.4.1 Coding Scheme

Measurement of the content was based on a careful and systematic observation driven by the rules denoted by the coding scheme. Coding systems identify four characteristics of text content. The first, frequency pertains to the numerical bookkeeping of whether or not something occurs within the text. Second, direction can be defined as where the text lies in terms of spectrums such as: positive or negative, benefit or cost, supporting or opposed, etc. Third, the intensity of the text measures the strength or power of the message in its direction. Lastly, the space or the size or amount of text allocated to this particular theme is measured. In addition to frequency, space adds weight to the relative attention paid to certain themes within the text, and thus, may indicate level of importance or unimportance within the particular theme. What becomes crucial is that the codes must be defined in a manner that is precise and clear, to increase reliability and validity (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

This study utilized a two-step deductive and inductive process in its coding. First, codes reflective of the existing dimensions of accountability and effectiveness, as well as the issues highlighted within each dimension were created. In turn, any data that was relevant to any of the previously created nodes was coded. However, Miles and Huberman (1994) further explain that, as with all research projects, codes often will change, develop and mold to the data that has been obtained. On the one hand, some codes won't work and will end up decaying during the analysis process; on the other hand, other codes will flourish and create the need to subcategorize existing codes or develop new ones.

Thus, a second inductive coding process was conducted where themes illuminated from the data were coded into either newly created nodes or nodes that speak to the existing theory that was not previously covered within the literature. Clustering nodes together then refined these newly created theoretical constructs. Conceptual saturation was reached when no new categories could be generated from the data and existing codes have already been encapsulated into one or more of the created nodes (Kendall, 1999).

The nodes were then examined for their relationships to each other and elucidating the nature of those relationships. Finally, the findings are used to revisit the theoretical discussion to provide validation or corroboration to the existing scholarship and to point out differences or gaps in current understandings of the phenomena (Kendall, 1999).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the research methodology of this study and its research design. Specifically, this study utilizes the two qualitative methodologies of content analysis and qualitative interviews to capture the opinions and views of two INGOs in regards to issues of accountability and effectiveness as it pertains to their work. Moreover, I provided a blueprint of the data collection process, as well as the structure of how data was analyzed in this thesis. The next chapter will present the findings of this study.

CHAPTER 5 OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The intent of this thesis is to uncover how International Non-governmental Organizations understand, perceive and articulate issues of accountability and effectiveness; how these issues manifest in the context of their work; and how the organizations respond to these issues. Both

organizations have Canadian origins, are comparable in size and resources, and hold the broad mandate of international development. However, they differ in vision, strategies and the context in which they work in. Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 provide a more in-depth general descriptive profile of the two participating organizations, their goals and the activities in which they engage. After establishing the context of the two organizations' work, Section 5.2 presents the main research findings on themes related to issues of accountability from the organizations' respective donors, clients, partners and those working within the organizations themselves. Following, Chapter 6 presents the findings pertaining to the main themes related of effectiveness: intended and unintended impact of their work; sustainability; empowerment; and replicability and 'scaling up'.

5.1.1 Introduction to Organization A

Organization A is a religious developmental organization with the primary mandate of supporting organized NGOs or 'Partners' working in the Global South that promote and work towards alternatives to unfair social, political and economic structures. Organization A has been in existence for over forty years and has reported to have supported over 10,000 local initiatives in the areas of rural development, education, community action, land redistribution, reconstruction and conflict resolution, amongst many others since its inception.

A second and equally important goal of Organization A is to provide education to Canadians about the causes of poverty, to advocate that Canadians of all religious beliefs have a responsibility to contribute to helping the world's poor and disadvantaged, and to mobilize towards action for change. Currently, there are over 13,000 Organization A members across Canada on whom Organization A largely depends for private donations which constitutes the primary source of the organization's funding. A further source of funding is established via a

working relationship with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in which CIDA promises to match the privately donated funds raised per annum by Organization A. Finally, a twenty-two member National Council composing of democratically elected members from across Canada and representatives from the religious group oversees the activity of Organization A.

5.1.1.1 Organization A activities

In pursuing their goals and mission of international development, Organization A was found to cluster their activities into three main categories: first, providing emergency humanitarian relief, second, providing longer term international developmental programs in the Global South, and third, launching campaigns to raise awareness, education, advocacy and action in the Global North, namely in Canada. The next sections will elaborate on Organization A's three main clusters of activity.

Emergency humanitarian relief:

The model Organization A primarily implements in responding to emergency humanitarian relief is through providing financial support to Partners in the Global South that already work within the country in crisis to coordinate and carry out the frontline relief work. Thus, as soon as an emergency situation occurs, Organization A communicates to their Partners in the affected region who assesses the situation on the ground, which area is in need of aid the most and the best approaches for assistance. In response, Organization A locates funds accordingly. In the past, this financial support can come from their own budget, pledges for funds from their membership in Canada, CIDA or a combination of support (Organization A Media Release, 2007).

A prominent theme found within the reports on humanitarian relief was that Organization A's focus was not only limited to the immediate needs of the affected region, but also the long-term efforts that comes after the immediate period of relief. This was emphasized in both the organizational documents and within the individual interviews where one volunteer emphasized that, "[Organization A] takes a different approach when it comes to emergency relief because we do the immediate, on the ground...you know, shelter, water, food...whatever you need to survive. And then we stay there to see the rebuilding going on and the infrastructure" (Informant E, June 23rd 2011 Interview). This leads into the second realm of activities Organization A is involved in – the longer-term international development programs.

International Development:

In addition to the emergency humanitarian relief missions, Organization A also commits to longer-term international development projects in countries of need. These projects and interventions have both been utilized to address beyond immediate needs in countries that have been victims of emergency humanitarian crises or as stand alone efforts in other countries of need.

One example can be seen in Iraq where Organization A reported the deteriorating conditions impacting the quality of life of Iraqi citizens since the invasion of Iraq by the United States in 2003 (Organization A Media Release, 2007). In addition to the consistent provision of emergency relief, Organization A further established long-term development programmes to supplement the immediate needs. Firstly, Organization A documented the establishing of a program in collaboration with Partners that offers pregnant women, nursing mothers and newborns nutritional supplements and specialized care throughout the country. Meanwhile,

another Partner affiliated with Organization A restored hospital infrastructure in Baghdad while one other Partner implemented remote health services in 'at risk' regions of Iraq (Organization A Media Release, 2007).

In addition, part of Organization A's strategy for sustained international development is placing focus on strengthening civil society in the countries they work in. Specifically, Organization A works to provide training, coaching and increasing the ability of their Partners in the Global South to carry out advocacy in their own countries (Organization A Annual Report, 2006-2007). This was also seen in their efforts in Iraq where assistance was administered to youth associations, women's groups and cultural minorities (Organization A Media Release, 2007). Organization A was also found to work with over fifteen different development organizations in Iraq on training programmes to provide conflict resolution techniques and theory to promote dialogue and peace.

Activities in the North:

Concurrent to these efforts in the Global South, Organization A also works to bring these issues of international development to the Global North to raise public awareness and mobilize for social action. Organization A structures its activities in the North primarily through 'campaigns'. Here, campaigns are defined as a concerted effort by the entire organization to further a central focus or theme. In particular, two annual campaigns constitute the pillars of the work executed by staff members and volunteers in the North: an action campaign and a fundraising campaign.

The Annual Action Campaign:

Every year, Organization A's Action Campaign is guided by a specific Global issue that is affecting the quality of life for those living in the Global South. In turn, the annual Action

Campaign constitutes a consolidated effort by staff members and volunteers, at all levels and regions of Organization A, to spend one year to organize and execute opportunities at the local, provincial and national level to raise awareness and education on this issue with the goal of mobilizing action for social change in Canada.

Organization A carries out this action in multiple ways. Organization A has previously documented instances of national rallies at the Office of the Prime Minister to present 190,000 petitions, meetings with governmental representatives to deliberate on the central campaign issue and more local initiatives involving educating high school students about the central campaign issue (Informant E, July 21st 2011 Interview; Organization A Media Release, 2009).

As each iteration of the campaign lasts the duration of an entire year, the decision-making process to determine Action Campaigns requires many layers of conversation in order to pinpoint the central focus of the campaign. One staff member describes:

There are so many different actors that feed into this...[a]ll of our partners...Catholic sister [international development] organizations...[t]hese are organizations that all feed and have access and the trends that are happening within development work and the needs of the world.” (Informant A, February 14th, 2011 Interview)

However, according to one volunteer, at the root of determining Action Campaigns is the work that is being done by their Partners and the pertinent issues that arise from what is being experienced in the South. Previous annual Action Campaigns issues have included establishing increased accountability measures for Canadian Mining Companies working in the Global South, banning bottled water in Canada and advocating for food sovereignty in the Global South.

Annual Fundraising Campaign:

In contrast to the annual Action Campaign, the annual Fundraising Campaign places its emphasis on garnering the financial support from members, potential members and donors. Organization A's Fundraising Campaign is a five-week fundraising initiative, leading into one day where Organization A puts on a national fundraising activity within its churches across Canada in support of the organization. In the words of one staff member, "The [annual Fundraising] Campaign is an opportunity to tell people in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Middle East that we support their efforts to build a more just society" (Organization A Media Release, 2009).

Organization A further utilizes this campaign as an opportunity to create awareness for their supporting or potentially supporting members towards global issues of poverty and injustice. Educational materials including posters and pamphlets, as well as multiple presentations all contribute to facilitating awareness and education. Within the educational materials, Organization A often includes, "stories of our Partners and it's not just, 'You give us money because we'll do something good with it'" (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview).

Other Campaigns:

Although the Action and Fundraising Campaigns constitute the principle tenets of the organization's work in the North, Organization A members also engage in additional activities, and usually that is, "kind of left up to the local groups to decide what they want to do and how they want to do that" (Informant C, March 11th 2011 Interview). This may include events such as: public forums, local fundraising activities, awareness events, etc. One outstanding example occurred in 2009 when Organization A launched a unique campaign that featured a:

[R]equest for financial support from [Organization A]. The letter, signed by [Organization A's Executive Director], introduced readers to the work of two Partners in Barundi...[t]he

request was accompanied by a cardboard with a cutout image of a candle on it. Recipients of the letter were invited to write words of encouragement on the candle for both our partners. More than 1,500 wrote a message and forwarded it to [Organization A]. All those small candles were then sent on to the offices of the two organizations in the Burundian capital of Bujumbura. (Organization A Media Release, 2010)

Subsequently, this campaign won Organization A a national award for the uniqueness and innovativeness of the campaign. Another example occurred in 2007 when the youth members of the organization launched a cross-Canada week of activities to raise awareness and funds for Organization A. These events included a 24-hour fast, public forum, benefited concerts and theatrical performances, just to name a few (Organization A Media Release, 2007).

At the international stage, Organization A served as the Canadian representative to present its perspective to events such as the World Social Forum, the G8 Summit and the annual meeting of the international developmental network in which Organization A is part of (Organization A annual report, 2006-2007).

5.1.2 Introduction to Organization B

Organization B is a fair trade organization also with religious origins, seeking to bring justice and hope to the poor in the Global South. The philosophy of fair trade operates with the aim to create opportunities for the most economically disadvantaged individuals in the Global South as a strategy for poverty alleviation and development. In essence, fair trade is defined by a fair price that is agreed upon by the trader and producer through dialogue and participation. This fair price signifies the promise that producers' cost of production are encompassed within the payment producers receive, as well as enabling them to profit beyond covering the existing costs and providing fair payment to their labourers during the process (Organization B foundational

document, 2011). The fair trade model further works toward production of goods that are socially just, environmentally sound, and ensure long-term sustainability (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). In being socially just, Organization B implements a policy of equal pay for equal work by women and men. In being environmentally sound, Artisans are encouraged to produce their products using strategies that minimizes harm to the environment and facilitates the use of renewable resources, which in turn, also induces long-term sustainability.

Organization B adopts the principles of fair trade with focus placed on purchasing traditional and cultural artistic products, made by those who are among the poorest in the Global South to provide them with a channel for self-sufficiency and increase their quality of life. In turn, Organization B works to establish and maintain long-term relationships with these producers, or ‘Artisans’ located in South Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America/the Caribbean. Over and above, Organization B aims to establish programs to provide skills and training to producers as a means to continue to assist in the process of developing independence for the producers.

Following the purchasing of these handicrafts, Organization B then markets and sells fair trade products via a network of branded retail stores across North America. As such, the nature of the organization’s funding is sustained through sales from customers who purchase the products in the stores. Organization B has been in existence for over sixty years.

5.1.2.1 Organization B Activities

In the South, Organization B does not work with individual Artisans. Rather, Artisans are much more often found to band together to form cooperatives. Moreover, there are umbrella organizations that work to represent Artisan groups to connect Artisans to opportunities for fair

wages, as well as providing Artisans with holistic forms of support, ranging from childcare to microloans. For example, in Moradabad, India, one umbrella organization was found to be working with forty Artisan groups, representing approximately three hundred full-time Artisan employees, most of who are women (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). This umbrella organization provides free nutrition, medical services and basic education to their Artisans and their children, as well as training initiatives aimed at improving product development and their management skills. Moreover, for Artisan groups that have become established enough to purchase their own machinery and raw materials, this umbrella organization provides them with a low to no-interest loans in support and later, the option for them to become self-sufficient (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). This holistic, multi-faceted form of support for Artisans was found to be a very strong recurring theme throughout the organizational data.

Organization B then establishes working relationships with umbrella organizations and Artisan cooperatives in the South. To support their efforts, Organization B establishes a market in North America for products made by Artisans. One volunteer summarizes the essence of Organization B's role in this chain of efforts:

So, it's fine for a group to go in and work at developing skills with people, and getting them all excited. But, in their own countries, if nothing to use those skills on or they're making things that can't be sold because nobody has the money or other people are making them anyway, then...sort of, "what's the point?" And so, I guess...what we do is an extension of that whole development. We're not giving people charity...it's teaching people how to use their skills and their innate abilities and their heritage and their creativity to produce things that are physical to

have of their culture, or things that they would make for their own family, and then we're able to find a market or provide a market for it in North America. (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview)

At the center of Organization B's support is the payment system created to ensure Artisans are paid 50% during the preliminary stages of production and the other 50% as soon as their products are at the stage of export. In order to ensure the sustainability of these efforts in the South, Organization B consistently purchases from the same Artisan groups.

In North America, Artisan-made products are sold in Organization B retail stores located across Canada and the United States. While Organization B's primary activity in the North is the day-to-day retail operations within the stores, there are also other accompanying initiatives staff members and volunteers engage in at the local level. This will be covered in more detail in the next section.

Activities in the North:

Organization B has launched some local initiatives to go above and beyond the local retail operations of their work. One of these initiatives includes partnering with other local non-governmental or community-based organizations for a mutually beneficial fundraiser. This partnership has been seen to work in two separate approaches. One way is for Organization B to designate a particular day where 15% of their overall sales would be donated towards the partnering organization (Informant I, June 9th 2011 Interview). In exchange, the partnering organization is asked to promote this event to their respective membership to get them into the store. The second approach consists of an event whereby Organization B sets aside an evening and opens its store exclusively to staff members, volunteers, members, and friends and families of the partnering organization. Organization B then donates 10% of its sales made that evening towards the partnering organization (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview).

Organization B also seeks out additional opportunities for their products to be sold locally. This has included trade shows, festivals, churches and conferences (Organization B Media Release, 2008). One very unique story arose out of an interview with a volunteer who cited an ongoing individual partnership with someone in Whitehorse, Yukon. Specifically, every Christmas, products would be ordered by this person to be mailed to Whitehorse and this person would then run a sale from his church to the local community there. The profit made would go exclusively towards Organization B (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview). In addition, one store manager spoke of a charitable donation initiative during Christmas time where costumers of Organization B can purchase living gifts, such as: animals, shelter or education as Christmas gifts (Informant H, March 8th 2011 Interview). These donations are directed to a partnering organization working in the Global South that will administer the ‘gifts’ to communities.

This section provided a more thorough overview of the operating models and activities of Organizations A and B in both the Global South and North in their efforts to further the mission of international development. It can be seen that despite both organizations working in the area of international development, Organization A and B operate under drastically different models. Organization A engages in issues of humanitarian crisis and international development through engagement with Partners working in the South. These programs range from establishing clean water to fighting for women’s rights. In the North, Organization A brings forth issues to raise awareness, educate, advocate for change and mobilize for action. Meanwhile, Organization B utilizes a retail model driven by the principles of fair trade to bring about new opportunities and possibilities for Artisans in some of the most impoverished and marginalized communities in the Global South. Through working with umbrella organizations, Artisans are provided with multiple services for support, as well as a consistent and long-term fair wage. The next section

will then present the primary findings on issues related to accountability from the two organizations.

5.2 Re: Accountability

In this section, the focus will be confined to examining themes related to issues accountability of Organizations A and B as it relates to three groups: specific INGOs' donors, INGOs themselves, and their clients. In turn, it was found that both organizations experience a multi-faced donor accountability where different donors exert their own set of pressures on the organizations, and both Organizations A and B felt the need to adopt multiple approaches to negotiate between these interests. Second, both organizations work within large, established transnational networks with other INGOs, rather than in isolation. The use of networks was prevalent for both organizations in the North and their respective Partners in the South. Finally, the findings suggest that the primary client for both organizations is the Partners they work with in the Global South. What was found less within the data was information articulating the relationship between both organizations, and the individuals and communities their efforts aim to serve. This was due to the fact that both organizations delegate the primary responsibility of carrying out interventions on the ground to their Partners in the South. Thus, the Partners serve as the intermediary link between the INGO and their communities. As the perspective of Partners lies beyond the purview of this research, a gap remains within the knowledge in terms of how this relationship between INGOs, and the individuals and communities they serve plays out in the field. The next sections will explore these themes in greater detail.

5.2.1 Re: Accountability to Donors

The discussion of accountability to donors is divided into two subsections: Organization A and Organization B.

5.2.1.1 Organization A's Donors

For Organization A, there are two sets of donors are critical to their operations: individual donors and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). This section aims to explore this relationship between Organization A and their donors manifest within the work of Organization A, as it is documented within their organizational documents and themes emerging from the individual interviews.

Firstly, the role individual donors play in respect to their relationship to Organization A remains primarily financial. Often, financial contributions from individual donors are sought out in two distinct ways. First, once a year, a national fundraising campaign occurs where Organization A asks for private donations from its churches across Canada. Each year, the goal is to raise approximately \$10 million Canadian dollars. According to staff members and volunteers, the annual fundraising campaign continues to be the most fundamental fundraising activity for Organization A. In addition, private collections are also sought during emergency relief initiatives. For example, in 2008, Organization A engaged in an emergency collection to help victims of the devastation left from the Nargis Cyclone in Burma. In contrast to the annual fundraising campaign, the call for emergency relief is not planned nor scheduled and individual donors are asked to donate above and beyond what is expected as an annual financial commitment to supporting Organization A.

Secondly, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) constitutes the second prominent donor to the work of Organization A. Similar to individual donors, the role CIDA

plays in the work of Organization A is provision of financial support. According to staff members, the current model of CIDA funding exists through a matched-grant process. In short, Organization A applies for a five-year funded grant from CIDA with the proposal documenting the key priority areas of Organization A and their partners within this five-year block. This proposal, if accepted by CIDA, promises to match the funds raised annually by Organization A, which then contributes to their existing budget.

This matched CIDA funding model has further expanded to unique projects and partnerships that have now extended beyond the regular allocated funding for Organization A. According to one staff member, “Because Organization A has been an organization with such a proven track record, we now have enough value in CIDA’s eyes that they’re actually coming to us and saying, ‘Look we have this money. Can you come up with something that you can use it for?’” (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview). This has been seen to apply to emergency relief initiatives, such as the previously mentioned 2008 crisis in Burma, where CIDA pledged to match any donation contributed from individual donors.

In their 2007-2008 Annual Report, Organization A reported that their revenue was derived from: the National Fundraising Campaign (34%), Government contributions (26%), Emergency Fund (16%), Other fundraising activities (13%) and Extra National Fundraising Campaign activities (11%). This reflects a gamut of different forms of public and governmental donorship; of which, each relationship has its own form of necessary checks and balances that Organization A needs to take into consideration in order for the relationship to be maintained.

In terms of their relationship to financial support from CIDA, on the one hand, Organization A has established and expanded a strong relationship with CIDA, bringing increasing

opportunities for the organization to operate. On the other hand, with expanded funding comes increased expectations for results and demonstration for accountability.

Specifically, CIDA has been seen to play a significant role in influencing Organization A's reporting efforts, and this influence has manifested into steering aspects of the projects themselves. For Organization A, a major shift in their relationship with CIDA was experienced when CIDA implemented the "results-based management" (RBM) approach as part of their requirements for all partnering organizations in international development. Results-based management is defined by Hulme (2010) as a, "strategy aimed at achieving important changes in the way government agencies operate with improving performance (achieving better results) as the central orientation...a key component is the process of objectively measuring how well an agency is meeting its stated goals or objectives" (p. 16). Consequently, organizations are then encouraged to place a larger focus on identifying and monitoring goals, targets and indicators which are specific, measurable, agreed, realistic and time-limited (Hulme, 2010).

For Organization A, this means much work, in terms of monitoring, assessing and reporting. Specifically, a director for Organization A describes how this transpires in the nature of their work:

So, let's say...in Colombia...over the next five years, we help thirty-thousand families of Native people to settle down in their land, in non-conflict areas of the country. And we implement that project together with other organizations [in the South]...every three months and every year (in a more formal way), those organizations report back to us what they have been doing and we can monitor whether or not the target of thirty-thousand families settled in five years is being achieved or not. (Informant B, February 28th, 2011 Interview)

One staff member echoed the challenges of operating under this type of framework:

It is like an audit, right? But, in human development, you can't always do that, especially when you're not working in infrastructure. We're not building so many schools. We're not building roads. So, it's hard to say because of the work we've done with this women's cooperative: this many women can now read or are now able to stand up for themselves and then educate their children or deal with their spouses...you know, you can't measure that and that's what we're really struggling with (Informant D, June 23rd, 2011 Interview)

The implementation of results-based management has entailed that hundreds of pages of documentation and results have been collected from different countries to go towards a 150-page progress report to CIDA (Informant B, February 28th 2011 Interview). However, this approach has also been equated to taking a, "corporate model and imposing it on human development," (Informant D, June 23rd, 2011 Interview) which pressures INGOs to increasingly discover ways to operationalize and quantitatively measure aspects of development: a task that some deem as inaccurately reflecting the work of INGOs.

The implementation of the results-based management has also affected the nature of the projects themselves, both in terms of methodology and content. In terms of methodology, CIDA appears to favor developmental organizations to work with fewer countries, fewer partners but on bigger projects:

Twenty years ago, we probably were supporting about eighty organizations in Brazil or maybe even more than that. And we had to scale that number down because...[the way we do international development work is more] complicated and convoluted...nowadays compared to the way it was done twenty years ago. And the follow-up needed now is at least ten times bigger than it was twenty years ago. So, we had to scale down. Our program officer cannot be responsible for more than between fifteen and twenty partners if we want to do our work as it is

understood nowadays, so we are down to around a dozen in Brazil. (Informant B, February 28th, 2011 Interview)

Furthermore, the CIDA funding process has been altered to one where the funding asked is narrowed to only focusing on three-to-five priority areas over a five-year period, which further places emphasis for INGOs to narrow the focus of their work. This has caused Organization A to be less able to support mail or email requests from newer, smaller and more unknown Southern organizations for support.

CIDA has also been seen to increasingly play an increasingly active role in steering the content of development. Whereas CIDA used to be seen as being more neutral by staff members and volunteers of Organization A, there is now increasing concern that CIDA determines funding based on the present priorities of CIDA and the current federal government. For one volunteer, this becomes problematic when all international developmental work is political to some degree. For organizations to be weary of whether they can critique decisions made by their own government and consequently have their funding be reneged creates another layer of tension.

The above discussion indicates a shift by Organization A towards a long-term, yet synchronously more packaged and standardized approach to obtain funding from CIDA. This, along with the increased paperwork needed to document the progress of their programs and interventions, has caused Organization A to scale down the number of projects while increasing the scope and size of projects undertaken in the Global South.

Donor priorities of individual donors:

Organization A's relationship with CIDA is further complicated by the persisting need to continually raise a portion of their funding through private donors each year as part of the matched funding agreement. Consequently, the annual Fundraising Campaign remains one of the

two cornerstone campaigns executed each year. Over and above this campaign, Organization A further implements more frequent fundraising activities, carried out by either the organization or the volunteers.

For instance, as stated in their 2007-2008 Annual Report, individual donors can donate via a monthly donation program, or it was also possible to donate in the form of bequests, life insurance and securities. In 2007-2008, bequests of more than \$700,000 dollars were received. Moreover, activities where high school student leaders fast for twenty-hours to raise awareness between suffering and injustice in the world has also shown to be successful. As documented in Organization A's 2007-2008 annual report, one high school that carried out this activity raised \$16,000 dollars. At the local level, one volunteer also documented a fundraising event whereby students and faculty are invited to a 'pub' night on St. Patrick's day and all proceeds from the fundraising event went to supporting Organization A (Informant E, July 21st 2011 Interview). As it can be seen, individual donors play a significant role in the financial sustenance of Organization A.

While CIDA exerts one set of priorities, individual donors also have their own set of priorities, which are quite different from that of CIDA's. Local staff members and volunteers recounted a recent example of an organized attack on Organization A by a politically conservative group within the church. The attack was initiated by a popular pro-life website which claimed that Organization A was supporting a Partner in the Global South that was openly promoting and practicing abortions, and that this Partner utilized funds channeled from Organization A to fund their abortions. This substantiated into a fast spreading rumor amongst Catholic donors and members during the time of Organization A's annual fundraising campaign. One volunteer explained:

So, we have this message of, “You know, Organization A isn’t really [reflecting the religion],” which to us, is a lie but it is out there...you see the impact of that because all of a sudden, there is a sense of, “Can we trust this organization? Is it really doing what we said it should do?” and that kind of thing. So, it is a tactic. It’s a political tactic. There is a clear agenda, but that kind of stuff impacts our funding. It impacts our credibility within the Church...

(Informant C, March 11th, 2011 Interview)

Since Organization A’s audience is very much rooted within the church, this attack created strife within local communities where often Organization A volunteers were confronted directly by close fellow members of their Catholic church. As such, the effect of this ‘scandal’ was felt:

It was really tough and it still is tough, I think...our volunteers are incredibly committed...that core group. So, it wasn’t a falling away on that level...but, again, they took a beating emotionally because they were so convinced and are so convinced about the value of Organization A’s approach to development, and they’re also aware of the complexity of the situations, right? Like, sometimes it’s not a clear cut: pro-abortion/anti-abortion reality, right?

(Informant C, March 11th Interview)

This ‘scandal’ necessitated a response from Organization A’s National Head Office, reassuring that the allegations were completely false. That year, increased educational materials were produced and administered to the public during the annual fundraising campaign, and an official statement to the allegations was communicated by Organization A to its volunteers to reinforce their understanding on the context of the allegation. According to volunteers, the official explanation was that one of Organization A’s Partners had previously signed an official document related to a series of discussions between a U.N. official with multiple NGOs in Mexico and one of the organizations that signed the document was a popular pro-choice

organization. While Organization A has Catholic foundations and takes a ‘pro-life’ stance, it also asserts that:

I guess a lot of the rhetoric or logic from...I want to call them ‘violent pro-lifers’ or ‘violent anti-abortionists’ is that the majority of abortions are performed by women for whom a baby would be an inconvenience rather than by women who have been raped or sexually assaulted. But...the context and the discourse surrounding abortion is so different in the Global South, and the frequency and the prevalence of violence towards women is just a completely different context...I don’t think [Organization A] would take ways to make sure because I think...personally, that would violate the autonomy of [our Partners]...to be going down there and being vigilant about who you were talking to and who you partnered with and who are you cooperating with...that’s different from asking for a report of what the funds have been used for...you know? It implies a lack of trust... (Informant E, July 21st Interview)

Despite Organization A’s effort to reinforce a concrete position to address this ‘scandal’, the public was bombarded with conflicting messages and the damage occurred amongst the casual individual donors who were seen to disengage from the organization.

Despite the multiple and complex donor accountabilities, it has become part of Organization A’s responsibility to function within and negotiate between competing political interests. In regards to the difficult position Organization A is in with respect to its ongoing relationship with CIDA, one volunteer articulates:

The pressures I think are real. Does it affect the actual campaign at the end of the day? I think because the primary principle is the campaigns are derived from the needs that we’re hearing from the partners, and I think we’ve been true to that as much as possible. So, if it means that sometimes the projects promoted or presented to CIDA have a certain nuance to them, but

essentially the projects are the projects that are responding to local needs in the Global South. So, definitely tension...definitely there is potential for external pressures to impact, but I'd like to believe and I think...from what I've seen, it's fairly clear that we've been true to responding to those needs. (Informant C, March 11th, 2011 Interview)

This speaks to the theme of resiliency and resistance, which emerged from the data. In other words, despite the pressure exerted from multiple donors, Organization A staff members retain that their organization actively works with their Partners in the Global South to establish the foundation that guides their programs and interventions, and how funding will be utilized. For example, asking for CIDA funding, one staff member explains their approach:

So, when I say we approach CIDA to ask for their support, our asking is very much already part of our conversation that we have with our partners. Let's say, in Colombia, that these are the two things that we want to do. So, we put together what all the different partners say together, submit to CIDA for a five-year proposal...receive the money and then we allocate that money to our partners in the Global South according to the written proposal that we worked together. (Informant B, February 28th, 2011 Interview)

With the five-year funding cycle from CIDA, Organization A also works to ensure a degree of sustainability within their Partners' work in the Global South. Moreover, all funding that Organization A receives is blended into one budget. In other words, Organization A retains the autonomy to consolidate their funding and to allocate those funds towards projects and interventions as per their own decision-making. And this has been a source of pride for Organization A staff members and volunteers.

5.2.1.2 Organization B's Donors

Organization B only interacts with one set of donors. As Organization B operates within a unique business/NGO hybrid model, their donors consist of any and all customers that walk into an Organization B store. As such, the role of donors remains primarily providing financial support for Organization B. According to staff members and volunteers, their donor base lies primarily with “people of conscience”, i.e. those that are aware of and support the principles of fair trade and social justice as part of their lifestyle.

In addition, Organization B also needs to draw in those from the general public who may simply be interested in purchasing the products themselves. As articulated by one store manager:

We definitely have our roots and our base in social justice and strong support for the Artisan groups and fair trade, but we recognize you can't just throw anything on the counter. I mean, that's like the old days of the fair trade movement. We really, really have to appeal to the wider public...the fickle public who are just walking down the street and you want to draw them in. You want them to see items that they want to buy for themselves or their friends...(Informant I, June 6th, 2011 Interview)

This highlights the interesting relationship between its non-governmental principles and retail delivery. With fair trade, Organization B markets items for a price that often is not ‘cheap’ in comparison with other retail stores. However, donors continue to purchase items and support Organization B because products are hand-made and they agree with its fundamental premise of benefiting the Artisans; and hence, donors feel that their money is spent on a good cause. This can be best seen in a media piece published in 2008, articulating the essence of the thought process of someone shopping in a store of Organization B:

Take the doll with the note in its pocket. I looked at the doll, thought it was cute, but then balked at the \$28 price tag. Once I read the story of the woman from Zimbabwe who made it and

thought about the orphan who will receive its twin doll, my perspective changed. It became quite clear to me that shoppers at this store are doing more than buying gifts. They are changing lives (December, 2008 media article).

For Organization B, it is crucial that shoppers continue to purchase from the store in order for them to continue supporting Artisans.

Donor priorities of consumers:

What is deemed as donor priorities are deeply intertwined with the business side of this business/NGO hybrid model. It is clearly stated in the principles of Organization B that, “We choose handicrafts that reflect and reinforce rich cultural traditions, that are environmentally sensitive and which appeal to North American consumers”. As the financial sustenance of Organization B and, by extension, the livelihood of Artisans are dependent solely on the purchase of products by consumers, much of the effort within the product creation and design process must reflect North American desires and trends in order for the products to be marketable. And it is the notions of North American desires and trends that constitute the continuing donor priority challenges for Organization B.

The first priority for Organization B is to capture North American desires, in terms of gaining the support of consumers for both their NGO message and the retail product. On the one hand, capturing the attention of the North American public to international issues is not difficult, especially with the abundance of channels to obtain information enabled by modern information and communications technology. The two recent international emergency events of the 2004 Tsunami and the 2008 Earthquake in Haiti have been seen to garner more public financial support than international disasters in history. On the other hand, the challenge is to sustain that attention and effort of assistance from donors:

People are saying, “Well, yeah! We have to do something. We have to change this.”

Unfortunately, people have the initial desire to change it, but they play out along the way and it kind of falls of the grid again...So, this initiative can be so good and so stimulating that you get from the Press, but the Press is the Press; its job is to bring you the news. If it’s not going to make you go “gasp”, or give you some sort of quick little jolt, we’re not interested in it for very long and we play out...which almost happened with [the earthquake in] Haiti. You heard people saying, “Enough of Haiti already. There’s been too much of it. That’s all we hear about. Good gosh! It’s been a whole year. Why aren’t they on their feet?” So, the tension is always there and the challenge is always there to convince people that...we, the have, have a consistent responsibility in the world. (Informant G, March 3rd, 2011 Interview)

Recognizing the reality of short donor attention span, Organization B tries to provide additional incentive for donor support by adding that element of aesthetic retail aspect to fulfilling North American desires.

I think [our process of product creation] has matured a lot because when we were working with one artisan group, [they’re] working with the whole idea of...at that point, and a lot of the groups were, a storyboard. Like, these are the kinds of lamps or bows that are popular right now, and these are the colors that are popular. So, I think it’s more going in that direction, so those people who are producing pottery are using their skills to produce potter in a style that would be less...maybe a little less naïve and maybe a little more marketable on the North American market. (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview)

In essence, Organization B has been seen to utilize this two-pronged approach of emphasizing the NGO message while also trying to thrive in creating a level of retail sophistication to maintain the continuous financial support from donors. This, however, does not mean that the

challenging atmosphere of short donor attention span is alleviated in the retail aspect either. As one store manager explicated, “It’s much easier to concentrate on selling food because food turns over that much quicker, right? It’s a consumable. And so, when a large, large portion of what we do have to do with non-consumables...and the public is very fickle, right? So, what’s in this month might be, ‘What were we thinking?’ by next month (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview). This remains a barrier Organization B needs to overcome.

The second priority is the need to maintain the pulse on North American trends in retail in order to remain competitive as a business. In turn, staff members have noted the difficulty in fulfilling this priority area when Organization B is not structured like a business:

[I]t takes us a lot longer. I mean, we’re working with an Artisan group in India; we’re working like a year in advance. We have to give them a lot of lead-time; whereas other [for profit businesses], I mean they can order something and have it here within six weeks or something. So, it’s really the constraints of working in fair trade are immense, but totally worth it. I mean, it is something that we are completely committed to, but, if we’re trying to play that game of keeping up with trends and trying to anticipate what the next newest thing is going to be that our Artisans can make...I understand how difficult it is (Informant I, June 6th, 2011 Interview)

This passage highlights Organization B’s overarching challenge of balancing that tension of NGO and business without compromising either side.

Financial Accountability of a business model:

For Organization B, one of the biggest benefits of utilizing a hybrid business and NGO model is financial autonomy and eliminating the uncertainty of having to adhere to external standards for consistent funding. This stabilizing effect of knowing the organization is in control of its own

sustainability and capacity has been a key source of pride for staff members and volunteers of Organization B. Some have attributed this success to having that ‘business’ side to a non-governmental organization, “they’ve tried to keep in mind how big they can grow or they have to...you know, budget like a business. I mean, we are a business and we have to think like that...but we are a different kind of business as well” (Informant H, March 8th 2011 Interview). According to staff members, what the business aspect of Organization B adds is an element of fiscal prudence infused within the operations to retain a sense of caution and carefulness to expenditures and projects even if this means refusing good ideas. And it’s finding that balance that has been a key focus for Organization B’s leadership.

However, being an organization that utilizes a business methodology to derive financial support, Organization B is subjected to global economic trends. The data collection period for this study coincided within the North American ‘Great Recession’ and this may have had a significant impact on Organization B. Amidst economic uncertainty, consumers often relegate their donations to NGOs to the lowest priority. As one volunteer described:

“Do I want to spend the extra money?” because the prices are not cheap. You don’t get an item here because it’s cheap. You get it because it’s hand-made and it’s actually going to help the Artisan and often very well made, but that’s kind of beside the point...certainly witnessing a decline in retail sales over this last Christmas season, I think there is a direct response by a public who is anxious financially and people will start to say, “Yeah, but the cup is twenty-two dollars. I might have helped somebody, but twenty-two dollars, I can get a cup at Wal-Mart for four!” (Informant G, March 3rd, 2011 Interview)

Understandably, consumers are more willing to spend and/or give when the economic climate is strong. With excess finances, it becomes much more palatable to generously donate and

support the work of INGOs. Conversely, the economic downturn draws automatic hesitancy from donors. In addition, the retail focus of Organization B on non-consumable products makes them more likely to be victims of decreasing levels of purchase. While it can be postulated that the economic downturn has contributed to the financial difficulties of Organization B, it was not explicitly confirmed by the data.

What was found was that Organization B has recently experienced some financial difficulties, accumulating from the past few years and its effect being drastically felt in 2010. This theme emulated from both the interviews and was corroborated by Organization B's 2010 annual report. Within 2010's annual report, it was informed that store sales were down 6.7% and total retail sales were down by 3% that fiscal year, resulting in a net loss of \$198,578. As one store manager elaborated:

There was a change maybe...four years ago? Three years ago? That resulted in...maybe some of that carefulness and caution was put aside, to a certain degree. Maybe there was a bit of cockiness around being a little bit more financially comfortable...maybe wanting to take some more risks. And certainly, risk-taking is important, to a certain degree with business. But...we lost a bit of money last year. We would hope to be...usually...at least a breakeven point. I mean, with fair trade, obviously we're not making a profit, but we hoped, as good business people, to be at least at a breakeven stage; and we weren't last year. We took a bit of a hit and I mean, some of it is the economy, etc., but...you know, there's other things in there, I think. (Informant I, June 6th 2011 Interview)

None of the staff members, volunteers and documents delved deeply into the issue of Organization B's financial difficulties as it became apparent it was quite a sensitive issue. As a consequence, details could only be inferred from pieces of information provided by staff

members. For instance, Organization B has been seen to have recently implemented cost-cutting strategies to recoup the financial losses. Firstly, for the first time in recent history, they canceled the annual store managers' national conference and a virtual conference would be held instead. Secondly, Organization B has implemented an organization-wide initiative, involving a collaborative effort between senior leadership and regional store managers to implement a number of projects aimed at reducing expenses and/or increasing sales. While this has been seen to be a realistic approach, staff members remain cautiously optimistic in the results.

In terms of their accountability to donors, Organization B has experienced both the benefits and challenges that come along with operating a business with INGO goals. On the one hand, Organization B gains a sense of independence in terms of decision-making without the need for consideration of third party donor pressures. Further, Organization B's business model is one that enables financial security and stability towards their own organizational capacity, as well as their operations in the Global South. On the other hand, this model exerts its own pressures in that the organization can be succumbed to market pressures and the challenges that come along with running a business. Challenges emerge when Organization B maintain the pulse on consumer priorities and consumer trends. More importantly, it was found that Organization B is in the midst of a serious financial challenge, which has forced management to implement new strategies to recoup their losses. It is unclear whether the 2008 economic recession played a significant part in this phenomenon. As a consequence, it is uncovered that even an INGO that generates profit is not immune towards financial instability and financial challenges, and this has been seen to be the case with Organization B.

This section explored at Organizations A and B's relationship to their respective donors and issues of accountability which emerge within that relationship. While both organizations interact

with vastly different populations, it was found that different sets of donors exert different pressures on INGOs. The hard priorities on the need for reporting and documenting results set by CIDA in order to receive funding vis-à-vis the religious political sentiments of individual donors and how that has affected their support exemplifies this multi-faceted donor priorities in the case of Organization A. This is further complicated by shifting macro political and/or economic trends, which also affects donor priorities. The case of Organization B and how a shifting global economic climate can steer donor's attention away from sustaining financial support illustrates the latter point. In response, organizations feel the need to negotiate and demonstrate resiliency towards these pressures while retaining the primacy of their mission and goal. In the next section, the discussion will move to INGOs' accountability to their own members, members of other organizations similar to theirs and the INGO community as a whole.

5.2.2 Re: Accountability to Themselves

In addition to donors, INGOs are also accountable to 'themselves'. In this case, the category of 'themselves' consists of staff members, volunteers, members, fellow organizations and to the INGO community at large. In turn, two key themes emerged within the data. First, the emergence of online strategies for information sharing and communication amongst members was evident for both organizations. Surprisingly, staff members and volunteers of both organizations articulated that they were relatively novice in using social media. However, the trend towards adopting new media was apparent. Second, the findings revealed the increasing involvement of INGOs collaborating in transnational networks with like-minded organizations to facilitate the work of international development. Both Organizations A and B are active members in large transnational networks and these networks stretch beyond organizations in the North. Rather, they encompass both organizations in the North, as well as the South. By nature of their

membership in their respective networks, this shapes the Partners they work with and decisions within Organizations A and B's own work. These themes will further be explored in this section.

5.2.2.1 Internal Information Sharing

Organization A:

For Organization A, the first stream of internal information sharing occurs through meetings at the national, provincial and local levels of the organization. At the national level, a national assembly, held every five years, gathers members from across Canada. Its goal, as articulated by the president of Organization A in their 2010 Annual Report, is, "a moment to take stock of what has been accomplished over the last five years and to reflect on how the movement can best continue to stand in solidarity with its brothers and sisters in the Global South in their struggles for social justice" (Organization A annual report, 2010). After the meeting, each attending delegate would prepare a report to be disseminated to members at the regional and provincial level.

At the provincial level, information is often shared during opportunities where either the entire membership meet:

There's the provincial meetings...usually, I think it's arranged around parishes or dioceses...[a]nd so, people just come together and communicate what happened over the past year and how the campaign[s] went, and bring different issues. [That's also] where some of that information from the national meetings would filter down. (Informant E, July 21st, 2011 Interview)

Furthermore, members in provincial leadership roles would also meet:

I think the reporting happens more so with the provincial [coordinator]...we meet three times a year...at the core meetings, so it's all the...co-chairs from the region gather with the

[coordinator] three times a year: twice at core meetings and once at this regional assembly. So, we're expected to report back verbally on our experience at each of the campaigns at that point as well. (Informant C, March 11th 2011 Interview)

At the local level of Organization A, each membership organizes its own meetings. For example, Saskatoon members attend a 'monthly potluck' meeting, which has been an ongoing tradition for years. These more frequent meetings serve to maintain contact between members, build morale and community, and to discuss issues related Organization A at the ground level.

The rise of social media and online tools:

In addition, Organization A has been seen to explore the utilization of social media and online tools, such as Facebook, Twitter and webinars to expand opportunities for information sharing:

Within [Organization A], we just recently created two new half-time positions that are not permanent. They're called, "online outreach officers". They are French and English, and they have to do with educating all of us on social media platforms. And I find it very...I'm trying to encourage our region to become more familiar with the different social media that there are because we are so dispersed. And so...right now, for example, these outreach officers are giving us webinars, so I encouraging people to learn about social media through webinars... (Informant A, February 14th, 2011 Interview)

When asked if the use of social media has improved the facilitation of information within the organization, one volunteer expressed:

I think yes, impact. I think there is a tool here...at our disposal that we didn't have before...for example, in the beginning of April, I'm organizing the visit of the visitor [from our Partners in the South] to Saskatoon. Well, at one point, it would've been very difficult to communicate with this person who is coming from the Philippines, right? Well, now we're

emailing and facebooking...[t]here is a personal connection already established before this person even arrives in Saskatoon, so social media and technology in general, fabulous...right? (Informant C, March 11th, 2011 Interview)

The effect of online technology has also been felt during the national assembly, where it was reported in the 2009 Annual Report that, “[v]ideo messages sent by partner organizations brought immediacy to discussions and, through various means of communication, we were able to receive input from members of [Organization A] from coast to coast” (Organization A 2009 annual report). However, not all members of Organization A are finding the same success with the implementation of social media. According to one staff member, “we started a Facebook page for this region which is not very successful so far” (Informant A, February 14th, 2011 interview).

While Organization A continues to utilize traditional face-to-face meetings, it is now increasingly exploring social media and online technologies to facilitate processes of information sharing across the organization. This was seen to be the case within the organization working across Canada and between Organization A and Partners in the Global South. The use of social media and online tools remain a novel aspect to the organization. Members have seen the positive benefits new media can bring, although not all implementation of new media has been successful.

Organization B:

At the national level, Organization B holds annual meetings with all store managers across Canada. Often, this featured a visit from one of the Artisans from the Global South who would speak on their experience as a partner of Organization B, and the transformative aspects of this relationship for the speaker and fellow Artisans. The Artisan speaker would further provide a

workshop session to demonstrate how their product is made, and in return, the store managers would have to learn and try to recreate the product during the workshop. While this activity is intended to be light-hearted, it also worked to illuminate the linkage between the Artisan's work and that of the store managers'. As one store manager reflected:

[S]ee those stars hanging in the doorway? That lady who makes those...and she tried to teach us to do it and we were really pathetic...I think we were having our meetings in Toronto that year, and she got into a[n] [Organization B] store and saw these hanging in [the] store and it was just overwhelming, "Wow, these people in Canada. They are hanging my stuff in their store and in their houses," and it just have her a connection to the rest of the world, and gave her such joy and purpose. (Informant F, February 8th, 2011 Interview)

For this manager, the stars continue to serve as a reminder of the vision and mission of Organization B. Staff members further spoke to the fact that the national meetings worked to enhance the comradery and morale of the store managers.

At the local level, there are multiple 'volunteer appreciation' evenings where staff members and volunteers of all Organization B stores in a city are invited to attend. As the name suggests, these events are intended to celebrate and thank the work of local volunteers; however, it also serves to facilitate information to members. According to one volunteer, "they'll also have someone come who has just [visited] one of the Artisans in India, and brings back the products and talks about the families they've met there, talks about the impact of [Organization B], makes you feel, "If I can sell a few more of these silk scarves, I'm really helping this family and families like them" (Informant G, March 3rd, 2011 Interview).

The rise of social media and online tools:

Due to recent financial challenges within the organization, it was decided that the 2011 national meeting would be held virtually, instead of in-person:

And that will be done using that same process, whatever it is...where we will...instead of all going and watching someone up on the stage talk to us, we'll watch over the internet through this process. And for the question period afterwards, we'll send in our questions. So, it will be interesting...it will be different. What we'll lack this year then is the interaction between managers and the sharing that happens on that level. But, that's okay. It's for a good purpose. (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview)

Organization B has also recently been seen to expand their utilization of web-based meetings to encompass their regular information sharing as well. Often, this type of information sharing pertains to updates on products, matters within the organization itself and updates on Artisans:

Well, we did our first one [web-based meeting] in January, I think...at the last one, there was a picture of our CEO and a Powerpoint running on the side. And there is another [web meeting] tomorrow...[y]ou know, I thought it was pretty good. We all have to sign in, so they know at least that store has signed in. They also gave a time for people to...a couple times where people could log in and see it again, so they must film them. I had some questions. It was nice. It's a way of communicating, which sometimes...when you're out in store-land: say you're on Vancouver Island, you don't really know what's going on at the Head Office in Ontario, so it's a good way of communicating and I think that's important...communication between all sorts. (Informant H, March 8th, 2011 Interview)

Even during their recent financial challenges, a web conference by the CEO was used to address their members. Staff members commended their leadership on their commitment to transparency:

I think it worked really well because it was our CEO who was speaking...giving us direction on where things are...being as open and honest as he could and what we're up against, and what we're going to face and how we're going to do it for the next year or two. And that was good because...we heard it from him and he didn't pull any punches, but he certainly explained the whole process of what has gone through to reach the decision that they reached. And so, I thought that was fantastic hearing it that way, especially from someone who was new to the job and got this whole thing landed on his lap, and chose to face everyone. (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview)

Of course, the web conferences lack many key elements of human interaction; however, staff members have accepted and championed that compromise with moving towards a web-based presence when it comes to internal information sharing.

At the store level, strategies are also taken to keep volunteers informed of the mission of Organization B. Often, information on the background information of products in the store, such as: what the product is made of, the process of how they are produced, where the product is made, the stories of the Artisans that made the product, and how it is currently impacting the lives of those Artisans is passed down to volunteers in a binder. However, the facilitation of this knowledge has also been increasingly migrated over to computers. In addition to being a cash register, computers also serve as an information source where volunteers have easy access to learn more about products. According to volunteers, there are fun quizzes and other more interactive features embedded within the software that also facilitate learning. The benefits of having product information online is that with the constant need to update information on existing Organization B's products and/or the need to provide information on new Organization

B products, information can consistently be updated without the need to print new copies for every store across Saskatoon.

Overall, in regards to information sharing strategies, Organizations A and B share many similarities. Both organizations employ traditional face-to-face meetings within their organization at the national and local levels. Additionally, the increasing incorporation of online technologies was found to be a key aspect in both organizations' work. Specifically, the use of webinars, conference calls, social media and email has worked to augment internal communication. For Organization A, members in the North are now able to communicate directly with Partners in the South, while for Organization B, webinars can link store managers together with Head Office locally. Of course, online technologies are far away from replacing traditional means of information sharing and in both organizations, the imperfections of online technology were raised.

5.2.2.2 The Use of Transnational Networks

Within the literature, it was highlighted that INGOs are also accountable to fellow NGOs working in the same field, as well as the larger NGO community where opportunities to share, exchange best practices, and increase collaboration can all lead to the improvement of performance and increase organizational learning (Sanyal, 2006; Szporluk, 2009). Within the data, it was found that both organizations engage within large, established transnational networks of INGOs that work towards international development and that these networks play a significant role in connecting Organizations A and B with partnering organizations in the South and shaping the work of Organizations A and B.

Organization A:

Organization A is a member of a transnational network of international development organizations working in three main areas of humanitarian aid and development: emergencies, sustainable development and peace building. In their annual report, Organization A emphasized the importance of being a member of this network, “We have leveraged our extraordinary domestic Canadian support into a strong international presence, joining our voice to the international social justice movement through our affiliation with the global Church in international networks...” (Organization A annual report, 2007-2008).

In this transnational network, members, “all feed and have access to all the information and trends that are happening within development work and the needs of the world” (Informant A, February 14th, 2011 Interview). This network further provides more timely and efficient emergency aid in times of need. For example, during a humanitarian crisis, Organization A provides a call to action for donors for financial support. The funds raised are then channeled to a partnering member of this network that is working within the region of need. In turn, the recipient organization would distribute based upon the needs of the situation and Organization A would continue to monitor and coordinate with that organization as the situation develops.

Organization A is further affiliated with three other networks. Specifically, Organization A is a member of an international alliance for development and solidarity, comprised of European and North American religious organizations. Organization A is also a member of a Canadian network for accountability of corporations which was involved in a large-scale campaign with other members of the network against Canadian mining companies. Additionally, Organization A is a member of a Canadian food-related network that is engaged in the worldwide mission to end hunger and support food-related programming, like food relief aid, long-term security, food

justice and nutrition programming. This network has also been active in food security policy discussions on the institutional level.

Based on the organizational documents derived from Organization A, specifics on the role these networks play in the organizations' everyday work were not found. However, the data did present clear evidence that Organization A does not carry out its programs and interventions in isolation. Conversely, the organization engages in multiple affiliations to work towards their goals and mission.

Organization B:

As with Organization A, the involvement in networks significantly contributed to the relationships established within Organization B. First, it was found that Organization B does not work with individual Artisans. Rather, Artisans band together to form cooperatives of their own. One staff member described, "a lot of times, producers...they're not just individuals. They form a co-op. And sometimes these co-ops are even under another umbrella organization. There's a lot of churches out there that work or sponsor these umbrella organizations" (Informant F, February 8th, 2011 Interview). Another Organization B staff member adds:

So many of these co-ops then will band together and eventually have a marketing or a shipping main headquarters...usually in the bigger cities, so then there would be someone there who would know how to deal with all the government red tape and knows how to...make sure they have the shipments for...and that they're going to get to the docks...and quality control. (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview)

According to Organization B's website, these umbrella organizations serve to fulfill three main responsibilities: finding new markets for Artisan groups, linking Artisan groups with each

other, and continuously enhancing the knowledge and skills of Artisans. For instance, one umbrella organization located in Uganda:

The handicraft sector of [this umbrella organization] provides training in the many respects of business management, gives technical and resource assistance, and facilitates exports as well as helping with local and international marketing. Artisans receive loans, training, counseling, links to aid agencies, and assistance with medication. [This umbrella organization] represents 200 Artisans working in 10 workshops or cooperatives...is involved in programs for micro-credit financing, training in literacy, health care, nutrition and leadership skills, as well as public education on HIV/AIDS...lobbies the government and other agencies on environmental and health concerns and economic development initiatives, and presents a powerful voice on issues critical to women. (Organization B foundational documents – African Artisans)

This passage represents much of the information found on umbrella organizations and the value they add for Artisans. However, missing within the data are the specific details on the relationship between Artisan cooperatives and umbrella organizations. Whether these umbrella organizations work horizontally or hierarchically with Artisan cooperatives remains a lingering question.

Furthermore, numerous Artisan groups featured in Organization B's website, ranging from those working in Asia to South America were frequently cited to be members of, or affiliated with local, national, regional and/or international fair trade networks. It is through these networks that Organization B selects and purchases its products to be sold in North America. The process, according to one staff member:

...because [Organization B] is a founding member of [one of the primary fair trade networks] and then there were the other craft-based fair traders in Europe...who were working with other

fair trade organizations in other parts of the world, and developing co-ops and self-help groups, etc. So, while that was going on, I think then...[Organization B] started to looking to purchase from those groups that other fair traders were involved with or helped develop. And so...the network kind of extended from there so that the groups that we purchased are members of the international fair trade network because they set the fair trade guidelines. We feel confident that fair trade is being practiced in a way that [is] standards-based. (Informant I, June 9th, 2011 Interview)

Through international networks, Organization B is introduced to organizations and works within those parameters to determine the partnerships they advance and the products they purchase. It can be seen that the operation of Organization B is woven into a larger network of relations.

In short, it was found that both organizations carry out their work in collaboration with large, complex transnational networked bodies, constituting of both organizations in the Global North and South. For Organization A, their involvement in a transnational network of organizations working in international development allows for the extension of their awareness of issues of development and humanitarian aid to countless more countries than if they work in isolation. Meanwhile, a transnational network connects Organization B to Artisan organizations, which often encompasses cooperatives of Artisans and supporting umbrella organizations in the South. Ultimately, the information found from both organizations elucidates the complexity of international non-governmental organization work that is being carried out in the 21st Century. The next section will explore the findings relating to issues of accountability towards Organizations A and B's clients.

5.2.3 Re: Accountability to Clients

The central mission of INGOs involved in international development is to provide certain service(s) to people in developing countries in hopes of increasing their quality of life, either incrementally or holistically. Within the literature, the term ‘clients’ are used to denote any individuals, groups and/or communities who are the recipient(s) of those services (Brown & Moore, 2001). Therefore, these clients’ interests and needs, and the ability to translate those interests into an actionable and sustainable development project or service for the community ought to constitute the central focus for an organization (Brown & Moore, 2001; Najam, 1996). Accordingly, accountability to clients is seen as the most critical form of accountability for INGOs.

In the data, it is found that the notion of clients for the organizations in this study differs from the literature. Specifically, there is not just one definition of clients; rather, there are three distinct sets of individuals that are seen to be in a client-like relationship with the organizations. First, it was found that both Organization A and B engages in a client-like relationship with their respective Partners working in the Global South and that helping their Partners constituted the primary goal of both organizations. Second, both organizations stated that donors in Canada also constitute a set of clients that receive their services. Here, services consist of the education and advocacy work engaged by staff members and volunteers of both organizations in the North. For Organizations A and B, they believe that their education and advocacy work in the North is also crucial to furthering international development. Finally, there are the individuals and communities that are the primary recipients of INGO interventions. In many ways, those clients were cited the least within the data. Often, they were mentioned in passing and specifics on the organizations’ accountability to them were not found. As Partners in the Global South carry out most of the frontline work for both organizations, this may create an extra layer of disconnect

between the INGO and the communities. The next sections will delve into these themes more in detail.

5.2.3.1 Partners in the South as Primary Clients

Both Organization A and B were found to articulate their primary focus of accountability is given to their Partners in the Global South. The importance of this relationship was the most cited theme within the data. A text frequency analysis on NVivo that illuminates on the recurring terms derived from both the organizational documents and individual interview data reveals that the term, “Partner(s)” was the most commonly cited word for Organization A and the term, “Artisan(s)” was cited the most cited word¹ for Organization B. This section will discuss this accountability to collaborative Partners in carrying out international development.

Organization A:

Organization A’s method of delivering aid during humanitarian emergencies and international development programs centrally revolves around between, “[s]upport[ing] partners in the Global South who promote alternatives to unfair social, political and economic structures” (Organization A Foundational Document). For Organization A, this relationship is crucial because, “By collaborating with local partners, we tap into their knowledge and experience to support locally-designed solutions to poverty and justice...by working with local partners, we can best reach the most marginalized and oppressed of the world’s poor and stand by them in their struggles” (Organization A Annual Report, 2008-2009).

¹The decision was made to search for words with five letters or more to eliminate common words such as, ‘I’ or ‘you’.

Documenting this collaborative process between Organization A and their Partners in executing developmental work was a prominent theme found within the data. For instance, after the devastating 2004 Tsunami, one piece covered Organization A's reconstruction efforts:

In the weeks following the devastating tsunami, we were able to respond most effectively to local needs by involving local community members in all aspects of the reconstruction process... [Organization A] relied on its well-established relationship with key partner groups involved in long-term development projects to lay the groundwork for a reconstruction program. (Organization A Media Release, 2007)

This collaboration between Organization A and its Partners often involves Organization A taking on the role of advocacy and publicizing the need for financial support and assistance in the Global North. It then serves as a hub that connects the financial support from their donors and members to the Partners who carry out the work in that specific area of need. As one volunteer explains:

[Organization A doesn't] necessarily mandate anything, really. In terms of their involvement, it's essentially to bring money that's been fundraised and then to bring back the message of the social issues is damaging the quality of life is connected to how we're living here. You know what I mean? It's not like they're a woman's organization that coordinates women's activities between the organizations. The organizations do their own thing... (Informant E, July 21st 2011 Interview)

Following, Organization A monitors and publishes any updates on the efforts from their Partners. For example, in regards to their efforts for the people displaced during the rebel conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Organization A published:

The response was tremendous: \$1,375,000 raised for the people of the DRC. In collaboration with [our Partner in Congo], these funds were used to:

- Provide 40,000 families with blankets, clothing, utensils and other essentials;
- Provide seven hospitals and 25 health centres with essential medical supplies and medicine;
- Provide temporary shelter and household items to 5,000 displaced families; and
- Come to the aid of 10,800 people who are displaced, brutalized and victimized by the conflict. (Organization A Annual Report, 2008-2009).

Contrarily, the process after which the funding is received by the Partners and then utilized is often mentioned rather than reported on in-depth. For instance, in 2009, Organization A released a media release that mentioned it had sent \$100,000 dollars in emergency aid and relief to be carried out on the ground by their Zimbabwe Partner:

The relief program, run by [Organization A's Partner in Zimbabwe], addresses urgent and long-term problems such as hunger, the spread of HIV/AIDs and the cholera epidemic, caused by the collapse of the country's economy and infrastructure...[the Partner in Zimbabwe] will distribute food rations, offer midday meals for children in schools, distribute seeds and provide agricultural training, supply medicine and improve access to sanitation. (Organization A media release, 2009)

While this piece provides a general overview of the areas where the funding will be used, it lacks specific details on the process of delivery by Partners. Rather, information from reports such as the one above were often limited to the following elements: the amount of financial support Organization A provides, the identity of their Partner, the general areas of development

this piece of financial support aims to address and an approximate numerical quantity of desired results.

The strength of this collaborative relationship between Organization A and their Partners can further be seen in the decision-making process during Organization A's request for funding from CIDA. One staff member traced the elaborate process by which the previous five-year plan for Organization A (i.e. from 2006-2011) was constructed in collaboration with their Partners:

[W]e had a weeklong seminar in Asia...in Manila with all of our partners in Asia. Then we had a weeklong seminar in Cochabamba in Bolivia with a selection of our partners in Latin America, and then in Montreal, another weeklong seminar with the representatives of our partners in Africa...[a]nd the seminar[s][were] basically about [three] things: what is the present situation of the poor people in Africa? What is the present situation for poor people in Asia? And same with Latin America...[s]econd, what are the key areas in that situation that could bring about structural change? Third point, what kind of social actors are working in...bringing about th[ose] changes? So, each continent prepared a document, establishing their priorities...their vision...[a]nd then my work...was to try to make a synthesis of this.(Informant B, February 28th 2011 Interview)

This process elicits a deep commitment to the democratically driven decision-making process of Organization A. However, according to that staff member, this process was found to be unsustainable for the organization and Organization A was forced to revise the process during the creation of the five-year plan for 2011-2016:

[I]t was a huge...huge...huge effort by our organization in terms of money. The continental seminars and all these processes in the South cost about \$200,000 dollars, which is extremely expensive and we didn't know at the beginning, but now we know. And also, in terms of

commitment and work for our staff, it was overwhelming...[w]e had some burnout among our staff. So, when we [announced] the process for 2011 to 2016...we ha[d] consultations which were done electronically...[a]nd the major turning point of that decision process was a seminar we had in Montreal in February 2010...[w]e brought together the results of the consultation that we had via email, basically with a selective number of partners in the South. We brought together the discussion and conversation [to the] different committees of [Organization A] in Canada...about the vision for [Organization A] in the next five years. (Informant B, February 28th 2011 Interview)

The tensions between competing accountabilities can clearly be seen here. While Organization A champions the democratic nature of their decision-making, conflicts emerged between their commitment to inclusivity for voices in the South and organizational capacity. Though the process has been scaled back considerably, Organization A continued to gather opinions and voices in an electronic format. It is unclear whether this affected the effectiveness of the decision-making process.

In short, at the organizational level, Organization A makes it clear that supporting Partners' work in the Global South constitutes their primary goal. It is through this collaboration that emergency aid and international development programmes and interventions are executed. Specifically, Organization A provides financial support and channels this support to Partners in the South, who then carries out the work on the ground. Organization A was also found to heavily incorporate the voices of their Partners during the decision-making process of constructing a five-year plan. These two themes illustrate a deep commitment made by Organization A to support the efforts by their Partners in the Global South.

Linking Partners in the Global South to members in the Global North:

Within the organization, Organization A also has a long-established initiative whereby opportunities are offered periodically to members in the North to travel to a country where Organization A actively works in to connect, communicate and learn from their Partners in the Global South. These trips occur every three to four years with the goals of providing a deep experiential education for members in the North, and accentuating that connection between members from the North and Partners in the South. Amongst the interview participants, two had previously been part of this initiative, and one cited a colleague that had recently returned from a trip. One member described their experiences on their trip:

[W]e met with a partner that is trying to prevent people from losing their homes. Again, the government is very corrupt in Cambodia and it's allowing...it will allow big, very rich families, for example, to kick people off of their land...[s]o, there's an organization that is trying to help people maintain their homes even if they're legitimately their plots of land...[t]hen there's another fascinating group of University students who...they have a number of facets of their mission, in terms of their organization, but they were educating themselves to be more conscientize in terms of the reality of Cambodia and then, not only conscientization of the reality of Cambodia and developing kind of a critique of their society, but also...asking them make a commitment for their country. And so, they would go outside of their University realm and meet with local, small villages, and support smaller villages within their capacity of their training and their analysis. (Informant A, February 14th 2011 Interview)

For Organization A staff members and volunteers, this initiative constitutes their “first, real experience or exposure to development questions and development programs...like, how [Organization A] does development work,” (Informant A, February 14th 2011 Interview) and provides that link between the goals, values and mission of Organization A with that of how it is

carried out in reality. Subsequently, members are expected to return and present to fellow members within the parishes their encounters, experiences and reflections from the trip.

Organization A also annually hosts representatives from their Partners in the Global South for them to embark on touring and speaking across Canada. According to one volunteer, this often occurs during Organization A's national funding campaign. This volunteer described their experience of the process of the most recent solidarity visit:

So, nationally, you see visitors from...probably all parts of the world where we have partners. So, this year, we've been assigned a fellow [from the Philippines]. So, he would be someone who's working at the National level...who ha[s] a fairly developed social action and advocacy programs in the area of environmental concerns...again, the mining companies – Canadian and otherwise. It's a huge concern in terms of environmental degradation, but it goes beyond that. Projects around...displaced people, urban slums...that kind of things...[s]o, this man...who I haven't met yet, not only has this kind of really up-to-date experience of environmental activism and political activism in his own country...(Informant C, March 11th 2011 Interview)

During the visit, this Partner from the Philippines spoke both in both public and private settings with churches, high school groups, Organization A members and the public across cities in Saskatchewan.

Organization B:

Similar to Organization A, Organization B places their accountability to partnering producers in the South, or 'Artisans' at the center of their work. In their foundational document, Organization B clearly states that their primary principle is to create opportunities for producers who are economically disadvantaged through the use of fair trade. The importance placed on this relationship with Artisans can be best articulated by one staff member who explained,

“[B]ecause, really, the only reason that we’re in business is to ensure that the Artisan with whom we’re working with are receiving and earning a decent earning wage. We wouldn’t be in business if we weren’t doing that” (Informant I, June 6th, 2011 Interview). Thus, the principle of fair trade works towards ensuring that fair wages, and safe and healthy working conditions for producers can not only lead to poverty alleviation and improvement in their quality of life, but also sustainable development, producer independence and for producers to give back to their community as well (Organization B foundational documents).

In response to those goals, Organization B has implemented the following elements of ensuring their accountability to Artisans. First, it is emphasized that Artisans are involved within the decision-making process involved in product creation with Organization B, ensuring transparency during that process:

[The Artisans] tell us how much money they need to make. So, if it turns out that they need to make twenty dollars per bowl in order to make them, then we look at what it would have to sell it for to recoup all the other expenses, and to run all the stores and all of that...if it’s not doable, [we look at] what can we do. Can we make smaller bowls? Do you want to make flowerpots instead of bowls or what that would look like for them? (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview).

As the above passage indicates, Organization B’s working relationship with Artisans begins with the Artisans’ inherent skills and craft at the root. Of course, this process of product creation must necessarily involve a negotiation between the Artisans’ craft and the North American consumer landscape, which Organization B attempts to accomplish:

[One Artisan group] make[s] [a form of pottery], which is done in a wax resist and smoked. And they had made a lot of...I mean, this is an old, old, old technique as well that is now being used to produce beautiful pieces with modern shapes. The colors are still the same because they

have to be the kind of...white or yellow primarily with the blackish brown from the smoking. But the shapes are much more...I guess I could say creative...much more attuned a North American idea of what people might want in their homes. So, I guess the items themselves are becoming less and less ethnic, but the processes are ancient. (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview).

Thus, the creation of Organization B's products involves a creative and complicated designing process that takes into account both the perspectives and needs of the Artisans' craft and the realities of operating within a retail atmosphere.

Second, Organization A ensures that fixed wages for Artisans and the salability of products does not affect Artisans. More specifically, staff members articulated that wages are prorated to factors, such as, "[H]ow much does it cost you to make this basket? How much are the supplies? How much time is involved? How much time do you think your time is worth to make it? And how much do you need to help supplement your income or to be your only income?" (Informant H, March 8th, 2011 Interview). Artisans are then paid half up front when Organization A places an order for their products and subsequently in full when their product is shipped; "I think the phraseology [we] use is, '[The Artisans] are paid in full when it's on the docks,' right? That's our release point. It's not when we sell it, we send the money back." (Informant F, February 8th, Interview).

When asked what happens when sales from certain Artisan products do not go as well as Organization B had initially expected, one staff member quickly replies, "[t]hen we take the hit. Actually we have some...some of our sale signage that says, 'This sale is for you. It does not affect the Artisan at all' (Informant F, February 8th 2011 Interview). Another staff member adds,

“I always say that if the ship sinks on the way over, [the Artisans] have been paid” (Informant J, April 6th, 2011 Interview).

Part of the fair trade process is the importance on establishing secure long-term relationships between Organization B and partnering Artisans. This involves a much more complicated process than just maintaining consistent business transactions. Rather, a volunteer from Organization B explains:

One of [Organization B’s] purposes, of course, is to impact the lives of people living in extreme poverty in a positive way...so their goal is not just to go in and get a deal...with a local potter in Peru or someone working in Bangladesh with seashells, but to say...how can we maintain a relationship with this person that will help them improve their life by our relationship with this person? So, one of their goals is to find people in locations that they can build these long-term, sustainable relationships with and in order to keep it sustainable, they spend time training, helping the Artisan, providing them with the material...sometimes, better tools. Sometimes encouraging slight training in their skills to get them so that they can make something that’s perhaps more marketable and to keep the sustainability. (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview)

One anecdotal passage reflects the nuances of the importance on that ‘relationship’ between Organization B and partnering Artisans:

90% of the time, we have to pay [Artisans] in American dollars...[s]ometimes Artisans are not in a situation where cashing a cheque is a viable option because the bank might be far away and they have to travel, get somebody to watch their kids, find a place to stay then go to the bank and then have the bank say, “We can’t cash this today. Come back tomorrow.” And [they] say, “I

can't come back tomorrow." [The bank replies], "Well, if you give us 10% of the money, we could cash it in today." (Informant F, February 8th, 2011).

In other words, to make the relationship sustainable, one must take into consideration the context by which Artisans exist within, which is often extremely different from North America.

What becomes important for Organization B is the involvement of Artisans within the product creation process and ensuring their fair trade model takes into consideration the context rooted in the Artisans' environment and the nuances within that context.

Linking Artisans in the Global South to members in the Global North:

As with Organization A, Organization B also offers opportunities for staff members and volunteers to travel to the Global South to meet and connect with Artisans. These trips involve a group of twelve to fourteen staff members and volunteers from Canada and the United States travelling to a country in the South for three weeks. Similar to Organization A, the goals of these trips are for staff members and volunteers of Organization B to experience the environment and day-to-day realities of Artisans working in the South, interact with Artisans and their families, and learn about the process and effect of fair trade in the South. Of the five interviews conducted, two Organization B managers had stated they previously participated in these trips. When asked about their experiences, one store manager described:

One of the pieces that I really like...we have a tall vase and all around the vase, in Sanskrit, is writing. And it's the story of the man who designed the vase and his daughters, and they decided to write their story in Sanskrit around the vase. And we went to that pottery studio, and actually met the man who designed the first vase. And I have a couple in the store right now, so...they're not a product that's still produced but there were a few left and I fell in love with them, and I thought, "Okay, there's no way that somebody is writing on five-hundred vases the same story

over and over again. It's got to be stamped and rolled". And no, we were there...watching them with a pen...like, just a regular ballpoint pen, writing in the wet clay. (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview).

Staff members further cited learning both the ideals and the realities of their producers in the South. On the one hand, they were able to see the potential breakthroughs that could be attributed to working under fair trade conditions established by their organization:

[T]he people who work there are from all different religious groups. Once again, they were clean. They were working side-by-side and they were...they were happy. They were laughing and talking. They knew...I think, where their next meal was going to come from. They knew their children were in school. You got the sense that they were...a part of society, whereas beforehand, they weren't. (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview)

On the other hand, they also witnessed the challenges for improving the quality of life for their producers. This was especially the case for women Artisans whom constituted a significant proportion of Artisans in the South. Specifically, in regards to the quality of life for women Artisans in Uganda:

It's a very different society, especially in Uganda, the women don't have the same rights as women do in North America and it's a slow process...[o]nce a woman starts having this income, it's a very slow process to when she has control over it. Whereas Western women would say, "Well, it's my money. I earned it. Yes, I will share it with you, but it's my money. I should control it". There, the money went to the husband and it took a long time for men to realize that it wasn't necessarily a threat to them. It was for the betterment of their family...the one...[producer group] we met with...said that it has to be done very slowly because if it's too much, the women could suffer, either by being rejected by their husbands or beaten...giving

women the power has to go slowly because otherwise it's too much of a shock to their society or their own community. (Informant H, March 8th 2011 Interview)

This passage sheds light on the difficulties with international development. It must be viewed from a different lens, away from North American expectations.

Staff members also stated that being able to travel to the South served as an opportunity to remind them of their own role within the organization. As one manager illustrated, "it's the point A meeting point Z, right? Sort of the first people and the last people in the whole chain..." (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview). In other words, these trips serve to illuminate that link between efforts in the North and the South, and provide a constant reminder that the work done by members in the North has implications for those living in the South. In turn, one manager expressed the importance of serving as that link and passing on what they learned to others, "We tell the stories. Four years ago, I went to Africa. I can pick up a piece of stone from Africa and I can explain the group that made it. I can explain visiting the quarry where they dug the rock...things like that. So we can tell the story of the people who made it...there's added meaning to the items that we sell..." (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview)

The responsibilities for those returning from a learning tour are similar to that of those returning from trips in Organization A in that participants disseminate their experiences abroad to staff members and volunteers. When asked how effective this dissemination process was, one volunteer explained:

[it's] a very cost effective way of spreading information...[n]ow, by the time [the staff members and volunteers] get it and it's watered down and it's gone to you, you can still light a fire in some people, but it's not as real for you. So the dissipation does happen, but it's still a very viable way to make the people that are in charge and making decisions on a local level have

a very strong sense of, “What I’m doing is powerfully important and I must do it well.”

(Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview)

Organization B was also found to host visiting Artisans. In contrast to Organization A, it appears Organization B’s method of inviting Artisans is a mixture of formal and informal visits. In 2007, a media release piece cited two visiting Artisans from Nepal as part of a three-week ‘Fair Trade Producer Tour’ to speak about the importance of fair trade and to demonstrate their skill of rug making (Organization B Media Release, 2007). As well in 2009/2010, Organization B hosted Artisans from India and Burkina Faso. Informally...one store manager hosted a product designer interested in researching local design and popular patterns in Canada.

In short, both organizations were found to place their accountability to their respective Partners working in the South at the center of their work. In terms of their accountability to their respective Partners, both organizations were seen to make long-term commitments in supporting the efforts by their Partners in the Global South. Furthermore, both organizations demonstrated that attempts are made to incorporate the voices of Partners within the highest level of their organization’s decision-making and planning. Even more importantly, both organizations interpret their impacts on clients as forming the basis for accountability.

5.2.3.2 Donors in the North as Clients

Not surprisingly, in the web of complex relationships, constituents can be considered in multiple categories of accountability. This is evident in the case of donors where they can also be seen as clients by Organizations A and B. Through both organizations’ educational and advocacy programs implemented in the Global North, donors and members of the public are seen as agents of social change, which works to further their mission of international development.

Organization A:

Providing education and advocating for change in regards to developmental issues constitute the second central tenet of Organization A's work. The target of their education and advocacy work is the Canadian public, consisting of members and donors of Organization A, and the general public at large. This, I suggest, transforms the Northern public into a distinct set of 'clients' or recipients of Organization A's services.

For Organization A, most staff members and volunteers in the North primarily work in education and advocacy. Within the organization, there has been a growing sentiment amongst staff members and volunteers that the education and advocacy work is an equally important part of Organization A's mission. In particular, one staff member suggests that the education and advocacy work of Organization A works to provide a voice for the often voiceless:

But, the other side of things, we realize from the partners...the other important part is, getting the story out. So, the fact is...you know, they're living in situations where communication is limited, right? And their sense of being able to have their voice heard is limited, so when they can connect to an organization that brings their voice and their story to the International community, it's a real asset. So, I would say that's as important as the monetary support...is that sense of allowing the stories of people who are suffering, for whatever reason, to be brought to a wider international community. (Informant C, March 11th, 2011 Interview)

In addition to providing a voice for those in the South, the education and advocacy work of Organization A aims to initiate social change from the North. As emphasized by one staff member:

...because when you look at what is development? What is development in the Global South? What is the development of the planet? If we would have managed to...[pass a law] that would have prevented a lot of environmental degradation in the Global South [and] would have

prevented a lot of human rights abuses. So, is that not just as much development work as if our Partners in...let's say, Cambodia, manage to pass a law in their country that would have held Canadian mining companies accountable? (Informant A, February 14th 2011 Interview)

In other words, Organization A brings these stories to Canadians with the goal of educating them on the effect that actions and choices from Northern nations can have for those living in the Global South with the goal of bringing about action for social change.

What Organization A then aims is to create as many opportunities for awareness, education, advocacy and action as possible. As an example, in 2009, Organization A reported an event on Parliament Hill where Organization A, “delivered 38 boxes filled with postcards addressed to Prime Minister Harper and signed by more than 140,000 people, coast-to-coast across Canada, who are calling on the Canadian Government to implement legal mechanisms to hold Canadian mining companies accountable for their actions abroad” (Organization A Media Release, 2009). Opportunities for awareness, education, advocacy and action often coincides with a predetermined theme affiliated with Organization A's annual Action Campaign.

Organization B:

Of equal importance for Organization B is to, “encourage North American consumers to learn about Fair Trade and to appreciate Artisans' cultural heritages and life circumstances with joy and respect” (Organization B's Annual Report, 2009-2010). The challenge, for Organization B staff members and volunteers, remains, “educating the public on why they should buy fair trade and why they make a difference in their lives” (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview).

First and foremost, what becomes important is for Organization B staff members and volunteers to create and establish a relationship with the lay consumer, “as an ordinary Mr. and Mrs. Citizen walking down the street, has no idea that the store is unique or different in its

mandate than the store next to it. So, making relationships with the community in whatever way you can becomes [a] critical...part of your mandate” (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview). It is once the barrier of the customer has been overcome then the subsequent educational and awareness work can begin.

In contrast to Organization A, Organization B takes a softer educational approach to informing consumers. One staff member explains the softer educational approach:

[M]y good message is that fair trade is not about solidarity. It’s not about charity. It’s about trade justice. But, often [more] conservative people...if they hear it in those terms, it raises all the red flags and they run screaming. But, if you talk about how Artisans are making a decent living wage, that it allows them to keep a decent roof over their heads, can feed their families three good meals a day, afford medical care and education for their children’s future; it’s basically what we all, as human beings, want to have...[s]o, that’s always been kind of my agenda to really present the whole concept of fair trade in a way...well, I try to tailor it to...put it in a way that’s not going to scare them off. It’s going to draw them in. it’s going to continue the education and it’s going to hook them in as people who want to continue supporting fair trade. (Informant I, June 9th 2011 Interview)

There is an art to the soft education. The use of soft education is to eliminate stigma and hesitation, which leads towards the educational piece that occurs within an Organization B store, “[A]fter you’ve offered them coffee or tea, [I ask], ‘Are you familiar with the store?’ on purpose...I’ve heard people say, ‘Well, what is fair trade?’ [Or], they’ll say, ‘free trade’ and I’ll say, ‘That is not the same thing. Fair trade is much different’. So, you give them a mini-lesson...(Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview).

As this softer educational process passes beyond the icebreaker to discussing the importance of fair trade and the essence of Organization B's work, a dominant theme that emerged is the subsequent importance of 'storytelling'. Here, staff member explicitly stated that the importance of providing education to their customers is critical, "[A]s I've told my volunteers, once you've talked to someone very specifically about a product that they held in their hand, and they hear the story...there's a connection" (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview). This staff member continues to explicate that power of storytelling:

[I]n India, I saw the beginnings. I saw the people on the piles of garbage picking paper...that lady was sitting with the scale and had to sort the paper between phonebooks and magazines and newspapers, for instance. And then there's the description of these people then will cut these paper into thin strips and wrap those strips around the spokes of broken umbrellas. Then the pull them off and flatten those strips, so they have about a quarter-inch wide flattened kind of long piece of paper which they then start to coil and build their bowl or whatever they're making. And so, when you take someone through...they're holding the bowl and you take them through and helping them imagine these people sitting there and going through the process, it's that much harder for them to not buy it. (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview)

However, staff members and volunteers are cognizant that the end goal is not merely the sale of the product, but rather, "We're in the business...to support the people that make the products, and we want to make sure the customers know their stories" (Organization B Media Release, 2009). In addition, Organization B emphasizes that their educational message aims to strike that balance between supporting the Artisans and the decision by the consumer to support them, "I often say on the sale, and many of the volunteers and managers will say on the same, 'Well, thank you. By the gift you've purchased today, you've helped someone in a developing country.

Plus, someone is going to be pretty happy with the bowl that you just bought them”” (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview).

For Organization B members, their hope is that the education and awareness provided by Organization B stores can then generate and foster a culture whereby Fair Trade becomes increasingly a part of the everyday culture in the North. As one staff member underscores, “And the one thing about fair trade that I try to correct in people is that you don’t just have to buy stuff at [Organization B] for it to be fair trade. If it’s made in Canada, it’s fair trade. If it’s made in the U.S., it’s fair trade. If it’s made in the U.K., it’s fair trade” (Informant F, February 8th 2011 Interview). Thus, through providing education and awareness on how producers in the South are systemically disadvantaged within the dominant free trade system and that fair trade presents an option to counteract that systemic impoverishment, Organization B aims to change the culture of consumerism in North America where the public increasingly take into consideration ethical decisions in their daily lives.

In summary, implementing education and awareness strategies constitute a core aspect of both organizations’ work. For both organizations, the primary targets for their education are their donors and the public in the Global North. In turn, both organizations view their education and awareness strategies aim to establish two goals. Firstly, it transmits the stories and experiences of their Partners in the Global South to audiences in the Global North. Secondly, a change in consciousness, behaviours and attitudes of those in the North can lead to changes in culture, policy and ultimately, social change. By enacting social change in the North, both organizations argue that changes in the North can also lead to the goal of international development. In turn, both organizations account for their success in relation to their ability to change behaviours in the Global North.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction to the two participating organizations and a general description to their goals and activities. Moreover, this chapter presented key findings as it relates to issues of accountability as it related to donors, themselves and clients within Organization A and B's work. In turn, the findings of this thesis illuminate the complex and multidimensional relationships as it pertain to both organization and their stakeholders, with each relationship elucidating a different type of accountability.

In terms of donors, it was found that different donors exerted different priorities. This was seen in the context of Organization A where CIDA implemented a specific type of process in order to receive funding in contrast to individual donors who utilized a separate set of criteria – namely, the closeness of Organization A's priorities to their religious beliefs – in order to gain their support. However, it was further found that both organizations were not passive recipients to the priorities of their donors. Rather, both Organization A and B implemented strategies of resiliency to stay true to their mission at hand. This involved incorporating the voices of their Partners in the Global South in the proposal for funding, as well as in the designing of programmes and interventions.

Additionally, it was found that both organizations perceived their donors also as clients. Specifically, both organizations expressed that international development can also be carried out amongst Northern communities where education, awareness and advocacy can evoke social change in the North, which can then also lead to improving of quality of life for those living in the Global South. Thus, it can be seen that both organizations' relationships with donors is far from a linear one.

It was revealed within the findings that both organizations saw their Partners in the Global South as the primary focus of their accountability. Both Organization A and B were seen to gain access to Partners in the South through the use of large, established transnational networks consisting of many Northern and Southern NGOs, where these networks provided linkages between many organizations spanning across the Global North and South. However, the details of these relationships as they work on the ground remain nebulous. Moreover, having organizations coordinate in large networks also raises questions of inclusivity and exclusivity. In other words, are INGOs that operate outside of these transnational networks also excluded from opportunities to share information? Unfortunately, these are questions for further research.

Surprisingly, what was missing within the data was the relationship between both organizations, and the recipients of the programs and interventions in the Global South. One explanation that was derived from the data is that it is the respective Partners of both organizations that ultimately carry out programs and interventions on the ground. As one volunteer articulated, “one of the big distinctions I make between [Organization A] and some other organizations that are development or aid-focused is...in terms of the organization’s activities and raising money, and giving that to partners, but giving it to them to do what they’re going to do with it...not having directive initiatives. (Informant E, July 21st, 2011 Interview). However, the question of why so little information on the process of how Partners use Organization A’s funding remains. A majority of staff members and volunteers from both organizations repeatedly articulated that they didn’t have extensive knowledge on what occurs on the ground from their Partners’ efforts. Thus, without the perspective of the Partners in the Global South, this relationship remains the most unclear. The next chapter will examine the key findings in relation to effectiveness.

CHAPTER 6 RE: EFFECTIVENESS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the focus will be confined to examining issues of effectiveness for Organizations A and B as it relates to the four dimensions highlighted within the literature: impact (intended and unintended), sustainability, empowerment and replicability/scaling up. Accordingly, it was found that both organizations reported their outputs, outcomes and impact in a descriptive and summative fashion, which leads to questions surrounding their methodology, the reliability and validity of their data, as well as the rigor of their assessment. In addition, both organizations similarly expressed that there exists a continuing challenge of conducting impact assessment within their own work and a culture of assessment remains lacking amongst staff members and volunteers in the North. In terms of sustainability, both organizations have maintained a long history of activity and thus, their own sustainability was not a dominant theme. Rather, it was found that both organizations held the belief that having the ability to support their Partners in the Global South constituted their primary goal of sustainability. In terms of empowerment, strategies towards empowering communities were found to be embedded within the inherent design of programmes and interventions in the Global South. Finally, the issue of replicability and scaling up was a minimal theme for both organizations. The next sections will explore these themes in greater detail.

6.2 Re: Intended & Unintended Impact

To gauge effectiveness, the most commonly used indicator is the concept of impact. In response, the assessment of impact has been cited as being increasingly needed in order to demonstrate effectiveness for INGOs (Edwards & Hulme, 1996; Fowler, 1997; Riddell et al.,

1997). As previously mentioned, impact assessment consists of a systematic analysis of significant changes to the quality of life of beneficiaries, both positive and negative, and intended and unintended, experienced as a result of INGO work (Gosling & Richards, 2003).

In turn, Fowler (1997) proposes that impact can be divided into three dimensions. Firstly, Fowler uses the notion of ‘outputs’ where INGO document the indicators of their work they implemented on the ground. Secondly, ‘outcomes’ report the effects of those outputs, or documenting the benefits of INGO work. Finally, ‘impact’ measures the change or the difference before and after the INGO intervention. Adopting Fowler’s approach, I analyzed the reporting of the two participating organizations in an attempt to uncover how the two organizations approach measuring and documenting impact of their work. Furthermore, I also asked staff members and volunteers of the two organizations their experiences, opinions and understandings of the term ‘impact assessment’. This will also be explored within this section.

6.2.1 Intended & Unintended Impact of Organization A

The work of Organization A is categorized into three main spheres of activity: emergency relief, international development, and education and advocacy campaigns in the North. In terms of reporting intended outputs, it was found Organization A’s public documents displayed a common structure of reporting, following an format of documenting the Partner they work with, the amount of financial support Organization A is sending in support, the intended projects to be carried out on the ground, and a numerical estimate and description as to who will benefit from this action. As an example, in 2010, Organization A launched a cholera-prevention program in Haiti when cholera was spreading rapidly for those living in camps after the Earthquake. In response, Organization A provided \$123,000 to their Partner in Haiti to implement this prevention program, where:

Volunteers supervised by [Organization A's Partner]'s medical team will distribute 3,000 hygiene kits (towels, buckets, soap, diapers, etc.). They will also hand out information leaflets and organize awareness-raising sessions. Water-purification tablets will be distributed in various camps, including those of Tabarre, Canapé Vert and Carrefour-Feuille. The program will last three months. (Organization A Media Release, 2010)

This type of reporting is representative of much of what has been published by Organization A. In essence, the definition, description and justification of their outputs are very clear within the vast majority of media pieces published by the organization. Conversely, no information was found on unintended outputs within the data.

Similar to the reporting of intended outputs, the reporting of intended outcomes was also documented in Organization A's public documents. Two examples illustrate this. First, when describing a project led by a Partner in Madagascar:

[T]he...project, which focused on increasing rice production in the Vatovavy Fitovinany region, has changed the lives of 1,000 rice-farming families. By being shown how to use carefully selected seeds and organic fertilizers, these families saw their production rise by 50 percent in 2009. As a result, they are no longer living in constant fear of hunger. (Organization A Foundational Document, 2011)

Second, in regards to the emergency humanitarian relief mission in Pakistan where a devastating cyclone affected 1.1 million households in 2007 (Organization A Media Release, 2007). In response, Organization A provided \$100,000 financially to assist their Partner to distribute transitional shelter kits, health and hygiene kits, and create cash for work opportunities on the ground. To illustrate the usage and strategy behind one of the three strategies, Organization A documented that the Water/Sanitation (WatSan) kits:

After heavy floods, waterborne illnesses such as cholera, typhoid, malaria and diarrhea are the greatest threat to survival. [Our Partner] will work with 2,500 households on health and hygiene. Targeting women, as the preparers of food and primary collectors of water for their families. The focus is on water quality and appropriate hygiene and sanitation solutions. The WatSan kit includes tools and materials for making latrines, and sand filters or other water treatment equipment and integrates key public health messages focusing on personal cleanliness and skin disease prevention, water purification and water-related illnesses and other appropriate sanitation practices. (Organization A Media Release, 2007)

Most of Organization A's description of intended outcomes within their reporting mirrors the first example as opposed to the more elaborate description of their process found in the second. While all descriptions of their intended outcomes were stated without ambiguity, descriptions of the process by which intended outcomes would be derived were brief. Further, no reporting of unintended outcomes was found within the data.

Finally, in regards to documenting impact, Organization A also provided documentations of intended impact in their organizational documents. Though most of the media releases were more likely to report outputs and outcomes rather than impact, this could be explained by the fact that most of the emergency relief and international development programs continued to be classified as being 'in progress' as opposed to being at the point where they can be reflected upon.

A majority of the reporting of intended impact was found within Organization A's foundational documents. One example documented the San Buenaventura village in Nicaragua where a collaborative effort between the community and one of Organization A's Partners

worked towards addressing the need for secure drinking water near the village in contrast to having people walk many kilometers on foot to fetch water. In response:

The [collaborative team] quickly tracked a mountain spring close to the village and organized to dig a canal to channel the spring directly to the community and to build a water reservoir. The entire community contributed to the operation, from raising funds to the actual digging, as well as the upkeep of the new facility. A 13-kilometre trench was hollowed out by hundreds of men, women, and teenagers, who also built a huge 6,000-gallon reservoir, and now villagers can enjoy easy access to clean water. (Organization A Foundational Document, 2011)

Another example comes from Timor-Leste, where the implementation of community radio in 2002 was cited as playing a major role in their effort to gain independence from Indonesia (Organization A Foundational Document, 2011). This public radio station was collaboratively created and launched in 1994, and:

With continued financial support from [Organization A], the station can broadcast various news and civic education programs led by diverse members of the Timorese community. Youth, women, men, and rural and urban communities are all working together to promote understanding and to build a strong culture of democracy and peace in the country. (Organization A Foundational Document, 2011)

As the two examples illustrated, Organization A's reporting of impact was documented in mostly a short, descriptive and anecdotal manner rather than a thorough analysis with considerably less focus placed on describing the process of change in leading to the intended impact. This type of reporting remains consistent with how outputs and outcomes were documented. Again, information on unintended impact was not found on the reporting on the Organization A's activities in the Global South.

Understandably, most of this information would be more suitably placed in lengthier reports as opposed to media releases, which is intended for smaller and quicker packets of information. However, lengthier reports were rarely found on Organization A's website; and when PDFs were included within the media releases that may have provided more information, the links to those PDF documents were inaccessible.

Activities in the North:

The reporting of outputs, outcomes and impact of the activities in the North have been delineated in this section because during the course of the data collection process, it was found that most Organization A staff members and volunteers worked primarily on activities in the North. Therefore, this section aims to explore whether differences in their reporting of outputs, outcomes and impact would be found.

When asked to reflect on the impact of activities and/or campaigns in the North, most staff members and volunteers cited a recent Action Campaign focused on advocating for accountability measures for Canadian Mining companies, which was considered to be one of the most memorable and successful campaigns in recent history. In regards to the campaign's intended output, one volunteer articulated:

I'll give you a quick and gross response to the indicators...[s]o, in a [annual Action] [C]ampaign, we...very often, we will have cards for people to sign...like, petition cards. I mean, there you have...you just add up all the numbers of all the petitions and all the cards that people have signed...[s]o, there's a number right there, or one indicator of the success of a campaign, right? (Informant A, February 14th 2011 Interview)

The number of petition cards was also cited by another volunteer as a successful intended output of the campaign, “I was really impressed when we got 250,000 signatures...” (Informant E, July 21st 2011 Interview). On a national scale, Organization A also documented the 250,000 petition cards being delivered to the Prime Minister’s office for this campaign (Organization A Media Release, 2009).

Within this campaign, the intended outcome for Organization A was for the Canadian government to implement Bill C-300 or the Corporate Accountability of Mining, Oil and Gas Corporations in Developing Countries Act¹. In response to its intended outcome, one volunteer replied, “That didn’t happen, and then there was a bill before parliament last year that narrowly was defeated” (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview). However, that volunteer also cited an unintended outcome as well, “But, we did have a lot of people move on it and we kind of networked with other organizations which was wonderful because sometimes our education tends to be done in a bit of a silo...” (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview). The welcoming of increased collaboration was also cited by a staff member, “When we were doing the mining campaign, [another NGO working on mining issues] was very interested...we took a lot of information from them and shared a lot of information” (Informant A, February 14th 2011 Interview).

¹Bill C-300 can be summarized as:

The purpose of this enactment is to promote environmental best practices and to ensure the protection and promotion of international human rights standards in respect of the mining, oil or gas activities of Canadian corporations in developing countries. It also gives the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of International Trade the responsibility to issue guidelines that articulate corporate accountability standards for mining, oil or gas activities and it requires the Ministers to submit an annual report to both Houses of Parliament on the provisions and operation of this Act. (Parliament of Canada, 2011)

However, the notion of impact was not addressed during the discussions on the mining campaign. In contrast, the notion of impact and more specifically, the assessment of impact, was cited by staff members and volunteers as a recurring challenge in Organization A.

The Challenge of Assessment:

The continuing challenge of systematic assessment arose as a pertinent theme within the individual interviews for Organization A. In regards to monitoring and assessing projects in the Global South, one staff member explained that an existing assessment process is already been established between Organization A and their Partners:

So, let's say...in Colombia...over the next five years, we help thirty-thousand families of Native people to settle down in their own land, in non-conflict areas of the country. And we implement that project together with [a Partner in the South], every three months and every year (in a more formal way), those organizations report back to us what they have been doing and we can monitor whether or not the target...is being achieved or not. (Informant B, February 28th 2011 Interview)

From this passage, it can be seen that the progress of work on the ground and information towards assessment is collected and communicated back and forth between those working within Organization A and their Partners on the ground. This staff member further explicated that:

[W]e have hundreds of pages of results in different countries in terms of empowering the organization, in terms of bringing about significant change in the life...particularly of women and children in many countries, in terms of peacebuilding and reconciliation in Afghanistan, in Iraq, in Colombia, in the Congo...many, many achievements. No, there is no doubt...depending on how much you want to spend on this and how much deeper you want to go. (Informant B, February 28th 2011 Interview)

This statement reinforces the view that bountiful information on assessment does exist within the organization.

However, when asked whether type of assessment information readily travels to staff members and volunteers in the North, this was not found to be the case. Two passages illustrate this. First, one staff member responded that:

Well, that's not [my] responsibility. That is definitely [part of national office]...[t]hat's their job. So, there is a staff and the program officers are the staff people that are actually maintaining those relationships, and the human liaison between [Organization A] and the partnerships. (Informant A, February 14th 2011 Interview).

When asked if it was common to receive updates from the Partners in the Global South or whether it would be up to the national office to disseminate updates on the ground, one volunteer replies:

[I]t's really focused through the two campaigns. It's really during those times that you would be getting those updates. Otherwise, you really do need to look for it on the web because they're all on there...it's all on the website, what our partners are up to, but you kind of have to go digging for it. It comes to us from national office during the two-campaign season. (Informant C, March 11th 2011 Interview)

These two passages suggest that the process by which Organization A's assessment data and information is primarily communicated between the Partners in the Global South and the national office of Organization A. It is then up to the national office to disseminate that data to other members of the organization and this usually occurs during the rollout of Organization A's annual campaigns. Other than the periods contained within the two campaigns, there appears to be a general lack of awareness on the happenings on the ground amongst staff members and

volunteers in the North, besides those actively engaged within the national office. The challenge may exist in the lack of mechanisms to disseminate knowledge throughout the organization and thus, are consolidated within a segment of the organization.

Even in regards to activities carried out in the North, this challenge of assessment continues to persist. One volunteer described their experience with gathering data after a campaign and the difficulties during the process:

After each campaign, fall and spring, I receive a survey from national office asking me to report back on the experience of the [Action] campaign or the [Fundraising] campaign, which is then sent back and compiled. That's one avenue. The difficulty with that, to be honest, is that sometimes I don't have all the information from all of my...folks to get a really detailed report to be able to send back to them, right? I'm not asking for my...folks to report to me the same way that they're asking me to report to them, so I'm really basing on anecdotal evidence rather than getting a fairly detailed...so, what they get from me is...kind of a general sense. (Informant C, March 11th 2011 Interview)

The lack of systematic data collection implemented at local and provincial level makes assessment difficult. This issue is further compacted by the fact that the responsibility of assessment is placed on the hands of a few rather than a collective effort throughout the campaign.

This issue of assessment further persists in regards to the organization's reporting to CIDA. Part of the challenge has been attributed to the changing expectations of what is required for their reports, "[It] used to be...in my mind, there wasn't as much of an agenda on CIDA's part and as long as we were accountable...I don't think that it ever was loose, but certainly what I'm hearing at the staff level at [Organization A] is that a lot more of their energies has to go into

reporting...” (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview). Although this volunteer supports the need for assessment and documenting impact, what becomes problematic is the emergence of a reporting model called, “results-based management”, which places much of its emphasis on quantifiable outcomes. One staff member describes this model as:

In 2005, CIDA, together with a number of other organizations, decided to implement... a model to international development which is much more technical and which requires much more work...let's put it that way...it's not better or worse than some other approaches, but is probably much more complicated than some other approaches. And it requires, therefore, much more...not just paperwork, but much more accompaniment. We can't just receive a good project, working with our partners, finalize that project then send them the money, visit them once a year, make sure that everything goes and then wait. We have to be...in one way or another, we have to be present...to those projects almost on a daily basis so that we can take a responsibility to what's happening...[w]e can't leave out the results. (Informant B, February 28th 2011 Interview)

The flaw with this model, according to an Organization A volunteer, is that:

[I]t is like an audit, right? But, in human development, you can't always do that, especially when we're not working in infrastructure. We're not building so many schools. We're not building roads. So, it's hard to say because of the work we've done with this women's cooperative, this many women now can read or are now able to stand up for themselves and then educate their children or deal with spouses who are...you know, there are all sorts of...you can't measure that and that's we're really struggling because then again, more of your energy goes into how you're going to measure your results rather than actually how you're going to get results which you may not necessarily know at the beginning. (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview)

In other words, I suggest that this volunteer is posing a critique against the model's inherent tendencies to omit the importance of process, and the reactive and unpredictable elements that emerge in international development work. And it is this type of unpredictable process that can lead to uncovering the impact of their work. As this volunteer describes, "the things where you may have started off here and gone this direction, and that it ends up going this way which, in the end, is wonderful and it means so much more, but it's not what you said you were going to do. So, therefore, have you accomplished your goals?" (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview).

Consequently, the implementation of the results-based management model of reporting impact has created an additional layer of difficulty in Organization A's impact assessment, on top of the aforementioned challenges of impact assessment. The tension between appreciating the importance and the difficulties of assessment remains a topic that will be increasingly pertinent to Organization A's work into the future.

6.2.2 Intended & Unintended Impact of Organization B

For Organization B, it was found that much of their reporting of impact was focused on the intended outputs, such as the number of Artisans that work under their Partnering umbrella organizations in the South. Moreover, Organization B also documented the number of people that support programs in the South have affected. One example epitomizes this type of reporting:

[This Partner] includes more than 820 families in 100 villages...[s]ales have enabled them to build and staff schools and to support a variety of village initiatives. There are now 1500 students in classes, over half of whom are girls. This is a marked achievement since the literacy rate for women in Pakistan is only 37% and substantially lower than that for women who live in villages. (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011)

Similar to Organization A, no information on unintended outputs was reported within Organization B's documents.

For intended outcomes, two common themes were found. First, the importance of the quality of life for individual Artisans, including the ability to send their children to school, maintain a satisfied diet and shelter was heavily emphasized throughout the reports of progress made by Organization B. This emphasis was also corroborated within the individual interviews. As one staff member described when they reflected back on the insights gleaned from their experience from their experiential trip to the South:

Most...about 70-80% of our producers are women. They could send their kids to school. That was an important thing. It was not...or sometimes, it's even just school materials that they need. It's different than in Canada where it's a public school, and everyone can and should be going. Whereas, there...you know, if you need your child to help with chores, to help with making a living...the child doesn't always go to school. That was an important thing for the mothers, is that their kids were going to school. (Informant H, March 8th 2011 Interview)

Thus, the outcome of Artisans being able to meet basic necessities through fair trade employment was repeatedly seen as the primary intended outcome.

The second critical outcome for Organization B was creating new opportunities for the growth of Artisans to further achieving independence and self-sufficiency was celebrated. Through their description of activities, it was found that organizations in the South often would channel profits from their sales back into creating training and learning programs for their Artisans with the intended outcome of continuing to develop skills for Artisans. For instance, one organization in the South aimed to specifically provide employment to graduates of a special school for mentally disabled students in Nairobi. In turn, it was reported that, “[b]esides earning a sustainable living,

[this Partner] employees gain self-confidence and social skills in a nurturing environment. In these ways, [this Partner] is working to encourage economic independence, artistic capability, and self-esteem of those living with disabilities” (Organization B Foundational Documents, 2011). This focus on growth and flourishing of the individual, and the transformative process to empowerment was another critical theme.

Finally, in regards to documenting its intended impact, both the organizational documents and interview data often alluded to individualized impact as opposed to directive impact. In turn, success stories of Artisan were frequently cited when alluding to the impact of Organization B’s work. One staff member recited a particular story:

There was a producer group that [Organization B] has been carrying for a long time and there was a woman in charge, and that was such a big deal. There [were] always funny stories about how she made men in her community...she made herself in charge of their group as well as her, and she had a daughter and her daughter got an education. And because she was working with [Organization B], she had the money for her to get a complete education and her daughter actually...through some connections with [Organization B] came to Canada and got a business degree, and then went back and is running the organization. (Informant F, February 8th 2011 Interview).

The personal development of Artisans can also lead to impacting the larger community. Organization B documents the success of one Artisan group, which “has made an immense difference in the lives of many families, but also in the larger community. With their savings, many of the women have left the project to start small independent businesses, creating a stronger, more diverse economy” (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). As

Organization B conceptualizes intended impact in more individualized manner, diverse evidence of impact was documented.

Organization B further documented some stories of unintended outcomes and by extension, impact. During an experiential learning trip abroad, one staff member observed that:

[T]here are producer groups where there are women from different religious groups that normally would not get along, but they all work together because the goal is...and they all have the same goal. They all want to improve the lives of their children and they want to feed their children...all these things. So, they have the same goal. But usually, you wouldn't have those two groups of women working together. (Informant H, March 8th 2011 Interview)

This theme of dissolving religious boundaries within their Artisans was an unintended outcome of working together in fair trade. Another staff member also saw this similar phenomenon during their learning experience and described Christians, Hindus and Muslims, “working side-by-side and they were...they were happy. They were laughing and talking. They knew...I think, where their next meal was going to come from. They knew their children were in school” (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview). As many countries Organization B work in continue to demonstrate rigid religious boundaries and tension, this unintended impact was seen as extremely positive and welcoming.

A second unintended impact story was given by another staff member who cited one Artisan group that produced hand-made paper in Bangladesh:

They actually created an area just outside of town because it requires a large area...spreading out the paper and letting it dry and all that. So, here [are] these women: they live in a town, so they have to walk down this road to go there...pretty soon...you get street vendors setting up [there] because they know that the women that are walking back and forth along there have

money. And so...sometimes you're the seed. I love that whole concept of the micro-economy: the dollar goes here then it goes here and it goes here and it goes here. It doesn't just affect one person. We're not just affecting the Artisan who made the product. We're affecting that guy who set up his food stand that got a dollar from that lady who's really hungry because she forgot her lunch... (Informant F, February 8th 2011 Interview)

This unintended impact epitomizes Organization B's conceptualization of impact as being individualized. Through improving the quality of life of Artisans, the effects stemming from this can take different shapes and forms.

Nevertheless, it was also found that Organization B's reporting of impact is also limited to its descriptive and anecdotal format. Similar to Organization A, a lack of systematic assessment remains within Organization B's documents. In response, it was also found that impact assessment was a continuing challenge for those working within Organization B as well.

The Challenge of Impact Assessment:

For Organization B, one volunteer articulated the challenge to assess their impact in the reality that the goals of Organization B are much harder to measure than some other organizations:

[Another NGO] can say, "We've build this many houses in Canada this year." And for most people love the fact that it's tangible, but it's a lot harder to say, "We've helped a woman who's left a battered situation, move into where she's now working and taking care of her family," because the measurements are not as obvious. They're must slower...much longer process. (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview)

This elicits similar sentiments from those working in Organization A in that the process of international development cannot suitably be captured in the form of quantitative outcomes as it

often neglects the importance of process and unpredictable elements in development. This may even be more of an issue for Organization B as it conceptualizes impact at an individual level. In turn, this may help some shed light on why almost no assessment data amongst Artisan groups in the South was found within the organizational documents, besides the descriptive reporting of intended outputs, outcomes and impact.

For activities in the North, impact assessment was documented in one interview. Specifically, it was found that Organization B had initiated a self-assessment on the effectiveness and usage on their store's website. A more detailed description of the assessment initiative is given by one staff member:

[W]e are trying to drive more sales through the web store and more awareness of web presence...[a]nd I believe the survey has...which all the stores are doing, is to gauge how well people are actually using our website...I know that they've been watching the trends and certainly sales through their webstore has really been increasing... (Informant I, June 9th 2011 Interview)

When this staff member was asked as to whether this assessment of their web store was often conducted or if this instance was quite unique, the staff member responded, “[W]e’ve had a website for a long, long time, [but] [t]here hasn’t been a lot of resources...or a lot of push placed [on assessment]” (Informant I, June 9th 2011 Interview).

In addition, one particular Organization B store was found to have created its own assessment initiative when staff members and volunteers noticed issues arising from products:

We created a report because we see...particularly with a busy store like this; we start to see design flaws. And one of the things that really breaks my heart in a lot of ways – you see this beautiful work that the Artisans are doing, but what is failing in the product are the inputs of

things that they're having to purchase, like: the zippers...to finish the product, right? So, I don't know exactly how that happened in the country. My sense is that they are probably limited...you know, there might be just a few...sources, options...for zippers...[a]nd unfortunately, then that's what is failing them...[s]o, we all worked on putting this report together. We identified design flaws or flaws in some of the products and recommended solution, and created that document and sent it to our personal department. (Informant I, June 9th 2011 Interview)

When asked about the outcome of this assessment initiative, this staff member replied:

[Head Office was] really blown away, but I'm not sure whether some of that advice...whether it's been implemented. And I know sort of it too, like, in the ordering cycle, the ordering has to be done so far in advance. But what has to happen... hopefully, the next time they order from that particular group, they are able to provide that feedback. Or, like we were saying...surely things can be done, like...even if we increase the price of the item by a small amount and then basically ask the group to put that extra money towards purchasing better zippers or helping them... (Informant I, June 9th 2011 Interview)

However, this type of initiative was quite unique and exemplary to that one particular store and other interviewees did not mention initiating similar types of assessment initiatives.

In comparison to Organization A, considerably less information was found to indicate that impact assessment constitutes a priority for Organization B. Specifically, no information was found which pertained to detailed assessment on activities in the Global South other than descriptions and anecdotal evidence. In the North, there appears to be some initiative to create a National assessment of the effectiveness and traffic of Organization B's web store. And one store was found to be unique in that staff members and volunteers have initiated their own assessment

projects. Overall, the practice of impact assessment did not constitute a significant theme for Organization B.

One can see in the discussion above that similarities were found between Organization A and B in how they document and publicize impact. Mostly intended outputs, outcomes and impact were reported as opposed to unintended outputs, outcomes and impact. Assessing impact has also been found to be a challenge for both organizations. In terms of conducting impact assessments, many of the staff members and volunteers from both organizations were either not familiar with the notion of impact assessment or it was not part of their priorities. Thus, systematic impact assessments were found to be rare in both organizations. The next section will discuss the second dimension of INGO effectiveness – sustainability.

6.3 Re: Sustainability

These aspects of sustainability, and how Organizations A and B perceive sustainability as it exists within their own organization explored during the analysis of organizational documents and individual interviews. What emerged was that both participating organizations were established organizations with an extensive history and standing in the field. Thus, both organizations' priorities in regards to sustainability are to work towards continually providing financial and organizational sustainability for their Partners in the South. This section will describe the findings derived the data in detail.

6.3.1 Sustainability of Organization A

Organization A has been an active organization working in international development for over forty years. Thus, it can be deduced that being sustainable has been one of the organization's strengths. Importantly, Organization A attains a degree of financial sustainability from its

extensive annual Fundraising Campaign, which consists of, a five-week fundraising and educational campaign that raises approximately \$10 million dollars annually. The annual amount raised in private donations is further matched by CIDA. CIDA has also increasingly been seen to provide extra financial support to Organization A during cataclysmic events for them to engage in certain emergency relief efforts. According to one volunteer, this is done in recognition of Organization A's longstanding reputation in international development. As such, the data suggests that Organization A's reputation and established base of support have contributed to their financial sustainability.

The primary priority for Organization A then is to ensure sustainability to their Partners working in the Global South. Organization A predominantly accomplishes this through providing consistent, long-term financial support. As one volunteer underscored, "one [Partner] in Mexico...I think we've been partners for thirty or forty years with them...since the founding of the actual organization" (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview). Other examples could be found within Organization A's documents, such as them citing the continued partnerships with local organizations in the Democratic Republic of the Congo since 1997, or their partnership with an organization actively pursuing to put an end to the violation of peasants' rights in the Philippines since 2001 (Organization A Media Release, 2008). While these probably constitute outstanding examples, all staff members and volunteers did emphasize Organization A's effort of establishing long-term partnerships was a main source of pride and success.

Nevertheless, two emerging challenges have created concerns to Organization A's financial sustainability. First, the recent changing sentiment from CIDA has raised some concern from those within the organization where political positioning has been experienced to increasingly seep through in their relationship with CIDA. Therefore, feelings of caution and uncertainty as to

how this will influence Organization A's work have been expressed by staff members and volunteers. Second, the declining numbers in the religious group members may soon pose a risk to the financial sustenance of the organization (Informant D, June 23rd 2011 Interview). In response, one volunteer wondered whether it was time for Organization A to search beyond the walls of the church for financial support.

The topic of environmental sustainability came up during two discussions with staff members of Organization A. While little concrete strategies for environmental sustainability were found within the data, this topic was discussed at depth on a macro level. In essence, these staff members spoke to the issue of environmental sustainability in relation to the future of international development. As one cites the issue at hand:

[F]or the last thirty years or so, the assumption in most work that's done in international development, was that growth would solve many of the development's problems. We could have more energy; we could have more food; we could develop more technology...more and more and more. Now, what came back to us and to all the people working in international development is that this model, based on growth, isn't going to work. The resources are limited. Our planet's clearly sharing the capacity of supporting more and more people is limited, and if we still believe that the way of solving problems in the South...is us to bet on having more, we are probably not going to solve that problem...(Informant B, February 28th 2011 Interview)

If international development, as it exists in its current model, is inherently unsustainable, then what type of model would be suitable? This staff member proposes, "[I]f we also accept the fact that the standard of living in North America and Europe could not be replicated across the planet because there is not enough resources, we have to imagine a different way...redistribution would be important...bringing down the level of consumption in the North..." (Informant B, February

28th 2011 Interview). This need for redistribution was echoed by another Organization A staff member who mentioned that, “We have to reach that balance in the whole creation of living sustainably and fruitfully as human beings, and being generous to one another” (Informant A, February 14th 2011 Interview). Again, this suggests the need for realigning the consumptive lifestyle of the North.

Perhaps this reinforces why Organization A’s mandate strongly holds that international development also encompasses working with people in the North. The educational and awareness piece of their mandate is very much a part of this position whereby altering consumptive practices and lifestyles in the North plays a large part in change and ultimately, development.

In short, Organization A has been found to demonstrate high levels of financial and organizational sustainability within their own organization. They focus on creating organizational sustainability for Partners in the Global South through establishing long-term partnerships.

6.3.2 Sustainability of Organization B

Organization B’s unique model of combining the use of retail stores for non-governmental goals constitutes the core of Organization B’s own financial and organizational sustainability. By being a business, Organization B does not need to undergo any sort of a grant or funding process where funding is determined by external parties. This was found to be a source of pride for staff members and volunteers, especially for those who have had previous experience with other NGOs. One volunteer articulates:

[Organization B] doesn’t have to look elsewhere, their finances are coming from the public because the public accepts what they are doing, but the public doesn’t have control over [the

organization] except to say, “No, I’m not going to buy there,” which could happen, yes. But...[t]hey’re not forcing [Organization B] to perform a certain way in order to get this funding. (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview)

On the other hand, being a business fused with non-governmental goals has also been advantageous because, “[c]onsumers not only purchase our exceptional products...but they also enjoy being part of our mission and hearing how their purchases make a difference in the lives of artisans and producers overseas” (Organization B Annual Report, 2009-2010). Using this unique model, Organization B has found to be actively operating in different iterations for over 60 years, although the organization in its current iteration has only been in existence for approximately 15 years (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011).

For Organization B, their primary focus is to create financial and organizational sustainability for Artisans in the Global South. In terms of working to create financial sustainability, the organization sells Artisan-made products via its retail stores and provides Artisans with a long-term and meaningful income for their work. According to Organization B’s most recent annual report (2009-2010), Artisan purchases increased by 21% during that fiscal year, which indicates a continued effort of working towards establishing financial sustainability for Artisans working in the South. Organization B further implements strategies to work towards Artisans’ organizational sustainability. This is carried out by umbrella organizations in the South, which implements training programs and capacity building opportunities for Artisans with the goal of having Artisans become self-sufficient.

Environmental sustainability also emerged as an important theme within Organization B’s work. Specifically, it was found that Organization B places heavy encouragement on the use of sound environmental practices during the creation of Artisan products. Cooperatives in the South

often utilize recycled or waste materials to create products, such as natural cotton dyes and natural raw materials (hemp, handmade paper, bamboo) (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). Furthermore, multiple instances were found whereby umbrella organizations in the South also implemented programs to promote environmental conservation and awareness for Artisans in the South. Often, the use of renewable materials for products and the practice to regenerate materials happened hand-in-hand for cooperatives in the South.

The importance of this emphasis on environmental sustainability has also proven to be beneficial for the work carried out in the North. Specifically, Organization B's emphasis on creating environmentally sustainable products provides another added value to Artisan products and increases sales. As one staff member mentioned, "You see those aluminum leaf serving dishes over there?...what's cool about it [is] it is made out of recycled aluminum. It's made from motorcycle parts and various things...[a]nd the more we're pushing the recycled end of it, people are buying it..." (Informant I, June 9th 2011 Interview). In short, Organization B actively works to instill mechanisms to further environmental sustainability for their operations carried out in both the North and the South.

This section aimed to highlight the processes by which both participating organizations addressed the indicators of sustainability within their organization. In turn, it was found that both organizations have established long histories of being active members in the field of international development. Admittedly, these findings may not be reflective of smaller and newer organizations working in international development. With their own organizational sustainability secured, it was found that both organizations then similarly place their priorities towards establishing long-term financial and organizational sustainability for their Partners in the South. Here, it was found that both organizations work towards securing financial sustainability for their

Partners through establishing long-term financial support for their Partners while simultaneously encouraging continuous learning and training opportunities for members within their partnering organizations to be able to assist in the operations of those organizations. One main difference in approaches is that Organization B actively works towards establishing environmental sustainability while the topic of environmental sustainability was spoken of rather than implemented during the conversations with those working within Organization A.

6.4 Re: Empowerment

Empowerment, or the process by which the clients of INGO intervention achieve independence and work towards their own objectives or carry on the effect of the intervention without the presence of the INGO, has been deemed as a successful measure for INGOs as it demonstrates both positive impact and sustainability. In turn, it was found that both Organizations A and B incorporate strategies towards empowerment within their programmes and interventions. As both organizations' programmes and interventions are carried out by Partners in the Global South, these strategies are also developed in collaboration with their Partners. Organization A was found to focus on empowering groups and civil society, while Organization B placed their emphasis on empowering individual Artisans. This section will discuss these findings in detail.

6.4.1 Empowerment of Organization A

According to the organizational documents and the interviews, Organization A sets out to design and implement programs and interventions with in collaboration with Partners and primarily provides financial support and consultation with Partners, who then spearheads and carries out the work on the ground. This enables a high degree of autonomy and independence

for Partners in the South to implement interventions or programs that encompass local knowledge, culture and practices, rather than being imposed a Northern universal model.

However, specifics on this decision-making process in the development of programs and interventions in the South were not addressed within the existing data. Therefore, I am unable to comment on the concerns of aspiration manipulation or whether Partners affiliated with Organization A truly represents the voices within the community in this section. In contrast, what was found was that the process by which a five-year plan is determined for CIDA funding did incorporate procedures that gauged and encompassed the voices of Organization A's Partners. Partners also play a pivotal role in determining the theme for Organization A's annual Action Campaigns.

Another dominant theme found within the organizational documents is the advocacy and leadership training provided to members of communities in the South with the goal of having these members carry on the work in the future. For instance, in regards to indigenous land rights in Brazil, Organization A documented that:

2,573 people working actively in some one hundred organizations participated in capacity-building training and activities to learn how to influence public policy. Subjects dealt with a wide range of issues, and included how to intervene on public policy debates, as well as political and community participation, democracy-building, and other public policy issues affecting young people and women. (Organization A Annual Report, 2006-2007)

The emphasis placed on training future leaders of the communities to be able to recognize, advocate and defend claims in regards to issues of injustice inflicted upon them is of utmost importance to begin the process of building that capacity for empowerment of local communities.

Moreover, women are actively trained and encouraged to form civic associations and coalitions. For example, a Partner in Senegal helped to create four regional coalitions of women's groups. Through the training received, those involved in these coalitions can begin to assert their voice into decision-making processes on developmental issues. As the president of one of the regional coalitions expresses, "I now speak in public and implicate myself further in my farming association. I am now a presence that can't be ignored and my voice counts" (Organization A Foundational Document, 2011). Consequently, Organization A reported that these women have been witnessed to join decision-making bodies for their region, including committees for health services and water distribution.

In conclusion, Organization A has been found to implement two strategies cited to facilitate the process of empowerment. First, Organization A works in collaboration with Partners in the South to implement programs and strategies as opposed to imposing programs and interventions on their Partners. Moreover, it is the Partners in the Global South that implement the actual interventions and programs on the ground. Second, Organization A places much focus and emphasis on the capacity-building and advocacy training provided to local members of the community to provide them with a voice and building towards the emergence of new civil society associations. Recognizing that the poorest communities often have no voice and often lack formal education to speak against unfair treatment, Organization A aims to assist them in breaking through this barrier.

6.4.2 Empowerment of Organization B

Similar to that of Organization A, Organization B also implements a model whereby the main crux of activities carried out in the Global South lies within the autonomy and control of existing organizations working in the South. Specifically, Artisans were found to ban together to form

cooperatives and are often affiliated with umbrella organizations, which work to represent their interests, market their products and provide Artisans with capacity-building and training programs. Specifically, Organization B works collaboratively with umbrella organizations to develop products that utilize and accentuate Artisan skills, and negotiate fair wages for Artisans in ensuring that the income earned can lead to improving their quality of life. Under Organization B's model, Artisans are empowered through meaningful employment, fair wages and continued training. In turn, I suggest that Organization B's approach to empowerment is simultaneously holistic and individualized.

Specifically, this approach is holistic in that organizations working in the South implement a multi-faceted approach to improving the quality of life for Artisans. Very often, Artisans are constituted by the poorest or most socially disadvantaged, including women, those living with disabilities, and/or those stigmatized with disease (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). In response, these umbrella organizations provide Artisans, and often their children, access to meals, healthcare, education, microloans, free legal services and additional skills training (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). For example, Organization B documented one organization in Nepal that took on Artisans, of which 70 percent were women; most were illiterate; and nearly half were previously forced to beg for a living (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). In response, this organization:

[S]ends [individuals treated with leprosy] back to their hometowns where they are set up with housing, schooling, and job opportunities. In this way, the organization hopes to break down the stigma and isolation associated with leprosy. Artisans receive free medical assistance, rent allowance, free day care, and schooling up to grade 12 for their children. (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011)

Though programs and benefits vary based on the organization, the goal of holistic empowerment remains consistent.

Moreover, the concepts of self-worth, dignity and self-actualization were found to be dominant themes within the data. Through meaningful employment, stable income, training and education, Artisans gain a new sense of independence and self-worth. One example documents this:

A large order for [one Artisan]’s seashell products from [Organization B]...helped [this Artisan] tremendously to buy land, materials to build a simple workshop and production goods. [The Artisan] is very grateful for these orders. [The Artisan] is now able to do business and support [their] family again... (Organization B Media Release, 2007)

The emphasis on dignity and self-actualization epitomizes Organization B’s principle of redefining the assistance provided to Artisans as charity. As opposed to charity, Organization B views their work as providing opportunities and assisting once impoverished individuals and families towards self-sufficiency. This self-sufficiency can then be the seed that leads to the betterment of life for Artisans. Organization B has cited examples of Artisans leaving their cooperatives to start their own independent, small-scale business projects. Other Artisans have been able to send their children to school, with some going on to attend university or college (Organization B Foundational Document, 2011). As summarized by Organization B, “These jobs enable people to value life again” (Organization B Media Release, 2009).

Concurrently, Organization B’s approach to empowerment has been seen to strive for no directive outcome. In contrast, the results of Artisan empowerment are open-ended and left up to the Artisan to determine their own direction. This position was expressed during one of the interviews with a staff member who stated that, “I think that...the people that are making these

things you buy in our shop are making a difference in their own countries, in their own communities...even if it's only a difference in their own families" (Informant J, April 6th 2011 Interview). While individual stories of success, self-sufficiency and empowerment were commonly cited within Organization B's documents, the data rarely alluded to any participation of advocacy work or larger campaigns by either Organization B or the umbrella organizations in the South to improve the quality of life for Artisans at a national or international level.

In short, Organization B's approach to empowerment can be conceptualized as one that is structural and generative, yet not directive. It is structural in that the entire system established by Organization B aims to provide Artisans with knowledge, tools and means for an improved quality of life, self-sufficiency, dignity and empowerment. It is generative in its design to continually reproduce conditions for improving the quality of life for Artisans, as long as products continue to be sold in the North. In addition, empowerment is contained within the individual Artisan. Against the implementation of any directive outcomes, Organization B follows the belief that a positive change within the Artisan will ultimately benefit the goal of international development.

In summary, both organizations were found to have existing empowerment processes within their respective work in the South. Both Organizations A and B work in collaboration with their Partners in the South in designing programs and interventions with the intention of having the control transferred to local grassroots organizations. Here, both organizations adopt a similar approach where the actual programs and interventions are carried out by their Partners rather than by Organizations A and B themselves. Moreover, both organizations integrate strategies for empowering local communities. Organization A places its emphasis on education and training of local leaders to build capacity for advocacy while Organization B aims to establish a work

environment where Artisans can achieve self-sufficiency, self-independence and self-actualization.

Where the two organizations diverged is that Organization A placed more emphasis on the training of local groups in the South to continue advocacy work. Conversely, Organization B aimed to empower at the individual level where empowerment can be seen to take many forms, whether it is seen as being able to better feed your family and children, to being able to start your own business.

6.5 Re: Replicability and Scaling Up

The final measure of effectiveness is an INGO's ability to bring together experiences, efforts and success to begin creating models of programs and interventions that can be expanded and implemented in different settings (Wils, 1997). In turn, if it was found that issues of replicability and scaling up were only a marginal theme for both organizations.

6.5.1 Replicability and Scaling up in Organization A

For Organization A, no explicit information was found within the data collected in regards to the measure of replicability and scaling up. While similar themes were found in regard to the goals of activities being carried out in the South, these were not directly articulated as scaling up or replicating successful projects. In the North, the Action and Fundraising campaigns are carried out annually, but have not been seen to scale up to countries other than Canada. Within Canada, the scales of these campaigns do fluctuate from year-to-year; however, there still isn't a direct indication that there are efforts to scale up. The only example that did contain elements of scaling up was the Action Campaign on advocating for increased accountability measures for Canadian mining companies. Due to the staggering amount of support and positive momentum,

this campaign expanded to encompass two consecutive Action campaigns. Nevertheless, this could be attributed to the lengthening of a project as opposed to scaling up a project. In short, the measure of replicability and scaling up did not emerge as a significant outcome for Organization A.

6.5.2 Replicability and Scaling up in Organization B

The theme of replicability and scaling up was rarely addressed within Organization B's organizational documents and individual interviews. This was especially the case for their activities in the South. In the North, Organization B's local initiatives to increase sales through partnering with other NGOs did experience some scaling up. Particularly, one store was found to partner with a local non-governmental organization to initiate an event where 15% of all Organization B sales on that one particular day were donated to the partnering NGO. In return, the partnering NGO would heavily inform and promote this event to their membership. The aim for this event was to establish a mutually benefitting relationship and simultaneously increasing awareness for both organizations. Consequently, this partnership was found to be highly successful and other stores within the city have implemented similar partnerships (June 6th 2011 Interview). This partnering initiative was also carried in another fashion. Here, another store documented that their store would open exclusively for the members of a partnering local organization for an evening to shop and 10% of proceeds are donated towards that partnering organization. This was also found to be successful. Due to its success, this Organization B store has implemented the same initiative for over five years (March 3rd 2011 Interview).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented key findings as it relates to issues of effectiveness in INGO work (intended/unintended impact, sustainability, empowerment, and replicability and ‘scaling up’). In response, three themes emerged in regards to impact.

First, both organizations reported impact in a largely summative and descriptive fashion. While information on outputs, outcomes and impact were present and reported by both organizations, the summative and descriptive reporting makes it difficult to assess the methodology and results. In other words, the reporting omits many of the details that would further explicate the impact of both organizations.

Second, the expectation to report impact in a quantifiable manner was found to be a challenge and a hindrance to assessing impact of international development work. Specifically, members of both organizations argued the need for impact assessment to be able to encompass elements that reflect the importance of process, context and the fluidness of international development rather than simply numerical indicators.

Finally, it was found that staff members and volunteers working in the North lacked awareness of the impact assessment conducted in the South within their organizations. It was unclear whether this is a matter of data not being accessible or whether the importance of impact assessment is simply not emphasized. Within Organization A, it appears that data does exist; however, it is contained within Head Office. Conversely, in Organization B, no indication of data on any type of assessment in the South could be found. Similar challenges could also be seen for both organizations’ activities in the North where assessment is often conducted either anecdotally or unsystematically. This finding suggests that both organizations may lack a culture where impact assessment is emphasized, understood and conducted throughout the organization.

Furthermore, it was found that the notions of sustainability and empowerment were very much rooted within both organizations' relationships with their respective Partners in the South. Specifically, as Organizations A and B have long histories of being active in international development, staff members and volunteers were confident of their own organizational sustainability. Thus, the primary focus is aimed at providing financial support for their Partners, and establishing learning and training opportunities for members within the Partners to further their organizational sustainability. This can include opportunities for capacity building, advocacy and technical training, etc. And through these two pillars of effort, both Organization A and B furthers the empowerment of their Partners in the South. These findings further support that both organizations consider their primary accountability is rooted in their relationship to their Partners.

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The main focus of this study is to contribute to the debate on accountability and effectiveness of INGO work by highlighting the perspectives of two INGOs on how they perceive and experience accountability and effectiveness within their work. In this chapter, I summarize the key findings from the study and tie it back to the larger discussion. In this study, it was found that key themes identified in regards to issues of accountability are: multi-faceted donor accountability where different donors exert their own pressures on INGOs; the primary client, according to both organizations, is the Partners they work with in the Global South; and both organizations currently work within large transnational networks as opposed to individually. Meanwhile key themes in regards to issues of effectiveness are: the summative and descriptive

reporting of impact and the continuing challenge of conducting impact assessment for both organizations; the ability to support their Partners in the Global South as the primary goal of sustainability; and empowerment strategies are inherent within the design of programmes and interventions in the Global South. Following, I will examine why the current critique on accountability and effectiveness on INGOs has become one of the most pertinent discussions in the world of INGOs and offer future directions for this discussion.

7.2 Evaluating the accountability and effectiveness of INGOs

Through a synthesis of previous studies, accountability can be operationalized into three distinct dimensions: donors, themselves and clients. Meanwhile, effectiveness can also be operationalized into four distinct dimensions: impact (intended and unintended), sustainability, empowerment and replicability/scaling up. This study then aimed to provide the perspective of INGOs and those working within INGOs on how INGOs themselves understand, experience and address these issues of accountability and effectiveness raised within the research. A further goal of this study was to examine what convergences and/or divergences can be seen between how INGOs address these issues of accountability and effectiveness within their own work.

A qualitative analysis was conducted on two organizations working in the area of international development. Methods included content analysis of both organizations' foundational documents and qualitative interviews of staff members and volunteers. What emerged was the finding that a majority of the differences in how the two organizations understood, experienced and addressed issues of accountability and effectiveness can be traced back to differences between their models of carrying out development. More interestingly, despite the two very different models, more convergences rather than divergences were found between these two organizations.

In terms of accountability, both organizations reported that their primary priority is being accountable to their respective Partners in the Global South. Within the data, it was found that Partners are predominantly responsible for carrying out programs and interventions on the ground in the Global South. In turn, both organizations contribute to the mission through efforts to sustainably support their Partners. Primarily, these efforts involve providing long-term financial support. Moreover, Partners were found to be included in the design and decision-making process of programs and interventions. For Organization A, Partners were found to be heavily involved in the process of determining the core areas of focus for Organization A's annual campaigns, as well as their proposal for funding. Meanwhile, Organization B engages in an extensive negotiation process with Artisans to come to an agreement on the financial support necessary for the needs of producing the products, as well as the financial needs of Artisans.

When compared to the literature, some interesting areas of convergence and divergence emerge. While existing scholars have cautioned the possible power imbalance within the relationship between Northern and Southern NGOs (Malholtra, 2000; Pishchikova, 2006; Smith, 2008; Townsend & Townsend, 2004), this study has found that both organizations heavily involve the voices of their Partners, which provides evidence that the involvement of Southern NGOs accounts to more than a 'master-server' relationship. However, information on the perspectives, opinions and experiences of Partners working in the South was not uncovered within the study. Consequently, questions of power balance or aspiration manipulation as they are related to the operations of the work within the Global South remain unanswered.

According to the findings of this study, I suggest that the accountability relationship between both organizations and their Partners elicits what has been described in the literature as INGOs' relationship to their clients. This was especially ostensible during their call for financial support

from donors in the North where the work, needs, stories and successes of their Partners were featured most prominently in media releases produced by both organizations. Moreover, the primacy of their relationship to Partners was continuously emphasized within both the organizational documents and in the qualitative interviews. In turn, I propose that there appeared to be a muddling of who was, in fact, defined the ‘client’, or the recipient of both organizations’ services. Within the data, it is the Partners that have taken on the role of ‘client’ for both organizations, as opposed to communities in the Global South that are the recipients of the programs and interventions. Surprisingly, what was found to be less prominent within the data is the articulation of the relationship between ‘traditional’ clients and the Partners of the two organizations. That level of analysis was found to be beyond the scope of the data uncovered in this study and thus, remains a gap in the knowledge.

In carrying out programs and interventions in the South, both organizations are seen to operate within a network model. For Organization A, being a member of a transnational network of INGOs assists them in identifying and connecting with Partners that are also members within that network and are already actively working within the particular country where intervention is needed. For Organization B, their transnational fair trade network identifies organizations that have been certified as fair trade. It is often through this network that working relationships between the North and South are formed, and decisions of what Artisan products will be produced and sold in Organization B stores are made. For Organization B, Artisans were also not found to not work in isolation. Rather, Artisans banded together to form and organize as cooperatives. These cooperatives would then work with Southern NGOs or ‘umbrella organizations’ that provided them with marketing and business expertise, as well as extra

training and support programs for Artisans. These programs ranged from furthering Artisans' education to providing them with healthcare.

Consequently, the use of a network model was found to create a more complex set of relationships where organizations do not work in a linear, one-to-one relationship. Rather, there are clusters of organizations that identify with each other and work together to mutually further the primary goal and mission of international development. Interestingly, this phenomenon also occurred within a Southern context, in addition to a Northern context.

In terms of establishing a connection between work carried out in the South, a majority of the data appears to suggest that only specific staff members from both organizations are in charge of maintaining the pulse in contrast to trying to establish a wider community of connected members. While both organizations implemented similar learning opportunities for members in the North to travel, meet with and learn from Partners in the South, or host Partners and connect them to Northern members, these experiences only constitute 'snapshots' of linkages. Other than these 'snapshot' experiences, the facilitation of knowledge between Northern and Southern members appears to be limited and as I moved away from the center of operations within the organizations, there was increasingly less clarity on the programs and interventions in the South. And this was repeatedly found amongst staff members and volunteers.

In terms of their accountability to donors, the findings largely corroborate with what has been previously found within the literature in that the fiscal and policy dimensions of donor accountability saliently works to shape the work of INGOs. In looking at fiscal dimensions of accountability, Organization A was seen to encompass the need to demonstrate their accountability to two clusters of financial donors (CIDA and private donors) as opposed to Organization B where it only acquired the financial support of individual consumers.

Nevertheless, both organizations elicited similar sentiments in dimensions comparable to each other, namely the incessant need to devote time and effort to maintaining their financial sustenance. For Organization A, this can clearly be seen in their need to both apply for governmental funding while retaining the need to match the amount allocated with private funding. While Organization B operates as a financially generating business, they are not immune to the demands of fiscal accountability. The recent financial difficulties of Organization B highlight the inescapable forefront of fiscal accountability and its effect on their organizational sustainability.

While financial considerations remain at the forefront of their need to demonstrate accountability, the additional pressures in the realm of policy from donors played a major role in shaping the work of Organization A. Specifically, the shifting donor preference towards the implementation of results-based management has radically shifted the expectations, and by extension, the funding stipulation for Organization A. In response, Organization A has needed to scale down on the amount of Partners they actively work with in favor of a less number of Partners while establishing larger scale projects. Subsequently, the implementation of results-based management has also increased the necessary monitoring and reporting of outcomes to be provided by Organization A.

In addition to the two highlighted dimensions of fiscal and policy dimensions of accountability, this study found that shifting macro trends further permeated and shaped these two dimensions of accountability as it pertained to the relationship between Organization A and B, and their respective donors. For Organization A, a change in the ruling government in Canada has been found to alter the process and expectations for funding. Moreover, a recent political attack in an attempt to create a divide between Organization A and their supporters through

rumors that Organization A's actions contradicted one of the primary principles of its religious base reveals the contentious nature of INGO work, and the need to defend and negotiate between political tensions. Meanwhile, for Organization B, a changing economic climate has contributed to shifting purchasing patterns, which then directly affects the financial sustenance of an organization that relies on a constant influx of consumers.

In addition, this study found that the relationship to donors did not flow in one direction. Conversely, both organizations considered a significant portion of their work is to actively educate donors and the public at large in the North. As such, both organizations were found to articulate that they also viewed their donors to be the 'clients' of their work.

Here, the two organizations were found to take different approaches in implementing this piece to their work where Organization A initiates political campaigns which encompasses a gamut of strategies to gain awareness, educate and move towards political action to advocate for change. Conversely, Organization B takes a more informal approach where staff members and volunteers are seen to be storytellers for customers that enter their store. Through these stories, they serve as the raconteurs for their Artisans, transmitting their histories, the process of their labor and the significance of meaningful employment for Artisans and their communities.

Despite differences found in their approaches to education and awareness, both organizations emphasized the re-imagining of international development as being a task to be carried out in the North, as well as the South. Through creating opportunities for awareness, education, advocacy and action, both organizations asserted that their donors in the North could also enact social change. Interestingly, the conceptualization of donors as also clients was not found to be prominently featured within the literature.

Thus, while the nature of Organization A and B's relationships with their donors largely reflect what has previously been documented within the literature, I would assert that the findings within this research reveal a more multidimensional picture as to how this relationship manifests in reality. The findings illustrated that organizations are subjected to specific expectations of their donors' demographics, which are reflective of their social location but are also subject to shift based upon new information that can shape that community. Within the findings, it can be seen that macro trends in politics, religion and economics can influence donors, as well as the relationship between donors and INGOs.

In terms of effectiveness, the findings suggest that the demonstration of INGO intended and unintended impact remains nebulous. However, what's missing does not appear to be a lack of evidence to demonstrate impact, but rather, the assessment of impact continued to be wrought with three issues: the presentation of data does not cover the full breadth and depth of both organizations' work; the struggle to encapsulate impact of INGO work in quantifiable data; and the lack of familiarity of impact assessments amongst staff members and volunteers in the North.

First, this study found that the impact of programs and interventions in the South were reported through short information pieces in organizational documents, annual reports and media publications. Further, the activities, outputs, outcomes and impact of the organizations' efforts were frequently documented in a summative manner where the intended aspects of their outputs, outcomes and impact of programs and interventions were documented more prominently than the unintended results of their effort. The data, as it is presented in this manner, creates gaps within the knowledge. For instance, these reports frequently did not present the voices of Partners and local communities, and their perspectives on the outputs, outcomes and impact of the organizations' work. Therefore, at this point, it is difficult to assess the impact of the

organizations, as the available data does not allow for more thorough analysis beyond its current summative form.

Second, staff members and volunteers from both organizations echoed the difficulty with compartmentalizing international development into finite and quantifiable indicators. The pressure to do so can be attributed to the expectations from donors to report in a quantifiable nature, as seen in Organization A's difficulties in adopting results-based management. Both organizations were found to emphasize that their work in international development cannot be accurately conceptualized in that manner. As it was raised by staff members and volunteers from both organizations, international development is not just 'building this many number of houses' (Informant G, March 3rd 2011 Interview). What's missing is the inclusion of reflective elements pertaining to change and meaningfully include reporting the process of change, which often does not operate in a linear and quantitative manner.

Finally, the data suggests that the problem with assessment does not lie in a deficiency amongst INGOs to monitor, evaluate and review, or that they deemphasize impact assessment. Based on the findings of both organizations, there is reason to believe the systematic assessment exists within both organizations. However, it does appear that the data on assessment collected on the ground is only shared between certain staff members and Partners in the Global South.

The issue becomes one of knowledge dissemination. It was found that information on projects in the Global South was not often communicated to staff members and volunteers in the North. When asked, a majority of staff members and volunteers working in the North stated they were not involved in the dissemination process; and thus, did not feel they could confidently speak to questions pertaining to their perceptions of their organization's impact in the South. Further, it is not known whether knowledge gets disseminated to staff members and volunteers of Partners in

the Global South. Within my own data collection, this information was also not readily available for public access either. In other words, the data may be available, but it is not widely accessible.

In short, this study aimed to contribute to an increasingly pertinent debate on the accountability and effectiveness of International Non-governmental Organizations. While an increasing amount of research has documented areas of accountability and effectiveness that INGOs need to address (Atack, 1999; Edwards & Hulme, 1992; Fisher, 1997; Fowler, 1997; Najam, 1996; Szporluk, 2009), I argue that less studies have examined the perspectives of INGOs and those working within INGOs on their views, opinions, experiences and ways of addressing issues of accountability and effectiveness as it relates to their work. The methodology and design of this thesis have been successful in extracting valid qualitative data from two different INGOs. In turn, I propose that this thesis offers a framework of data collection and data analysis that can be applied to different INGOs, working in different fields and in different locations through replication of the methodology and design.

This study has limitations. First, this study would certainly have benefited from the ability to interview staff members and/or volunteers from Partners working in the Global South. It was only during the data collection period that the realization of the knowledge gap of staff members in the North on activities and happenings in the South emerged. Also, in order to generate a deeper understanding of how impact and other dimensions of effectiveness are assessed by both organizations, requesting the organizations for formal impact assessment reports to supplement in the content analysis would have added important dimensions to the findings. However, at the onset of this study, the approach taken was to take the perspective of uncovering the information on INGOs, which would be accessible to members, volunteers and the public at large; in other words, information that was not met by gatekeepers. The pattern that emerged from the

investigation is one where the results of formal impact assessment by both organizations were not widely made aware and disseminated to staff members and volunteers at the local level.

Future studies on gauging the perspectives of INGOs on accountability and effectiveness should focus on underscoring the voices of those working in the Global South and how their perspectives compare to staff members and volunteers working in the North on these key dimensions of INGO accountability and effectiveness.

7.3 Concluding Thoughts

In the 21st Century, the discussion on the accountability and effectiveness of INGOs has emerged to become one of increasing importance in shaping the future of INGOs. Through the course of this thesis, it was clearly demonstrated that INGO representatives are well aware of the current discussion on accountability and effectiveness. As the institutional field of INGOs continues to mature, the discussion needs to move into a direction of increasingly developing frameworks that can accurately capture the notion of accountability and effectiveness, as it is meaningful for INGO work. Continuing to uncover constructive approaches that can assist INGOs in documenting and assessing their accountability and effectiveness should constitute the central focus of the discussion as we move into the next decade. And here, I argue that this thesis will contribute to supporting and furthering that discussion.

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APPENDIX A
LETTER OF INVITATION TO ORGANIZATIONS

To Whom It May Concern:

Hello, my name is Stan Yu and I am currently a master's student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The purpose of this letter is to cordially invite you and your organization to participate in my master's research project entitled *Dissecting Change: An introductory proposition advocating for the analysis of accountability and effectiveness of INGO work from within.*

The purpose of this research project is to contribute to an ongoing discussion surrounding accountability and effectiveness in NGO work by gauging the perspectives of two different International Non-Governmental Organizations, working in Saskatoon, in how they view and address questions of accountability and effectiveness within the context of their work, and whether similarities or differences exist between the perspectives of those working within organizations and what is found within existing research. This research aims to uncover the main areas of convergence and divergence in hopes of creating a more specific and meaningful conversation on issues of accountability and effectiveness.

For this research project, I aim to collect and analyze publicly accessible documents and publications from your organization, and conduct taped interviews with individuals representing various positions within the organization to obtain their views and opinions on issues of accountability and effectiveness. The interviews will last approximately 60 minutes, and lunch and refreshments will be provided. Of course, participation is voluntary and confidential. The

researcher will not have access to the list of staff members and volunteers of your organization. Invitation to the study will be facilitated by the chief local administrator of your organization, and only those that voluntarily consent by responding will be formally included in the study.

Anonymity and confidentiality will be ensured throughout the entire research and dissemination process. First, the identity of the participating organizations will be kept confidential in the subsequent publications from this study. The researcher will also ensure that any publications, organizational reports and annual reports from INGOs utilized in this research must be publicly accessible. Furthermore, the data derived from these public documents will be reported in an aggregate manner. In the case of the individual interviewees, pseudonyms will be used for all participants for both the transcriptions and any direct quotations used in the research project. Moreover, any identifying information will be removed from the report. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Should you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in this study, you may call the Office of Research Services at the University of Saskatchewan (306-966-2974).

For more information on this study, I have attached my research proposal within this email. If you are interested in participating in the study or have any questions/concerns regarding the research study, you can reach me by email (stan.yu@usask.ca) or by phone (306-261-6082).

Thank you for your consideration,

Stan Yu, MA Student Researcher

Department of Sociology

University of Saskatchewan

APPENDIX B
ORGANIZATION DETAILED CONSENT FORM

Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Beh-REB)

CONSENT FORM

You and your organization are invited to participate in a research project entitled *Dissecting Change: An introductory proposition advocating for the analysis of accountability and effectiveness of INGO work from within*. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask questions you might have.

Purpose and Procedure: As International Non-Government Organizations (INGOs) continue to experience increasing growth, exposure to the media and support from the general public, a framework that measures the contributions to the progress of meeting the objectives of INGOs is becoming increasingly necessary, though it has been seldom addressed. The goal of this research project is to contribute to the discussion by exploring how INGOs themselves address questions of accountability and effectiveness within their own organization.

In order to explore these issues, this research project will utilize two different methodologies: analyzing publicly accessible documents and publications from two organizations, and conducting taped interviews with individuals representing various positions within the organizations. In turn, consent to be part of this study comprises of: allowing the researcher access to your organization's publicly accessible documents, distributing a letter of invitation and the researcher's contact information to staff members and volunteers in your organization for potential individual interviews, and permitting the researcher to speak to those interested in an individual interview. All employees and volunteers will be eligible for this study. You will also be invited for an individual interview during the duration of the data collection period. The data from this research project will be published and/or presented at conferences. In addition, a summary report of the findings will be distributed back to the organizations. The researcher will ensure that the data derived from these public documents and interviews will be reported in an aggregate manner. In the case of individual interviews specifically,

pseudonyms will be used for all participants and any identifying information will be removed for both the transcriptions and any direct quotations used in the research project.

Potential Benefits: The possible benefits of this research are individual, in that you, your staff members and volunteers in your organization will be given the opportunity to share their opinions on issues of accountability and effectiveness within INGOs. On an organizational level, your organization will be given the opportunity to contribute to the ongoing discussion of the issues related to this research project.

Potential Risks: While there is no anticipated risk to the individuals in this study, as the data collected from the organizations and from the individual interviews will be reported in a generalized form, the researcher will not be able to keep the identity of the organization confidential within the subsequent findings and publications.

Storage of Data: All data collected during the research process including the publications obtained, the audio recordings, the interview transcripts and any supplemental documents will be stored for a minimum of five years by research supervisor Dr. Darrell McLaughlin in a secure location at St. Thomas More College in Saskatoon. After that time, all data will be destroyed.

Confidentiality: The findings of this study will be used as the basis for a Master's thesis, as well as conference presentations or academic journal articles. While, the identity of the organization will not be kept confidential within the findings and results of the study, the researcher will ensure that any findings derived will be reported in an aggregate manner; thereby, eliminating the identity of any particular individual within your organization.

Right to Withdraw: Your organization's participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study for any reason, during the duration of the study, without penalty of any sort. If you do choose to withdraw from the study, any data you have contributed will be destroyed at your request.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the study, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided if you have questions about the research or results at a later time. The research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research

Ethics Board in July, 2010. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Ethics Office (306-966-2084). Out of town participants may call collect.

Follow-Up or Debriefing: All participants are encouraged to contact the researcher at any point after their interview if they would like to have any follow-up meetings with the researcher. During the result dissemination phase, all participants will also be given a summary report of the study via mail or email upon completion of the project. The email will also include an invitation for a follow-up meeting with the researcher. Interested individuals can contact the researcher directly through email or phone to set up a meeting date. This meeting will consist of only discussing the aggregate results. The completed thesis will also be available for access at the University of Saskatchewan Murray Library or upon request.

Consent to Participate: I have read and understood the description provided above; I have been provided with an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered satisfactorily. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw consent at any time. A copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

_____	_____
(Name of Organization Representative)	(Date)
_____	_____
(Signature of Representative)	(Signature of Researcher)
Stan Yu, MA Student Researcher	Dr. Darrell McLaughlin, Research Supervisor
Department of Sociology	Associate Professor of Sociology
University of Saskatchewan	President of Society for Socialist Studies
9 Campus Drive	St. Thomas More College
Saskatoon SK, S7N 5A5	1437 College Drive
Phone: (306) 966-6947	Saskatoon SK, S7N 0W6
Fax: (306) 966-6950	Phone: (306) 966-8943
Stan.Yu@usask.ca	Fax: (306) 966-8904
	dmclaughlin@stmcollege.ca

APPENDIX C
INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dissecting Accountability and Effectiveness of INGO Work: Converging and Diverging Perspectives between Academia and the Field Interview Guide

Initial demographic information

How did you first get involved with the organization? What initially drew you to this particular organization?

In your own words, describe this organization. What are its goals?

What is your role within the organization?

Accountability with donors/sponsors

What are the main sources of financial support for the operation of your organization?

What was the process of obtaining financial support?

What information does your organization (or Head Office) want to see after every year, in terms of reports?

Within the organization itself...

As a volunteer, what would a typical day in the life of this organization entail?

How many staff members are currently employed? Locally? Nationally? How many volunteers? What do you expect from volunteers?

How is information shared amongst those within the organization? How about to volunteers?

How is information shared amongst branches with your organization?

- Are you in contact with National Office?
- How is information shared amongst other NGOs who may be working on projects similar to yours? Do you collaborate with other organizations?

Effectiveness:

Think of a project your organization has worked on this past year...

- Can you describe the project? What was the goal(s) of this project?

- What role do you play within the project?
- Who did it involve?
 - o Were there other INGOs involved? Were neighboring branches within your organization involved?
- Were members of the community involved as well?
- What aspects of this project worked well? What factors contributed to the success of the project?
 - o On the other hand, what were its main barriers to success?
- In your opinion, what has been the biggest change you have seen as a result of this project?
 - o What has been the biggest change you didn't expect as a result of this project?
- What did you feel were the main lessons learned from this project?
- Could this project be duplicated in another geographical, political, cultural, economic environment?

Based on your experience in the organization, what do you consider to be its biggest success?

- Conversely, what is its biggest challenge going into the future?

How would you see some kind of evaluation of your organization develop? What would it look like?

What do you hope to see as a result of your work in your organization?

Are there any other issues we have not yet covered today that you would like to mention?

Once again, thank you for joining us today. Your comments and insights have been very helpful.

APPENDIX D

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Behavioural Research Ethics Board (Beh-REB)

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled *Dissecting Accountability and Effectiveness of INGO Work: Converging and Diverging Perspectives between Academia and the Field*. Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask questions you might have.

Purpose and Procedure: As International Non-Government Organizations (INGOs) continue to experience increasing growth, exposure to the media and support from the general public, a framework that measures the contributions to the progress of meeting the objectives of INGOs is becoming increasingly necessary, though it has been seldomly addressed. The goal of this research project is to contribute to the discussion by exploring how INGOs themselves address questions of accountability and effectiveness within their own organization, the convergences and divergences between how INGOs address these dimensions with the existing research and with each other, and the significance in regards to these similarities and differences.

In order to explore these issues, taped interviews will be conducted with individuals representing various positions within INGOs, including staff members and volunteers. Interviews will last approximately 60 minutes. The interviews will be held at a time and place to be decided by both the participant and researcher. Lunch and refreshments will be provided at the interview. During this time, you will be asked a series of questions about your organization, your role within the organization and your views on how your organization addresses issues of accountability and effectiveness. Though there is an existing interview guide, any topic or issue that you feel is important and relevant to facilitating a better understanding of the research question is encouraged. This interview

will be audiotaped; however, you can choose to have the recording device turned off at any time, for any length of time, during this interview. The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences. For all direct quotations from this interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and all identifying information (such as your name, your position within your organization and your gender) will be removed from this report.

Potential Benefits: The possible benefits of this research are both individual, in that you as a participant will be given the opportunity to share your opinion on issues of accountability and effectiveness within INGOs and how your organization responds to these issues. On an institutional level, this will further contribute to the ongoing discussion of the issues related to this research project.

Potential Risks: While the researcher will take all precautionary measures to ensure the anonymity of your identity within the results of study, there is potential risk that colleagues within your organization may be able to identify your identity based on what you say.

Storage of Data: All data collected during the research process including audio recordings, the interview transcripts and any supplemental documents will be stored for a minimum of five years by research supervisor Dr. Darrell McLaughlin in a secure location at St. Thomas More College in Saskatoon. After that time, all data will be destroyed.

Confidentiality: The findings of this study will be used as the basis for a Master's thesis, as well as conference presentations or academic journal articles; however, your identity will be kept confidential. For direct quotations, pseudonyms will be used and all identifying information will be removed from the report. While the researcher will ensure that all measures are taken to safeguard the confidentiality of the discussion and the

anonymity of your identity, it cannot be guaranteed that other members within your organization won't detect who participated in this research project.

Right to Withdraw: Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from the study for any reason, during the duration of the data collection and data analysis phase, without penalty of any sort. As well, you may refuse to answer any questions that you do not feel comfortable with. If you do choose to withdraw from the study, any data you have contributed will be destroyed at your request.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the study, please feel free to ask at any point; you are also free to contact the researchers at the numbers provided if you have questions about the research or results at a later time. The research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board in July, 2010. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Ethics Office (306-966-2084). Out of town participants may call collect.

Follow-Up or Debriefing: All participants are encouraged to contact the researcher at any point after their interview if they would like to have any follow-up meetings with the researcher. Included in this consent form is a supplemental "Interview Transcript Release" form where participants will be given the opportunity to review their transcripts as soon as the taped interview has been transcribed. If you wish to review your transcript, the researcher will contact you by email and the transcript will be delivered to you in a manner that's agreed upon between you and the researcher. After having reviewed your transcript, any additions, alternations or deletions of the transcript will be mailed back to the researcher for the changes to be implemented.

During the results dissemination phase, all participants will also be given a summary report of the study via mail or email upon completion of the project. The email will also include an invitation for a follow-up meeting with the researcher. Interested individuals will be able to contact the researcher directly through email or phone to set up a meeting date in the future. This meeting will consist of only discussing the aggregate results. The completed thesis will also be available for access at the University of Saskatchewan Murray Library or upon request.

Stan Yu, MA Student Researcher

Department of Sociology

University of Saskatchewan

9 Campus Drive

Saskatoon SK, S7N 5A5

Phone: (306) 966-6947

Fax: (306) 966-6950

Stan.Yu@usask.ca

Dr. Darrell McLaughlin, Research Supervisor

Associate Professor of Sociology

President of Society for Socialist Studies

St. Thomas More College

1437 College Drive

Saskatoon SK, S7N 0W6

Phone: (306) 966-8943

Fax: (306) 966-8904

dmclaughlin@stmcollege.ca

APPENDIX E
INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT RELEASE

I, _____, have been offered the opportunity to review the complete transcript of my personal interview in the study, *“Dissecting Accountability and Effectiveness of INGO Work: Converging and Diverging Perspectives between Academia and the Field”*...

_____ I would like to review the transcript. If I choose to review the transcript, I will have the opportunity to add, alter, and delete information from the transcript as appropriate. I am aware that I will be asked to sign a transcript release if I choose to review the transcript.

_____ I do not wish to review the transcript.

I have received a copy of this form for my own records.

Participant Date

Researcher Date