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**INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS  
AND PARTNERSHIP**

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## ABSTRACT

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*International development non-government organisations (INGOs)<sup>1</sup> are a recognised component of Aotearoa New Zealand society. In 2012 CID advised the Government that INGOs are the key conduit for many thousands of New Zealanders that donated over \$114 million in 2011 in support of international development and disaster relief. Since the 1970s the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) has managed the allocation of a proportion of Government Overseas Development Assistance to subsidise the money raised from the public by the INGOs. The impact of INGO involvement in development projects and programmes has received considerable academic scrutiny; however little attention has been paid to the understanding and operation of partnership within INGO international activities. This thesis focuses on the partnership practices of New Zealand INGOs.*

*INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand are located within the institutionalised cultural practices of the Old World which became the cultural practices of colonial settler society through the mass transfer of ideas from the Old World (Belich 2009). This exploration of the international work of six INGOs is carried out from within the context of historical remnants and contemporary realities of colonisation, the entrenched structures of neoliberal economic globalisation, the conflicting and ongoing debates about local and national development, and the economic and political role of Aotearoa New Zealand internationally. McMichael (2008, p. xv) argues that ‘the thread that weaves together the story of colonialism, developmentalism and globalization, is that development is a programme of rule’. The focus of the literature review, which is the concept of partnership and how this is translated into partnership practices of INGOs within aid and development systems, informs the examination of the use of the concept of partnership in the international relations practice of the Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs.*

*Audio-recorded discussions with staff of six Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs and two sector people offered a glimpse of the day-to-day work of the INGOs and revealed that the concept of partnership has been used by the INGOs to describe different practices of intervention and reciprocity. The discussions in 2009 occurred at a time of change in the sector the implications of which were only*

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<sup>1</sup> The abbreviation INGOs is used for the Aotearoa New Zealand non-governmental aid and development organisations and for consistency of reference to similar organisations in the literature and other material.

*beginning to be recognised. Despite this the different interventionist or reciprocal practices are clear and were examined in relation to the stated aims and intentions of the INGOs.*

*The thesis aims to stimulate a deeper critical focus on the contemporary international relations carried out in pursuit of partnership by INGOs located in Aotearoa New Zealand. The international relations of INGOs cannot be ignored when carried out from within a society founded on a particular imperative of partnership.*



## LIST OF ACRONYMS

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|        |  |
|--------|--|
| ACT    | Action by Churches Together  |
| CBO    | Community –based organisation  |
| CEO    | Chief Executive Officer  |
| CID    | Council for International Development  |
| CORSO  | Council of Organisations for Relief Services Overseas  |
| CSO    | Civil Society Organisation   |
| CWANGO | Cordillera Women’s Non-governmental Organisation   |
| DAC    | OECD Development Assistance Committee  |
| DevNet | Aotearoa New Zealand International Development Studies Network   |
| DFID   | UK Department for International Development  |
| DoC    | Drivers of Change programme  |
| ERI    | EarthRights International  |
| IDS    | Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University  |
| IFI    | International Financial Institution eg. World Bank   |
| INGOs  | International Non-Government Organisations   |
| KOHA   | Successor to VASS  |
| MAI    | Multilateral Agreement on Investment   |
| MDG    | United Nations Development Millennium Development Goals  |
| MFAT   | Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade  |
| NGDO   | Non-government Development Organisation  |
| NGO    | Non-government Organisation  |
| NNGO   | Northern Non-government Organisation   |
| NZAid  | A semi-autonomous MFAT programme established in 2002 and reabsorbed into the ministry in 2010                        |
| ODA    | Overseas Development Assistance  |
| ODI    | Overseas Development Institute   |
| OECD   | Organisation for Economic Cooperation for Development  |
| PRA    | Participatory Rapid Appraisal – part of the apparatus associated with World Bank strategies for poverty alleviation. |
| PRT    | Provincial Reconstruction Team   |
| PVO    | Private Voluntary Organisation   |
| SNGO   | Southern Non-government Organisation   |
| UN     | United Nations Organisation  |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development   |
| UNESCO | United Nations Education, Cultural and Social Organisation   |
| USAID  | United States Agency for International Development   |
| VASS   | Voluntary Agency Subsidy Scheme  |
| WVI    | World Vision International   |

# 1. INTRODUCTION

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## **Introduction**

In the 2009 financial year six Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs each received in excess of \$1.5 million as a subsidy from the Overseas Development Assistance budget of the New Zealand government, for which each INGO had already raised matching funds from the New Zealand public. The substantial resources which were being utilised by these INGOs at that time raised two questions. Firstly, what is the perspective on development which is expressed by INGOs which supports development work in other countries? And secondly, what is the practice of INGOs within the processes of international aid and development as support is given by the INGO for development in other countries?

In order to arrive at a sociological comprehension of Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs in relation to INGOs internationally, and the associated global aid and development environments, an initial extensive survey of literature was undertaken. This survey informed an existing general knowledge of the aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand held by the researcher, who had been involved since the 1970s informally or through employment. The literature review generated a perception that any differences in perspective or practice between the INGOs would be related to the theory or concept of development that was informing the policy and practice of the INGO at that time.

Chapter 2 details the research carried out to determine the impact of shifts in development theory on the understanding and practice of Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs. Comments in the research data by the INGOs show that some shifts in development theory had been responded to by the INGOs, for example, women in development at the time that this became dominant in development discourses. The perspective on women in development did, in fact, lead to

increased government subsidies for INGOs to support women's development programmes in other countries. Despite that response by the INGO, the data generally showed that any adaptations in rhetoric and funding priorities by INGOs did not change the basic development practice of the INGOs. The research showed that INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2009 were not, in day to day work and in international relations, giving critical priority to the implication of shifts in contemporary development theory and discourses. Notwithstanding the failure to find a relationship between shifts in development theory and the day-to-day development practice of INGOs, it became apparent that partnership is a concept that keeps appearing in the public and written rhetoric of the aid and development sector generally, and of INGOs within that sector. This recognition led to the realisation that a focus on partnership would provide an entry point into the perspective or philosophy, if not the ideology, that informs the practice of INGOs. The literature review in Chapter 3 therefore explores material that addresses either the theory of partnership or critiques of INGO practices of partnerships within the non-government international aid and development industries. A re-examination through the lens of partnership of the data gathered by the researcher was undertaken. This re-examination was able to illumine (Sogge, 1996, p. 14) the partnership perspective and the partnership practice of each respondent INGO. Further analysis of the research data also revealed apparent differences in the described practices of support for the development work of organisations and groups in countries of the South; whatever the described practice, the language of partnership was generally utilised by each INGO to describe that practice.

### **Partnership Connotations**

The language of partner and partnership is used in commercial, political and social discourses in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. The meanings associated with partnership are diverse and at times in conflict with each other. There is also a great variation in perspectives about the relevance of the

founding partnership established between the Crown/State and tangata whenua<sup>2</sup> in the Treaty of Waitangi<sup>3</sup>. Discourses and associated rhetoric of groups within the aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand draw on the different connotations of partnership and reflect in their use of the concept of partnership different approaches to the Treaty of Waitangi.

The use of the terms 'partner' and 'partnership' by INGOs in this thesis and the influence of the multiple uses of the terms within the Aotearoa New Zealand context are evident in this research. *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Byrnes, 2009) which sets out to reframe New Zealand history and is intentionally critiquing the discipline of historical writing suggests two insights which are relevant to the uses of the concepts of partnership and partner within the aid and development sector. Byrnes, the editor of the History, states in Chapter 1 that the volume questions the notion that New Zealand's history is unique and considers ways in which events in New Zealand can be understood as part of 'trends, practices and structures that have their origin beyond New Zealand's shores' (Ibid, p. 1). She goes on to state that the publication is in part a response to 'what has been perhaps the most ambitious challenge made to historians of New Zealand in recent years' identifying this as the search for national identity (ibid). The work of historian Peter Gibbons is used to deconstruct the normative narratives focused on national identity within Aotearoa New Zealand. Byrnes summarises this as 'national identity might be read as a euphemism for ongoing 'cultural colonization''. The *New Oxford History* responds to this challenge to rework New Zealand history from 'the perspective of colonization rather than confining it within the (en)closure of national identity' (ibid). The argument stated by Byrnes is that:

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<sup>2</sup> Maori, people of the land

<sup>3</sup> Maori sovereignty in Aotearoa was declared in the 1835 Declaration of Independence. In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi (written in te reo Maori) between Maori Chiefs and British Crown representatives set out the terms on which British settlement in Aotearoa could take place.

*The New Oxford History of New Zealand* suggests that history and identity are more likely to have been made (and remade) along the lines of culture, community, family, class, region, sexuality and gender, among other factors, and that these are more important than ideas of evolving nationhood and appeals to national exceptionalism (ibid, p. 2).

While all of the factors listed might not be relevant, this statement does suggest the recognition that multiple factors are involved in shaping the various understandings of partnership articulated by INGOS in Aotearoa New Zealand in 2009.

The other relevant insight to the understandings and practice of partnership in Aotearoa New Zealand INGOS which goes alongside the recognition of the 'trends, practices and structures that have their origin beyond New Zealand's shores' (Byrnes, 2009, p. 1) is in the final paper in the History. Capie's paper on international relations (2009) cites Hogan, who argued that the history of international relations need not be the history of governments or in the context of government policy and that: "The transnational interactions of traders, non-governmental organisations and indigenous peoples are also diplomacies of a kind" (Hogan in Capie, 2009, p. 576). Capie's final point describes the contemporary context in which the partnership practice of INGOS is shaped:

But New Zealand's experience with globalisation does have a strong regional dimension. The country's most important relationship – politically, economically and culturally – is with Australia. China is now New Zealand's third-largest export market, and in 2007 visitor arrivals from 'Greater China' exceeded 170,000. A new generation of bilingual Asian New Zealanders is growing up, connecting the country – and Auckland in particular – with China, Korea, the Philippines and Japan. This component of globalisation seems likely to make Asia only more important to the country in the future, but it remains to be seen if that influence will come at the expense of New Zealand's "Western' or 'British' character. Perhaps a more likely scenario is that New Zealand's international and global relations will come to reflect what one scholar has called 'hybridisation', with fluid local, regional and

transnational identities competing to shape national interests and policies in the decades ahead (2009, p. 598).

Two recent publications address the issue of international relations without specific reference to international aid and development. The Treaty of Waitangi and Public Policy (Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011) explores the ways in which the Treaty is always speaking and includes a paper on international relations and trade. A paper by the editor Bargh (2011) describes the pre-settlement international relations and trade that Maori were involved in and suggests that the signing of the Declaration of Independence in 1835 and the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 was in part due to these activities. Bargh cites the detailed analysis of these activities, and goes on to suggest that the discussion of Maori in international relations and trade raises issues of sovereignty and the question of power sharing between Maori and the Crown. The relevance of this discussion, apart from the contextual implications, is found in the following comment.

International relations and foreign policy is unavoidably about how 'we' deal with 'them' hence definitions of 'we' and 'them' are vitally important. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Crown has assumed the right to define the 'we'. They have also assumed the right to define by whom and on what terms others are dealt with (Bargh, 2011, p. 49).

The INGOs represented in this research have been involved in international relations of a particular kind in the decades since the 1940s. The recognition that those relations have occurred under the Crown requires consideration when discussing partnership. Two of the INGOs in this research have carried out this activity over that time from within Aotearoa New Zealand. The other four INGOs began that activity in the United Kingdom or the United States of America and by a variety of processes were established in Aotearoa New Zealand specifically to raise money for the off-shore INGO. How the Treaty of Waitangi speaks to the use of the term partnership to describe the international relations of all the INGOs requires consideration of the trends, practices and structures which

originated elsewhere and the impact of the particular discourses on partnership in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

In 2011 the University of Canterbury co-hosted a conference with the title *Cultural Interactions and Interpretations in a Global Age* (2011) the papers of which have been published by the University. The paper by Low (2011) explores the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights in order to bring a global language of ethical values into the discourse on cultural interactions in a global age. The recognition of international diplomacy, the perspective on partnership that is particular to Aotearoa New Zealand, and the suggestion that ethical language within the interaction between cultures is relevant, together indicate that the consideration of partnership in the language of INGOs cannot be dealt with superficially.

### **Locating Partnership**

In the contemporary rhetoric of aid and development CSOs (civil society organisations) are an integral part of the economic and political structures of countries in the South, as are non-government organisations (NGOs).<sup>4</sup> These groups are the primary means by which donor INGOs in countries of the North have entry into countries in the South.<sup>5</sup> The literature review includes Figure 1 from Fowler which describes the connections between these diverse groups and donor organisations including INGOs. The contemporary practices of the Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs as articulated by representatives of the INGOs in this thesis, and in material in the public arena, describes the multiplicity of relationships both local and international that each INGO is involved in. The extent to which these are encompassed in the concept of partnership used by each INGO is addressed and discussed in subsequent chapters.

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<sup>4</sup> NGOs may exist or be created as a response to interventions by INGOs

<sup>5</sup> In the literature New Zealand and Australia are generally grouped with other OECD countries as the North or in some literature, the West.

The literature reviewed provides definitions of partner and partnership that are utilised within the aid and development industries, and offers insights on partnership from associated discourses, and from examples of partnership practices in a variety of contexts. It includes discussion of the distinctions between the rhetoric about and the practice of partnership. Recurring themes appear through the lens of partnership in aid and development literature, such as colonisation, contested development theories, and contemporary critiques of globalisation. McMichael's (2008) framing of the Development Project (1940s to early 1970s) and the Globalisation Project (1980s - ) provides the background against which the work of Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs as articulated by them, and the international environment in which INGOs carry out that work, can be understood. This framing is demonstrated in the timeline of social, political and economic processes (Appendix 1). It is within and against these processes that the INGOs uses of the language of partnership can be interpreted.

### **Resource Base**

The six respondent INGOs involved in this research are representative of the wide range of New Zealand organisations which financially support development programmes and projects overseas. In 2009 almost 100 widely diverse INGOs were members of the Council of International Development (CID) which in some way were supporting groups in other countries. The research respondent involved in tertiary education suggested that there had been a growth in Aotearoa New Zealand, at least over the previous decade, in the number and diversity of INGOs. This included groupings of refugees or economic migrants which sent support to groups in the home context. Such groups found that joining CID provided a wide range of single issue and/or single country focus groups with access to training and also access to government funds. The general tax-paying public of Aotearoa New Zealand, through groups which support particular interests or organisations involved in raising money to transmit overseas, or by donating to specific public financial appeals, is the primary



resource base from which all INGOs solicit financial support. Additional subsidies received from the Government had also been drawn from that same source of revenue though taxes. The financial role of corporates or foundations which support particular INGOs is identified in the literature and is evident in the public access financial statements of some of the respondent INGOs.

The INGOs interviewed as part of this thesis were among the INGOs meeting the then current criteria for the allocation of government ODA<sup>6</sup>, and able to supplement donated income by this means. A system for managing this subsidy had been in place since the mid 1970s when the Voluntary Agency Subsidy Scheme (VASS) was set up in order to facilitate the relationship between government development assistance and the non-government sector. In the 2009 financial year the \$1.5m plus that the respondent INGOs had each accessed came from the almost \$16m available under the KOHA scheme.<sup>7</sup> A system of Block Grants had been operating for a number of years. Each of the six INGOs were receiving a block grant at the time of interview. Individual project support for non-block grant recipients or for particular purposes also existed.

Qualitative and quantitative research under the title of *Overseas Aid: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study* had been carried out by UMR Research (2007) in 1979, 2004 and 2007. These analysed New Zealanders 'attitudes towards, and knowledge of, overseas aid issues' (UMRResearch, 2007, p. 5). The Executive Summary in the 2007 report stated that no major changes had occurred in respondents' knowledge about overseas aid during the period of the study. Approval by half the respondents was given to the proposition that providing overseas aid has played a big part in building New Zealand's strong reputation overseas. In the response about non-government aid, the fifty percent who had donated to an overseas aid organisation in the last year or so, was unchanged from the 2004 research. 'Age and income were again significant factors, with

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<sup>6</sup> Overseas Development Assistance

<sup>7</sup> This had succeeded the previous VASS process.

older respondents and higher income earners more likely to give (Ibid, p. 9). Other findings related to effectiveness, priorities and the level of government overseas aid. A booster sample of Maori respondents was included in the 2007 research, but the Pacifica booster sample that had been part of the original research, was not included in 2007.

### **The Aid and Development Sector**

References to the aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand occur in the research findings and are considered in addressing the issue of partnership. The sector brings together a variety of actors in aid and development. Membership in CID, established in 1985, gave the different international development INGOs opportunities to participate in activities and groupings for a variety of purposes, and exposed the INGOs to issues brought forward by any INGO or from within the government development assistance processes.

The impact of changes occurring in the Government's relationship with the non-government aid and development sector could be seen in responses of INGOs in 2009. Structural changes within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, including the absorption and dismantling of NZAid have occurred. Processes for accessing the government subsidy to INGOs have been changed from the previous system of mutually determined criteria to one in which priority is given to the focus of and criteria determined by the Ministry. The process of these changes has been described on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the individual INGO websites. These processes can be seen to have impacted on the non-government aid and development sector by the decrease in the membership of CID. There were 92 groups in 2009 and recently CID showed a membership of 59 aid and development non-government organisations.

The impact of the global economic recession on the Aotearoa New Zealand public, the resource base for international development INGOs, together with a recognition of the indicators which demonstrate the increasing gap between those on high and low or no incomes, has affected that resource base. The

embedding of the market as the common definer of value currently locates the INGOs in a competitive environment in Aotearoa New Zealand which is not unlike that which impacts on the work of the groups and organisations which are being funded by the INGOs in developing countries. The increasing regulation of ODA required by the New Zealand Government has been an outcome of those economic realities. This has been increasingly challenging for the INGOs, whatever capacity they have for dealing with them. The 2009 research data included some reference to the impending changes.

McMichael includes the MDGs<sup>8</sup> as one of the markers at the point his timeline is about to end with publication. These are associated at that time with Imperial Wars (2001 -), Climate regime, World Social Forum (2001) and the UK Stern Report (2001). Ongoing processes associated with the MDGs include the High Level Forums in which participant countries and international financial organisations address the achievement of the Goals. The parallel CSO Forums which enable INGOs to meet alongside the High Level Forum meetings are not specifically addressed in this research. Reference to the section on partnership in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness is included in the reviewed literature. MDGs and processes associated with these are referred to in various readings and in research from different contexts in the literature review. The following UN explanatory graphic appears in different formats and is universally accessible and widely used in both UN and other material dealing with MDGs.

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<sup>8</sup> UN Millennium Development Goals



A variety of activities have been generated in the Aotearoa New Zealand aid and development sector by the MDG processes. In 2008 the CEO of CID had reported on an Asian Regional Strategy Workshop on the Reality of Aid. In 2010 CID reported on an Open Forum on Development Effectiveness that had involved some of the respondent INGOs. This increase in activity provided the opportunity for the sector to engage with MFAT in relation to the New Zealand participation in High Level Forums. In 2011 the sector was regrouping with CID running workshops to prepare the Aotearoa New Zealand contribution to the CSO participation in the next High Level Forum to be held in Pusan, South Korea, later that year. Participation by this researcher in a 2011 CID workshop provided the opportunity to work on the paper for that Forum which was being coordinated by CID. This was considered to be a pivotal document, and it was clear that it would provide a collective challenge to the Eurocentric construct on development which dominated in those forums.

The March 2012 CID Brief to the Incoming Government entitled *Working Together for Aid and Development* refers to the participation of Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs in the processes of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This Briefing document to the Government demonstrates that partnership is discussed at some level in these forums:

Development NGOs fully support the shared principles shared at Busan. These were ownership of development policies by developing countries;

focus on results; inclusive development partnerships; transparency and accountability to each other. The challenge is for all development partners is to cooperate in the spirit of these principles. (*Working together for effective aid and development* CID p.3.)

This overview of recent activities in the Aotearoa New Zealand sector and the movement in the global and regional CSO forums from Aid Efficiency to Development Effectiveness is an indication that the sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is currently being precipitated into an engagement with discourses on development from within the region and globally. Another non-government umbrella organisation, DevNet, which was initiated in the 1990s by Development Studies staff in tertiary institutions, provides the opportunity for the INGOs, who choose to do so, to participate in symposia and conferences, and to interact with teachers and students of development studies, consultants and other independent development practitioners.

### **Parameters of the Research**

The issue of government ODA is not dealt with in this thesis except as it relates to the work of INGOs. As indicated above the UN Millennium Development goals, crafted to bring the issue of poverty and the need for development on to the international agenda, does involve the New Zealand government and INGOs. Participation by INGOs in MDG processes suggests that INGOs are caught between the increasing critiques of and discourses about development, and the international requirements for aid efficiency, epitomised by the MDGs . At the same time the normal day-to-day work of the INGOs continues, not least the interface with supporters and the public to raise money in order to continue the international work of the INGOs.

INGOs which work out of Aotearoa New Zealand, whose specific work is to invite public support for the humanitarian and emergency responses of the INGOs, are not included in this research. Each of the respondent INGOs have a mechanism for humanitarian and emergency response and have been eligible

for funding from a related source of Government subsidy. This part of the work of the INGOs is not specifically considered in this thesis. However, it is clear at some points in the research findings that the provision of welfare needs, sometimes emerging from disasters or humanitarian crises, and the development intentions of the INGO, are often blurred or merged in the field.

It can be argued that a definitive perspective on the development assistance provided by Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs can only be provided by groups and organisations in developing countries which have accepted such assistance from those INGOs. The limited frame of this Master's thesis has not made it possible to explore with such organisations and groups the experience of being involved in the development practices of Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs, generally or by the respondent INGO. Perspectives on such realities, which are not specific to the interviewed INGOs, except in some cases where a reference is made to a particular INGO, are included in the literature reviewed in Chapter 3.

## **Background to the Research**

This researcher's personal awareness of the complexities of the world of development and development assistance has emerged from some involvement in these, over a number of years and in a variety of ways. This has occurred by employment in particular organisations, and has also come through participation in local community groups in Aotearoa New Zealand, which provided exposure to local and national issues of social, economic and political development.

One employment involvement was a position of responsibility in an Asian ecumenical organisation<sup>9</sup> in the early 1980s. This provided exposure to the impact of development models being applied in, or imposed on, different Asian countries. Consequent impoverishing outcomes for some communities and establishment of elites in both urban and rural sectors in different countries was

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<sup>9</sup> The Christian Conference of Asia is a regional ecumenical body in which I had responsibility for the programme relating to education.

evidenced and discussed in multiple settings throughout the region. The role of transnational corporations and the geopolitical aspirations of countries in the North within the region could be identified as supporting or more generally inhibiting the processes of development in different countries in Asia. These too were the subject of multiple discourses in Asia as elsewhere in other regions of the South.

This employment was followed by appointment as the national director of an Aotearoa New Zealand INGO<sup>10</sup>, which provided further, if different, exposure to the realities of organisations and groups carrying out their work in countries engaged in the struggle to modernise or develop. A clearer awareness of the issues of aid and the aid industry emerged in that position. It also provided the opportunity to participate, in different ways, in the evolving aid and development sector of Aotearoa New Zealand society. One responsibility was working with others on the criteria for the application of VASS funds. The position also involved participation in networks and conferences at the international level.

The work in this INGO involved acting initially as a participant and then as a facilitator in Aotearoa New Zealand ecumenical anti-racism courses, which were seen as a priority at the time, and as a necessity on returning from working in Asia. These evolved over time into Treaty of Waitangi workshops. Such workshops were increasingly carried out across a broad sector of Aotearoa New Zealand society. Acquiring the skills of structural analysis was also given priority. The usefulness of this analytic tool had already been recognised by related Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs, and provided a basis for developing contextual perspectives on the issues of aid and development.

Over subsequent years, while involved in local church ministry, there was the possibility of participating with others in community groups and national

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<sup>10</sup> Christian World Service

networks which focused on issues of justice, peace and development. This strengthened the perception of the connection between the local and the global. The previous exposure in countries in Asia and then in the work with an INGO, and the recognition that the issues which engage organisations and groups in regions of the South, were also being worked out in this country, became clearer - issues of land, access to resources, debates over development, and issues of inclusion and exclusion and what partnership means. This has led to the recognition, which also reflects a perspective noted in the literature, that the work of INGOs is not neutral either in their support of organisations and groups in other countries, or in relationship to the resource base in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is this recognition that has provided the stimulus to explore the work of Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs, taking account of the impact of both national and international factors on the development work of the INGOs.

### **The Purpose of the Research**

The original stimulus to explore the work of INGOs has been clarified as the key issues became clearer. This clarity was sharpened by the 2009 actions of the New Zealand Government in respect of overseas development assistance, which have shifted the basis on which INGOs and the MFAT have previously negotiated a mutually beneficial relationship. The funding processes that existed up till 2009 have ceased, and new parameters for the relationship have been defined by the Ministry. One outcome of this has been the application of a concept of sustainability, narrowly confined in terms of economic factors, as the basis for project support, the majority of which is to be allocated for programmes in the South Pacific region.

Wallace *et al.* have described the impact of changes in the much bigger arena of aid in the UK. 'Fundraising, how to raise funds, what donors want, how best to attract their interest were dominant concerns in all the UK INGOs interviewed' (2006, p. 71). In commenting on the increase in advocacy and lobbying



(campaigning) work they note that each agency 'has been concerned to mark out a clear territory and ensure that their name is associated with their lobbying work in order to ensure a good public profile' (ibid). The authors go on to talk about the focus on promoting a brand. The energies of the respondent INGOs at the time of this research were being required to deal with the changes to what had been a well-established, if not always smooth, system of processes and relationships in respect of non-government organisations and government ODA.

Taken together, the data from the research process which has allowed representatives of the selected INGOs to speak for themselves in 2009 about their work, and data from the literature review which puts the work of international development INGOs into the wider context of development and aid within the economic and political realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, will address a perceived lack in critical understanding of the work of international development INGOs by the current government, in the Aotearoa aid and development sector, and in the public mind in Aotearoa New Zealand. It will also contribute to any on-going reflection on the purpose and practice of the aid and development INGOs as they engage in international diplomacies of a kind, which may be initiated by people and groups outside the sector, and how the understanding of partnership is worked out in practice within those purposes.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

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### **Introduction**

This thesis was undertaken to analyse the impact made on the thinking and practice of international development INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand by shifts in development theory. INGOs had continuously been accessing funds from the public and from the New Zealand Government ODA, and providing financial and other support to groups in other countries. Some of the INGOs had been involved in this work for decades and had formalised the structures and practices of the organisation. Other INGOs had begun in recent years, many of them focused on a narrower range of concerns and activities. It was assumed by the researcher that INGOs carrying out development support work would be able to explain the theoretical understanding of development that underpinned the work of the INGO.

In order to identify the theoretical shifts which had occurred in the decades of the Development Project since the 1940s a broad range of current literature on development theory and discourses was consulted. It was also necessary to survey available literature which addressed the issues of development assistance (aid) and the role of non-government organisations as actors in development and aid. The survey of relevant literature continued and expanded as broader issues emerged from the review of the literature. This review of the literature was accompanied by an exploration of the structures that had emerged in Aotearoa New Zealand to facilitate the work of INGOs. Educational material produced by the internal aid and international development sector was also explored. The researcher visited the office of the Council for International Development (CID) and the then existing Development Resource Centre in Wellington. Her attendance at the December 2008 biennial Conference

organised by DevNet<sup>11</sup> with the theme *Peripheral Vision*, provided an opportunity for talking with a range of people from among the teachers and students of development studies, people involved in consultancies or development related work, who were participating in the Conference.

The survey of current written material produced in the sector, the visits and attendance at the Dev-Net Conference each served to highlight that the role of INGOs was understood as one actor in the sector, along with other actors in development – development practitioners and consultants, development studies staff students and researchers, non-institutional development education organisations and, until 2009, NZAid. This recognition suggested that exploring the issue of the relationship between INGO theory and practice would contribute to the conceptual understanding of the role of INGOs within international development and within Aotearoa New Zealand society.

## **Research**

### **Theoretical Basis**

This thesis shows that INGOs which carry out an international development function from within Aotearoa New Zealand society had emerged as a social construction within British and latterly United States of America 19th and 20<sup>th</sup> century society. Buechler (2008) has identified characteristics of society – it is a social construction which is emergent, a historical product and incorporates a variety of structures and reflexive actors. These characteristics are relevant to the institutionalising of the INGOs and the aid and development industries. Buechler considers that it is important that the interaction of agency and structure is held together in order to understand the nature of the social construction. This involves recognition of both micro and macro factors and latent functions that can produce unexpected consequences (pp. 6-11). A post-structural ontology and epistemology underpins the constructivist approach

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<sup>11</sup> The Aotearoa New Zealand International Development Studies Network which links academics, students and development practitioners.

taken by the researcher to understand the systems of aid and development and INGOs as one institution within those systems. The emergent, historical, multiple structure and reflexive dimensions of this institution is discussed in Chapter 4 which documents the historical emergence of the particular INGOs that are analysed in later chapters.

Wodak (2008, p. 5) citing Foucault's approach to the role of language in creating a field of knowledge and power structures, helps identify discourses and theories within the socially constructed systems of aid and development and how these discourses are made up of particular language and fields of knowledge. For instance, habitual, repeated actions and ways of conceptualising development by INGOs have drawn on pre-existing engagement with international relations which continue to determine the responses to perceived need in other countries. These responses to perceived need are based on assumptions that are embedded in the culture of INGOs within the broader socially constructed institutions of aid and development (Wodak & Kryzyzanowski, 2008).

### **Design**

The process of scoping the territory of the aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand had suggested that different institutions within the sector could address the question of the theoretical basis of the work of INGOs. It was important to consider which INGOs it would be appropriate to include in the research, and to recognise that there were a number of organisations or networks involved in development education and that development studies had become a critical institution in the sector. NZAID was not a non-government organisation, but was seen as the bridge organisation of MFAT that participated in the non-government sector. The Dev-Net conference had identified a range of people who were loosely described as development practitioners or consultants.

Two factors influenced the initial design of the research project. The first was that other actors involved in the aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand would have a perspective on the development theory demonstrated by the INGOs. The other factor was the awareness that a definitive perspective on INGOs could only be available from groups or organisations in countries of the South which had experienced the application of the support offered by INGOs. These two factors determined the design of research which would generate data on the development thinking and the related practice of INGOs. The research strategy then was:

1. To interview a selected group of INGOs which carried out a development agenda from within Aotearoa New Zealand, which raised funds from the Aotearoa New Zealand public, and which accepted a New Zealand government subsidy on the funds raised.
2. To interview people from the tertiary development studies sector and from NZ Aid.
3. To arrange focus groups in which development consultants, practitioners and non-tertiary development educators would discuss issues to do with INGOs.
4. To arrange a dialogue by some means with some partner groups of the selected INGOs.

It became clear that while all these tasks were not achievable within the constraints of a Masters programme it was possible to organise interviews with resident INGOs, and tertiary development education and NZAid personnel. The value of setting up representative focus groups in different cities in the country was not as obvious. Also, it was recognised that a general view of the development theory identified in the practice of INGOs which impacted on groups in countries of the South could be obtained from relevant research material in the literature. The final data-gathering strategy therefore involved interviews with six INGOs in three cities, and tertiary education and NZAid staff in two cities.

## **Methods**

Davidson and Tolich (1999, 2003) suggest that a qualitative approach, which can achieve depth in the process of producing data, is appropriate in situations of complexity and possible diversity. It also allows for flexibility in terms of 'what you look for changes as what you know changes' (ibid, pp. 123-124). Since a qualitative research approach offers the possibility for explanations to emerge from the data (ibid, p. 104), a qualitative research approach was adopted that would allow a sample group of INGOs to articulate the position of the organisation in relation to shifting development theory and discourse. This involved semi-structured interviews, as described by Bryman (2004). 'It typically refers to a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the form of an interview schedule .....and has some latitude to ask further questions in response to what are seen as significant replies' (ibid, p. 113). The intention was that a discussion with the INGOs about development theory would allow people to talk about what the INGO was doing, and would identify the particular theory associated with this.

## ***Interview Process***

The original research question which was to analyse the impact of shifts in development theory on the thinking and practice of INGOs was approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee. Semi-structured taped discussions with nominated representatives of selected INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand, and with two other people from the aid and development sector who were familiar with the work of INGOs were arranged. Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs with the ability to participate in the research were selected on the basis of the following criteria.

- i. The organisation was involved in supporting organisations and groups working for development in poor countries, that is, that its work was not specifically humanitarian or disaster relief work, although that may be part of its work.

- ii. That it was a member of the New Zealand Council of International Development and had accessed funds from the New Zealand public and the New Zealand Government.
- iii. That it had identifiable staff and/or an office.

Together with these criteria, a further distinction between INGOs was identified in relation to the amount of government subsidy each INGO had received in the previous financial year. INGOs which had met the three criteria and had accessed an ODA subsidy in excess of \$1.5m in the previous financial year were identified. The INGOs which agreed to participate in the research were Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand, Christian World Service, Oxfam New Zealand, Save the Children New Zealand, TEAR Fund New Zealand, and World Vision. The decision to identify two people from the sector who were not employed in an international development INGO but familiar with the work of such INGOs was intended to provide an alternate one-step-back view of international development INGOs. These people were identified by surveying the websites relating to a variety of activities within the development sector. A lecturer in development studies at a tertiary institution, and a person with a long history in the sector and at the time employed in NZAid, agreed to be interviewed.

Letters were written to the CEOs of the six INGOs, with offices in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, asking if their organisation would be willing to participate in an interview to discuss the research question. After the organisation had responded positively to participating in the research, the logistics were sorted out by email. It was agreed by each INGO that the interview could take place in the office of the INGO and by the sectoral people in their offices. The question of the staff level in the INGO of the person(s) who would participate in the interview for the organisation was in some cases problematic for the INGO. The INGOs varied in who they nominated to address the question on behalf of the INGOs.

The questions for discussion with the INGOs were developed in reference to the research question about the impact of shifts in development theory on the thinking and practice of INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand. The INGOs and other respondents indicated willingness to participate in the discussion during July and August 2009. The Questions for Discussion with International Development INGOs (Appendix 2) were forwarded to the INGO several weeks in advance of the proposed interview, together with the relevant Information Sheet and Consent Form required by the Human Ethics Committee. It was presumed at the time that these questions would be discussed with the representative(s) of the organisation within the INGO before the agreed meeting. A slightly adapted set of questions with the relevant Ethics papers were also forwarded to the two sector people.

### ***Questions***

In The Topics for Discussion the first set of questions is preceded by a statement affirming diversity among INGOs. This was intended to let the person(s) participating know that there were no preconceptions about the information that would emerge from consideration of the suggested questions. Questions which followed clarify who was present for the interview and their position within the organisation, the origins of the organisation, number of staff employed by the INGO and where policy making was located within the organisations. This data from these topics provided some indication of where in the INGO discussion of issues of development may or may not occur. The next set of questions were preceded by an indication of what was being looked for by asking the questions and by the Abstract which was informing the research.

A diagram was created by the researcher which contained a range of dominant perspectives on development theory in order to provide an entry point for a discussion on development theory. It was explained that this was not conclusive and that other theoretical perspectives brought by the INGO or sectoral person(s) involved would inform the discussion. In each case the discussion of



the topics related to development theory took the greatest amount of time in the interview. The blank diagram which had been forwarded as a possible work sheet had not been used by anyone. The last set of general questions was intended to test the ways in which working out of Aotearoa New Zealand had any relevance to the INGO, and the role, if any, of other organisations in the decision making of the INGO.

The conversations ended with a discussion about confidentiality and whether the person(s) required a transcript of the interview, by which they could have a right of reply in respect of the transcript. Only one respondent INGO required this and a copy of the transcript was sent to that person. The person(s) from the INGOs and the sectoral people who had given their time were thanked and also for the hospitality of providing a meeting space.

### ***Discussion***

Discussions took place in the main office of the INGO, and in the case of the two sectoral people, at their work situation. The office or meeting room was generally separate from the general work area of the INGO or in the sectoral offices. This meant that when people wanted to refer to something or find a particular brochure, the flow of the discussion was to some extent disrupted. People with more INGO experience came better prepared for participation in the discussion. The amount of time requested was two hours, which in one case was negotiated to be less. No hospitality in terms of food or drink was asked for but was offered several times, and in most cases the meeting progressed without any break – except in one situation when a fire alarm went off and the building had to be evacuated!

The semi-structured interview process was generally animated and in the two situations where there were several people present there was lively conversation between the participants. In some situations the research topics generated questions about the topics from participants, and in one case a critique was offered about the development theory chart included to assist the

discussion. It was clear that the people representing the INGOs and the two sectoral people were passionately committed to the work they were doing. The interactions involved are described as discussions or conversations, which reflects not only the free-flowing nature of the interviews but the degree of collegiality that emerged in the conversations. The schedule of questions were all addressed in this process.

### **Findings**

The topics covered in the research questions were discussed in each of the INGO offices. These discussions addressed in different ways the impact of shifts in development theory on the work of the INGO. Cameron (2007) and Wodak *et al.* (2008) provided insights useful for assessing the data from each situation in ways that would help identify any assumptions that operated in the discussion as a consequence of the processes used in setting up of the interview. Data produced from the taped interviews was first transcribed verbatim. The material from each interview was then systematically analysed to determine where the interview data directly addressed the research question. The statements from this process were noted as an indicator of the thinking of the person being interviewed and application to the research question identified, and other divergent statements noted.

The data produced some initial findings. The first was a recognition that four of the six international development INGOs could be identified as franchises of INGOs that had earlier been established in Great Britain or the United States of America and that each had been intentionally established in Aotearoa New Zealand in order to raise money for those organisations. The two other INGOs involved in this research reflected similar British origins as these had been adapted within settler society in Aotearoa New Zealand. These differences between the six INGOs were evident in a variety of ways. The key finding was that the constructed realities which were being created by the discussions and conversations with each INGO did not produce data that indicated a clear link

between a particular theory or theories of development or change of theory that directly informed the practice of the INGO.

The second initial key finding was the focus on practice which was dominant in the responses from the INGOs. The analysis of this data has indicated a significant difference in the described interaction of the INGO with the groups and organisations identified by the INGOs as partners. The literature review in Chapter 3 is therefore an exploration of the concept of partnership as this is applied to the practice of INGOs within the systems of aid and development. The data from the transcripts that addresses INGO practices of partnership is set out in Chapter 5. This data is analysed in Chapter 6 and discussed in Chapter 7.

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

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*The Concept and Practice of Partnership in the Work of International Development Non-Government Organisations (INGOs)*

#### **Introduction**

What do the buzzwords participation, empowerment and poverty reduction do for development policy? This was the question Cornwall and Brock asked in 2005 (p. 1043), picking up on the use of these concepts in the dominant development discourses at the time. They suggested that in the fast moving world of development policy buzz words 'are an important part of framing solutions'. The Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs made extensive use in 2009 of the language of partnership which was not a buzzword in 2005. It is clear that partner and partnership are included in the lexicon that Aotearoa New Zealand based INGOs use to identify and frame the solutions to the problems that are addressed by the work of the INGO. This framing has been demonstrated to apply to different INGO practices. The literature in this review exposes the roots of these differences and the contemporary application of these in the partnership practices of INGOs.

#### **The Literature**

The Transnational Institute<sup>12</sup> has identified that the work of INGOs was 'under illumined'. Explored by Sogge *et. al.* (1996) this lack of illumination has been evident when identifying an adequate body of literature through which to explore the partnership practices of INGOs. Writers included in the review of literature have dealt with the question of locating data relevant to the non-government(al) in the aid and development sector.

#### **The Problem**

Lewis (2005) surveyed literature which had emerged as the non-governmental became a research subject in academic development studies. His criticisms are

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<sup>12</sup> Identified on the web page as a 'Worldwide fellowship of scholar activists'.

that the published work within INGO and related sectors demonstrates what he has called the normative agenda of that sector. The ideological biases in the perspective of researchers and the increasing influence of the managerial in such writings have been pointed out by Lewis (2005, p. 200 ff), who noted that the idealism of researchers projects expectations on the non-government groups that are their focus. Riddell (2007, p. 265 ff) had a different problem and has discussed the ways in which data gaps effect the ability of researchers and policy makers to form judgments on the impact of the work of INGO aid-funded development initiatives. Lewis and Kanji (2009) addressed Riddell's concern about data gaps by stating that 'the research literature on development NGOs including INGOs remains somewhat underdeveloped' (p.3 Box 1). Lewis and Kanji further identify and adapt the concerns noted by Lewis above. Publication of single case studies of specific organisations made generalising difficult; lack of objectivity because of the relationship of researchers to the organization or their donors; and NGOs were difficult research subjects since prioritizing day-to-day work apparently precluded researchers gaining access to staff and others.

Another issue is to identify where to locate INGOs in the discourses on the non-governmental. INGOs in the spectrum of social and political sectors is dealt with by Lewis and Kanji who identify non-governmental organisations within third sector research. This built on the earlier work of Lewis (1999, p. 3) in which he discussed the use of the concept of the non-governmental in the parallel universes of the third sector in NGO literature. On the one hand there is the growth and evolution of NGO roles in development and relief work, and related policy issues in respect of states and donors, community-based organisations and social change. On the other hand there is the non-profit literature which deals with other issues such as the definitions of the existence of the third sector and managerial issues (ibid). The difficulty of defining the Third Sector is addressed by Hull *et al.* who approach the problem from the perspective of Critical Management Studies and state that their work represents 'the first

broad-ranging synthesis of (a) contemporary issues within the Third Sector, Social Economy and Civil Society and (b) Critical Management Studies' indicating that the role of INGOs is of interest in a range of discourses and disciplines.

Language is a factor which limits the ability to access relevant literature. Theoretical work about aid and development from countries in Europe has been translated into English as have the materials produced by European networks. Literature that has not generally been translated into English relates to the literature in the colonial languages of Spanish and Portuguese from countries of Central and South America. Some discourses and critiques of the interventionist role of the United States in terms of aid and the shifts in politics which reflect non-governmental processes are evident in English books and papers, usually written by researchers external to the Central and South American region. There is obviously also circulating within and among countries in Asia and Africa literature that is written in whatever language the particular area of circulation requires.

This literature review, dependent as it is on English, largely reflects literature from areas where English is either the basic language or from countries where the English language of colonisation continues, such as in some countries in Africa and Asia. An increasing number of English language journals include theoretical and research-based writing about the issues of aid and development. The literature in this review has been selected with the criticism of Lewis (2005) in mind about the normative agenda that dominates the literature from within the INGO aid and development sector and includes where appropriate readings that are external to the sector.

### **Relevant Literature**

In order to avoid uncritically perpetuating the normative agenda and to illumine (Sogge, 1996) and contribute to the underdeveloped literature on INGOs (Lewis & Kanji, 2009) the literature in this review pursues the issue of partnership

relative to INGOs through a range of sources. Literature which can assist with the deconstructing of the partnership relationship between INGOs and other groups and organisations is included together with literature which explores the concept of partnership. Readings are included which deal with partnership in the discourses on aid and development and include reference to other concepts, such as participation.<sup>13</sup> Reference to the Third Sector has demonstrated that INGOs can be located in the realm of the non-governmental. The review will show that the emergence of civil society as an analytical social category in contemporary aid and development discourse has further complicated the partnership relationship between INGOs in the North and related non-government groups (NGOs) in the South.

The INGOs in this research are involved in humanitarian or emergency response work, for which they raise money from the public and have access to government humanitarian funds. They also engage in a variety of advocacy, campaigning and lobbying activities. These activities in the work of the INGOs are not the focus of this research but literature which looks at the role of INGOs in a variety of interfaces including those determined by such activities, also addresses issues of partnership.

A key factor in the literature and which is also present in the research data is related to the issue of whose voice is being heard in the discourses, debates and discussions about development and development practice. This literature review is therefore organised to allow a variety of voices to address the issue of the partnership interaction between the nongovernment sector in the North and the nongovernment sector in the South. This, however, does not meet the requirement that any definitive statement on the partnership activities of the Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs must be given by groups or organisations which are supported by the INGOS. The resources used do include critiques of the

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<sup>13</sup> Identified as a buzzword by Cornwall and Brock (2005).

partnership activities of Northern INGOs which may be indicative for the Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs, recognising that the roots of the Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs are in the North and that some of the INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand continue as franchises of international INGOs located in the North.

The concern of Riddell (2007), which is also addressed by Lewis and Kanji (2009), is that there is very little relevant literature that can be generalised. However this review will draw on insights from country and other research reports which can illumine factors involved in the different practices of INGOs from the North in a variety of situations. Readings which explore issues related to the concept of partnership, and/or critiques of the partnership practices of INGOs, can be seen to be reacting to global political and economic processes. Literature which provides an overview of political and economic processes over the period during which different practices have become enculturated in the work of the INGOs is also included in this review.

### **Structure of Review**

This review is organised so that the deconstruction of the partnership practice of INGOs is accompanied by the exploration of the concepts of partnership and identification of practices associated with those concepts and practices. Section 2 deals with the roots of INGO practice and the overview of the political and economic processes through which the INGOs evolved and within which they continue. The literature in the Section 3 explores the concept of partnership in discourses that address the practice of INGOs and focuses on specific situations in which the interface of INGOs with partner groups is exposed and partnership or lack of partnership is detailed. Literature which links the concepts of partnership with the evidences of INGO practice is considered in Section 4.

### **INGO Roots and Contemporary Context**

This section provides an overview of ideas and events which Bayly *et al.* (2011, p. 25) would describe as constitutive of the present. Contemporary aid and



development literature implicitly and often explicitly makes links with historical social, cultural, economic and political practices or processes to analyse, explain or justify current thinking and practice. The ways in which these processes have shaped contemporary understandings and practice of partnership are explored. This exploration includes identifying the driving ideas that are the sources of the dominant discourses and ideologies which currently inform the perpetuation of INGO participation in the global development project and supporting aid industry. What follows are the constitutive factors of INGOs.

### **Development Ideology**

The concepts of collective delusion and the power of an intention to become a doctrine are the basis of the theorising of Rist (2002) and Cowan and Shenton (1996). The purpose of the collective delusion identified by Rist is to promote 'a widening of market relations despite the good intentions of its advocates' (p. 2). Cowan and Shenton link the intention to develop to actions to achieve development. Both writers recognise that the concept of development has emerged from within a particular history and culture. Rist traces how collective delusion progressed from its Western origins to become a global faith, and Cowan and Shenton show that ideas that evolved in the enlightenment and industrial developments in Europe became attached to state policy with the concept of trusteeship. "Those who took themselves to be developed could act to determine the process of development for those who were deemed to be less-developed" (Cowan & Shenton, 1996, p. x).

Crewe and Harrison (1998) discuss partnership (which is examined in more detail in Section 3). Their interest in partnership is preceded by reference to the intellectual inheritance of development in which they identify the significance of a number of binary metaphors. The metaphor of adult and child relationship underpins other hierarchical structures derived from colonial discourse such as

black/white, and civilized/uncivilized, suggested by Manzo (as cited in Crush, 1995).<sup>14</sup>

Guardianship is central to these binary metaphors whereby people apparently need to be looked after and even protected from their own foolishness, which is described as evolutionary thinking by Crewe and Harrison (1998). After discussing the intellectual heritage of development Crewe and Harrison conclude that they had 'described strands of development ideology' almost as if they stand apart from the social and political relations that surround them', and go on to say that they recognise that mental frameworks do not exist in isolation from these (ibid, p. 46).

Crush's collection (1995) contains discussions on what appears to be the minutiae of the mechanisms for spreading ideas within 'a vast hierarchical apparatus of knowledge production and consumption sometimes known, with metaphorical precision, as the 'development industry'. The discussion focuses first on texts of development produced by the legions of people employed in or associated with development as authors of these different texts and only secondarily on its projects and practices.

In generic terms, the objects of analysis are the reports, plans, analyses, evaluation, assessments, consultancies, papers, books, policies, speeches, discussion, debates, presentations and conversations that circulate within and through the apparatus of agencies and institutions of the development machine (Crush, 1995, p. 5).

The various contributions in the publication discuss how this recognition is worked out and translated into the networks of power and domination that encompass the globe. Crush warns against being submerged in the words of development,' the purpose of which is to convince, to persuade, how the world should be (ibid, p. 5).

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<sup>14</sup> Manzo, K. (1995) 'Black consciousness and the quest for counter-modernist development' in J. Crush (1995)(ed.) *Power of Development*.

A contemporary example of the transmission of ideas and the critique of these is suggested in the discourse and programmes stimulated by the UK Department for International Development (DFID) paper on Drivers of Change (2004) DFID states:

Typically, donors have sought to bring about change through technically sound programmes, supported in country by individual champions of reform or change. Increasingly the importance of understanding the underlying political systems and the mechanics of pro-poor change has been acknowledged. In particular the role of institutions, both formal and informal, and structural features is recognised (DFID, 2004, p. 1).

Country reports on the use of the Drivers of Change programme can be found on a variety of websites. Substantial reports have been made by the OECD DAC Network on Governance, and by the Overseas Development Institute. The ODI report (Warrener, 2004) discusses the growing awareness of donors who have traditionally shied away from engaging with the political in the complexity and political nature of development. They say that 'The development of political science analytical skills through the DoC approach is proving fruitful for country offices' and go to say that concerns about political interventions in 'sovereign' states still apply (ibid, p. 21).

Rist, Cowan and Shenton, Crewe and Harrison and the contributors to Crush's volume explain how the concept of development has emerged and how it is perpetuated as a dominant globalised ideology. The discourses stimulated by the DFID Drivers of Change theorising and critiques of this are a contemporary contribution to perpetuating the ideology of development as Northern intervention. McMichael (2008) has produced a timeline (Appendix 1) of the social, political and economic processes of the Development Project (1940s to early 1970s) and the Globalisation Project (1980s onwards). His point that 'the thread that weaves together the story of colonialism, developmentalism and globalization is that development is a programme of rule' (2008, p. xv) is a

significant one for this thesis. The Drivers of Change programme demonstrates that the ongoing debates and discourses defined by McMichael as colonialism, developmentalism and globalization are continuing.

### **From Charity to the Aid Industry**

Rist (2002) dealt initially with the immediate post-Second World environment in the North and described what he called the Invention of Development. It began with President Truman's Four Point Plan, Point Four of which is given as Appendix 1 in Rist (pp. 259-260). In Point 4 of the Plan a new world view is initiated by Truman. The United States, which in President Truman's view was preeminent in the development of industrial and scientific techniques, invited other countries to pool their resources with the US. The purpose of this was to enable under-developed peace-loving peoples to realise their aspirations. The need to guarantee investment was addressed by the President, who asserted that 'the old imperialism – exploitation for foreign profit' - would have no place in this plan (Rist, 2002, p. 60). Democracy would be the 'vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world' against oppressors and their ancient enemies of hunger, misery and despair' (ibid).<sup>15</sup>

Manji and O'Coill have critiqued the development practice of INGOs. They have provided an interesting take on the evolution of international NGOs in the post-Second World War environment. The war charities which had supported relief and reconstruction in post-war Europe were 'faced with the choice to either wind down their operations entirely or they could expand into new activities and new continents' (Manji & O'Coill, 2002, p. 573). While some organisations had previous missionary involvement in countries in Africa, Oxfam and Save the Children were among those which had no direct involvement in the colonies and who decided to extend their activities. Why, asked the authors? Manji and O'Coill suggested that organisational survival was one factor, but also ideological goals; that even if religion may have been the original belief base of the

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<sup>15</sup> This is a summary of the discussion of Point 4 contained in Appendix 1 of Rist (2002).

organisation, it was the idealist tradition of liberal internationalism that now provided the motivation for them, as for the League of Nations. 'They embraced the new discourse of development with as much enthusiasm as colonial missionary societies were doing locally' (ibid, p. 573).

Manji and O'Coill quote Maggie Black's history of Oxfam: 'Her Majesty's brown and black-skinned subjects' were not described in the same political or economic terms 'as us' (Black, 1992, pp. 37, in original). Manji and O'Coill go on to say that the marketing problem for the NGOs was solved by offering a more palatable perspective on Africans and Asians, who were not 'uncivilized' but 'under-developed' (p. 574). Identifying the real problem of the discourse on development being one of charity, technical expertise, and a deep paternalism, Manji and O'Coill state that:

As with the racist ideologies of the past, the discourse of development continued to define non-Western people in terms of their perceived divergence from the cultural standards of the West, and it reproduced the social hierarchies that had prevailed between both groups under colonialism (ibid).

Rugendyke (2007) explores the Australian INGOs involvement in advocacy. She backgrounded this with a summary of the shift from charity to advocacy which had occurred in the evolution of these organisations in Australia. The post-war 'organisational boom' is described as major changes in agency orientation that had come to the fore in the 1970s such as 'self-reliance, local control, partnership, appropriate technology, peoples' participation, including the participation of women' were opposed to the previous 'hand-out mentality' (Rugendyke, 2007, pp. 19, 31). Participation, partnership, a poverty focus, grassroots involvement, provision of basic needs, appropriateness, innovativeness and support for social justice remained as the 'central tenets' of the voluntary aid movement (ibid, p. 34).

Development and the support for the under-developed in foreign countries locates INGOs within the wide reaches of development ideology and the mechanisms of the aid industry. The intellectual inheritance of development described previously by Crewe and Harrison supports the discussion of partnership which followed. Dominant ideas of development ideology have been described by Rist, Cowan and Shenton and Crush and are grounded in the timeline of McMichael. The relationship between under-development and development somewhere else is the contemporary *raison d'être* of the international activities of INGOs. Indications of the aid industry which supports development can be seen in the references to Truman, Manji and O'Coill, and in the perspective of Rugendyke. The aid industry facilitates and constrains the partnership relationships of INGOs.

Issues relating to the aid industry are identified in the 2001 IDS policy briefing on *The New Dynamics of Aid: Power, Procedures and Relationships* (IDS (Institute of Development Studies), 2001). This includes the following list in which partnership is listed as one of the items indicative of the gap between words and actions.

**Empowerment** implies power to those who are subordinate and weak, but the usual practice between levels of hierarchy is control from above. Aid agencies impose conditionalities at the same time as they preach empowerment.

**Accountability** between partners is two-way up and down the aid chain, but in practice accountability downwards is rare and weak.

**Ownership** implies national and local autonomy but this is limited by aid agencies' influence on policy, human rights and governance, whether this influence is exerted directly on governments or indirectly through citizens and civil society.

**Partnership** implies collegial equality but aid agencies with funds often call the shots.

**Participation** is considered the means by some and an end by others, and is used to describe a range of practices stretching from compulsory labour to spontaneous organisation.

**Transparency** implies information shared between partners, and accessible in the public domain, but aid agencies and governments

often keep budget details and other information about decision-making confidential.

**Primary stakeholder** refers to the poor and the marginalized but though 'primary' they participate least and have least voice (IDS (Institute of Development Studies), 2001, pp. 1-2).

The dominant contemporary discourse on the aid industry continues to be the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the intention to involve nation states in the achievement of those goals. The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (High Level Forum, 2005) is the defining statement for the ongoing processes for the implementation of the MDGs. Reference is made to the MDGs in a number of the readings. The Paris Declaration begins with the Statement of Resolve of Ministers of developed and developing countries (High Level Forum, 2005, p. 1). Section ii of the Paris Declaration sets out the Partnership Commitment, the first clause of which is Ownership. This clause states that Partner countries exercise effective leadership over their own development policies and strategies and co-ordinate development actions (High Level Forum, 2005, p. 3). There are 50 action points for governments to deal with. INGOs have inevitably been impacted by these processes as have partners in countries which have aligned themselves with the MDG processes. The link with this research is that the first principle set out for these mutually resolved actions is partnership.

### **Third Sector Research**

Locating INGOs in the Third Sector has been referred to in the discussion about identifying and accessing partnership literature. Lewis (1999) concludes the discussions by various authors in the volume on the Third Sector and identifies what the papers have revealed. Common challenges exist between North and South, poverty and inequality are global phenomena, and in communities in both North and South there are inequalities of power and complex dimensions of difference (Lewis, 1999, pp. 268-269). Diversity within the third sector is discussed by Hull *et al.* (2011, p. xvii) who talked about the strange juxtaposition

of very large charities happy to take over the provision of formerly public services alongside small and radical cooperatives. The concept of hybridity as it relates to the non-governmental or civil society is also addressed in Hull et.al (p. xxiv ff). Three types of hybridity within the Third Sector are described: policy hybrids refer to the crosspollination of neoliberal and social justice in policies; value hybrids blend incongruent values which require mediation; and practice hybrids give greater voice to beneficiaries. The broad discussion of these are summed up by Haugh and Paredo (2011) in the commentary on one of the papers. This has suggested that '[t]hird sector organisations struggle with pressures to conform to mainstream management practices whilst at the same time endeavouring to ensure their distinctiveness from the practices of private and public sectors' (ibid, p. 296).

The question of hybridity from the perspective of international relations provides another lens through which to explore the processes of partnership. International Relations theory for the 21<sup>st</sup> century edited by Griffiths (2007) includes a paper on postcolonialism by Abrahamsen (2007) in which she discusses identity, hybridity and authenticity.

The importance of identity is another key theme in postcolonial theory, and this is linked to the understanding of power as productive of subjects and identities through various micro-technologies and relations. Identities and subjectivities were profoundly influenced and reshaped by the colonial experience and accordingly colonialism finds continued expression in a multiplicity of practices, philosophies, and cultures imparted to and adopted by the colonised in more or less hybrid, or mixed, forms. (2007, p. 117).

Abrahamsen draws on Nandy, Fanon and others and suggests that the notion of hybridity encapsulates the way in which the colonizer and the colonized are forged in relationship by the ways in which identities and culture negotiate the



past.<sup>16</sup> The complex picture of the colonial relationship in which the subaltern were not passive victims of imperial power is demonstrated more clearly when the agency and resistance of the subaltern are brought to the forefront of analysis. Hybridity is linked to resistance when it signifies the creativity and adaptability of the subaltern in the colonial encounter and in contemporary North-South relations so that the assumption of a one-way relationship is inappropriate (Abrahamsen, 2007, p. 117 ff).

Rist (2002) has noted Truman's conviction that democracy would be the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world against oppressors and their ancient enemies of hunger, misery and despair.<sup>17</sup> Several readings which discuss the issue of democracy identify the way in which different interfaces between a variety of groups and organisations make implicit or explicit reference to partnership, and demonstrate types of hybridity.

Shelley (2000) has researched the involvement of very large charities in the democratisation process in China. This has demonstrated the fact that the Third Sector is the social location in which very different groups cooperate for particular purposes. The apparently ideological commonality which exists among the American non-government organisations involved in the process in China is an example of value hybrids identified in Hull. Shelley argues that INGOs promoting democracy 'need to be understood as a manifestation of political globalisation, the self-interest of INGOs and representing specific power clusters in the United States' (2000, p. 226).

The background to the involvement of the American INGOs in China is described by Shelley. In 1993 INGOs were invited by the Ministry of Civil Affairs in China, responsible for administering the Organic Law of Villager's Committees, to

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<sup>16</sup> The theories which Abrahamsen draws on are identified with particular theorists but reference to their works is not appended to the paper.

advise and assist improvements to village self-government. The research shows that the global and local interactions worked to the benefit of both Chinese and American actors. It is against the backdrop of complex and challenging relations between the United States and China that the particular INGOs should be situated. Shelley concludes that her research achieves the intention of showing that national and international actors are promoting and exploiting political reforms in China (2000, p. 237).

The processes of democratisation of the third sector in a very different context are explored by McCormack-Hale (2008). Sierra Leone is in the process of rebuilding after a civil war. The function of third sector INGOs implementing programmes and projects in the third sector in such countries is a focus in McCormack-Hale's research. It is the way in which INGOS were side-stepping the government processes for donor coordination which led them to conclude that:

The unequal power relations between NGOs, donors and the Sierra Leone government needs to be explicitly recognized as it underlies the very way in which aid is disseminated, the policy decisions that are taken as well as the relations between citizens and their government. If such unequal relations remain unaddressed, how can we begin to talk about government accountability to its people, when implemented policies are ones that are not even articulated by the local populace or government driven? (McCormack-Hale, 2008, p. 203).

While Shelley and of McCormack-Hale have demonstrated the ways in which INGOs as third sector organisations are involved in international relations the concern of Collingwood (2006) is the legitimacy of transnational NGOs in international society. She notes that the number of NGOs (INGOs) working across borders had risen sharply since the late 1980s and has explored the reasons for this.

Collingwood has defined legitimacy as 'rightful behaviour undertaken by the appropriate authority in line with an agreed set of rules' (2006, p. 444). She

identified the ways in which transnational INGOs have sourced their legitimacy – by demonstrating their roots in notions of universal human dignity or global justice, by meeting the legal norms entailed in international covenants of various types, asserting INGOs financial/political independence, demonstrating an extensive membership, affirming the role of INGOs in giving voice to or empowering marginalized groups, and claiming accumulated expertise and partnership with powerful people and institutions (ibid, pp. 447-448). Collingwood sets out a counter argument for each of the INGOs claims for sources of legitimacy; suggesting that it is wise to take a step back from the debate ‘and assess the extent to which the ‘legitimacy problem’ is quite as straightforward, or as extensive, as some critics suggest’ (p. 451). Collingwood also suggests that rather than criticism it would be more worthwhile to investigate any new forms of legitimacy which have been developed in the INGO sector.

Ossewaarde *et al.* (2008) have discussed the multidimensional nature of INGO legitimacy, and talked about normative legitimacy, regulatory legitimacy, cognitive legitimacy, and output legitimacy. The difficulty of attaining all four areas of legitimacy was discussed using as a case study the post- tsunami interventions by INGOs at the time of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. It is concluded that it is a continual struggle for INGOs to live up to the mission statements of the policy makers and funding stake holders of the INGO (Ossewaarde et al., 2008, p. 51).

Up to this point the review has shown that being rooted in the third sector involves the INGOs interacting with third sector NGOs in other countries. This has meant different things in different contexts, involved a variety of hybrid processes, and has enabled INGOs to exploit the situation of governments in the countries in which they interact with third sector groupings. The issue of the legitimacy of cross border interactions has been raised in the literature.

Different partnership relationships in different interactions are explicitly or implicitly raised in the literature.

Three constitutive factors have been identified which impact on the capacity of INGOs to cooperate as partners in cross border interactions. Development ideology, the institutions and mechanisms of the aid industry, and identification historically and in the present as third sector organisations are all constitutive of the practice and the perspectives of INGOs. The practice of international relations within development ideology and the institutional processes and mechanisms of the aid industry is the motivation for INGOs to embrace the concept of partnership. The next section explores the concept of partnership through a variety of INGO interfaces with other organisations in which the practice of partnership is exposed.

## **INGOS and Partnership**

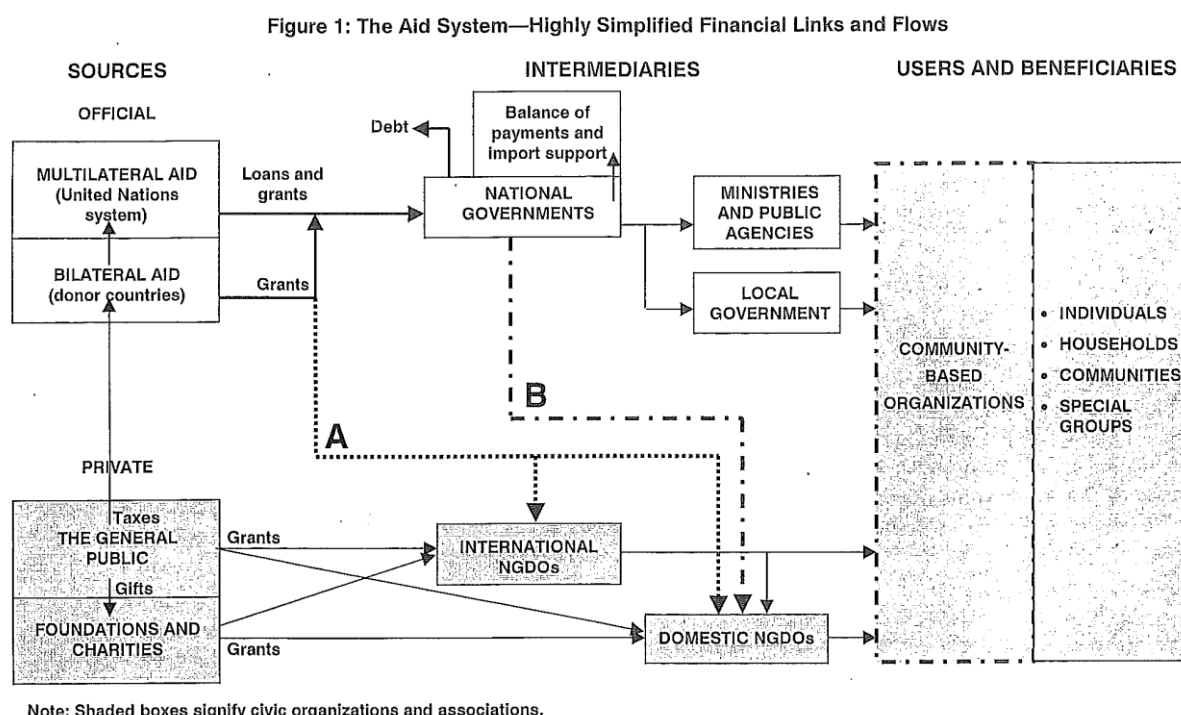
### **Introduction**

Fowler (1998) has suggested that 'partnership' has been an aspiration for INGOs since the 1970s. The changed context at the end of the Cold War and the lack of a global rival has allowed the North to redefine goals and policy agendas for development cooperation. It was the shift from geopolitical control to market competition and the maintenance of political stability with economic growth in countries of the South and East which has changed the aid context for INGOs.

According to Fowler (2000b, p. 26) today's rule in international development is that everybody wants to be a partner with everyone, on everything, everywhere, so that different interpretations of the concept of partnership exist to the point where the phrase 'partnership in development' has become 'virtually meaningless and discredited'. He suggested that the use of the term "partnership in development" is too often used "to camouflage aid relationships that are unbalanced, dependency-creating and based on compromises in favour of the powerful" (ibid, p. 26). Fowler identified a range of different interlinking

groups which function within the aid system. Non-government development organisations (NGDOs) are domestic in the aid recipient countries. Income flows from private sources of funding through INGOs or from foundations and charities in the North. Domestic NGDOs may also receive funding from an aid recipient national government. Domestic NGDOs and INGOs as well as national and local government agencies may all be funding community-based organisations.

Fowler explores both civil society organisations and non-government development organisations (NDGOs) which are different interfaces for INGO partnership activities. His highly simplified Figure 1 defines state and private systems and the links between these and the community-based organisations. The plethora of relationships delineated in Figure 1 is the basis for Fowler's observations about partnership and his critique of it.



The distinction between community-based organisations (CBOs), NGOs (non-government organisations) in the aid recipient situation, large domestic NGOs, INGOs and donors all require explanation in the different networks of

relationships being defined as partnership. A variety of interfaces are evident in the readings which follow.

### **North/South/North Interactions**

Ian Smillie (1995) was identified by the government sector interviewee as a key figure in understanding INGOs. Smillie has explained experiences and involvements on which he has drawn to map, discuss and analyse what has been happening to INGOs. His chapter on partners begins with his perspective on the development project:

When Northern NGOs began their operations in the South, some worked with governments. Church organizations tended to work through missionaries. But most did everything themselves. They set up schools and clinics, they designed agriculture projects, they formed groups, trained adults, sent in extension workers. They operated income generation projects. Local people were hired as administrators, clerks, sometimes as managers. But essentially, development was something conceived, managed and paid for by outsiders. In the 1960s, and well into the 1970s, from Gaborone to Khartoum, from Quito to Port Moresby, virtually every NGO office and every project featured a profusion of pink faces. For some Northern NGOs, this is still the case, but the number is declining (Smillie, 1995, p. 181).

Smillie has discussed what he calls the flood of NGOs in the South that occurred in the 1980s, as a consequence of which 'the North-South relationship became one of *partnership*, founded on common values and goals, and on principles of self-reliant, people-centred development'. He cited a mid-1990s mission statement of the British INGO, War on Want, which with few modifications would be 'interchangeable among a thousand Northern INGOs.' This put emphasis on mutual trust, respect and equality and made efforts to establish reciprocity in decision making, evaluation and accountability (Smillie, 1995, p. 182).

Smillie and Fowler were participants in a large 1987 international Symposium in which NGO representatives from forty-two countries participated. Reference to this by Degnbol-Martinussen and Engbert-Peterson (2003) in their discussion of INGO choice of partners and forms of cooperation marked this Symposium as a notable milestone. Since the 1970s INGOs have been discussing partnership and attempting to establish partnerships between organisations in the North and South. A topic since then has been about replacing aid with cooperation based on equality, recognising that NGOs in the South have a leading role in determining development priorities (ibid, p. 148).

The Symposium was organised by the Overseas Development Institute<sup>18</sup> and *World Development* periodical. Participants from Southern NGOs and Northern-based or originating INGOs and the theme – Development Alternatives: Challenges for NGOs – were identified as a significant interaction at that time and provided a benchmark for continuing considerations of partnership. Drabek (1987) summarised the discussion at the Symposium which focused on changing the relations between Northern INGOs and Southern NGOs.

Some extremely eloquent statements were made during the Symposium calling for a genuine *partnership* between northern and southern NGOs to replace previous dependence, mistrust and paternalism. It was suggested that a positive North/South collaborative relationship should include: mutual respect, trust and equality; transparency or reciprocal accountability; understanding of each others' political/economic/cultural contexts and of institutional constraints; openness to learn from each other; and a long term commitment to working together (Drabek, 1987, pp. x-xiv).

It was also suggested by the Symposium that the North/South partnership would be improved by a number of things - working from a shared analysis of

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<sup>18</sup> ODI is described as Britain's leading independent think tank on international development and humanitarian issues which had been working 50 years in 2020. It describes its mission as "to inspire and inform policy and practice which lead to the reduction of poverty, the alleviation of suffering and the achievement of sustainable livelihoods in developing countries."

problems; increasing communication; maximising existing resources; including people at the local level; ongoing discussion through the provision of appropriate mechanism for doing this; assessing usefulness of existing institutions; and ensuring that the internal structures of NGOs/INGOs replicate espoused values by, for example, participatory internal management systems. An appropriate code of conduct to provide guidelines for this style of working was required. The question of resources such as money, information and 'the strengthening of southern NGOs' human resources, especially 'technical and organizational skills' was key (in contemporary literature this latter resource is referred to as capacity building). The mutual responsibility of funding INGOs and Southern NGOs was discussed as was the necessity of arriving at mutually acceptable evaluation criteria. Detailed discussion and suggestions about networking, development education and advocacy, and relations with government occurred during the Symposium (xv).

A post-Symposium South/South Conference organised by participants from the regions of Africa, Asia, Caribbean and Latin America agreed on the need for an Alternative Development Paradigm and identified three themes. These themes were based on the common recognition of the historical conditions within which all Southern NGOs exist and function, which require a common struggle to evolve, practice and create space for an Alternative Development Paradigm. The themes were Self-Reliance, Communications and Resource Exchange, for each of which agreement about operational principles was sought.

Perspectives on partnership expressed at the Symposium and the South/South Conference can be illustrated through a summary of these identified in the reports of both meetings. (Adam & Sen, 1987; Drabek, 1987)

Partnership entails mutual responsibility for:

- a) Relational values expressed in behaviour: respect, trust, equality
- b) Reciprocity of knowledge: awareness of contexts, institutional constraints, resources at local level, transparency



- c) Openness to learning through long-term commitment
- d) Agreement on: evaluation criteria, analysis of problems, assessment of existing institutions, codes of conduct
- e) Creating space for an Alternative Development Paradigm by renegotiation of the underlying principles and operational practices of North/South and interactions at that level which strengthens South/South interactions towards self-reliance.
- f) Self-reliance of Southern groups
- g) Communication
- h) Resources Exchange

Two decades later Lewis and Kanji (2009) discussed critiques of what had become the core of alternative development approaches: participation, gender equality and empowerment. The authors put together the piecemeal implementation of these new approaches, and the fact that what INGOs could assist with locally were often small-scale and unsustainable. The reason for this was that such activities occurred within wider community structures and processes. Lewis and Kanji then discussed the issue of power and inequality. They quote Rahnema's suggestion that 'many alternative ideas lost their transformatory power within an increasingly 'professionalized' world of development agencies' (Lewis & Kanji, 2009, p. 85).

### **21<sup>st</sup> Century Interactions**

An ongoing forum for participation of NGOs from countries in the geographic regions of Africa, Asia/Pacific, the Middle East and Latin America is provided through the Reality of Aid project (2004) which has been operating since 1993. The practice of this forum to include participation and reports from OECD and from aid donor reports identifies it as a forum for south/north interaction. The Reality of Aid project is described on the website as an Asia-led international network, with the current secretariat operating from Mexico. The Aotearoa New Zealand Council for International (CID) participates in this project.

The literature which follows provides further insights into interactions between organisations and groups broadly concerned with processes of aid and

development in widely different contexts. Three different groupings in different contexts demonstrate a variety of interactions. In 2003 and 2004 Transform Africa<sup>19</sup> and its partner organisations carried out research on the experiences of Southern NGOs (SNGOs) and Northern NGOs (NNGOs) in order to explore the concept and practice of partnership (Chikoti et al., 2004). The research was prompted by the information that Northern NGOs did not listen enough to their Southern partners, and were far more influenced by their funders, fellow NNGOs and the internal dynamics of their organisations. Research was carried out in Rwanda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and the UK In December 2004. It looked into the extent to which NNGOs consulted with partners on any major policy change, how agreements or Memoranda of Understanding are made, and the openness of NNGOs to requests made by their partners for information. The intention of the research was to improve the NNGOs' development work by improving the quality of relationships between South and North NGOs. It indicated that

In general terms, the responses from SNGOs in Rwanda, Tanzania and Zimbabwe suggest that there is a wide gulf in perceptions as to the experience and health of development partnerships between SNGOs on one hand and NNGOs on the other. What appears to be the same process is experienced and remembered by the different partners in very different ways (Chikoti et al., 2004, p. 3).

Transform Africa commented further that:

although the use of the term 'partnership' will continue to be highly admired and emphasised by both Northern and Southern development organisations, particularly those in the North, the organisation now needed to go deep to determine whether NNGOs and SNGOs have a real partnership. In general, true partnership

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<sup>19</sup> Transform Africa is a UK registered charity. It is a member of the Transform Network of institutional and community capacity building, research and advocacy organisations in UK and Africa. The charity grew from a consortium of Northern NGOs comprising CAFOD, Christian Aid, Oxfam and World University Services (WUS), which by 1992 had been involved in training local NGOs in Africa. They had come to the conclusion that capacity-building services were more effective in terms of cost and relevance when provided by local NGO partners who understand the local contexts better.

between NNGOs and SNGOs had a long way to go to become a reality (p. 6).

The suggestion was made that there was 'a need for NNGOs to start a process of re-learning and critical self-re-examining of their roles and responsibilities in terms of their relationship with Southern partners in order to make the necessary changes' (ibid).

The participation of supported partner groups or organisations in the decision making processes of INGOs is a recurring theme in discussions on partnership and has been demonstrated in the Reality of Aid project. Transform Africa has been shown to have responded to the challenge from partner groups to listen. The next paper (Ulanga, 2008) is a perspective from the South presented to a meeting of Danish NGOs; the author was at the time the Executive Director of The Foundation for Civil Society in Tanzania. Ulanga examined the questions 'Do we need NGOs for Development?' and 'Do we need NGOs from the North?' and went on to talk about 'What we don't need NGOs from the North for.' The latter list of points was short and included duplication of efforts; undermining local efforts, capacity and institutions; competing for local resources – local and/or international; and engaging in unequal partnerships. The last point made by Ulanga is that there are some things that NGOs in the South do need NGOs from the North for; examples given are training and informal and international coalition building which included providing information on international trends and practices that could assist Southern NGOs. The next section in the paper was about Creating Equal Partnerships.

Here partnership is defined beyond funding, and even more critically without funding. Experience shows that partnership in which one partner has and provides the resources, while the other hasn't and can't provide financial resources, cannot be called equal partnership. Northern NGOs need to strive to create a partnership of equals between them and their Southern counterparts, resulting into a more reflective, dynamic relationship in which capacity of both sides is strengthened (Ulanga, 2008, p. 12).

Creating links included 'building a stronger link between the public in the North and development challenges facing the South.' Ulanga went on to address enhancing accountability and making connection between issues which were important for both North and South. Ulanga stressed that the North could offer to the South that both cooperate to address the lack of serious discussion on the underlying problems of poverty and conflicts in the South; this included issues such as more equitable terms of trade. He concluded:

The world still very much needs NGOs to be able to deliver development to its people, both those in the North but more so those in the South. The South still needs the Northern NGOs ..... to invest in building more genuine forms of partnerships, which in future may or may not include financial resources transfer, but a continuous transfer of skills, information and support, a genuine form of partnership of equals with a greater level of trust (p. 13).

The issues examined by Ulanga are considered by Dichter (1999, p. 52 ff) who has discussed the blurring of North-South relationships. This is connected to what he has called the 'sometimes tension-filled shift in territorial dominance.' The emergence of large indigenous NGOs in some countries in the South makes ambiguous the role of interventionist INGOs. The most subtle blurring between the cultures of the NGOs (NGOs and INGOs) and the for-profit sector is NGOs and INGOs adopting for-profit commercial values. Dichter identified factual/social and ideological forces involved in this blurring. The increase of foreign direct investment by private capital and the tendency for advanced economy governments to be retreating from previous levels of support for developing countries was identified. From the 1970s official money through INGOs or direct to southern NGOs has increased and stabilised according to Dichter. INGOs/NGOs have adapted to these realities by 'beginning to act as if they were corporations engaged in the world of commerce'. The language of commerce had become normative with the heightened sense of competition and the adoption of new values such as efficiency, customer satisfaction and product definition.

A paper from the Preparatory Meeting of Southern (East African) NGOs (EASUN, 2009) reports workshop discussions on the interaction between NGOs in the South and the INGOs with whom they relate. This South/South workshop was held in Moshi, Tanzania in 2009. It involved 36 civil society leaders from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania meeting to prepare for an impending North/South Dialogue with INGO partners. The task was to explore more genuine, consistent and creative ways of partnering between East African NGOs and Northern NGOs. Preliminary discussions between the participants in the Moshi meeting included sharing experiences of partnership between NGOs in the South, and between Southern NGOs and Northern NGOs/donor organisations from the North (ibid, p. 8 ff). Preliminary discussions also included the development of civil society, identifying factors which supported capacity development of Southern NGOs and Action Steps about what to do differently. The planned agenda for the North/South dialogue (ibid, p. 19 ff) included defining the term 'sustainable development'; emphasising respect for the existing cultures and programmatic choices already on the ground with local NGOs; defining the capacities/qualities required for sustainable partnership; how vertical and horizontal communication could be enhanced; the commitment to openness between Northern and Southern NGOs; a dialogue platform involving participation and other empowering processes and relationships; and a discussion on how to develop shared priorities and goals.

Dichter (1999) has recognised that the existence of large NGOs in the South had changed the terrain in which INGOs function, and also identified the institutional impact of market forces on INGOs and on NGOs in the South. A connection can be seen between achieving the dialogue platform aspired to by the participants in the Moshi meeting, the listening that Transform Africa was challenged with, and the analysis of Ulanga about appropriate functions of INGOs in the South. These few readings are an indication that the aspiration of partnership continues to inform the possibilities in the South for an interaction with INGOs that is

mutual and equal. The next sections examine underlying factors that require attention in order to arrive at a platform of dialogue between INGOs and groups and organisations in the South. The first exploration of factors is an examination of the nature of the relationship between INGOs and partners in which dialogue could be achieved.

### **Cross-Cultural Relations**

Reference has been made to the Transnational Institute<sup>20</sup> and the publication edited by Sogge (1996, p. 14) which indentified a number of issues which had been 'under-illuminated in debates up to now'. The purpose was to critique the work of private aid agencies (INGOs) which in the Fowler figure appear in the shaded box labelled International NGDOs. The Sogge publication identifies the multiple connections of INGOs in the issues that are raised:

A crisis of legitimacy and accountability: Who owns the agencies?

A crisis of purpose and motivation: Should laws of the market rule?

A crisis of performance in the South: Do agencies make any difference?

A crisis of significance in the North: Do agencies bear witness in full measure as they shape meanings and emotions about the South?

(Sogge, 1996, p. xi)

Two of the chapters in the book which sought to illumine concepts of partner and partnership through examination of these issues demonstrated the continuing complexity of the interactions between NGOs in the South and INGOs in the North.

Saxby (1996, p. 47) described 'partners' as one of the sacred terms in the development lexicon and suggested that it fitted a Papuan pidgin type of a 'something nothing' word. He suggested that there was a continuing significant imbalance of power and resources that was underpinned by an unequal

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<sup>20</sup> The Transnational Institute (TNI) was founded in 1974 as the international programme of the Washington DC-based Institute for Policy Studies. For more than 30 years, TNI's history has been entwined with the history of global social movements and their struggle for economic, social and environmental justice.

symbiosis, and which uncannily resembled the INGOs relationship with Northern official donors. The North-South 'partnership' relationship viewed through the lens of accountability threw up awkward questions and Saxby suggested that even if an agency (INGO) sought to be accountable in its relations 'with those it serves' there were still a number of knotty problems – distance in time, space, culture and resources; the mutual occasions for conflicts of interest in the relationship (ibid, pp. 49-51).

Sizoo (1996) cited an historian from Burkina Faso, Joseph Kizerbo, who suggested that the assumption of dialogue made by Northern development agents in interaction with their African counterparts was in reality a process in which they heard the tropicalised echo of their own voice. This meant that the important was often sacrificed to the urgent. Sizoo suggests that this means that the South-North relationship badly needs rethinking and that it is necessary to 'pause beside the urgencies of the moment' to grasp what is being talked about in the ample vocabulary of development cooperation.<sup>21</sup> This was because international cooperation is a 'quintessential intercultural act', which neither Northern or Southern 'partners' start with recognising. Unspoken assumptions about power, money and language govern the interaction (ibid, p. 191). The power and the sense of security of the northern initiator of the partnership was based on such things as the Northern intervention processes applying particular labels for 'partners' and people which were not the choice of those being branded. Sizoo also noted the failure of Northern-initiated projects which fail where people have resisted an alien and alienating development model that did not fit their relationship with the Earth or their vision on the role of the community, family and the individual (ibid, p. 192).

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<sup>21</sup> This reflects the Crush *et al.* warning against being submerged in the words of development, the purpose of which is to convince, to persuade, how the world should be'.

Two more points were made by Sizoo. The relationship that the INGO had to its own society was critical. 'It seems only logical that the more an agency (INGO) is involved in its *own* society the greater the credibility of its claim to speak about societies anywhere' (ibid, p. 194); the converse also applied, that is, less home involvement means less right to comment on others. The prerequisites of such knowledge by INGOs are the history of their own people and cultural presuppositions, a willingness to talk about what has happened in the 'name of development' in that place, and engagement in concrete issues which ensured civic control over political decisions (ibid). Sizoo offered some suggestions to give new meaning to 'partnership'.

The challenge is not to allow the balance of power to be determined by the possession or lack of financial means, but to find an equilibrium in the values accorded to the material and (more important) non-material contribution from both sides. Pooling of these resources and then deciding together on the use of them would be an important step forward (p. 196).

An interaction between credible civic partners which takes place around action is the mechanism for such equality in diversity. This is what Sizoo has called bridge-building (ibid).

Sogge and Biekart (1996) summed up the discussions by all the contributors to the publication and said that the writers in the book had signalled several areas of choice for private aid agencies (INGO)s. One was a decision about who calls the shots, and another was to re-centre themselves as organisations rooted in civil society as 'national organisations with inter-nationalist perspectives rather than rootless international bodies.' Other choices related to the question of demystifying impact – levelling with the public, admitting failure when it occurred, and the recognition that aid was far less important than other factors (ibid, p. 200). It involved setting limits on the invasive influence of the market, of allowing knowledge based NGOs in North and South to identify and assist in conceptualising trends, and as mainstream institutions continued on down 'the



shining path of neoliberalism' to follow the paths that are consistent with agency origins and professional ideals (ibid, p. 203).

The difficulty of doing this has been demonstrated by Abu-Sa'da who has looked specifically at the relationship between funding INGOs and local Palestinian partners (2003). The specific research process involved assessing people's participation in social development projects maintained by policymakers and administrators of international Northern NGOs [INGOs]. This had revealed what Abu-Sa'da described as paradoxical INGO approaches to participation. Sectoral projects designed by INGOs to increase individual service delivery as a criteria of participation did not equate with the statement of the INGO about the importance of marginalized vulnerable people participating in decisions which effect their lives (ibid, p. 283). Abu-Sa'da proposed that this was a paradox which required INGOs to be open about objectives and to allow local organizations to operationalise these within a framework of dialogue that took account of the specific socio-economic and cultural context. It required that INGOs be flexible enough to fund already established grassroots projects (ibid, p. 309). This discussion of participation is essentially raising an issue of partnership.

Paradoxical approaches to questions of ownership further demonstrate the complexity of NGO/CSO and INGO encounters and interactions. Barja (2007) reported to the North-South Institute in Canada that research in Bolivia had identified that the international development architecture in that country involved three levels of ownership problems. There was recognition that Bolivian ownership of its development role was lost to its need for foreign finance. The reforms in the country were donor-driven and did not recognise existing Bolivian economic, social, political, cultural, geographic and historical heterogeneities. This donor driven reform did not take account of fact that the majority of the population could not participate in the market economy because of the degree of poverty and inequality. The market-led economy relied on a too narrow resource base with an excessive attention to basic services provision and

relatively little to production and employment. The importance and the role of the Bolivian indigenous population and what was called the ‘internal colonization’ problem were not sufficiently considered. This had led to the Barja’s perception that alignment of national interest determined by the policy conditionalities in fact favoured the local elite.

The second level of ownership problem identified by Barja related to the weakening of domestic public organizations, institutions and systems and further conditionalities which contributed to weak government and governance, and supported the legitimate requirement of donor accountability to tax-payers. The third level of ownership as a problem was the density of multilateral (28) and bilateral (26) agencies in 2005 and over 500 registered internal NGOs associated with these. The Bolivian government had established a “New Framework for the Relationship with the International Cooperation”. Barja commented that it was believed that this framework would help the multiple agency problem which in turn would solve the aid effectiveness problem and the two levels of problems already identified (*ibid*, p. 29).

These two very different contexts involving different levels of INGO/NGO cross-cultural relationships within different political environments have demonstrated the unspoken assumptions about power, money and language that govern the interaction. The mutual occasions for conflicts of interest in the relationships are unavoidable, and NGO/INGO relationships are paradoxical. Factors which impact on the practice of partnership are evident in these readings.

### **Using Partner Language**

Evidence has shown that the gap between rhetoric about partnership and the reality is big enough to drive a bulldozer through, according to Smillie (1995, p. 183).<sup>22</sup> A number of factors were identified which had shifted language that had previously described the ideal partnership. An example was that sustainability

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<sup>22</sup> This point has been recognised by Fowler (Fowler, 2000b, p. 7) where he uses the language of camouflage to describe this gap between rhetoric and practice.

had replaced the concept of self-sufficiency in the late 1980s and reflected the reality for NGOs and INGOs alike. Partnership meant 'investing in the capacity of Southern NGOs and their independence, the concrete reality of independence not just jargon (ibid, p. 196).

The 1998 paper of Fowler looked at what went wrong from the 1970s when the partnership between northern and southern NGOs was based on the ideological aspiration of international solidarity through development. Schuurman (2009), writing a decade later in *Third World Quarterly*, addressed the same issue as it related to development studies. 'Development studies as an academic discipline emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s from the womb of anti-imperialist social movements consisting of students and young university professors and from the so-called country solidarity committees' (p. 834). Schurmann then went on to identify the components of what he described as development studies beginning to drift away from its roots.

Fowler (1998) attached the adjective 'authentic' to describe his use of the concept of partnership. The assumption of comparability in respect of language and ideas about the partnership relationship does not exist any longer. He suggested that an incorrect, ideologically conditioned assumption informed the organisations involved in the partnership that they would be jointly responsible for each other's policies, programmes and projects. The contributing factors behind that assumption belong with INGOs and were identified by Fowler. These were the INGOs inability to move from paternalistically holding the purse strings and the over-valuing of INGOs development approaches. Also included were INGOs insensitivity when choosing staff for the interface of the relationship and recent public pressure for INGOs to demonstrate their performance (ibid, pp. 142-143). The ability of INGOs to develop authentic partnership depended on a developed understanding of solidarity, not contracts.<sup>23</sup> This is the hardest

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<sup>23</sup> Fowler has earlier referred to 'international solidarity through development' and Schuurman has talked about country solidarity groups.

challenge 'for Northern INGOs who dare to use the term partnership in the future.'

Today everybody wants to be a partner with everyone, on everything, everywhere; according to Fowler. This reality is demonstrated by Hilhorst (2003) who described the actions of a well-funded UN worker starting a programme in the Cordillera region of the Philippines where existing local, regional and nationally linked groups were well established. Drawing on discussions by INTRAC,<sup>24</sup> and Stirrat and Henkel,<sup>25</sup> Hilhorst's proposition is that the nature of partnership and the roles and discretion of partners are always under negotiation. There are many layers to the narratives of the relationships between CWNGO<sup>26</sup> and the UN sponsored programme in which many of the criticisms and claims of the other was mirrored by each (Hilhorst, 2003, p. 211). Hilhorst concluded that the core problem between the UN programme and CWNGO was the different meaning each gave to partnership (ibid, p. 204).

Wallace *et al.* (2006) explored the interactions along the flow of aid which had originated in the UK and which had been faced with similar realities. 'The language of partnership is widely used in the UK NGO sector, but much more rarely in the south. The way it is used covers the full spectrum of relationships.....' It was noted that '[t]he challenges do include existing cultural attitudes, weak local organizations, competition between NGOs and the motivations of the different actors in the aid chain.' The authors described the messiness of different interests, conflicting motivations, rivalry and the reality of very different individual and organizational analyses of the causes of poverty and how best to address them in each context (ibid, pp. 144-145).

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<sup>24</sup> Direct Funding from a Southern Perspective: Strengthening Civil Society. Oxford. INTRAC NGO Management and Policy Series No. 8

<sup>25</sup> Stirrat, R.L. and Heiko Henkel (1997) "The Development Gift: The Problem of Reciprocity in the NGO World' *Annals, AAPPS*, 554, November.

<sup>26</sup> Cordillera Women's Non-governmental Organisation.

Post-coup and pre-earthquake Haiti was the time span and location for the research carried out by Schuller (2007). Hypotheses were developed from the relationship of two women's groups involved in HIV/Aids practice with donor INGOs and with public funding. Schuller has suggested that official development aid which is tied to politics and the inherent hierarchies and intermediaries involved in this could be shown to erode women's participation and organisational autonomy. Equating donor with INGOs allows these hypotheses to be applied to the relationship of such groups with INGOs. One hypothesis was that the NGO produces in its daily practice with group participants the relationship that the NGO had with the INGO. This is described as a correlation between relationships 'above' and 'below' (ibid, p. 5). This point has earlier been made by Saxby (1996). The research by Schuller also showed that high levels of social distance between the donor INGO and the NGO corresponded with centralisation in the hands of the NGO director. The erosion of participation and autonomy was noted in the group which was solely dependent on public aid in a volatile political situation. Another hypothesis recognised that the political pressures that are inherent in foreign policy (or INGO) objectives undermine the NGOs ability to address locally articulated development needs (Schuller, 2007, p. 53).

The experience of the women's groups in Haiti can be further illuminated by the research of Townsend, Porter and Mawdsley (2004) among independent thinking NGOs in Ghana, India, Mexico and Europe. The authors have suggested that the research supports the Melucci concept of submerged networks or latent social movements, two publications of whom are listed by them.<sup>27</sup> Townsend *et al.* recognised that since the 1990s '[t]he Third Way in the North and the post-Washington consensus in the South have called the state, the private sector and

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<sup>27</sup> Melucci (1989a) *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* J. Keane and E. Mier (Eds.) London, Hutchison. and (1989b) Social movements in the democracy of everyday life in J. Keane (ed.) *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives* (pp.245-269) London. Verso

the third/nonprofit private sector into new and closer relations of partnership.' This means that NGOs 'are thoroughly domesticated to the ideologies and agendas of the mainstream development institutions, donors and their client states.' The authors were interested to trace spaces of resistance within the development NGO arena (Townsend et al., 2004, pp. 871-872). Townsend *et al.* traced how women's groups made space for their own development agendas and found that groups that were more evidently autonomous and radical in orientation and also some that were more compliant as service contractors, both used similar strategies to side-step or reject the neoliberal agenda. The authors concluded that '[t]he search for sympathetic donors or northern partner NGOs is never ending' and '[f]inding a donor who shares values and goals can be critical to the ability of southern NGOs to create alternative spaces...' (ibid, p. 879).

The concern of Mc McGregor (2007, p. 168) was that '[l]ocal organisational structures, processes, goals and imaginaries, even organisational identities, were reinventing themselves in the image of international development' in what he called 'multilaterals restructuring communities to create funding structures'. McGregor defined as community partnerships the ongoing relationships between international organisations and particular communities. He identified different models of INGO intervention in four types of programmes that were being supported in communities in Timor Leste. These were sector project-based initiatives, institutional capacity-building programmes, community partnerships, and small grants programmes (ibid, p. 155).

Timor Leste fits in the category that interests Lux and Straussman (2004) which is the link that is drawn by scholars and practitioners to the emergence of NGOs and civil society in developing and transitional societies. The focus of Lux and Straussman was the strategies over time of the Vietnam government to regulate INGO interest in initiating development programmes in the country, and the associated explosion of Vietnamese NGOs. It was stressed that the concept of

'state-led civil society' was closer to the reality in Vietnam than that of civil society usually found in western discourse and used by international organisations (ibid, p. 178). It was suggested by the authors that state-led civil society in this context was made up of organisations that mediated between the state and citizens but were not fully independent of the state. The authors argued that INGOs which choose to work in a state-led environment such as Vietnam were placed in a different power relationship with local organisations. It was appropriate for INGOs to work within the well-defined scope of local legally regulated NGOs (ibid, p. 181).

Vietnam was one of the countries researched in Craig and Porter's (2006) exploration of governance and poverty in the global neo-liberal environment. Located respectively in Auckland University and the Asia Development Bank the authors researched the impact of neoliberalism on New Zealand, Pakistan, Uganda and Vietnam. Vietnam is described.

'Certainly, Vietnam is by almost any standards a 'liberalization-brings-poverty-reduction success story. But it is also a 'strong-state-brings-economic –success' story , a place where security and empowerment have a strong socialist ring to them, and where governance is run along powerfully illiberal lines (ibid, p. 127).

After describing and analysing the ways in which these processes, including the use of the technique PRAs<sup>28</sup>, had occurred in Vietnam Craig and Porter concluded that in the long term the legacy of such techniques remains an open question as these were 'one tiny element among many in exposing cadres to liberal techniques and governance values'(ibid, p. 154).

Another development discourse dealt with the role of INGOs in unstable countries and contexts. Duffield (2001) has written about the merging of development and security.

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<sup>28</sup> Participatory Rapid Appraisal – part of the apparatus associated with World Bank strategies for poverty alleviation.

In less than a generation, the whole meaning of development has altered significantly. It is not concerned with promoting economic growth in the hope that development will follow. Today, it is better described as an attempt, preferably through cooperative partnership arrangements, to change whole societies and the behaviour and attitudes of the people within them (ibid, p. 42).

It is suggested by Duffield that for many INGOs the purpose of changing behaviours was related to the attempt to create new and egalitarian forms of social organisation. 'The mid-1990s incorporation of conflict into mainstream aid policy' was described as the radicalisation of development policy in which 'development and security have increasingly merged' (ibid). Polman (2010, p. 147) has shown that in 2005 most Official Development Assistance by Northern governments had gone to front-line states in the War on Terror.

The association between development in different contexts and the concept of partnership between INGOs and groups and organisations in such contexts has been explored in the above readings. Crewe and Harrison (1998) have discussed partnership serving an instrumental purpose and have provided some examples of the way in which the language shifts when projects collapse. Exploration of the possibility that the use of partnership language is a form of political correctness has led the authors to argue that talk of partnership often failed to address potential conflict and inequalities, and that political relations between organisations in different countries were seldom discussed. It was noted that the number of Europeans 'assisting' the former colonies has not diminished, supporting the thesis of significant continuities (ibid, p. 87).

The readings in this section have demonstrated that the language of partnership has changed (Smillie, Fowler and Schurmann), that what partnership means is always under negotiation in different contexts (Hilhorst), and that NGOs in countries of the South become shaped by (Schuller) or are domesticated to ideologies and agendas of donor INGOs (Townsend et al), or reinvent themselves (McGregor). Partnership language is used in different contexts such as state-led



(Lux and Straussman) or when development is merged with security to change whole societies (Duffield). The different instrumental uses of the language of partnership (Crewe and Harrison) are evident in these readings. Sources in the next section explore the negotiated character of knowledge production.

### **Knowledge, Understanding, and Partnership**

As noted Crush *et al.* (1995) have discussed the minutiae of mechanisms for spreading ideas within ‘a vast hierarchical apparatus of knowledge production’. The authors have warned against being submerged in the words of development,’ the purpose of which is to convince, to persuade, how the world should be’ (ibid, p. 5). Two statements from Pottier *et al.* (2003) support the intention to ‘explore knowledge as embodied practice (which) addresses the negotiated character of knowledge production.’ The focus of the statements is the interfaces between local communities and external agents of change.

Knowledge production, we maintain, is embedded in social and cultural processes imbued with aspects of power, authority and legitimation; the act of production of knowledge involves social struggle, conflict and negotiation (Pottier et al., 2003, p. 2).

We argue that an empirically grounded understanding of how knowledge(s) is (are) produced through the mediation of unequal power relations and processes of translation is a prerequisite for any serious attempt to instigate dialogue and make all the stakeholders benefit from development initiatives (ibid, p. 3).

An example of knowledge production is given by Lindenberg and Bryant (2001). The authors researched the meetings of senior leadership of several well-established NGOs<sup>29</sup> that were funded by Rockefeller Foundation, beginning with a meeting at the Bellagio Centre, Italy, in September 1988’. Multiple staff in the core INGOs were also interviewed, and also people in nearly 50 other INGOs and related organisations. The purpose of these meetings was for the INGOs to address together the forces of economic, political and social/cultural

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<sup>29</sup> CARE, Oxfam, Medecins San Frontieres, PLAN International, World Vision International and Save the Children

globalization which provided them with unprecedented challenges and opportunities.<sup>30</sup> Reviewing the Lindenberg and Bryant publication has led Tina Wallace (2003) to suggest that the uncritiqued central perspectives and information generated from the managers of 20% of the spending of Northern NGOs are potentially misleading. Wallace argued that many of the issues mentioned in Lindenberg and Bryant demand further analysis and asks:

How do these massive changes and upheavals in the NNGOs (Northern NGOs/INGOs), including their increasing closeness to government and sometimes the private sector, to policy arenas in the north and to donors, impact on their relationship with others? (ibid, p. 295).

The normative practice of INGOs to present an understanding of the role of INGOs in the world, as this is understood by the INGOs, has been questioned in the Wallace review of Lindenberg and Bryant publication. Lewis (2005) and others referred to in the introduction to this review noted that the published work within INGO and related sectors have evidenced the normative agenda in such material. The readings which follow explore the adequacy of that normative agenda to illumine the practice of partnership in a variety of situations.

Basita (2010) describes the situation in Burundi which was coming out of civil war at the time of the research. She noted that donors 'are not always comfortable working with traditional local organizations, which differ from western organizational models in many respects.' The significant post-war growth of civil society organisations had been paralleled by a strong presence of INGOs among other donors which had influenced and shaped CSOs (ibid, p. 1). The Arusha Accord which attracted donor funding and legitimated the presence of INGOs and CSOs had meant that the INGOs and CSOS needed to adapt to the

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<sup>30</sup> Salm, J. (1999). Coping with Globalization: A Profile of the Northern NGO Sector *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 28(4 Supplement ), 87-103.

agreed priorities. Basita suggested that the complexity of the situation required INGOs and other donors to understand the power relationship among the different actors in the political environment and in civil society. This was critical for encouraging the organisational autonomy that is necessary for CSOs in Burundi to become effective civil and political actors (ibid, p. 8). The Fowler Figure 1 on p. 44 displays the variety of relationships in which both INGOs and other donors including governments relate to civil society organisations in countries. The multiple relationships illustrated there substantiate Basita's point that INGOs need to work to understand the power relations in the Burundi political situation and in civil society. Abirafeh (2009) has also dealt with the necessity of understanding the context. Her research dealt with the blurred boundary between humanitarian aid and development assistance. She labelled aid as an intervention and identified the political nature of such interventions.

Afghanistan has become home to one of the largest gender-focused aid interventions in the aftermath of 9/11, with foreign aid agencies using Afghan women as a barometer of social change and political progress (Abirafeh, 2009, p. 1).

Abirafeh argues that this gendered aid intervention has resulted in the promise of freedom largely falling short – for both men and women (ibid, p. 9).

This intervention was one historical moment in an ongoing institutional process and, argued Abirafeh, such interventions were political. Her primary concern was that '[i]lluminating the discourses that animated gender-focused international aid in the aftermath of conflict in Afghanistan might present one way to understand what effects these discourses have had on the gender order.' She also argued that aid interventions like these have made life more difficult for women in Afghanistan (ibid). Abirafeh did not explicitly address the concept of partnership but makes the point that a more nuanced and sensitive approach might have avoided the negative outcome of the interventions. Implicit in the perspective of Abirafeh is the recognition that such a nuanced and sensitive

approach required knowledge of the situation in the country in which women exist as subject rather than as object.

The approach of Shannon (2009) is not gender-focused or as nuanced as Abirafeh advocates. Her purpose was to provide INGOs with information that would be helpful for them to function under 'constrained humanitarianism' in Afghanistan. The particular focus was the new instrument of foreign policy, the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) (ibid, p. 24 ff). The large number of INGOs being addressed by Shannon had 'a variety of mandates, organisation structures and approaches, and were involved in different interfaces within which they have faced challenges' (p. 16). Shannon suggested information that would be helpful (pp. 33, 34):

- If humanitarians are going to remain significant players they need to better analyse and understand their capabilities when employing staff in the field.
- The link between ethics and legitimacy is made
- Recognise the importance of and use of the expertise of local staff
- Refocus on the military
- Always make the victims the focus.

The pragmatism of Shannon recognised that knowledge about place and people would make a difference to the practice of the variety of INGOs and other personnel she talked to. The purpose of the next reading is also to provide information that will improve practice in relation to partner groups.

References to accountability in the literature include the requirement of evaluation. INGOs or their agents carry out evaluations of the programmes that have been funded by INGOs. The Drabek (1987, p. xiv) summary of the findings of the 1989 Symposium discussed earlier included the comment that arriving at mutually acceptable evaluation criteria was necessary for partnership. Results of collaboration with organisations that carried out evaluations of projects and

programmes was reported by Chapelowe and Engo-Tjega (2007). Addressing the question that INGOs have a better understanding of CSOs<sup>31</sup> it was concluded by the authors that certain trends and key lessons had been identified for organisations which carry out evaluations and that '[d]evelopment actors, including evaluators, must not let their actions get ahead of their understanding' (ibid, p. 268).

A longitudinal study of an environmental NGO<sup>32</sup> which looked at the relationship between Northern and Southern activists has demonstrated the link between knowledge, understanding and practice. Simpson (2008) considered that EarthRights International (ERI), founded by people from Burma and the US to focus on human rights and environmental protection in Burma, had successfully negotiated the North/South divide. He surveyed related literature and engaged over a number of years in multiple conversations with participants in the organisation. EarthRights International demonstrated internal attitudes and mechanisms of what Simpson called a 'maintenance of introspection' regarding its organisational structure and activities. The goal of this was to ameliorate the power imbalances between Northern and Southern activists. Simpson suggested that regarding everyone as equal 'reflected the core green belief of a natural relationship of equality' (p. 19). Staff changes involving the appointment of people from the South to replace people from the North had brought a change of leadership, one consequence of which was the necessity of dealing with the fact of different languages. The internal quest for equity between North and South activists was linked by Simpson to 'the achievement of its organisational aims and improving environmental security for the marginalised communities of Burma despite strong (external) structural impediments' (ibid).

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<sup>31</sup> Civil society organisations

<sup>32</sup> EarthRights International (ERI) is a nongovernmental, nonprofit organization that combines the power of law and the power of people in defence of human rights and the environment, which we define as "earth rights."

Simpson recognised that the interaction between South and North was influenced by internal and external circumstances which generated the requirement of ongoing attention to the intention of equality. A very different INGO dealing with the interaction between South and North has been discussed by Owusu (2004). This dealt with the pilot of an action research project, the purpose of which was to examine the practical implications of a new system which had been designed by Action Aid. Research had shown that big gaps still existed in the representation of poor people, unequal power relations, constraining (if well-meaning) processes, procedures and attitudes.

The experience does show clearly, however, that change must begin from within development organizations themselves and must go beyond just restructuring when things appear not to be working. ....Rather it is the attitudes, behaviours, values and commitment that underlie these structures which hold in them the seeds of success or failure (Owusu, 2004, p. 109).

Owusu concluded that the challenges which were posed by development practice in terms of the three parts of the existing system – accountability, participation, learning and power relations – had all indicated the need for far-reaching changes. He identified that this had to do with ‘how we engage in dialogue, how we give and receive information and feedback, our management styles and our behaviour and attitudes’ (ibid, p. 120).

The paper by Owusu is included in the consideration of inclusive aid in Groves and Hinton (2004). The different papers discuss shifting power, the accountability of donors to poor people, organisational learning, and the concept of responsible well-being’ (p. 204). Hinton concludes:

If aid is to be viewed as a complex system, the governing dynamics of power and relationships need to be better understood. Inclusive aid will demand change to organizational norms and procedures, closely linked to changes in personal behaviour, attitudes and beliefs, to enable the inclusion of currently marginalized actors in decision-making processes’ (p. 218).

These points were picked up by Edwards and Sen (2000) who have discussed personal change and changing values. Such changes contribute to deconstructing systems of power. This deconstruction involves a more equal distribution of what is delivered, less costly ways of doing this, and more cooperative values and behaviour in what organisations produce. The authors described constituency building which was about using media and other publicity not to generate sympathy but solidarity (partnership). This is achieved through personal and lifestyle change towards cooperative value. Also involved are an organisational praxis which values its employees as it does its partners, fights discrimination, practices internal democracy and uses organisational power in liberating ways (ibid, p. 615).

The readings in this section began with misleading knowledge that is produced by a closed system, and has explored the discussion of different external learnings suggested for INGO practice in the context of partners (Basita, Abirafeh, Shannon and Chapelowe and Engo-Tjega) and the knowledge that leads to change in the internal operations of the INGOs (Simpson, Owusu, Groves and Hinton, and Edwards and Sen). Information which produces knowledge and understanding of contexts and situations has been related to interactions which have implicitly or explicitly discussed partnerships. The literature in the next section looks at the relevance of the concept of partnership.

### **Reclaiming Partnership**

The literature review began with the recognition that in 2005 partnership was not a buzzword in the discourses on aid and development. Different voices and contexts in the readings have been used to critique the concepts and practices of partnership. These have indicated that the aspiration of partnership continues in a range of contexts within INGOs and country-based NGOs despite the factors which work against it. Fowler (2000a) comments that relationships with the poor and marginalized have been captured by the concept of participation. The

exploration of the performative effects and semantic qualities of buzzwords by Cornwall and Brock (2005) has shown that 'discursive framings are important in shaping development practice'. Cooke and Kothari (2001, 2002) use the concept of tyranny when addressing issues of participation which links with Fowler's concept of capture.

Lewis (1999) has looked at the relationship of the non-governmental in countries of the North and South. This is further elaborated in collaboration with Kanji (2009, p. 1) which described a 'growing convergence of thinking around the causes and solutions to poverty among donors, governments and NGOs worldwide'. The micro level analysis by Keevers *et al.* (2008) of the concepts of partnership and participation within 'social policy space' in Australia offers some insights that are relevant to the international work of INGOs. The framing of their analysis is identified as major discourses in the Australian sphere – neo-liberalism, managerialism, new paternalism and network governance – which is applicable to countries in both North and South.

We suggest the discourses currently dominating the social policy space are operating as catalysts for this push to partnership and participation (Keevers *et al.*, 2008, p. 460).

The authors identified the chaotic intersection and interaction between the concepts which reshaped participation and partnerships between state governments, community service organisations and local communities. Similar intersections and interaction between these concepts have been reflected in the literature reviewed and are shown to intersect and interact chaotically in different contexts internationally. The Fowler critique of the capture of partnership and the Keevers *et al.* research in Australia also illumine the ways in which the concepts of partnership and participation are being pushed in the social, cultural, political and economic environment in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Partnership continues as part of the lexicon of development and aid literature, even if it is not a buzz word. Chapter 4 includes publications which describe the



origins and evolution of different Aotearoa New Zealand based INGOs which participated in this research. This provides some insights into what partnership means for each INGO.

## **Conclusion**

The literature used to explore the concept and practice of partnership has necessarily involved both theoretical and empirical discussions. These have indicated that the international relationships that INGOs are involved in, the mechanisms of aid which facilitate or constrain those relationships and the development ideology which informs the practices of the INGOs are both global and local. The practices that are being looked for by groups and organisations in the South have been discussed. The strong thread in the literature which addresses the necessity of INGOs understanding the socio-cultural, economic and political context in which partner groups are carrying out their work is clear. The diversity of situations in which the interaction of INGOs with such groups and organisations is demonstrated has suggested that this will facilitate flexibility and more careful approaches by INGOs.

Exploration of the concept of partnership has identified a number of broad topics or issues in all of which the concept and practice of partnership is critical. These continue to be unresolved in the sense that within international relations, and the aid and development industries, the potential for change is not evident. Pogge (2010) suggests that the latest discourses on poverty reduction is a matter of moving the goal posts. The topics to be explored further and the situations that require the practice of genuine and authentic partnership are:

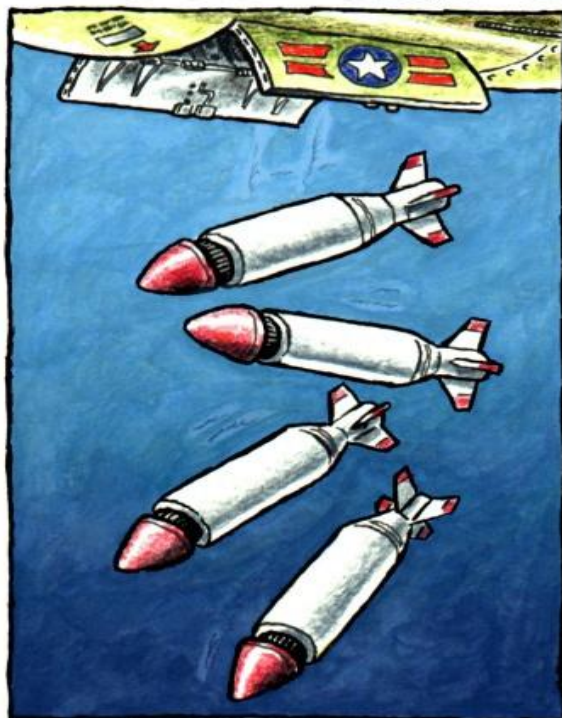
- a) Border crossings and sovereignty in respect of interventions and occupations - Collingwood has shown that legitimacy is a broader issue in international relations and that INGOs require such legitimacy.
- b) The issue of identity is a relatively new discourse within aid and development. This has been shown to involve the recognition of the

ideologies and values associated with both history and geographic location, structurally and personally.

- c) Moving the goal posts addresses the issue of systemic change that a number of the readings have advocated in both economic and political practices within the frameworks of the aid and development industries.
- d) Our turn to eat is a concept that is demonstrated within the book by journalist Michela Wrong (2009). The issue of elites within the interactions between, and the impact of practices of, INGOs in the South have been evident in the readings.
- e) A seat the table is a familiar comment associated with role of the Maori Party in relation to the government of the day in this country. The distinction between participation and partnership has been addressed in the literature.
- f) Disagreement in the literature about the role of INGOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century which requires that the differences between them be explored further in relation to different contexts.

The existence of the concept of an explored and illumined partnership practice of INGOs, in any intercultural interaction of international diplomacies of a kind, will contribute to the exploration of these unresolved issues.

# OLD WORLD ORDER



'HAVE A NICE DAY'

# NEW WORLD ORDER



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## 4. THE INGOS

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### Introduction

It became clear in the 2009 discussions with staff of the respondent INGOs that these INGOs were the contemporary demonstration in Aotearoa New Zealand of identifiable responses to international situations by the non-government sectors of different countries. The six individual INGOs are socially constructed institutions (Buechler, 2008) which were established within those societies for a particular type of international activity.<sup>33</sup> This activity included the variety of ways in which philanthropic, altruistic, or missionary international relationships served the political and economic purposes of Northern/Western countries. The activities involved intervening alongside trade and colonisation interventions in particular countries for the good or benefit of designated groups, communities, regions or countries. International relations are therefore the key to the social construction and the perpetuation of the INGOs. From those socially constructed origins each INGO has since the Second World War been impacted over the decades by national and international social, economic, political and geopolitical changes.

The ideologically defined agenda of development within the mechanisms of the aid industry was adopted by INGOs in the 1950s and 60s and was absorbed into the enculturated practices by means of which the non-government sector had previously been engaging in international relations. The information which follows provides the background to the contemporary practices which have been described by INGOs in the research findings. Two different practices when INGOs interact with groups and organisations in other countries for the purposes of aid and development have been identified. The data which follows is taken from

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<sup>33</sup> In the sense that the international non-government organisation is a particular subjectively created institution, which has become an objective reality which continues to emerge (Buechler, 2008, p. 7).

histories that have been written about specific INGOs and from other publications which address the ongoing social construction of these INGOs.

Histories have been written of Christian World Service up to 1985 (Lovell-Smith, 1986), and Oxfam up to 1981 (Black, 1992), and data has been provided on World Vision in America (McCleary, 2009), and a history of the INGO in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bryant, 1996) which is quite comprehensive. Information about Caritas supplementing the research data was provided by an undated essay of Egan.<sup>34</sup> Historical information is also given by Save the Children, Caritas and Christian World Service in the report of the CID commissioned Treaty Journeys research (Herzog & Radford, 2007). Other material on Save the Children Alliance is largely from websites. TEAR Fund continued for some time after the 2009 discussion to supply the monthly newsletter of the INGO which has been supplemented by reference to the website. This summary describes the somewhat unequal resources providing insight into the social constructing origins of the INGOs. The topics discussed with INGOs provided comment at different points on INGO origins, structure and on primary reference points. Reference at any time to the websites and social media of the INGOs will provide additional information to supplement the data in this chapter.

INGO historical material is dealt with in the chronological order. The particular factors influencing the Aotearoa New Zealand originating aid and development INGOs and the processes by which the franchise INGOs entered the already socially constructed aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is included in this chapter.

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<sup>34</sup> Egan, J. Research Exercise: The Politics of Partnership Essay Two: Catholic Social Teaching on development. Unpublished Essay Board of Development Studies, Massey University

## Save the Children

At the beginning of the 20th century, two sisters had a vision to achieve and protect the rights of children. Their vision has survived into the second decade of the 21st century.<sup>35</sup>

The oldest INGO in the research has been carrying out its work for over 90 years and in Aotearoa New Zealand for 60 years. Save the Children emerged out of the particular societal practices of social reform and philanthropy in the United Kingdom in early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The historical material in this summary is taken from the brief History that is available on the Save the Children UK website. This identifies that the beginning of that organisation was motivated by the British blockade of 'the losing side of the First World War' and the consequent starving children in those countries. A 1919 public meeting set up an organisation to raise funds to relieve children suffering the effects of war and of the Russian revolution. Money that was raised was given to organisations working with children in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, the Balkans and Hungary and for Armenian refugees in Turkey.

The Save the Children founder Eglantyne Jebb is described as a social reformer belonging to a socially active family. Political campaigning has been part of the work of Save the Children since its beginnings. In the 1920s, Jebb published a Declaration of the Rights of the Child which was subsequently adopted by the League of Nations. She is also attributed with having insisted on a professional international organisation and saw the organisation working for its own extinction.

It must seek to abolish, for good and for all, the poverty which makes children suffer and stunts the race of which they are the parents.... It must abolish these hardships, not think it suffices to save them from immediate menace.

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<sup>35</sup> From the Alliance website

The Save the Children UK website history section goes on to describe the growing international organisation by decades. In the 1930s there was a research report on Unemployment and the Child, and a response to the Spanish Civil War. The 1940s brought another war 'In the Second World War we were forced to withdraw from projects in occupied Europe'. Work began in Asia in the 1950s – the Korean war- and also some work in Africa. It is noted that the apolitical stance of the organisation does not stop politics affecting the organisation. The development decade is identified with the 1960s, the 1970s brought the awareness of the situation of children in the UK, and the 1980s is dominated by disasters, the most high-profile being the famine in Ethiopia and a focus on protecting people. Children's Rights is the focus for the 1990s and the publication of a biography of Eglantyne Jebb.

Throughout the decades the history talks about 'what we did', *e.g.* set up a nursery school in Addis Ababa in 1936. Currently the Save the Children International website is advertising a wide variety of jobs in different countries. From the websites it can be seen that today Save the Children organisations work in over 120 countries around the world, fostering partnerships with local organisations and providing training, funding and resources to build healthier and more successful communities where there are children in need. It can be assumed that advertised jobs are involved in this work. The Save the Children International Secretariat with its registered office in London, provides a continuing old land (Belich, 2009) focus for each national office, and presumably for many of the branches in Aotearoa New Zealand which have raised funds for Save the Children for more than sixty years.<sup>36</sup> The history concludes with the 1990s.

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<sup>36</sup> This refers to the office in London "which coordinates our work and supports Save the Children's national organisations to ensure we achieve the greatest possible impact for children" From the Save the Children International website on 29/07/2001.

The Save the Children New Zealand website explains that branches of the organisation were established in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1947, and that Save the Children New Zealand became a national organisation in 1956, with 32 branches and 1,000 volunteers. The INGO is a member of the international Save the Children Alliance. Save the Children participated in the Treaty Journeys research (2007) and stated that they saw the appropriateness of the Treaty of Waitangi for their rights-based organisation. The steps that had been taken by Save the Children New Zealand were outlined and the role of the then board president, who led by example, was noted. The participants from the INGO suggested that it was a case of 'practice what you preach –if we apply certain principles internationally, then they need to be applied at home too' (Herzog & Radford, 2007, p. 71).

### **Oxfam**

Oxfam was initially an Oxford Committee of the UK wartime National Relief Committee which was discontinued in 1948. Black (1992) has written a detailed and substantive history of the Oxfam organisation from the post-war origins when the Oxford Committee decided to continue. Black quotes Cecil Jackson-Cole, chair person of the Oxford Famine Committee at the time. 'Despite the improvements in European conditions, there was throughout the world great suffering and need, and as long as this was so –and surely it would indefinitely be so – 'the work' must go on' (cited in Black, 1992, p. 32). Jackson-Cole's business supplied staff and capital to put the committee on to a business footing, which was unusual at the time. The intention was to establish the principal that a permanent organisation required some of the receipts to be ploughed back into developing the organisation. Black goes on to show how income-generating activities of various kinds and educational programmes which focused on schools were organised. It was during the first decades that Oxfam staff were sent off-shore to set up programmes in designated 'poor' countries.



Manji and O’Coill (2002), suggest that war charities which had previous missionary involvement in countries in Africa could build on that contact. Oxfam and Save the Children were among those which had no direct involvement in the colonies and who decided to extend their activities. Organisational survival was one factor, but also ideological goals; that even if religion may have been the original belief base of the organisation, it was the idealist tradition of liberal internationalism that now provided the motivation for them, as for the League of Nations (Manji & O’Coill, 2002, p. 573).

By the time the processes to establish Oxfam in Aotearoa New Zealand were begun, the rapidly growing Oxfam organisation in the UK had (in 1985-6) 726 staff, 41 of whom were working overseas, and 94 of whom were involved in education/ information/campaigning. The 1989-90 income was £61 million, staff 1153, 128 of whom were overseas and 180 in Oxfam Trading (Black 1992, pp 297 ff).

The 1991 issue of *Overview*, a CORSO<sup>37</sup> publication, included an article by David Small (1991) which detailed the processes by which Oxfam came to be established in Aotearoa New Zealand. It described the split which grew in CORSO over support for Maori development. A minority of CORSO supporters had facilitated initial funding from Community Aid Abroad, an Australian INGO. This was for three years so that Oxfam could be established. Money raised in New Zealand by Oxfam was sent to Community Aid Abroad for those three years. The article also noted that Trade Aid confronted Oxfam about its intention to import handicrafts from the Third World to sell by mail-order, and that many agencies including Christian World Service expressed grave concerns ‘about Oxfam’s methods and objectives’. Small concluded that ‘if Oxfam NZ gets established here, it will mean one more organisation seeking to remove Maori people and their concerns from the agenda of the development debate’ (1991).

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<sup>37</sup> Committee of Relief Services Overseas

The discussion in the Oxfam Auckland office described the establishment of the INGO in Aotearoa New Zealand, citing the demise of CORSO<sup>38</sup> and because ‘there was room for and a need for a secular organisation, an organisation that could campaign and do advocacy as well.’ In this discussion on origins it was also stated that ‘one of the challenges for all NGOs is going to be institutional memory’. There was apparently no one in the Auckland office of Oxfam that carried institutional memory for that organisation. The Oxfam reference to CORSO is carried into the next section which indicates the way in which the developments in Aotearoa New Zealand involved collaboration between CORSO, Caritas and Christian World Service.

### **Caritas and Christian World Service**

In August 1944 CORSO (Council of Organisations for Relief Services Overseas) was established at a meeting of “twelve societies”<sup>39</sup> convened by the Society of Friends, the National Council of Churches (formed in 1941), and Red Cross. A unanimous decision was made to combine forces for the organisation of relief services overseas. The Government approved the constitution of CORSO on 22 November 1944. The capacity of that Council to engage in post-war relief and reconstruction is recorded by Thompson (1965) in his record of the relief activities. His second publication examines the move by CORSO towards a development perspective (1969). Thompson described fundraising, a peace team to Greece and relief supplies. This explained the way in which improved communications with people overseas developed a new understanding about the needs of people in poor communities. At that time CORSO employed 15 full-time staff.

Brown (1981) has suggested that the New Zealand National Council of Churches became active in post-war relief institutionally when it made the decision in

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<sup>38</sup> CORSO continued

<sup>39</sup> Represented by the officers from the Red Cross, Quaker Relief and Reconstruction Committee, National Council of Churches, Order of St John, YMCA, Lady Galway Patriotic Guild, National Missionary Council, Inter-Church Council on Public Affairs, National Patriotic Fund Board, Zionist Council of New Zealand, and Friends Service Committee (Thompson, 1965, pp. 12-13).

1945 to ask the constituent churches of the Council to appeal for money. The advertisement said that CORSO would be sending four relief teams from New Zealand to Greece and gave CORSO addresses as the places to send donations. The main focus was to finance the sending of teams for particular purposes to Greece, and later to China, then India and Korea, in response to famine or the need for reconstruction work (ibid, p. 56). Lovell-Smith (1986, p. 21) states that the National Council of Churches involvement in and support for CORSO was the Council's main activities for post-war relief. Further developments of inter-church aid led to the appointment in 1947 of Rev Alan Brash as General Secretary of the National Council of Churches are described by Lovell-Smith. The National Missionary Council was another responsibility of Brash who saw the potential of churches working together. Inter-church aid was funded by an annual National Council of Churches appeal. Lovell-Smith notes that as in CORSO the focus of concern shifted from Europe to Asia (ibid, p. 30).

The cooperative action by organisations in New Zealand during and after the Second World War enabled them to utilise their existing and growing international links. At this stage it was principally their contacts with countries of the North, already existing within the organisations of the settler population – personal, missionary, political, trade, education etc. Thompson (1965, 1969) showed that increasingly CORSO's activities were shaped by links with UNICEF and then UNHCR. Lovell-Smith (1986, p. 47) tells of the 1950s when the National Council of Churches brought together church missionary boards and other inter-church bodies, which Brash thought would enable the NCC to be 'more wisely guided in choosing its inter-church aid projects' while the missionary bodies 'would benefit from being involved in a "wider vision and sphere of service."' In the discussion with Caritas it was commented of that time that 'committed lay people and the bishops of New Zealand have a long history of working for justice, peace and development, stretching back into the 1950s.'

The 1969 restructuring processes in the National Council of Churches are described by Lovell-Smith (p. 76 ff). The restructuring included the establishment of a newly named organisation, Christian World Service. By this time the Catholic Commission on Missions and Overseas Aid had been established. The post-war activities of CORSO, the National Council of Churches and the Catholic Church, can be seen to have been initially generated out of a collective colonial consciousness, informed by being part of the British Commonwealth and shaped by its perspectives and interests.

This changed as CORSO, Christian World Service and what became the Catholic Commission for Evangelisation, Justice and Development, through their links with each other and through the international linkages each had in countries of the South, shifted their perspectives away from looking to the North and began intentionally looking to the countries and concerns of the South. CORSO's linkages at this time were largely through the constituent bodies which belonged to the organisation, but these were being influenced also by what was happening within the countries or groups to which they were organisationally linked. Christian World Service had, by then, firm links with what became the Christian Conference of Asia, and with the Pacific Council of Churches, and with programmes of the World Council of Churches. For the Catholic Commission the establishment, in 1973, of the Asian Partnership for Human Development, and later the Pacific Partnership, was significant. By this time, within Asia, and gradually within the Pacific, regional networks were being formed, for example the Asian Cultural Forum on Development and the Nuclear Free and Independent Movement in the Pacific. Participation in the activities of these networks engaged representatives from the three agencies, and led to their collaboration on arranging visits from particular people, and to focus on particular issues.

In 1979 a National Aid and Development Conference, which attracted 150 representatives of 'Government Departments, Churches, Aid Agencies,

Universities and National Organisations', was held in Wellington (Anon, 1979). This Conference which had the theme Effective Aid for the Eighties made recommendations about New Zealand's Official Development Assistance. One part of this was a call for more aid to be allocated to recipient countries on a programme basis. Under the heading of the Voluntary Agency Support Scheme (VASS) it was recommended that New Zealand channel more aid through voluntary agencies (as had been recommended by a 1974 Conference and by a South Pacific Forum Task Force report on More Effective Aid.) Another recommendation was that the Advisory Committee on Aid and Development (established by a 1974 recommendation) took steps to include at least one-third of the members elected by the voluntary agencies.

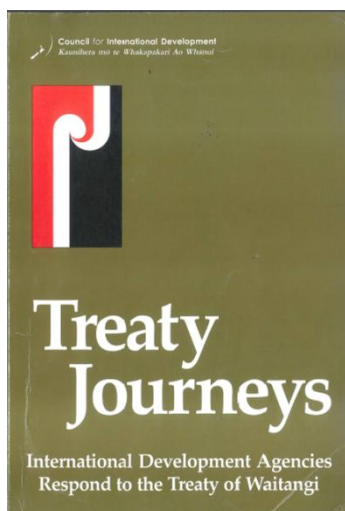
The collaboration between the Government and the non-government sector on matters to do with aid and development continued through to the time of the changes that were beginning to be recognised in the 2009 research findings. Establishment of the New Zealand Council for International Development (CID) and participation of staff from the INGOs in CID management and activities is also noted in the research findings. The VASS block grant scheme had emerged from discussion on the 1979 Aid and Development Conference recommendation on how the aid money is allocated (Anon, 1979). In 2009 it was the increased volume of the block grants that was the motivation for this research.

The analyses which led CORSO to become both a non-participant in and sidelined by the structures of the aid and development industry in Aotearoa New Zealand included the identification of poverty in New Zealand, which had led the Muldoon government to stop tax relief on donations to CORSO. Another was the decision to fund Maori projects in Aotearoa New Zealand. The precursor organisations to Caritas and Christian World Service which supported and drew on those analyses were clear that their locations within mission<sup>40</sup> and settler

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<sup>40</sup> Mission churches refers to churches begun by Anglican, Catholic and Methodist people before 1840, which were essentially Maori churches with increasing Maori clergy

church<sup>41</sup> and ecumenical structures enabled those INGOs to fund groups in Aotearoa New Zealand and engage in issues in this country without the backlash that was experienced by CORSO.



Caritas and Christian World Service participated in the 2007 Treaty Journeys research commissioned by CID (Herzog & Radford, 2007). Full statements of each INGO are contained in the published research report. A summary of each follows in order to background the research findings. In the Caritas section of the report (pp.62-3) people said that from the late 70s, when some of that church's justice and peace agencies were getting involved in Treaty related matters, support had been given to Ngati Whatua (tribe, people, in Auckland) families during the Bastion Point protests. The Wellington Archdiocesan Commission had researched the 1860 confiscations of Maori land. A task group produced two reports.<sup>42</sup> A particular Catholic view was based on the writings of Bishop Pompallier (1836-58) who had been present at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The 1981 Springbok rugby tour provided the opportunity to focus on racism in South Africa, and a symposium on the place of the Treaty in Catholic Church life was held. An ongoing process of reflection at different levels of New Zealand Catholic church life was noted. In 2000 Caritas undertook a land project which would ask parishes to research their history, to work through any issues about land acquisition 'that required reconciliation with local tangata whenua.'<sup>43</sup> Lack of resources and a sense of priority in the parishes meant slow process (Herzog & Radford, 2007). Caritas relates to a variety of agencies that deal with justice issues in Aotearoa New Zealand and to Catholic churches and schools.

<sup>41</sup> The churches established by colonial British settler population for the settler population after 1840.

<sup>42</sup> Whakamarama One and Whakamarama Two

<sup>43</sup> Maori, people of the land

Christian World Service people identified the showing of a film about South Africa at a workshop in 1982 as the beginning of the INGO's Treaty journey.<sup>44</sup> Maori participants in that workshop had pointed out that it 'was not just South Africa, it was also Aotearoa New Zealand'. This led the Methodist Church in 1983 to move towards becoming a bicultural church. When other mission and settler churches began to look at what had happened in the colonising of Aotearoa New Zealand, this impacted on Christian World Service through inter-church forums and by taking note of the challenge that was coming to churches from Maori. The establishment of the National Council of Churches Programme on Racism placed Christian World Service institutionally alongside this organisation within the National Council of Churches. The two organisations ran workshops together and prepared resources for teachers when schools included the Treaty in their charters.

In the Treaty research it was stated that openness to a strong Treaty focus was an outcome of Christian World Service relating primarily to partners who were dealing with historical injustices and oppressions. There was an expectation from those relationships that Christian World Service would be involved in local issues of justice. In 1990, the sesquicentennial of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Christian World Service and key church people promoted the tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty, self-determination) register as an alternative to voting in the general elections that year. Many signed and stacks of signed registers were sent to the originators of the register. Christian World Service people said that they had supported activists and organisations, and campaigned on issues such as the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) and international trade agreements, promoting the Mataatua Declaration<sup>45</sup> and opposing the Foreshore and Seabed legislation. The INGO had supported people, particularly Maori,

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<sup>44</sup> pp. 64-65 of the Treaty Journeys report (Herzog & Radford, 2007)

<sup>45</sup> 1993 The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples - First International Conference held in Whakatane – 150 delegates from 14 countries

working on Treaty issues and the rights of indigenous people, nationally and at the international level.

For a number of years Te Runanga Whakawhanaunga I nga Hahi o Aotearoa<sup>46</sup> was the primary reference point for decisions on this kind of funding. Because of its location in Christchurch Christian World Service made a considerable donation to assist the Ngai Tahu (tribe, people, South Island) claim to the Waitangi Tribunal. It also funded Kia Mohia Kia Marama Trust which provided basic educational resources for Maori over many years on national and international issues. In the Treaty Journeys report Christian World Service people concluded by saying that the INGO continued to learn about the history of the country, the realities for Maori, and about how to relate to the world (Herzog & Radford, 2007).

### **World Vision**

The context out of which World Vision emerged was very different. McCleary (2009, p. 43 ff) provides a list of the mergers of local agencies in the United States of America into national umbrella agencies during the Second World War. McLeary's intention is to see PVOs<sup>47</sup> (INGOs) humanitarian concerns from the perspective of 'relating to the US federal government' (p. 5). A chapter on the consolidation and regulation of humanitarian assistance by the US Federal Government in the period 1939-1945, which progressed from relief to reconstruction in the immediate post war period, describes the particulars of the American INGO activities during and after the Second World War. She notes that 'the destruction of European cultural values, political institutions and economic systems represented the loss of the foundation of the United States. The purpose of US assistance was of recovering European society as it had been before the war' (pp. 36-59). The role and activities of PVOs at the onset of the

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<sup>46</sup> Loosely translated as the Maori Council of Churches

<sup>47</sup> Private Voluntary Organisations



Cold War is then described in detail and analysed in relation to economic development (p. 60).

McCleary sees World Vision as an important case study for understanding the cultural terrain of the rise of evangelical humanitarian work in the United States in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The INGO began with an appeal for people to 'adopt' an impoverished child (in South Korea). McCleary says that by the late 60s the founder and vice-president of the World Vision organisation 'went to Washington, DC, to make contact with USAID to find out how to receive gifts-in-kind and other federal assistance' (p. 95). World Vision took the approach that it wanted to learn from the government bureaucracy. It is suggested by McCleary that organisations such as World Vision moved from Evangelical (*i.e.* church based) to faith-founded in order to appeal to para-church organisations. This enabled the INGO to relate across denominational boundaries and across a broad base of adherents for their fund-raising (*ibid*).

In 1975, at the time that World Vision entered the aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand, World Vision organisations existed in Australia and Canada, as well as in the United States. The non-US World Vision organisations felt that they were contributing to an organisation in which they had no representation. At that time the American organisation was aware of anti-American feelings in Latin America and elsewhere. The request of the Australia, New Zealand and Canada World Vision organisations that World Vision International be formed met those concerns. This was established in 1978 in the US and a Board was created for the international structure, based on size of income of each World Vision organisation – US 4, Canada 2, Australia 2, New Zealand 1; 6-8 members at large were voted on to the board. McCleary notes that the weighted representation did make a difference on key issues, such as leadership (p. 117). This was picked up in a comment in the research discussions with World Vision New Zealand.

Bryant (1996) has written about the first twenty-five years of World Vision New Zealand. In the chapter on Origins he has described the activities of people in Aotearoa New Zealand who were already involved in sponsoring children in Korean orphanages, and the effort that was made for a person who had worked for World Vision Canada to assist in establishing a World Vision organisation in New Zealand (pp. 17-25). Arrangements for a Korean Children's Choir to visit Aotearoa New Zealand, visits of the World Vision President Dr Stanley Mooneyham, and assistance from World Vision Australia, were all part of the strategy to establish the INGO in Aotearoa New Zealand (p. 18). There were then 200 child sponsors and committees had been set up from Whangarei to Invercargill. The story is told of relief kits of four types – hygiene, school, sewing and clothing - prepared and transported in fourteen tea chests by the Royal New Zealand Air Force to Vietnam.

The generic World Vision International organisation and World Vision Australia clearly targeted New Zealand and designated it as a funding office. Until 1974 the New Zealand office was 'under the auspices of World Vision Australia' (Bryant, 1996, p. 19). Bryant describes the 'strong consciousness of partnership, both within the World Vision net, in its dealing with the poor in the cooperative, participative way in which the people (World Vision staff) go about their work' (p. 14). He goes on to talk about the loss of autonomy of World Vision New Zealand because of the World Vision International Covenant of Partnership which mandated working together with other World Vision offices and World Vision international. Bryant describes federalism and regional forums – New Zealand is linked with Australia and the Pacific, through which there is 'representation in the World Vision partnership.' Bryant also describes a hotly debated issue involving different perspectives by political parties and opposition from Christian World Service and CORSO. The proposal was to bring for adoption by New Zealand families thousands of orphans from Vietnam where World Vision had been working.

By 1975 World Vision was the largest INGO in Aotearoa New Zealand and has continued to be so. The 2009 Financial Statements of World Vision New Zealand show income of \$61m which includes donations for Development 74.1%, (most from child sponsorship and 40 hour Famine), income for relief 9.2%, Goods in kind 13.1%, that is, food commodities donated by the UN World Food Programme for which World Vision New Zealand organises distribution. World Vision New Zealand Trust Board has oversight of the wholly owned subsidiary World Vision Trade and Development Society Limited, and is related to the World Vision Education Trust Board through common Trustees. Consolidated finances of these enterprises are seen as immaterial, and are not included in the publicised accounts.

Child sponsorship continues to be promoted for fund raising purposes and constitutes the largest income for World Vision. McCleary (2009) reinforces what was said in the research discussion with World Vision New Zealand, that policy is centrally determined. 'The WVI Council provided a forum for the views of board members of the various WV national entities to be expressed internally, while maintaining WV's single public voice on relief and development issues... For example, the debate to move beyond child sponsorship occurred within the international structure. The concept of child sponsorship was viewed as a marketing term and was considered inappropriate in the field (ibid, pp. 117-118). By the late 1980s, World Vision was on a new organizational trajectory. It was moving away from small-scale community development projects towards 'area development programs' – clusters of projects focused on development in a microregion' (p. 134). The Bryant history of World Vision in Aotearoa New Zealand supplemented by the wider perspective included in the McCleary publication puts into context the impact of that organisation on the Aotearoa New Zealand sector.

### ***Evangelicalism***

The link between World Vision and TEAR Fund is Evangelical Christianity. Lindsay (2005) has demonstrated the social power of evangelicalism in America. The role of para-church organisations is the location for the exercise of that social power. World Vision was one of the 65 'organisations and initiatives with evangelical leanings' that were researched and is described as one of the movements most significant organisations.

The public representation of American evangelicalism is important because of its salience beyond the religious to political, cultural and economic domains (Lindsay, 2005, p. 214).

An internet search would suggest that any similar critique of British evangelicalism is not obvious. The research of Lindsay into the strategies of Evangelicalism does offer pointers to interpreting the small amount of background information that is available about TEAR Fund.

### **TEAR Fund**

Information about the processes for establishing TEAR Fund in Aotearoa New Zealand was gleaned from the website of the UK organisation. In the 1970s, TEAR Fund UK expanded with an annual income reaching £3.29 million. It is at this point that a group of Evangelical Christians in Aotearoa New Zealand recognised that a more 'church related' organisation than World Vision was needed and decided that establishing a link to TEARFund UK would accomplish this. The TEARFund organisation in the UK had increased its activities and its income and was listed as a BINGO in New Internationalist (NI Staff, 2005) at the time of the Indian Ocean Tsunami.

Reference to an Evangelical Alliance website indicates that there is a variety of ways in which evangelical churches are linked into different groupings. TEARFund newsletter information lists Community Development as a programme and Microenterprise (microcredit programme). All the programmes are described as working through 'indigenous Christian organisations.'

It is the use of Compassion International that links TEAR Fund to the research by Lindsay (2005), who has not listed Compassion International among the few organisations mentioned. The information available on Compassion International, which is the channel for the TEAR Fund child sponsorship programme, suggests that it exercises considerable social power. Lindsay describes the role of higher education and elite educational institutions in the education of evangelical children. This strategy, in the words of one informant, “will be how we transform the culture’ (ibid, p. 217). TEAR Fund provides further information on the programme of Compassion International in the research findings.

## **Conclusion**

It can be clearly seen that the origins of the six INGOs in this research have been a consequence of a collective response, in different contexts, to war, or the outcomes of war. The environment of altruism and philanthropy among a particular social class at the time of the First World War and the Russian Revolution has been identified as the origin of Save the Children. Raising money (from gifts of two shillings and up to £10,000) to support groups working in countries and campaigning in the interests of children was a practice that became associated with this INGO; by the 1930s, setting something up as a project in another country had become part of the practice of the INGO.

Similarity to the origins of Save the Children is evident in the establishment of Oxfam in the UK in the period after the Second World War. The obvious difference is that Oxfam did not respond specifically to the situation of children. ‘There was throughout the world great suffering and need’ are the quoted words of Cecil Jackson-Cole, chair person of the Oxford Famine Committee at the time (Black, 1992). Practices of the continuing INGO included raising money, in this case through business enterprise, and Oxfam’s development staff were sent to the countries that the committee had identified as needing work. Manji

and O’Coill (2002) have suggested that the post-war ideology of liberal internationalism was the rationale for the international activities of Oxfam.

In the Dominion of New Zealand, the culturally conditioned settler response to the situation of people in European countries devastated by war was evident. The collaborative response which supported CORSO sending reconstruction teams to Greece, and raising money for this and other purposes coordinated by the National Council of Churches, has been described by Thompson (1965) and Lovell-Smith (1986). The practice of sending INGO staff to do development work in other countries did not emerge in these INGOs.<sup>48</sup> The role of the churches in coordinating these activities across sectors and building on established relationships in Asia and the Pacific is evident. The different evolution of the Catholic church agencies, the establishment of CORSO as a non-church INGO, and Christian World Service becoming a church-related INGO have been identified. Also identified were the collaborative activities of Caritas, Christian World Service and CORSO in Aotearoa New Zealand and in relating to organisations in Asia and the Pacific.

TEAR Fund has evolved in Aotearoa New Zealand by drawing on the cultural practices of evangelical churches in the UK. The INGO is linked with international Christian evangelical networks. At one level the practice of this INGO reflects the inter-church practice that informed the beginnings of Christian World Service. Compassion International has been identified as the institution that links TEAR Fund to both child sponsorship and to the political agendas associated with that expression of evangelical Christianity (in Lindsay, 2005).

World Vision has originated in the processes of international relations and responses to war in the United States of America. McCleary has associated this with rise of evangelical humanitarian work in America. She described World Vision as church founded (not church related). The original purpose of the INGO

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<sup>48</sup> From 1956-1969 The NCC Fraternal Workers Scheme sent people to work in a variety of ways with churches in Asia and the Pacific.

was child focused and rooted in already established practices of child sponsorship. The reference point for the development of the INGO was USAID. The research findings make reference to the evolution of the development agenda in World Vision. Like TEAR Fund child sponsorship continues as a significant source of funding for World Vision.

The 2009 reality described by the respondent INGOs is framed by the different processes of social construction that have been described in this chapter. These include geographic locations which reflect the socio-cultural, economic, political and geopolitical arrangements within those locations. Changes in these over time, and the degree to which INGOs are connected to the current globalised organisations referred to by each, are all indicative of the ongoing or emergent social constructing of the INGOs. The practices of raising money in a variety of ways, of sending INGO staff to carry out the INGOs work in other countries, and of child sponsorship have been part of the social construction of the INGOs that continue to be rooted in the North.

## 5. INGOs AND PARTNERSHIP: RESEARCH FINDINGS

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### Introduction

The ongoing social construction of the six INGOs carrying out the work of aid and development from within Aotearoa New Zealand has been described in the previous chapter. The focus of this research is the enculturated practices which have been described as partnership by the each INGO. The described practices involve the INGOs in international relations by the interaction of supporting the development work of groups and organisations, described as partners, in other countries. The INGOs capacity to continue these practices is dependent on the ability of each to access money and other resources from the Aotearoa New Zealand public, the government and other sources. The concept of partnership and different practices of partnership has been explored in the literature review. Fowler (1998) has suggested that 'partnership' has been an aspiration for INGOs since the 1970s, and later (2000a) discussed 'authentic partnership', which had been captured by the concept of participation. Crewe and Harrison (1998) have shown that the concept of partnership is made to serve an instrumental purpose in different ways.

This chapter examines the partnership practices of Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand (Caritas), Christian World Service, Oxfam New Zealand (Oxfam), Save the Children New Zealand (Save the Children), TEAR Fund New Zealand (TEAR Fund), and World Vision New Zealand (World Vision). The partnership language used in the discussions with these INGOs in 2009 is demonstrated in this chapter. For example, Save the Children talked about the staff role of managing relationships with groups and partnerships and 'managing country programmes.' World Vision identified the Global Office of World Vision – 'we call it, the Partnership Office', and TEAR Fund described the staff role as appraising the work of partners, and that 'there's quite a process to start a new partnership.' Oxfam expressed a



concern that 'our programme work and our partnership is of the highest quality'. The understanding that people in countries are able to implement their own development is thinking based on partnership, according to Caritas. Christian World Service talks about how technology can 'strengthen our relationship with groups and the partnership'.

The contentious and aspirational nature of the concept and practice of partnership explored in the literature is evident in the above quotes in the language of the INGOs. The research data demonstrates that various factors have been influential in producing the different practices of partnership utilised by the respondent INGOs. These different practices have been identified as practices of intervention and practices based on reciprocity.

This chapter explores the different practices of partnership. The first section deals with the concepts of intervention and reciprocity as these are relevant to international development assistance. The second section identifies the differences between these practices. The third section explores why these differences exist in the practice of the INGOs through consideration of the history of the INGOs, the influence of being grounded in the Aotearoa New Zealand context, and how the voice of the partner is an integrated component of the practice of the INGOs. The research findings are analysed in Chapter 6 and discussed in Chapter 7.

## **Identified Practices**

Intervention in the systems of aid and development is drawn from the dominant socio-cultural/political environment which asserts that one party (in this case an INGO) has a responsibility (right?) to assume that what it has identified as necessary for the good of the other (under-developed, poor) requires that the INGO take action to correct this. Definitions of the concept of intervention relate primarily to the noun *interference* with the associated meanings of

intrusion and meddling. Its active form, to interfere, has connotations of creating a hindrance, an obstacle or intrusion into the affairs of another.

Reciprocity is used here as an umbrella concept for practices described as components of partnership in the literature. The collaborative relationship of genuine partnership has been described by Drabek (1987) as mutual respect, trust and equality; transparency or reciprocal accountability; understanding of each others' political/economic/cultural contexts and of institutional constraints; openness to learn from each other; and a long term commitment to working together (Drabek, 1987, pp. x-xiv). In other words these are the ways in which partnership is demonstrated within the mechanisms and processes of the aid and development interactions. Reciprocity is a noun which describes a state or relation of mutual exchange. The verb, to reciprocate suggests actions that are made in response to, or given in return and are commonly associated with discourses of mutual exchange. The exploration of the partnership practices of INGOs which are the focus of this research requires clarification of the actual and different practices of intervention and reciprocity.

## **Concepts of Intervention and Reciprocity**

### **Intervention**

Intrusive interventionist practice by INGOs means that an INGO may interfere by locating INGO-determined projects, programmes or structures within the existing systems and sets of relationships in its target community in another country in order to achieve the development aims of the INGO. Four models of interventions in Timor Leste, such as multilaterals restructuring communities to create funding structures for their own use, are described by McGregor (2007), and Ulunga (2008) talks about Northern INGOs intruding in countries in the South to duplicate the practices of established southern NGOs in countries. Sizoo (1996) describes as intervention the northern practice of applying

particular labels for 'partners'. The ODI<sup>49</sup> critique of the DFID<sup>50</sup> Drivers of Change programme (Warrener, 2004) is that equipping country offices in sovereign states with political science skills is a form of intervention.

The literature has identified that the continuing use of interventionist practices by INGOs based in Northern countries, such as those just described, is challenged in a variety of ways. The real impact on women by the intervention of large gender-focused INGO programmes which use Afghan women as a barometer of social change and political progress in Afghanistan has been described by Abirafeh (2009). Questions of legitimacy were generated for Ossewaarde *et al.* (2008) by the nature of INGO interventions in the post-Indian Ocean tsunami environment; they identify different kinds of legitimacy from this observation of a large number of INGOs present in such a situation.

It is the impact on the communities which experience the intervention of Northern INGOs which generates the critiques of such practices. The different strategies of intervention in the practice of INGOs are shown to involve a number of practices of interference, intrusion and meddling. The concept of reciprocity is more complicated because it involves INGOs taking account of the situation of others when considering development related activities.

### **Reciprocity**

The location of the Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs historically and internationally within aid and development social institutions of the North requires intentional critique by INGOs which aspire to practices of reciprocity. Geddes' (2010) discussion of reciprocity and capitalism identifies that within the socio-cultural and political environment of capitalism reciprocity is generally seen only as a cultural practice of indigenous or non-Westernised people. The capacity to act from a collective understanding of reciprocity from within the enculturated and dominant economic and political environment of INGOs relies on the

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<sup>49</sup> Overseas Development Institute

<sup>50</sup> UK Department for International Development

understanding by the INGOs of that context. It also requires the recognition by the INGOs that the socio-cultural economic and political environment of a partner has been determining any understanding of reciprocity by that partner group or organisation.

The achievement of those capacities involves a range of different perspectives or strategies. For example, Townsend *et al.* (2004) have described how independent thinking groups in the South continue to look for support from donors in the North which share the values and goals of those groups in the South. Chambers *et al.* (2001) identified the practice of two-way accountability and the sharing of information available in the public domain, particularly that produced by INGOs. People centred development is associated by Smillie (1995) with practices based on mutual trust, respect and equality. Such practices occur in the particular situation in which INGOs and a partner are connected and involve reciprocity in all areas of decision-making, evaluation and accountability.

Intentional consideration by INGOs which aspire to reciprocity is informed by Abirafeh (2009) when she has looked for a more nuanced and sensitive approach in any gender-focused interventions in Afghanistan to avoid worsening the situation of women in that country. Similarly, Simpson (2008) has suggested that it is the maintenance of introspection on internal attitudes and mechanisms that ameliorates the power imbalances among the diverse group of people in the activist situation he described. The recognition that international development cooperation is a 'quintessential intercultural act' and involves unspoken assumptions which need to be recognised by INGOs when relating to partners is stressed by Sizoo (1996). Basita (2010) has identified the necessary effort that donor INGOs need to make to understand power relations in the political arena and civil society, as does Abu-Sa'da (2003) who asserts that INGOs need to take account of specific socio-economic and cultural contexts and support already established grassroots projects.

The aspiration of reciprocity clearly requires practices of introspection and consideration of perspectives brought to bear on what is happening in the development cooperation relationship with groups in other countries. It also requires addressing the question of the sources of knowledge used by the INGOs in arriving at such perspectives when engaged in reciprocal practices of development cooperation. INGO knowledge has been discussed by Crewe and Harrison (1998) who recognise that mental frameworks do not exist in isolation. Pottier *et al.* (2003) have noted knowledge production is embedded in social and cultural processes. Recognition of this is applicable to the INGO understanding of its own knowledge and to the respect for the knowledge held by partner groups and communities. Discussing hybridity, Abrahamson (2007) asserts that the assumption of any one-way relationship is inappropriate in the hybridity of the colonised and the coloniser in which identities and cultures are renegotiated. In other discussions the Transform Africa processes, the situations described by Owusu, and the work of Edwards and Sen, each describe the necessity of structural and personal change in order to change INGO practice.

Attention by INGOs to the goals and values of partner groups, mutual analysis of problems and accountability, ongoing introspection and intentional consideration of issues, and an awareness of the politics of knowledge, all suggest that reciprocity requires particular attitudes on the part of INGOs when relating to 'partner' groups and organisation. Different practices of reciprocity are considered. These INGO practices are based on recognition of the intercultural nature of any partnership activities, and the recognition that collectively and socially determined knowledge, behaviours and perspectives of INGOs, and of partner groups and organisations, permeate all the interactions between INGOs and partner groups.

## **INGO Practice**

The practices of four INGOs clearly involve the key components of intervention. Interfering and intrusive practice have been identified in the research material of Save the Children, World Vision and Oxfam. Although the segregated programmes of TEAR Fund appear to accommodate different practices, collectively these align the INGO with interventionist practices. The aspirations of reciprocity and practices based on this have been identified in the research material of Caritas and Christian World Service. The following sections describe the INGOs practices of intervention and reciprocity.

### **Interventionist Practices**

The interventionist practices which have been identified as practices of Save the Children, World Vision, Tear Fund and Oxfam that interfere, intrude and intervene are explored in the following sections. The first intervention is interference.

#### ***Interfere – Obstruct, Impede, Hamper***

Interference is the characteristic of intervention which involves the intention of the INGOs to benefit or change selected groups, organisations or communities. This cannot be achieved without interfering in specific socio-cultural, economic or political institutions associated with such groups, organisations or communities. The impact of such interference may obstruct, impede or hamper existing activities or the potential of locally determined alternative outcomes in that situation. The decisions taken by international INGOs can serve the purpose of the New Zealand franchise of that INGO or the larger intentions of the international group.

Oxfam talked about the critical changes in thinking and practice that had been taken by the Oxfam Confederation over time. Recent Confederation changes had led to the shift in focus of Oxfam New Zealand away from other regions in order for it to intervene in the geopolitical and economic situation in the Greater Pacific region. Oxfam described the outcome of this for its work.

At the end of the 90s, Oxfam New Zealand was funding a very broad range of very small projects globally. In the early 2000s Oxfam New Zealand began to have discussion about how effective its interventions were. Whether it should not in fact focus on a small geographic, a thematic sort of portfolio in its projects, and whether it should in fact make large interventions. So we reduced, we withdrew from, you know, Latin America and parts of Africa, and began to focus the programme on what we see as the Greater Pacific - it's the backyard.

Oxfam continued to discuss the implications for the INGO of working in the Pacific from its offices in Auckland, the largest Polynesian city in the region. An example was given of a 7-8 year involvement with business women in Samoa.

They have moved from being a small organisation producing local cultural crafts to now being a major mover in rural livelihoods, heading up a regional organics movement, and getting a huge amount of public attention. And now funding of a new project with NZAid will very considerably increase the resources to them. So that's a huge challenge for them actually. How do you go almost overnight from having \$200,000 a year to \$400,000 a year?

This example of a small intervention by Oxfam working with one group will inevitably have involved the INGO interfering in the economic processes of Samoa. The specifics of this are not clear but the growth of this one group over 7-8 years does suggest that the activities of other groups may have been obstructed or impeded during that time. The example also makes clear the support of Oxfam for the economic aspirations of the New Zealand Government and associated political and geopolitical concerns in the region. Several points from the New Zealand Aid programme<sup>51</sup> are relevant to the Oxfam decision to intervene in the 'back-yard'.

- The Pacific is the core geographic focus for the New Zealand Aid Programme. Over half of New Zealand's total aid goes to this region. The Pacific includes some of the world's smallest and most isolated

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<sup>51</sup> Obtained from the current website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

states. The region faces a range of economic and social development challenges , and much of the region is vulnerable to natural disasters

- The Pacific is New Zealand’s own neighbourhood, and New Zealand has the cultural, economic, and social links with the region that can influence positive change.

The MFAT paper goes on to talk about the contestable Partnership Fund which is open to the charitable, non-profit, private and state sectors. It has implications for the access of INGOs to such funding and also reflects the blurring referred to by Dichter (1999). The section in the information concludes with the statement:

The Partnerships Fund is aligned with the strategic goals of the New Zealand Aid Programme and has a particular focus on sustainable economic development in the Pacific region. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade)

The interference practice of TEAR Fund is not overt. Reference to the Annual Report of the INGO indicates that half of the raised programme money expended by TEAR Fund is for Child Sponsorship which is managed through Compassion International. This is clearly a core programme of TEAR Fund and is accounted for separately from the funds allocated to other programmes. The Summer 2010 issue of the TEAR Fund newspaper described the different programmes of Compassion International - Child Survival (which is self explanatory); from about ages 3-4; Child Sponsorship which is supported by TEAR Fund; and the Leadership Development programme which is ‘offered to the most gifted and service-oriented graduates of the Child Sponsorship Programme’.

Leaders can change the world and the world is crying out for competent ethical leaders. TEAR Fund’s Compassion’s Leadership Development Programme (LDP) offers a university education and intensive Christian leadership training to the most gifted and service-oriented graduates of our Child Sponsorship Programme. LDP students seize the opportunity to develop their God-given gifts and become



skilled professionals and Christian leaders of influence in their churches, communities and nations.<sup>52</sup>

It can be assumed that TEAR Fund supports the political intervention nature of this interference through its involvement with the American based INGO Compassion International. It also suggests that the same aspiration of interference informs the other programmes of the INGO. This is not evident in the language currently used on the website to identify the partnership practice of the INGO.

TEAR Fund New Zealand is a Christian aid and development agency working in partnership with child sponsorship, community development, Microenterprise, and disaster relief projects throughout the developing world. We believe in empowering developing communities to mobilise their own strategies to end poverty and build hope. We do not operate our own development projects.

Rather than employing ex-patriot field workers, we partner with local Christian organisations and churches in developing countries. We seek to build effective relationships with these partners, grounded in mutual respect, trust and accountability. By operating through partner agencies we work directly with the poorest, cutting out the middleman, red tape and bureaucracy. This also helps to keep down costs and stretches your dollar. We help poor communities find solutions to their own problems.

We take extra care to ensure women, children and other marginalised groups have a voice in this process. Aid is distributed regardless of the religious beliefs of recipients of our projects. At TEAR Fund we believe in a holistic approach that cares for the whole person: physically, socially, politically and spiritually.

Further research is required to identify how the political aspirations evident in support of Compassion International are worked out through the other programmes of TEAR Fund.

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<sup>52</sup> From the TEAR Fund New Zealand *Tear Correspondent* (Summer 2001)

Two INGOs have been identified with the interventionist practice of interfering. This is apparent in the strategy of the Oxfam Confederation which mandated that Oxfam New Zealand focus on the Greater Pacific and in the involvement of the Oxfam franchise with a particular group in Samoa. The stated objectives of the NZ Aid Programme in the Pacific reinforce the perception of an intervention practice of interference by Oxfam. It is reasonable to assume that the support of the political interference programme of Compassion International is basic to the holistic programme described above by TEAR Fund which talks about support for each person 'physically, socially, politically and spiritually'. The intervention of both INGOs of interfering in communities or organisations will inevitably impact on the social, cultural, economic and perhaps political balances in those communities. Shifts in the balance of power which occur as economic or other opportunities are made available to a particular group are likely to obstruct, hamper or impede the efforts or access of others to resources. The role of INGOs in establishing elite groups in communities is discussed in the readings in the literature review.<sup>53</sup>

### ***Intrude – Encroach, Infringe***

Distinctions between the different categories of interventions is somewhat blurred in that the interventions in the previous section could also be identified as intrusive. The data in this section considers specific intrusions that encroach on the existing situation of selected communities, groups or countries.

World Vision has described the role of World Vision New Zealand as a Support Office which has the task of raising funds for Field Offices. The INGO is linked to the World Vision Global Office which determines policy and practice, such as the Area Development Programme (ADP). ADP is the core development programme of World Vision. World Vision provided a copy of the 'Development Pilgrimage' of the INGO to illustrate the movement of the INGO from welfare and institutional child focus of the 1960s through the family focus of the 1970s to

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<sup>53</sup> For example, in Ulanga (2008), Barja (2007) and Wrong (2009).

development which was brought into the INGO through a community focus in the 1980s. The ADP began in the 1990s with an institutional awareness of root causes of poverty. In the World Vision Auckland office in 2009 It was suggested that the original intention of the ADP had been about community, but (without explaining what was meant) that at the time of the discussion it was thought to be more 'about the individual'.

McCleary (2009, p. 134) has described the community focus as the new organizational trajectory of World Vision away from small-scale community development projects towards 'area development programs' – clusters of projects focused on development in a microregion'. This equates with the shift taken at that time by Oxfam International referred to above. World Vision made several comments about the ADPs.

We have a fifteen year cycle so we have three blocks of five years ever since the ADP development programme..... So the ADP Programmes now, so they generally since 1991 which was our first one, so that's fifteen years and we've given extensions generally. That would mean pretty much financial support is now finishing.... And generally other ADPs would now start, for example in Rwanda..... So World Vision New Zealand funds one ADP and within the same country you might have Australia funding an ADP, Germany funding an ADP, Canada...

The basic 15 year ADP programme, and the impact of multiple-managed ADP programmes in a particular region of a country, presumably encroaches on multiple local jurisdictions. Encroachment which could also occur on a range of different or interlocking social, cultural and local practices, and economic environments, with the potential for a variety of local regulatory infringements, demonstrates the intrusive nature of the core World Division development strategy. The existence of multiple in-country presence of ADPs indicates the magnitude of the intrusive core World Vision programme.

Further evidence of intrusion is demonstrated in an explanation of the strategy utilised by World Vision to establish its institutional base in the selected community.

When we first designed ADP, setting up the CBO,<sup>54</sup> would be because you really focus on the last phase when we're about to pull out, make sure the sustainability is there. Now what we're doing is we're starting from scratch with the CBO so that you have an organisation with so much more time building the capacity, but also we're moving into instead of establishing the organisation, you work with an already existing one; which is by far the best because they've established themselves, they've got the get-up-and-go to establish themselves, and they are at work instead of establishing a group which might not be naturally formed.

It can be presumed that the decision to change the strategy for establishing an ADP base in the community was a pragmatic one made by World Vision. This indicates that that the processes for a successful intervention required the intrusive practice by World Vision to encroach on the existing personnel and social systems. This may or may not have taken account of socio-cultural factors or the power differentials within those communities. The potential for infringement of undeclared boundaries or customs would have been real.

The management and monitoring of the ADP and the consequent adjustments to the programme were also referred to.

So I'm managing projects in several countries. So I receive the reports, I monitor them, I visit them, input to the evaluations of the project, I decide which projects are chosen.

Development is the key driver the reality; an example is Sub-Saharan Africa which is so huge. The actual reality is, in the projects we are pushing, this needs to be a sustainable project, we need to be building capacity, we need to be training, The other reality is they still need food, they still need health care, and they still need help. So much as we want to do anything else those are still the basic needs.

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<sup>54</sup> Community-based organisation

Managing projects that are being pushed by the INGO identifies the continuity of intrusion involved in such interventions.

Two INGOs talk specifically about the management of in-country programmes. The Save the Children Alliance has a long history of setting up satellite Save the Children organisations in countries and of supporting programmes in many countries. People in the Wellington office of Save the Children described the particular management roles of people in that office.

There is the Pacific Programme manager of Save the Children NZ. The position covered line managing a big country programme in Papua New Guinea, where Save the Children NZ at that time was employing 150 people, and implementing a programme that was covering five provinces. Another person manages our big Asia programme and manages our relationship with groups and other partnerships in Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Nepal and India.

Mention is also made of Save the Children programmes in poor countries in Africa. The impression in the discussion was that management could be of different programmes, but that alignment with the Save the Children goals would be the focus of such management.

Oxfam New Zealand has a shorter history than Save the Children but follows the same model of interventionist INGO international relations when talking about management of in-country programmes.

In Oxfam the task of the management of the team of experienced development managers that work with in-country partners is important. We are direct employers in Papua New Guinea where there is a joint country office with Oxfam Australia. We share a Country Director's position and there is support staff, and a more major base in Garuka in the PNG highlands where, we have about 15 staff, now working in quite remote areas, working outreach with community organisations in quite remote parts of Simbu and Southern highlands.

The ongoing nature of the management of such intrusions is a factor in the deployment of the experienced development managers of Oxfam.

Encroachment in the socio-cultural and local economic and political systems of countries has been demonstrated in the examples of Save the Children, World Vision and Oxfam. This has been shown variously to involve establishing satellite organisations of the INGO or local committees for the purposes of an INGO programme, and in employing and training local people. In the process of such encroachments particular local organisations are advantaged, and INGO priorities would have been likely to supersede local community aspirations.

***Meddle – Pry, Butt In***

The third form of intrusion evident in the INGOs examined is meddling. This characteristic of intervention is not so evident in the data. Even so, it is possible to see ways in which meddling occurred as in the example of the realigned focus of Oxfam which required it to

...begin to identify key partner organisations that may not have been particularly big but really shared our values and our leadership.

There is nothing in the research data to identify the steps that are taken by Oxfam to identify such partner organisations or the processes by which shared values and willingness to accept leadership are identified. It appears that there is a lack of intention to work with partner organisations to develop shared values and that the purpose of Oxfam was to arrive at the outcomes that fit the INGO purpose. The practice of selecting particular individuals or organisations or social groups within communities or regions of a country would have included some meddling in the processes by which such persons or organisations would become available to the INGO.

The World Vision procedure for setting up a CBO for the purpose of establishing the ADP programme in an area has been described as an intrusive encroachment. It is apparent that this type of encroachment would involve meddling in the affairs of an established community group.

...[t]hey've got the get-up-and-go to establish themselves, and they are at work instead of establishing a group which might not be naturally formed.

It is likely that any strategy by an INGO to involve individuals, groups or organisations in the setting up of an intended programme of the INGO does involve meddling in order to establish an entry point for the INGO into that community or area.

Another more obvious example of INGO intention of meddling is at the level of political systems. This example of meddling can be seen in the practice of Oxfam and in that of Save the Children. Political meddling was introduced during the discussion in the Oxfam office. The comment does not identify which governments are to be held to account.

If you looked at say the bubbles on participation and democratic development there are elements of these that might contain national level campaigning and advocacy. For example, in terms of holding a government to account, it is actually part of the development process.

Discussion with Oxfam included reference to a Drivers of Change document which was being considered by the INGO at the time. This is "a particular way of doing a particular kind of analysis of social change, and we're finding that quite a useful new addition to actually doing our situational analysis."

The ODI<sup>55</sup> report on the Drivers of Change process discussed the growing awareness of the complexity and political nature of development, identified the Drivers of Change approach as a useful analytical tool for 'country offices' and went on to state that 'concerns about political interventions in 'sovereign' states still apply...' (Warrener, 2004, p. 21). The use of inverted commas around the word 'sovereign' is an indication that the concept of sovereignty is contentious relation to the Drivers of Change programme. Koskenniemi (2011) is helpful in

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<sup>55</sup> Overseas Development Institute

indicating the relevance of the Warrener quote about sovereignty and to the issue of INGO interventionist practice. He explains that:

In the context of war, economic collapse, and environmental destruction, in spite of all the managerial technologies, sovereignty points to the possibility however limited or idealistic, that whatever comes to pass, one is not just a pawn in other people's game but, for better or worse, the master of one's life (Koskenniemi, 2011, p. 70).

Koskenniemi's way of framing 'sovereignty' as a form of resistance is a reminder to INGOs which assume and presume to enter into other countries that the assertion of sovereignty may be the defence against interference or intrusion. The concern expressed by ODI in respect of the Drivers of Change programme can be applied to any intervention anywhere in a country.

The Save the Children UK website has advertised a 2008 publication: *The Child Development Index: Holding Governments to account for children's wellbeing*. The Save the Children Alliance policy evident in this publication highlights the support given by Save the Children New Zealand to the campaign to repeal Section 59 of the New Zealand Crimes Act.<sup>56</sup> The repeal of Section 59 (dubbed the "Anti-Smacking" bill by those opposed to the repeal) was a highly contentious political decision at the time. The intention to intervene politically, or to meddle, is clear in the Save the Children website statement about *The Child Development Index*: 'We hope it will put a real spotlight on governments, so that good performers feel emboldened and proud of their achievements, and poor performers are pressured to up their game.'

The Child Rights advocate present in the discussion in the Save the Children Wellington office described what was called a brave decision.

The decision to support the campaign around Section 59 - People here were very much involved; it was very brave because many of

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<sup>56</sup> S59 Domestic Discipline: (1) Every parent [of a child, and subject to subsection (3) of this section, every person in the place of the parent of a child] justified in using force by way of correction towards the child] if the force used is reasonable in the circumstances.



our branches, many of our support base.... They don't support us anymore. So we went against popular opinion.

Save the Children and Oxfam have both demonstrated that it is a policy of these franchise INGOs to confront governments in support of an INGO issue. Save the Children has demonstrated this by participating in a campaign in New Zealand to change the law. The issue of sovereignty as a defence against interference or intrusions which has been raised above is relevant to the practice of both INGOs when meddling in the politics of other countries.

Reference to the Save the Children Alliance and by inference to the Oxfam Confederation indicates the relationship of the franchise INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand with those international bodies. Save the Children, like Oxfam is part of a large historically socially constructed international organisation both of which (and World Vision) have been involved in the research reported in Lindenberg and Bryant (2001) in which a number of such large international organisations considered the contemporary role of such INGOs. Wallace's (2003) review of that publication included reference to closeness to government and a concern about the view of the world that is collectively promoted by a few large INGOs.

Closeness to government or the private sector, and more particularly the policy arenas in the north, is directly related to the Federation, Confederation and Alliance to which the INGOs refer for policy and practice. Donors from those sectors are also a factor relevant to the support for the practice of franchise INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand. The purpose of the INGO interventions which have been identified from the research and other data is described by the INGOs in the next section.

### ***The Intentions of INGO Interventions***

The roots of interventions have been suggested in the reference to the philanthropic, altruistic, missionary international relations traditions that then and continue to accompany explorers, traders, colonisers and others into selected countries in different regions for the good or benefit of designated

groups, communities, regions or countries, and in order to rescue such entities for the market, modernisation, democracy, from poverty or under-development or alignment with non-Northern/Western interests. The precise intentions of the various INGOs strategies of intervention are focused on gaining the support of particular groups, organisations or areas of countries for the development intentions of the INGOs.

The identity of the group which is the focus of Save the Children is the clearest in that this INGO is, as it says, the world's leading independent organisation for children. The people at the Save the Children Wellington office talked about working in pursuit of the objectives and goals of the Save the Children Alliance which are:

We work together, with our partners, to inspire breakthroughs in the way the world treats children and to achieve immediate and lasting change in their lives through programmes in health, nutrition, education, protection and child rights, also in times of humanitarian crises.

The statement by the Alliance also talks about helping children to fulfil their potential, This is in contrast to the Compassion International child sponsorship programme described above in which particular children are promoted, through a series of mission related interventions by Evangelical churches at local, regional and national levels, for political purposes.

Oxfam has identified the interventions encapsulated in the four major areas of the INGO's work - economic justice, humanitarian work, gender justice and access to essential services.

Development is about developing, agreeing with partners in the community about what needs to change... Our mission is to change people's lives in terms of inequality and injustice and it's to make positive change in their lives...

Oxfam intentionally identified 'partners' that will work with the INGO to pursue the Oxfam Confederation defined goals for any partner and for other Oxfam purposes such as advocacy and campaigning. It was commented by Oxfam that the use of relationships and the goals established by Oxfam are in order for the INGO to reach 'the kind of programme outcomes that we desire, that our programmes work and our partnership is of the highest quality,'

The Mission Statement of TEAR Fund includes the words 'ministry to the poor, oppressed and disadvantaged' to describe its international work. The website definition of holistic community development further identifies what those words mean for TEAR Fund.

TEAR Fund's holistic approach to sustainable community development addresses areas of major social concern amongst the poor in developing countries. We work in unique partnerships with indigenous Christian agencies, enabling partners to meet the needs of the community and empowering people to become self-sufficient.

The language used by TEAR Fund appears to reflect the practice based on reciprocity of the two non-interventionist INGOs. However, the use of such language to describe the practice of meeting the needs of communities is ambiguous as it is framed by TEAR Fund's support for the intentions of Compassion International.

World Vision expressed concern is for groups involved in ADP related programmes. The World Vision website states the rationale for engaging with such groups through the ADP programme.

World Vision is an international partnership of Christians whose mission is to follow our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in working with the poor and oppressed to promote human transformation, seek justice and bear witness to the good news of the Kingdom of God.

Child sponsorship by World Vision was not channelled through Compassion International but the discussion in the Auckland office indicated that like TEAR

Fund there was a disjunction between the development understanding of staff and those involved in fundraising.<sup>57</sup> It was clear that the INGOs emphasis on work with deprived communities and the INGO dependence on funds raised by child sponsorship was the basis of the disjunction. Child sponsorship donors account for 60% of the World Vision income.<sup>58</sup> This is absorbed into the general accounting of the organisation, unlike TEAR Fund which accounts for child sponsorship separately. The conversation with World Vision indicated that ongoing efforts were required to convince the sponsors of children that this individual support involved supporting the community in which the child lived – the ADP model. Limited success is indicated in the comment:

We still struggle with that message; we still struggle with communicating that message clearly, so that people understand it.

The World Vision financial record for 2011 also shows that there has been a decrease in the number of children being sponsored through World Vision New Zealand. In the year this dropped from 77,788 children being sponsored by people in New Zealand to 74,530, a loss of 3,285.<sup>59</sup> Concern for individual children is still a dominant focus in World Vision publicity in order to perpetuate the child sponsorship programme of World Vision. McCleary has identified the World Vision International policy in which child sponsorship is defined as fundraising and that it is not appropriate 'in the field' (2009, p. 118). The World Vision office was established in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1975 as a Support Office to raise funds. The acceptance in the 1990s by World Vision internationally of the ADP programme has apparently broadened the function of that office. The practice of some staff with management roles in respect of the ADP projects funded by the New Zealand Support Office aligns World Vision with the interventionist programmes of the World Vision Federation.

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<sup>57</sup> The issue for Oxfam was the fundraising pressure on development people to keep producing new stories.

<sup>58</sup> This information is available from the Annual Report which is posted on the website.

<sup>59</sup> Currently the World Vision web site first item invites donations of \$45 per day which will help the child and his family.

### ***Individuals or Communities?***

The question of where the benefit of interventionist strategies is targeted has occurred in different ways in the literature. Hutchings (2010) who looks at aid as the responses to humanitarian crises and to global poverty suggests that they are related by controversies over the causes of humanitarian crises and global poverty. She has identified two issues that are relevant to the institutional disjunction between fundraising based on child-sponsorship and development in the child focused INGOs. These are the ethical significance of human individuals and the question of the ethical significance of the individual versus that of the community (ibid, pp. 133-134).

Three franchise INGOs began their work as a collective or mission response to the situation of children.<sup>60</sup> Each INGO subsequently became involved in development assistance and humanitarian or emergency work. The articulated issue in 2009 was how to accommodate the focus on the individual child with the development intentions of the INGO.

The whole focus of Save the Children is the well-being of children. This initially presented individual children situations in which they required attention. Save the Children New Zealand discussed the shift of that INGO from support for the individual child to the child in community.

It's the proudest moment of Save the Children when in the early 90s in the organisation, not just in New Zealand; we decided to turn our backs on individual sponsorships, for community sponsorships. This was based on a Rights approach that in sustainable development you don't talk of individuals you talk of groups and communities. Before Child Rights there was a broader concept of development which does not link fundraising from supporters in NZ for an individual child in a particular country.

It is obvious from a comment made in the Save the Children office that the Rights of the Child paper by Jebb had led to child sponsorship. Save the Children

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<sup>60</sup> Save the Children – children in famine after the First World War; World Vision – children orphaned by the Korean War; TEAR Fund - the famine situation in Biafra and links with Compassion International

stated it was the analysis based on Rights which led the Alliance to move away from that historic practice to work with partners for the wellbeing of children as identified in the Save the Children Alliance statement noted earlier. Currently the Save the Children New Zealand web site is stating, with a graphic from the East Africa food crisis, that it costs next to nothing to save a child. It goes on to identify that one million children are at risk – it is not an invitation to sponsor a child.

World Vision has been identified as utilising child sponsorship for fundraising. The TEAR Fund connection to Compassion International accepts a particular political rationale for this practice. Development related people in each INGO have indicated juggling to a greater or lesser extent the focus of their work between the fundraising, if not ideological, benefits of using children, and the broader concepts of development that each espoused and was intentional in promoting. The focus of Oxfam, which did not have to deal with that particular juggling between a fundraising strategy involving children and development practice also apparently recognised the need to identify benefits that changed people's lives, alongside promoting the aspiration of the INGO to bring about change at the systemic level in society.

The previous sections have shown that whatever the intervention strategy, the INGOs have had to interact at a variety of levels. Entry points and group identification or establishment have been seen to involve interaction with individuals, individually or as part of a group. The engagement with formal groupings was likely to be through an individual, local community organisation or at regional or district governance level. The interventionist INGOs have shown that that the intention of interactions was to gain support, which may override or ignore socio-cultural, economic or even political systems, in order to achieve the outcomes that the INGO was looking for.

Data suggests that each of the interventionist INGOs are able to enter into the situations that have been selected on the basis of existing contacts. These may

be through churches, or previously established groups or country offices. Any new intervention strategy in another country raises the issues which have been identified in this section.

### ***Conclusion***

The different interlocking categories of intervention have made it possible to identify the 2009 core interventionist practices of the franchise INGOs. Oxfam has been identified as interfering in Samoa, to be intruding in the management of in-country programmes, and to have the intention of meddling in order to identify key partners, and in political systems. Save the Children, which is promoting the Child Poverty Index also manages in-country programmes and has been shown to have the intention of getting involved politically as demonstrated by Save the Children New Zealand. The ADP and the establishment of CBO groups, and management of funded projects has also involved World Vision in intruding, and meddling in order to identify children in countries for sponsoring. Compassion International involves TEAR Fund in supporting the interference involved in its programmes, and led to the assumption that this approach is adopted in other programmes of TEAR Fund. There is evidence that each franchise INGO can accommodate some adaptation of its material, or the adoption of a better way of doing things in order to achieve best practice. There is no indication that the basic strategies of intervention are changed by these incremental adaptations.

The intervention of these INGOs into Aotearoa New Zealand was initially to raise funds from the Aotearoa New Zealand public for the international INGO. In a variety of ways the INGOs have perpetuated without question the interventionist practices of the socially constructed Alliance, Confederation, Federation and Evangelical networks in which each is embedded. The sector has obviously been receptive to the practices of intervention. The philanthropic, altruistic, missionary international relations traditions shaped in the socio-cultural economic and political environments in the United Kingdom and the United

States of America continue to influence and to find support in Aotearoa New Zealand for the interventionist practice of the franchise INGO

## **Practices of Reciprocity**

### ***Introduction***

The situation in Aotearoa New Zealand at the time of the Second World War reflected that of the UK. Caritas and Christian World Service emerged at that time in Aotearoa New Zealand from within the cultural practices of settler society. Belich (2009) has described the mass transfer of ideas from the Old World of the North to the 'Wests' which accompanied the ongoing processes of colonisation. The growth of the Anglo World in Aotearoa New Zealand brought 'the transfer of things, thoughts and people, lubricated by shared language and culture' (ibid, p. 49). This meant that the Dominion of New Zealand participated in 'the supply of fresh armies of newlanders, ready and willing to fight like Northerners and Britons, because they thought that they were Northerners and Britons' (Belich, 2009, p. 558). Lovell-Smith (1986) and Thompson (1965) have described the wartime and early post-war collaboration between the three INGOs (Caritas, Christian World Service and CORSO) which were socially constructed in Aotearoa New Zealand during those years.

INGOS which at that time were rooted in the philanthropic, altruistic, international relations traditions in the United Kingdom and the United States of America have been identified as franchise INGOs in the previous section. The intervention during the mid- 1970s and the 1990s of these franchises brought interventionist practices into the social philanthropic, altruistic, international relations institutions of aid and development which had evolved in Aotearoa New Zealand since the Second World War. This lubrication of shared language and assumptions of shared culture has continued within that sector.

It is evident that social, cultural, economic and political changes in Aotearoa New Zealand in the post- Second World War decades, together with proximity to, and



involvement in, the regions of Asia and the Pacific, meant that the deeply enculturated practices of intervention identified with Northern agencies did not impact as deeply on the emerging INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand. The settler history which involved interventionist colonising practices of interfering, intruding and meddling had over time been muted to some extent by time and distance with other national and regional attitudes and values. This contributed to any unlearning of the practices of colonisation and this enabled the two INGOs to develop more reciprocal forms of partnership.

The sections which follow identify the factors that facilitated the emergence and enculturating of the practices of reciprocity in the work of Caritas and Christian World Service. These facilitating factors and learned practices are recognition of the intercultural acts involved in relationships with partners, and of the collectively and socially constructed knowledge, behaviours and perspectives that INGOs and partners each bring to any intercultural interaction.

The use of the term 'quintessential intercultural' by Sizoo (1996) to describe the relationship between INGOs and partners carries with it the understanding that the fundamental nature of the particular relationship between INGO and 'partner' is intercultural and that everything else in the practices associated with that relationship are determined by that understanding. Data that can describe the INGO's recognition of this fundamental nature of the INGOs relationship with partners is the first category of reciprocity to be explored.

### ***The Intercultural in the Relationship between INGO and Partner***

Caritas and Christian World Service did not include specific reference to the INGOs awareness of the intercultural nature of the relationships that the INGOs enter into with partner groups or organisations in other countries. However, Chapter 4 has included statements made by each INGO in the Treaty Journeys report which are an indication that both INGOs have enculturated a structural understanding of racial discrimination.

For example, Caritas has talked about reports that supported evidence of a particular Catholic view that could be based on the writings of Bishop Pompallier (1836-58) who had been present at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. In 2000, Caritas was given the Catholic bishops support for a land project which would ask parishes to research their history, and to work through any issues about land acquisition “that required reconciliation with local tangata whenua.” Another example is the National Council of Churches Programme on Racism which began in the 1980s and placed it alongside Christian World Service institutionally. The two organisations together, and with Catholic support, ran anti-racism workshops and prepared resources for teachers when schools included the Treaty in their charters. Because of its location in Christchurch Christian World Service made a considerable donation to assist the Ngai Tahu claim to the Waitangi Tribunal.

This brief survey of the material in Chapter 4 locates Caritas and Christian World Service from the period of the late 1970s in an environment of the anti-racism and Treaty workshops, which consolidated the understanding of the social, economic and political structures of racism. That understanding is the basis on which comments of the INGOs in the research data can be interpreted as recognition of the intercultural act when interacting with partners.

Discussions with Christian World Service demonstrated the perception of the partner as ‘other’. The practice of allowing partners to speak for themselves and the INGO need ‘to hear the voices of the people’ were seen as critical. A failure to do this was identified in the response of some INGOs to a panel of Pacific and Maori participants during the 2008 CID Hui on Power. Comments made by those INGOs, which said that part of the programme was a waste of time, was connected by Christian World Service to the critical responsibility to hear the voices of the ‘other’.

That type of engagement and hearing the perspective was like a check and balance for me on how we're doing. It's been a motivator to think more widely about what the issues of justice and development are...

A connection can be made between the intercultural perspectives offered in the Hui and issues of justice and development reflected in a comment by Caritas.

Primarily we recognise the authority of the partner in the country. And the strength of this approach is that we're quite clear of our own function in terms of ability and capability which is funding, and so we're quite realistic that our funding does skew our relationship somewhat. But having said that it means that in whatever work with partners it is to honour the power they have. The way it translates when we are co-funding a partner with other agencies is that we often find ourselves in the role of mediation.

It was suggested by Caritas that other INGOs involved in a particular co-funding situation were not recognising 'the authority of the partner in the country'. Caritas said further that 'congruence with (the partner) thinking about community is about recognising that people are in different places and have different strengths.' Christian World Service talked about this.

One of the things that does influence our policy is the experience of our partners, and the exchange, the issues that are driving them and that they are responding to, that influences our advocacy work, our educational work, our programmes, work.

It is clear that Caritas and Christian World Service are alert to the situations in which the intercultural nature of INGO relationships with partners is being ignored. Both INGOs had been involved over a number of years in the Asian Cultural Forum on Development which had brought its own challenges. A particular meeting of that Forum was mentioned by Christian World Service.

ACFOD came here in 1980 and they had a Human Rights meeting in Christchurch. It was after that meeting that some of the people were certainly challenging in the way aid agencies were viewed by them

and their abilities and their work; and I'm sure it happened before that.

Another factor which involved the recognition of the intercultural occurred in a discussion in which Caritas spent some time linking related work in Aotearoa New Zealand, Catholic Social teaching and the international work of Caritas.

Because some of the issues are particular to Aotearoa like Maori, Foreshore and Seabed for instance. And that would challenge us with justice issues in relation to indigenous peoples. And so we would be looking at that from the perspective of Catholic Social Teaching and social justice. And we would internationally use work with indigenous peoples overseas to relate it to what's happening in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Connections made in that somewhat convoluted statement indicates that Caritas like Christian World Service was being impacted internally with the processes described in the Treaty Journeys report and externally as the INGOs were receptive to the insights of partners and others in networks from countries in Asia who did not speak in the 'voices of the tropicalised INGOs' (Sizoo, 1996, p. 191), but brought challenges to the Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs. Receptiveness to challenges from partners and others is an indication of recognition of the intercultural by Caritas and Christian World Service, and is a key component of reciprocity.

A dominant discourse in the literature also presented in the language of INGO intervention is that of the 'development expert' or the expertise that INGOs offer to potential partners. A growing discourse in the development literature critiques the concept of the development expert by addressing the issue of the social and cultural origins of knowledge. Crush *et al.* dealt with how ideas translate in the networks of power and domination that encompass the globe, and Crush, in particular, warned against being submerged in the words of development which convince and persuade how the world should be.

The ideas about development do not arise in a vacuum but are rather assembled "within a vast hierarchical apparatus of knowledge

production and consumption sometimes known, with mathematical precision, as the 'development industry' (1995, p. 5).

The next section explores the awareness of knowledge production in the work of Caritas and Christian World Service.

### ***Collective and Socially Determined Sources of Knowledge***

Development ideology is discussed in the literature review. INGOs are inevitably submerged in the words of development (Crush, 1995), and Pottier *et al.* (2003, pp. 2-3) 'explore knowledge as embodied practice (which) addresses the negotiated character of knowledge production': the focus is the interfaces between local communities and external agents of change. The capacity to recognise and negotiate the different knowledges involved in the INGO relationships with partners is explored in this section.

Caritas recognised that people the INGO supports are in different places with different strengths. Christian World Service talked about the influence that the experience of partners has on the work of the INGO. Implicit within those recognitions is the perception of the INGOs that partners are working from the knowledge and expertise that partner groups or organisations hold. Christian World Service commented further.

..... the development agendas of the partners were being driven by those partners which were actively encouraging that trend; and moving beyond community participation to very much community driven agendas for development, ..... communities to develop their own development agendas and to support them in that work; sending New Zealanders overseas would only encourage a NZ/Northern/rural agenda on them rather than encouraging an indigenous local agenda.

Brief reference was made by Christian World Service to a deliberate action taken to fund a 'partner learning' exchange. The implication was that the role of Christian World Service had been to facilitate the process for representatives of partner groups to meet together and to learn from each other.

Caritas has talked about the INGO recognising the authority of the partner in the country in which the partner group is located and has identified that the INGO was quite clear about its own function and the ability and capability of funding. An example of how this worked out in practice was given by Caritas.

We might have a lot in common with a partner who was working on, say, health, or community health, but then in the process discover that their way of working is quite hierarchal in a tertiary model, and we would actually find that, they may not partner with us - but we would want to have some dialogue with them.

The comments made by Caritas indicated that the intention of recognising the role of the INGO in any partnership, while also recognising the authority of the partner, required ongoing attention in order to achieve the desired reciprocity in the relationship with partner groups.

Staff of Christian World Service were aware of technological changes that could potentially assist communication between Christian World Service and its partners. It was also noted that pre-2009 availability of Government money for appraisal and monitoring, had facilitated much greater contact with some partner groups and organisations.

We speak to partners quite regularly on the phone, we're exchanging emails back and forth, having very rapid communication and now that there's resources to visit much more regularly, has made a significance difference in the way we relate to partners. The fact that there is a lot more money for appraisal, monitoring, evaluation visits also relates to the fact of being more dependent on government matching funds, and in some of their accounting requirements, I think, and is driving the need for accountability. On the plus side it has strengthened our relationship and the partnership; on perhaps the negative side the driver behind it, so that to some extent you end up getting drawn into it because you're reporting to government from those visits as well. It isn't all positive, put it that way.

Phone calls do not have to be returned, nor emails answered; Christian World Service talked of the continual interchange of calls and emails, which would

suggest that the continual contact was about mutual benefit involving mutual sharing of information or knowledge. It also showed that Christian World Service had some ambivalence about the resources that supported such contact with partners and that these could not be taken for granted. The Christian World Service perspective on accountability in respect of those resources is discussed in the section on perspectives below.

Caritas has made links between different sources of knowledge and the application of that knowledge when talking about the challenge from partners about justice issues in relation to indigenous peoples, and that work with indigenous peoples overseas can be related to what's happening in Aotearoa New Zealand. Conversations with Caritas and Christian World Service suggest that the INGOs are receptive to the knowledge and experience of partner groups and organisations, and that some degree of awareness of INGO development knowledge is also evident. Such receptiveness and awareness is an indication of the capacity for reciprocity. The next section explores how this awareness influences the behaviour of the INGO.

### ***Collective and Socially Determined Behaviours of INGO and Partners***

The behaviour of INGOs has emerged as an issue in the literature on partnership. This deals with both organisational or institutional behaviour and that of individuals within the systems of aid and development. Crewe and Harrison (1998, p. 87) conclude from a number of case studies that 'the identities of international aid and development practitioners is bound up with the relationship between that of donor and recipient countries and that in the majority of cases nationality and race are as involved in aid as they were in colonialism.' The research data was examined to identify the ways in which Caritas and Christian World Service have been influenced by the shifting relationships of Aotearoa New Zealand with other parts of the world and by the critique of colonialism in this country. Nationality and race have been

examined in respect of both INGOs in the CID-commissioned Treaty Journeys research.

Caritas identifies the different influences involved in the consultative processes in the organisation – with the other staff and programmes such as Justice and Peace within the wider organisation - through which the Board sets policy and which takes into account the policy of Caritas Internationalis. Mention is also made of the Strategic plan which has a particular focus on the Pacific because of the geographic location. The way in which Caritas relates to a partner group is described.

We don't set out to do anything. If basic needs become part of what is identified by the people in the process of defining what sort of development they want, well, then that's what happens. We are working with communities in Lao, and the work that they are doing. We are simply facilitating the conversation in which communities will identify what they need collectively and find ways in which they can meet those needs. As a result they have identified water as being one of their priorities. They are setting out to do communal well digging, but recognise that they can only do so much, and look for ways they can apply for funding.

This extract offers a glimpse of the way in which Caritas behaved in relation to partners. In a different kind of situation Caritas discussed challenging peer organisations.

It is to be able to walk on behalf of the partner group or in ways that will strengthen them. The co-financing partner might say in respect of a partner, your reporting is very poor, and to do something to strengthen the reporting of the group proposes that they report, say, every month. We say how does this impact on them? If part of the problem of reporting is that capacity is low then that is going to put more pressure on their capacity to answer your reporting every month. We find ourselves in that position quite often.



Chapter 4 has identified the primary reference points in which Aotearoa New Zealand INGOs are linked with others in Confederations, Federations and Alliances. The context described by Caritas has a lot in common in those international linkages. The concept of accountability is referred to by Christian World Service.

In our minds we see that as being transparent and accountable as we should be to government as we are to partners and partners are to us. In some ways it's part of the whole kind of plot, of what development is about – transparency, accountability. Our partners demand accountability from the participants in the programmes they run, probably more than we do. They are probably more accountable to us than we expect of them.

Christian World Service also talked about how the INGO behaved when with peer organisations. 'We always say in international forums we stand alongside, we engage with, we support the issues which come from the south as much as we possibly can'.

The socially and collectively determined behaviour of the two INGOs can be inferred to have emerged from references made to location and against the background of the Treaty Journeys research. Recognition of the intercultural nature of INGO relationships with groups identified as partners, and the way in which this was worked out in awareness of the different sources of knowledge and of behaviours, have contributed to the perspectives of the INGOs which can be defined as reciprocal.

***Collectively and Socially Determined Perspectives of INGO and Partner***

Two readings suggest that achieving a dialogue platform<sup>61</sup> between NGOs in the South and INGOs requires constant attention. McGregor (2007) has identified that the leadership of the Timor Leste communities in the development processes of the newly independent country is more than likely to be imprinted

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<sup>61</sup> As suggested by East African NGOs at the Moshi preparatory meeting referred to in the literature review.

with the development perspectives of well-resourced INGOs and other willing partners such as the Australian Councils which are willing to partner with groups in that country. Sizoo (1996) has talked above about INGOs expecting to hear from partners the tropicalised voice of the INGO. The practice of reciprocity includes an INGO perspective on the autonomy or self-definition by the partner. This involves the ability to listen, as identified by Transform Africa (2004). McGregor and Sizoo have suggested that this is not a simple matter. Christian World Service indicated this perspective on autonomy and listening when describing information that had been provided by a partner.

In the process of engaging with women, men became interested in what was going on and stood around women's meetings, to engage with it, in India for instance. .. So it grows very naturally out of the process of working with women, I think. And now for many of our partners this is a strong part of their process, if you look at WDRC, or Church of Uganda.

Christian World Service and Caritas have said that the priorities of partners are the basis for the ongoing support for partners. It is apparent that each INGO is seeking to maintain a capacity for dialogue in order to continue practices in which INGOs can support the priorities of partners. Caritas recognised that people the INGO supports are in different places with different strengths. Christian World Service talked about the influence that the experience of partners has on the work of the INGO. Implicit within those recognitions is the perception of the INGOs that partners are working from the knowledge and expertise that partner groups or organisations hold.

***The Intentions of INGOs Practices of Reciprocity***

It is apparent from the research data that the intention of Caritas and Christian World Service is to support the development priorities of partners. The data has also identified that clarity about these and the INGO capacity to support those priorities usually requires dialogue. The autonomy of partners has been recognised.

***Conclusion***

The discussions with staff of Christian World Service in Christchurch and with Caritas in Wellington revealed that the two INGOs have been impacted by the pre-and post-Second World War social, political and economic occurrences in Aotearoa New Zealand. In 2009 the INGOs referred to Issues and events in previous decades and more recently which were considered to be significant by the INGOs, and which had shaped the perspective of the INGOs.

Christian World Service described making the link between poverty here, poverty there and internationally as a consequence of exploring the structural causes of poverty. Caritas talked about issues that were being dealt with domestically as well as overseas. The INOs did not make specific reference but inferred the significance of the nuclear free policy. Both INGOs recognised the previous INGO links with and participation in the Asian Cultural Forum on Development, and the period when both were involved in the Coalition for Trade and Development.

The participation of Caritas and Christian World Service in the CID commissioned Treaty Journeys research was an acknowledgement that both INGOs had experience of anti-racism and Treaty challenges in Aotearoa New Zealand. Christian World Service staff recalled providing financial support for Maori to participate in international forums of indigenous people and the UN processes. Caritas noted taking account of issues of concern to Maori and mentioned the Foreshore and Seabed legislation, which influenced other activities.

The above sections have shown that in 2009 Caritas and Christian World Service had arrived at different partnership practices from those described by the franchise INGOs - Oxfam New Zealand, Save the Children New Zealand, TEAR Fund New Zealand and World Vision New Zealand. The next section clarifies these differences and explores the factors involved in the divergence between them.

## **Key Factors which Generate Different Practices**

### **Introduction**

Institutionalised practices of the franchise INGOs framed in the concept and rhetoric of partnership are distinguished by the embedded perspectives and ideological justifications for intervention in other countries for the purposes of the INGO. A range of described interventions and purposes have been identified as interlocking practices of interference, intrusions and meddling. These include interventions that call governments in other countries to account on particular matters. Similar framing of institutional practices described by the Aotearoa New Zealand originating INGOs are distinguished by the contextually motivated capacity to move away from those practices. This had involved these INGOs in unlearning any inherited interventionist practices by means of recognition of the intercultural nature of cross country relationships, and an awareness that knowledge, behaviours and perspectives of INGOs and partners are collectively and socially determined.

The research data has provided some indicators of the constitutive factors involved in the perpetuation of interventionist practice and of the move away from these in order to develop practices based on reciprocity. The key factors are historical, contextual, and the perspective on 'the other'. The initial factor that is constitutive of INGO practice is historical. The research data and insights from literature identify the antecedents of that practice.

### **Historical Antecedents**

The connection of the research data to the historical information in Chapter 4 has suggested that a factor in the perpetuation of interventionist practices is the close involvement of each of the franchise INGOs in the particular Federation, Confederation or Alliance or Evangelical network of which it is a part. The geopolitical and economic processes of globalisation are the contemporary

environment in which priorities of the North/West socially constructed systems of aid and development are being perpetuated and contested.

In 2009 the commitment of the franchise INGOs to particular international institutions was evident. Save the Children office in Wellington affirmed the role of the INGO as one of support for the goals of the Save the Children Alliance. The strategies that enabled World Vision to be established in Aotearoa New Zealand during the early 1970s involved being committed to the Global Office of that organisation. The adaptation of materials and the desire to establish an Aotearoa New Zealand footprint for the organisation did not deter that commitment. The concern of people to establish an identifiable Evangelical Christian aid and development mission organisation in Aotearoa New Zealand resulted in an initial link being made with TEAR Fund UK and in particular with Compassion International. Oxfam New Zealand, which was set up in Aotearoa New Zealand in the early 1990s, was identified in the discussion about structure as a clone of Oxfam and as having competencies in the development expertise required by the Oxfam Confederation.

The primary purpose for the establishment of franchise INGOs has been stated to be the task of raising funds for the international INGO. The question of ideology and the establishment of the franchise INGOs is considered in the analysis chapter. Local branches of Save the Children were established for and continued fundraising. Staff in the Save the Children national office also included people with project management responsibilities. World Vision New Zealand is a Support Office intended to raise funds for Field Offices, and also includes staff which have some management functions in respect of funded projects. The funding patterns of TEAR Fund have been discussed above and have shown that the funds for development include the staff role of monitoring projects. Support for Compassion International through the child sponsorship programme suggested that fundraising for other organisations was a priority for the INGO. The stated purpose for the establishment of Oxfam was to be a secular INGO,

however the fundraising activities of that INGO involves church groups alongside other groups.

The question of ideology cannot be ignored in the factors involved in the Caritas and Christian World Service critique of and move away from the interventionist practices associated with aid and development. Caritas showed how the INGO had taken account of Catholic social teaching, and of other agencies which work in the Aotearoa New Zealand community. The shared history of the Catholic precursors to Caritas and Christian World Service, which also involved CORSO for several decades, has been described in Chapter 4 and is referred to in the research data. Both INGOs identified particular links in Asia, and Christian World Service talked about the significant impact of visitors, including those from within Catholic networks. Also discussed was links with a variety of trade related groups and the INGOs use of structural analysis in the work of the INGO. Involvement of both Caritas and Christian World Service in the CID commissioned Treaty research has been discussed in Chapter 4.

The literature has referred to changing demographics of the country with increased population flows from the Pacific and through refugee quotas and immigration. The implications of trading changes following shifts in British trading arrangements and the establishment of UNCTAD have been shown to have motivated the early focus on trade. Geography and economic and political alignments, particularly as these related to Asia and the Pacific, influenced the internal and external relationships of both Caritas and Christian World Service. Reference to these in previous sections has identified the factors which facilitated the emergence of the practices of Caritas and Christian World Service.

The INGOs are also linked to international groups. Caritas has shown that involvement with Caritas Internationalis could sometimes require Caritas to represent the interests of partners. Christian World Service identified its membership of ACT International as a working relationship and made reference

to representing the interest of the south in international meetings. The two INGOs do perpetuate philanthropic, altruistic, or missionary concerns but these are no longer linked with international relations based on practices of intervention.

Critical material and issues raised in the literature reviewed are reflected in the processes by which the Caritas and Christian World Service, in association with CORSO, did not deeply absorb or unlearned the socio-cultural ideas and practices that through ongoing colonisation had been a component of the trajectory of ideas from the old world to Aotearoa New Zealand. The research data has identified two significant areas of lack of absorption and learning. It is clear that Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand and Christian World Service are grounded in the home context of Aotearoa New Zealand and that in that context both socially and politically the recognition of *the other* became critical and impacted on the INGOs understanding of the relationship with partners.

### **Grounding**

A number of references have been made in the literature to the desirability of INGOs being grounded in the society from which they work. Lewis (1999) talks about the 'South within the North,' and cites a seminar series at the Institute of Development Studies on Social Exclusion in North and South.<sup>62</sup>

Sizoo (1996) recognises that the damage caused by economic processes affects not only the South but the North as well. There may be differences between the INGOs located in the North and those in countries in the South but they share common commitment to shaping society in the South. 'It seems only logical that the more an agency (INGO) is involved in shaping its own society, the greater the credibility of its claim to speak about societies anywhere' (Sizoo, 1996, pp. 194-195). Sizoo has identified the three prerequisites that would create that credibility.

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<sup>62</sup> Maxwell, S. (1997) *Comparisons, Convergences and Connections: Development Studies in North and South*. Institute for Developments, Sussex

- Their knowledge of the history of the *own* people and their understanding of the cultural presuppositions which guide the shaping of their *own* society.
- Their willingness to use that historical knowledge and to put on record what happened to their *own people* 'in the name of development' from the people's point of view, how these people reacted and why they react the way they do.
- Their active involvement in concrete issues which are crucial for civil control over political decisions which direct the shaping of their *own* society.

The criteria for grounding identified by Sizoo and the recognition by Lewis of exclusion in North and South suggest that the discourse on grounding is relevant to the environment of the Northern located INGOs.

The research data and the material in Chapter 4 has suggested that continuing traces of the colonial Northern-type socially constructed international relations had been gradually being reshaped by a variety of economic and political processes in Aotearoa New Zealand and the region by the time that Caritas and Christian World Service became established. Unlearning or deconstructing any inherited colonial attitudes and practices by Caritas and Christian World Service in collaboration with CORSO was initially supported in the Aotearoa New Zealand socially constructed institution of aid and development and reflected in some ways the criteria suggested by Sizoo and the perception identified by Lewis. Knowledge about the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand and subsequent processes of Treaty negotiations and ongoing issues and the enculturation of structural analysis in the INGOs reflected concern for development in Aotearoa New Zealand. Concrete issues which promote civil participation in political society have been shown in the Caritas statement about its role in the Seabed and Foreshore issue and the Christian World Service support for the tino rangatiratanga electoral Register. Caritas has indicated how the policy of Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand is underpinned by church teaching and that through related Catholic Christian World Service particularly identified the interactions



between a variety of groupings that were part of socially constructing the aid and development sector before the intervention of franchise INGOs and the establishment of CID.

Sogge and Biekart (1969) have suggested one of the choices that INGOs can make is to ground themselves so that they are national organisations with international perspectives – the alternative is to be rootless international bodies. The discourse of INGO legitimacy in international relations is also questioning the terms on which INGOs 'comment on the society of the other'. Collingwood (2006) explores the grounds for legitimacy of 'transnational NGOs' in international relations within a broader discussion of the legitimacy of international relations generally.

The issue of grounding in their home environment, which is one of the components of partnership identified in some of the readings, is particularly relevant to the INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand which are franchises of Northern Networks. Two franchise INGOs which have demonstrated the intention to call governments to account are differently situated in respect of grounding. The research data has shown that the Aotearoa New Zealand franchise supports the goals of the Save the Children Alliance. Save the Children was one of the INGOs involved in the CID Treaty research (Herzog & Radford, 2007). The Save the Children support for the repeal of Section 59 of the New Zealand Crimes Act is an indicator of grounding and also demonstrates the goals of the Alliance. Branch committees that began to form in 1947 are likely to have been the means of keeping the INGO grounded even if the branches did not always support the public positions taken by the national office. The discussions in the Oxfam Auckland offices suggest that the INGO's participation in activities of the social institution of aid and development are not indicative of a knowledge of New Zealand society, as defined by Sizoo. Collaboration by Oxfam with the New Zealand government intentions in the Pacific similarly does not meet the criteria suggested by the Sizoo perception's of grounding. Despite the discussion with

Oxfam which located the Oxfam Secretariat in London the international perspective of the Oxfam Confederation does not seem to be connected to a grounded national organization, as suggested by Sogge.<sup>63</sup>

The World Vision aspiration for the INGO to have a New Zealand footprint does not reflect the full Sizoo definition of grounding. The description of different World Vision New Zealand management behaviour in the company of other ADP supporting World Vision organisations was based on a personal understanding of being a kiwi but was not connected to the institutional practice of World Vision. Church-to-church links of TEAR Fund indicate that the perspective of the INGO on grounding is determined by the perspective that the church or Christian organisation has of its relationship to society. The website uses language about reaching out to the poor and oppressed through practical expressions of love and goes on to say those supporters will also meet like-minded people, concerned about local justice. There is no indication in the research data or currently on the website that TEAR Fund makes connections to poverty in Aotearoa New Zealand. There have been indications that the franchise INGOs each made some response to the Christchurch earthquakes.

The key concept of grounding involves INGOs having clarity about the place from which they carry out their work and some involvement in that society. The research findings have shown that Caritas and Christian World Service have been shaped by the context in which they have interacted and evolved. The other key factor that facilitated the deconstruction of any colonial perspectives and practices by Caritas and Christian World Service was what Sizoo referred to as recognition that international cooperation is a quintessential intercultural activity. This recognition can also be related to the experience of the Transform Africa UK INGO being challenged to listen to the voice of the partner.

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<sup>63</sup> Lewis (1999, p. 8) describes the attempt by Oxfam UK to apply its expertise from working with poverty in other countries to poverty in the UK and being censured by the *Daily Mail* to stick to the Third World.

### **Receptiveness to Voices of the Other**

The concept of 'voice' appears in readings in the literature on partnership that have been reviewed. For example, Sizoo included a quote which talked about 'the assumption by the Northern development agents of dialogue when in interaction with their African counterparts is in reality a process in which they hear the tropicalised echo of their own voice' (p.191). The Policy Briefing paper for IDS (Chambers et al., 2001) included a discussion of the gap between words and action and made a point about voice.

- Primary stakeholder refers to the poor and the marginalized but though 'primary' they participate least and have least voice.

Caritas, and Christian World Service, and one of the franchise INGOs, TEARFund, have all described their development practice as support of the partner. Caritas has provided an example of the policy of honouring the power of the partner. This occurred when Caritas, which with other Caritas national INGOs was involved in co-funding a particular group, reminded that group of the additional reporting pressure it was placing on that group. Caritas has also referred to the fact that in that co-funding context the language of 'partnership with the poor' which had emerged in the climate of Liberation theology in the 1950s and 60s had apparently grounded to a halt.<sup>64</sup>

The Christian World Service practice of supporting the community-driven agendas of partners has been referred to. It was recognised by staff that this was a move beyond community participation. Listening to the challenges – ie the voices – brought by partner visits to this country has also been noted, and was connected to the comment that paying more attention to the mechanics of the aid industry had made this listening more difficult. To the question 'When do you stop listening to your partner' the response was made by Christian World Service that 'there's a little bit of them driving us as well as a lot of global issues which are impacting on them.' The research data has shown that the

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<sup>64</sup> This was apparently due to the Catholic Church in the 1980s discrediting the use of Marxist analysis.

development programme of TEAR Fund does not appear to be interventionist. This is supported by the comment that ‘as we went along we learnt from our partners’ which is what TEAR Fund describes as journeying together, ‘and how our policies have changed’. The implication was that listening to that particular partner could change the focus of TEAR Fund development support for the partner apparently without impacting other programmes of the INGO.

Two statements made by Oxfam described an intention of receptiveness to the voice of partners. One statement is related to the INGO cycle of information, monitoring and evaluation processes and an annual reflection with partners. No detail is given about how that dialogue is managed. A second statement is the response to the partner ‘telling us’ that a programme is being very badly received, which would then be worked on in the Confederation with partners. Sensitivity to that type of situation has apparently been heightened with the mandated requirement for Oxfam to work in the Greater Pacific region, which has already been referred to.

World Vision has earlier described a trend in the practice of the INGO which was considered to have been changed by the INGO awareness of the situation. The previous strategy for setting up a local in-country committee to manage the Area Development Programme had been to identify likely community leaders who could be trained up for this purpose. This was changed by recognising community organisations which already existed, and which required some capacity support in order to carry out the necessary task. How this decision to change the practice was made was not mentioned. World Vision commented – “Participation in development – we do our utmost to make sure our communities are involved in the assessment process and the design process of the project.” The projects referred to which are monitored by the Support Office of World Vision are part of the ADP programme in a country. The language of World Vision and Oxfam was intentional about involving partners in decision making or in INGO reflection. There is no clear indication in the data that the

core interventionist practices of the INGO have been influenced by the voice of partners. It is apparent that that these INGOs have not made the distinction between community participation and community driven agendas as described by Christian World Service.

The international Alliance to which Save the Children is affiliated, which sets policy and practice, did not demonstrate any reference to listening to partners, which was mentioned in the discussion with Save the Children. Supporting groups and projects in countries is part of the practice of that the Save the Children Alliance and its affiliates, and was referred to when Save the Children talked about funding programmes in the Pacific. Responsiveness to issues in Aotearoa which has been mentioned earlier does indicate some openness on the part of Save the Children to listen to and respond to local voices that articulate a concern for children.

## **Conclusion**

The research data from the 2009 discussions with the INGOs on the research topics has been explored to deconstruct the partnership practices of the INGOs. This has shown that the factors that are constitutive of the different INGO practices do determine the continuity or discontinuity of ideas and practices of the socially constructed institutions of aid and development. The critical factors involved in continuing or discontinuing those ideas and practices are grounding or lack of grounding in the context from which the INGO is working, and the recognition or lack of recognition of the intercultural nature of any international practices of aid and development.

The research data has shown that the practices of Oxfam, Save the Children, TEAR Fund and World Vision support the interventionist practices that are embedded in the Northern INGOs of which they are franchises. The research data in each case made mention of some incremental adjustments by the INGOs to improve practice. There is no evidence in the material that the core practices

of interference, intrusion and meddling and ambiguities between individual and collective processes are likely to be changed internationally by the apparent lack of grounding in Aotearoa New Zealand of the franchise INGOs. This is particularly relevant to the purposes of the Alliance, Federation and Confederation, and the Evangelical links, in the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

The aspirations of Caritas and Christian World Service to unlearn any inherited enculturated colonial practices of intervention and to develop practices of reciprocity can be seen to have been occurring through different influences. Awareness of the intercultural in the relationship with partners is evident, as are indicators of awareness of socially determined knowledge, behaviour and perspectives.

The necessity of dealing with historical antecedents, of being grounded in the place from which the work of the INGO is carried out and of being receptive to the voices of the other have been exposed as the key factors involved in changing the partnership practice of INGOs. The motivation to both pursue and to sustain practices of reciprocity requires of INGOs ongoing vigilance to ensure that historical antecedents and the dominance of interventionist practices do not deter the INGOs from being grounded and from listening. The next chapter explains the significance in the context of the aid industry and the development project of the different practices that are described as partnership by INGOs.

## **6. SOLIDARITY AND THE PARTNERSHIP PRACTICE OF INGOs: RESEARCH FINDINGS ANALYSIS**

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### **Introduction**

There is evidence in the previous chapter that there is a connection between the different INGO practices of intervention and reciprocity and the primary context of the INGO. A number of factors in those contexts have contributed to the enculturating of these different practices in the work of the INGOs. Historical antecedents of the INGOs, the grounding of the INGOs and INGO receptiveness to the voice of the other have been identified as significant. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the influence of context and the significance of the different partnership practices of intervention and reciprocity.

The primary contexts of the respondent INGOs have been identified as the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Aotearoa New Zealand. Oxfam, Save the Children and TEAR Fund are franchises of international organisations located in or managed from the United Kingdom. In 2009 World Vision was linked to the Partnership Office of World Vision International in the United States of America.<sup>65</sup> Caritas and Christian World Service had emerged as aid and development INGOs in the Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Section 1 identifies key points from the research findings which support the thesis that context determines partnership practice. The second section examines the analytical concept of solidarity as the core indicator of partnership. The research findings linking context and partnership practice are questioned by the concept of solidarity in Section 3. Section 4 examines the connection between context and INGO solidarity.

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<sup>65</sup> The World Vision office has since moved to London.

## **The Key Points of the Research Findings**

### **Primary Contexts**

It has been demonstrated that four INGOs are franchises of larger international INGOs situated in the UK or in the US. It has been suggested that the establishment in Aotearoa New Zealand of franchises of the Northern-located INGOs has been an intentional strategy to promote the particular ideological perspective of that Northern-based organisation. The stated purpose has been to raise money from the New Zealand public to support the practices of Northern-based international organisations. Chapter 4 has shown that in each case a group of Aotearoa New Zealand people had reasons for inviting or encouraging a particular Northern INGO to intervene in the aid and development sector in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Three of the franchise INGOs are child-related. Save the Children, which is supported by local committees around the country, has described itself as subscribing to and supporting the goals of the Save the Children Alliance which is registered in England and has offices in London. World Vision has used the language of Federation which implied a centralised international organisation – ‘We have a Head Office in the US.’ A distinction is made between Field Offices (eg Rwanda) and Support Offices (eg World Vision New Zealand). In May 2012 the CEO of World Vision New Zealand announced the visit of members of the World Vision whanau<sup>66</sup> (from several country World Vision programmes and the Global Office) to carry out a peer review of the INGO. TEAR Fund, which is church related, is apparently not part of a formal international organisation such as those described for Save the Children and World Vision. TEAR Fund identifies itself with several global networks of Evangelical Christianity and these together with Compassion International appear to be reference points for the INGO. The development person from TEAR Fund at that time participated in international

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<sup>66</sup> This is the Maori term for extended family – it is inappropriately used by an INGO for its relationship with peer organisations in other countries.



meetings with peers from other TEAR Fund INGOs once a year. The link between these franchise INGOs is the focus on children.

Oxfam has described itself as a clone of Oxfam UK, and an affiliate of the Oxfam Confederation. This entails working within the guidelines determined by the Confederation and each INGO demonstrating to the Confederation the competencies required by that organisation. The partnership practices described in the research findings by the four franchise INGOs are now summarised.

### **Practices of the Franchise INGOs**

Interventionist franchise INGOs apparently consistently support the policy and practices of the international INGOs to which they are linked and which have been described in Chapter 5. The different INGO interventions of interference, intrusion and encroachment, and meddling have been demonstrated. Practices of interfering have been identified in the practice of Oxfam and Tear Fund. Such practices are intended to benefit or change selected groups, organisations or communities by processes determined by the INGOs. The example given by Oxfam of the INGOs was support for a group in Samoa. The INGO also indicated its support for New Zealand government aspirations in the Pacific. TEAR Fund endorses the intentional strategy of Compassion International programme to produce leaders to interfere in churches and in countries.

The World Vision practices which encroach on social groupings and local jurisdictions of particular local or regional situations for the purpose of establishing the particular development programme of the INGO have been identified. Clustering of World Vision programmes by northern World Vision INGOs in a region of a country have been shown to encroach on a large scale.

Save the Children and Oxfam described in-country offices of the INGOs. The unspecified processes involved in setting up offices of the INGO would encroach on socio-cultural, local economic and political systems. One outcome of this practice is that particular local individuals, groups or organisations are

advantaged in that situation. World Vision and Oxfam have been shown to meddle in local groups or organisations to enlist groups which will serve the agenda of the INGO.

The intentions of INGOs to meddle in national politics have been identified in the Oxfam perception of calling governments to account and in the Save the Children publication designed for the same purpose in the interests of the well-being of children.

### **Franchise INGOs Practice in Context**

The enculturated practices of Northern or international INGOs are perpetuated in Aotearoa New Zealand through the franchise INGOs practices of interfering, intruding and encroaching, and meddling in other countries. The normalcy of such interventions has been indicated in the literature. Smillie (1995) has described the activities of NGOs in the South as conceived, managed and paid for by outsiders. He has also noted that generally every in-country office and every project featured a profusion of pink faces. This comment is supported by Crewe and Harrison (1998, p. 87) who have noted that the number of Europeans 'assisting' the former colonies has not diminished. Manji and O'Coill (2002) have commented that the development agenda enabled INGOs from the North or West to extend activities into countries in Africa with the same enthusiasm as previous colonial missionaries societies. The ideological goals of liberal internationalism were recognised in this contemporary process (ibid, p. 473).

The continuing discourse on colonialism in the aid and development literature is demonstrated in the paper by Abrahamson (2007). She discusses the issues of identity, hybridity and authenticity as components of contemporary colonialism. McMichael (2008, p. xv) has stated that 'the thread that weaves together the story of colonialism, developmentalism and globalization, is that development is a programme of rule'. Manji and O'Coill continued their discussion stating that defining non-Western people in terms of their perceived divergence from the

cultural standards of the West 'reproduced the social hierarchies that had prevailed between both groups under colonialism' (2002, p. 574).

These readings suggest that the 2009 interventionist practices of interfering, intruding and meddling that the franchise INGOs are perpetuating the unquestioned enculturated colonising practices of the Northern-located Federation, Confederation, Alliance and evangelical Christianity to which the INGOs are linked.

### **Non-Franchise INGO Practices of Reciprocity**

Two INGOs with origins in British settler society in Aotearoa New Zealand have explained why the INGOs do not practice the interventions that the franchise INGOs had demonstrated. The partnership practices of Caritas and Christian World Service have been shown to be practices of reciprocity. The key indicators of such practice have been identified in the previous chapters as the recognition that the relationship with partners is an intercultural act. Indicators signalling awareness that knowledge, behaviours, and perspectives are collectively socially determined in the context of the INGO, and in the context of the partner, have also been shown.

Caritas and Christian World Service have pointed out in different ways that neither INGO sets up a programme or an office in a country where organisations and groups are supported. Caritas talked about recognising the authority of the partner in the country. Christian World Service stated that the development agendas of partners were the basis on which INGO support of the partner was determined. The INGOs demonstrated the ways in which this perspective also informed advocacy of the partner in joint-funding situations of unequal accountability or in activities in the Aotearoa New Zealand aid and development scene.

### **Non-Franchise INGOs Practice in Context**

Reference to the pre-CID networks and activities in which both INGOs participated in company with CORSO and which continued over several decades were mentioned by Caritas and Christian World Service. Collaborative activities relating to trade, to structural analysis which included the link between poverty in New Zealand and elsewhere, and to anti-racism/Treaty of Waitangi<sup>67</sup> issues were described. Changes within Aotearoa New Zealand society were also discussed in the conversations with the two INGOs. The influences of development-related networks in Asia and anti-nuclear and peace networks in the Pacific were also identified. Caritas described links to Catholic social teaching and Christian World Service referred to different ecumenical networks in the region and the World Council of Churches. Caritas and Christian World Service together with Save the Children participated in the 2007 CID-commissioned Treaty Journeys research (Herzog & Radford, 2007). In 2009 Save the Children mentioned that this issue was still 'on the agenda' of the Save the Children Board. The report on this research in Chapter 4 has demonstrated that a structural understanding of racism and the recognition of colonisation and the Treaty are well enculturated in the international development thinking of and inform the practice of Caritas and Christian World Service.

### **Conclusion**

The structural link to Northern-located international INGOs is apparent in the research findings as the source of the interventionist practices of the franchise INGOs. The contemporary dominant development or aid discourses of the North appear from the literature to focus on accountability and the efficiency of aid. Core practices of the international Federation, Confederation and Alliance, or the basic philosophy of TEAR Fund which is in support of Compassion International, reinforce these discourses. The reciprocity practices of Caritas and Christian World Service emerged over time. These have been shown to be

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<sup>67</sup> The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (written in te reo Maori) between Maori Chiefs and British Crown representatives which set out the terms on which British settlement in Aotearoa could take place.

an outcome of the geographic location of the INGOs in the South Pacific and proximity to Asia, and the national and regional networks and events that have been influential in that setting. Internal changes within Aotearoa New Zealand society have been constitutive of the non-interventionist practices of reciprocity.

## **The Concept of Solidarity**

### **Introduction**

The focus of this research is the examination of the practices that INGOs have identified as partnership. Different points have emerged in the literature showing that the different meanings and mechanisms described as partnership in the research findings are reflecting the complexity of the aid and development systems. The literature also demonstrates situations where practices identified as partnership by INGOs are not recognised as partnership by groups in the South.

The concept of solidarity is suggested as a core concept of partnership in practices of international relationships involving INGOs and groups and organisations in other countries. Fowler (1998) identified that the early relationships between NGOs in the North and those in the south were based on the ideological aspiration of solidarity through development. Similarly Schurmann (2009, p. 834) notes that the original impetus for development studies came from student and academic support for anti-imperialism and country solidarity groups. Edwards and Sen (2000, p. 615) have commented that purpose of constituency building and publicity (by INGOs) is to generate solidarity (partnership) and not sympathy.

Whatever the process by which a connection is made between INGOs and groups or organisations in other countries, this is a structural relationship between particular institutions which enter into an international and cross-cultural relationship with the mutual intention of development and the transfer of aid. The proposition of solidarity is that the ways in which the institutional

interaction between INGOs and partners is managed is the point at which partnership occurs. The development purposes of such interactions are specific and contextual. These may vary according to the intention of the partner and the willingness of the INGO to support that intention.

The failure to manage the interaction so that the purposes of both the partner and the INGO are achieved is not an interaction of solidarity and is therefore not partnership. Solidarity between the INGOs and partners requires that the interests of both are declared as the basis of the international relationship. The action of solidarity is to then work out how these declared interests can be achieved. Fowler (2000b, p. 8) has introduced the hypothesis that solidarity must be based on the premise of interdependence. Negotiation of interests by the INGOs and others which demonstrate solidarity and which reflect interdependence involves the component concepts of the common good and of development cooperation.

### **The Concept of the Common Good**

Solidarity is the recognition of connection, internationally and interculturally, and that each has a purpose in making that connection. INGOs which have been involved in aid and development-related international relations for more than fifty years can be expected to be working from the recognition that across all sectors in every country access to resources and global economical, political and ecological systems are interconnected. That recognition involves the awareness that wellbeing in each country, and of each country or region, is connected in multiple ways with the well-being of surrounding countries or regions and globally. This has precipitated INGOs into other activities which Riddell refers to as beyond-the-project activities (Riddell, 2007, p. 287).<sup>68</sup> The concept of the common good is relevant to the core understanding which informs all activities.

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<sup>68</sup> "Advocacy, lobbying and campaigning takes place at the local level, the national level, regionally, internationally and globally, usually targeting particular policies, particular institutions, and particular interest groups" (Riddell, 2007, p. 287).

There are two questions which when answered determine the interaction that can generate solidarity. The usual question is about the good of the partner organisation. This is often treated as rhetorical and answered by the INGO. The Transform Africa experience described in the literature suggests that listening to the partner is essential for the relationship. The other question is about the good of the INGO – how will the INGO answer that question when asked by the partner? The interdependence hypothesised by Fowler is that an exchange of interest in the other by partner and INGO and the good of the other is the basis of solidarity. This point was made by Ulanga, who wrote that equal partnerships result in ‘a more reflective, dynamic relationship in which the capacity of both sides is strengthened’ (2008, pp. 12, 42).

A stimulus towards pursuing the common good is suggested in two ways. It involves recognition by INGOs that the impact of the international practice of INGOs with a particular group or organisation in another country will inevitably affect the relationships of those groups and organisations with other organisations and institutions in the wider community, region or country. The literature has demonstrated that support of the projects and programmes of partners, and beyond-the project activities undertaken in the interest of partners, have multiple impacts on the resources as well as on the social and political environment of the partner. Also documented is the concept, if not the language, of collateral damage which has seeped into the language of aid and development, from the continuing war or post-war situations discussed in the literature. Periphery populations or regions, donor darlings and donor orphans, and negative or unintended impacts of particular INGO interventions have all been discussed.

The other perspective on the INGO capacity to engage in dialogue for the common good has been discussed in the literature. Recognition and willingness of the INGO is shaped by the connection the INGO has made with what is happening to under-resourced or marginalised but knowledgeable groups in the

INGOs home place.<sup>69</sup> Sizoo (pp.194,5) has suggested that this involves INGOs knowing the history of their *own* people and understanding cultural presuppositions which guide the shaping of their *own* society; willingness to use historical knowledge to record that people's point of view about what happened to *them* 'in the name of development' and how they reacted the way they did; and also shows evidence of involvement in critical social issues in their own society. Sizoo (ibid) states that such knowledge provides the INGO with credibility when commenting on the society of the partner. Interest in and listening has been suggested as the appropriate behaviour of INGOs.

The common good as a category of solidarity is relevant to all the activities of the respondent INGOs and is a category through which to analyse the research findings on the partnership activities of INGOs. Such understanding shifts the perspective of the institutional interaction from one of efficiency or best practice to one of common concern and recognition. The focus of the examination of the interaction between the INGOs and the partner group is the development agenda of the INGO and the partner, however they are defined. Development cooperation is a component concept of solidarity.

### **Development: A Cooperative Activity**

In more than fifty years INGOs have become practiced in crossing borders and relating to groups and organisations in other countries. INGOs have been discussing partnership and attempting to establish partnerships between organisations in the North and South since the 1970s (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003). Riddell (2007) has identified the increasing complexity of such border crossings and interactions. Development practice is based on an understanding by INGOs that groups and countries can be changed through development. The language of development echoes the post-war clarion call of

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<sup>69</sup> The literature on the Third Sector has assisted in recognising the North in the South and the South in the North



US President Truman referred to in the literature review.<sup>70</sup> Manji and O’Coill have identified the post-war charities and other INGOs that ‘embraced the new discourse of development with as much enthusiasm as colonial missionary societies were doing locally’ (2002, p. 573).

Dengbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen (2003) also discussed the INGO choice of partners and forms of cooperation which led them to the topic of replacing aid with cooperation based on equality. The key to this perspective is the leading role of NGOs in the South for determining development priorities (ibid, p. 148). The concept of development cooperation, and the primary role of the partners in development, deconstructs the language of mutuality and equality, and the mechanisms of accountability, monitoring and evaluation, together with the buzzwords of ‘Participation’, ‘Empowerment’, and ‘Poverty Reduction’ as these have appeared in the literature. Development cooperation also deconstructs the language used by the INGOs when describing the practice of project or programme management.

Going deep, talking, or achieving a platform for dialogue which will enable partnership is a concluding insight from the section on North/South/North interactions in 21<sup>st</sup> century in the literature review. These insights can be the means by which INGOs recognise that all assumptions about development that have been accumulated institutionally over time by the INGO are involved in any partnership. Achieving dialogue is the process by which INGOs will recognise that the partner institution or group brings into the interaction all the experience of that group’s community and wider or previous interactions.

The concept of solidarity enables INGOs to look beyond the deconstructed language and recognise the socio-cultural, economic and political baggage of both the INGO and the partner group. Beginning from a premise of the common good ensures that development cooperation will ensure that the outcomes of

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<sup>70</sup> President Truman’s Point 4 Message is Appendix 1 in Rist (2002)

the cooperation that are achieved are in the interests of good of each partner institutionally and in the context in which each works.

### **Solidarity in this Analysis**

Taken together, the concepts of the common good and development cooperation described above constitute the analytical concept of solidarity as the definitive understanding of partnership. For the purposes of this analysis a lack of solidarity in any described interaction between INGOs and those groups and organisations designated as partners calls into question the use of partnership to describe that interaction and relationship.

The focus on solidarity is intended to expose indications of continuing colonising economic and political strategies and systems in the practice of INGOs, which in the literature is linked with racism and unequal power, and involves questions about sovereignty and undermining governments. Solidarity which serves the common good and achieves development cooperation will enable INGOs and partners together to unmask the indicators of continuing colonisation and racism and lack of independence and to determine how INGOs and the partner deal with these. Contained within the concept of solidarity as a means of analysis is the acknowledgement that the voices of groups and organisations in the South have been listened to. It is also a recognition that research into the international practice of INGOs located in the Aotearoa New Zealand context requires analysis by such a concept.

## **INGO Practices and Solidarity**

### **Introduction**

INGOs and partners interact institutionally within the constraint of the outcomes that each is expected to fulfil for the respective purposes of the INGO and partner group. The international relations arising out of the mechanisms of aid and development involve interaction between persons, and changes in persons

and their values are linked with institutional change.<sup>71</sup> This section addresses current institutional practices of solidarity expressed through INGO concern for the common good and development cooperation.

### **Interventionist Practices and Solidarity**

The summary of the intervention practices of the franchise INGOs at the beginning of this chapter identifies these as the perpetuation of the ideological intentions of Northern-located international aid and development Federations, Confederations, Alliances and networks. Practices of interference, encroaching and meddling in the socio-cultural and political arrangements at the level of communities or regions in other countries have been demonstrated as the partnership practices of the franchise INGOs. The research findings have shown that the intention of these interventions is to benefit or change the circumstances of individuals such as children and/or communities. The intention to intervene for the benefit of children or communities in Aotearoa New Zealand has been demonstrated by the participation of Save the Children in the campaign to change Section 59 of the New Zealand Crimes Act. This INGO was involved in the CID Treaty Journeys research (Herzog & Radford, 2007). These actions demonstrate that this franchise INGO can be seen to have made specific recognition of the particular common good associated with Child Rights and continues an intention to be Treaty of Waitangi oriented.

The concept of the common good in the work of TEAR Fund is clearly linked to supporting the aspirations of local churches in other countries working for the good of communities. This describes the development intention of the TEAR Fund. In this case any definitions of the common good are defined through networks of evangelical Christian relationships across borders. The religious commonality of TEAR Fund and partners does not make it clear how the common good is achieved in the institutional practices and international relationships. The structural link of TEAR Fund to Compassion International is

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<sup>71</sup> For example, in Groves and Hinton (2004) and Edwards and Sen (2000)

presumably one of religious and ideological commonality which serves the common interests of Compassion International and of TEAR Fund.

World Vision stated that linking the support of individual children to the community in which the child lives is a move that benefits the child and the community. It is apparent from World Vision's continued promotion of child sponsorship that the promotion of the common good of the child's community is secondary to using the children for fundraising. The interventionist practice of the ADP<sup>72</sup> is also seen as a community good by World Vision. This core international development programme of World Vision which involves the presence in a country of multiple World Vision programmes and organisations has been identified as encroachment on a large scale. The cooperation between Northern national INGOs is apparently a common good for the INGOs when these INGOs are involved together in a country carrying out the development practice of World Vision.

The described awareness of Oxfam of the implications of focusing its work in the Pacific from within the largest Pacific city in the region appears to suggest a concern for its reputation and about maintaining its INGO defined good practice. This concern is based the fact of strong and continuing links of families which are spread between the Pacific Islands and Auckland. The programme in Samoa described by Oxfam did not indicate whether a concern for the common good of that particular Samoan community was considered in assessing the success of the programme, or of the Samoan group's concern for Oxfam's reputation and good practice.

Evidence of concern for the common good by the franchise INGOs is tenuous except in the Save the Children practice in Aotearoa New Zealand identified above. An apparent lack of development cooperation by the franchise INGOs is clearer. Research findings show that the objectives of the international INGO

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<sup>72</sup> Area Development Programme

Federation, Confederation and Alliance, and TEAR Fund particularly through Compassion International, continue to determine the development practice and defined outcome of the franchise INGOs. These INGOs in turn ensure that partner groups will support the development understandings and intentions of the INGOs.

The intentions of Save the Children demonstrated in the publication of the Child Development Index are to intervene in countries in the interest of children, and these intentions are supported by Save the Children practice and by its local committees. The Oxfam practice of identifying the groups that will work with it and World Vision's practice of setting up or selecting groups in communities to be the base for an ADP programme both indicate clearly that the intentions of the INGO have priority. The data which identifies the unclear practice of TEAR Fund does indicate that it is a franchise of a particular ideological perspective that defines the common good of others and the practices of development in particular ways.

The concept of solidarity with the partner group or organisation cannot easily be identified in practices that perpetuate the interventionist ideologies of the Northern/international INGOs. The common good as it has been defined is not generally evident in the practice of the franchise INGOs and the practice of development cooperation is not apparent. The concept of interdependence did not emerge in the discussions in the offices of the franchise INGOs.

### **Reciprocity Practices and Solidarity**

The described partnership practice of Caritas and Christian World Service has indicated that the good of the partner is a primary focus for the work of these INGOs. Caritas has talked about recognising the authority of the partner in the country, and has indicated that issues which are particular to Aotearoa New Zealand, for example the Foreshore and Seabed legislation, has challenged the INGO with justice issues in relation to indigenous peoples. Christian World

Service commented that the experience of partners influences the INGO's policy. It also recognised that issues that were driving partners influenced the advocacy and educational work of the INGO. Priority given to the development agendas of partners, and advocacy for partners in co-funding situations, are not clearly a concern for the common good, except in the suggestions of the usefulness of technology in facilitating communication described as of benefit to the Christian World Service and the partner group.

Chapter 4 data has demonstrated a concern for the common good in Aotearoa New Zealand in the discussion of Caritas and Christian World Service when the INGOs participated in the CID commissioned Treaty research (Herzog & Radford, 2007). The data has stated that it is not the practice of the Aotearoa New Zealand originating INGOs to set up a programme or office in a selected country. This suggests that an enculturated critique of colonisation and associated intercultural respect for the partner in that country informs this perspective. Some indicators of development cooperation are evident in the research findings which suggest that Caritas and Christian World Service do enter into negotiations with partners about the development priorities of the partner and the INGO position when the necessity for this emerges. Both INGOs stated appreciation of challenges to the INGOs by people from networks in which the INGO participates and of the knowledge that partners have trusted the INGOs with. However, the degree to which partners of Caritas and Christian World Service experience that partnership as one of solidarity is not able to be determined by the research data. The aspiration of the INGOs to be in solidarity with partners is indicated in the achievement of practices of reciprocity as these occur in the management of the relationship between the INGOs and partners.

### **Context and INGO Solidarity**

Sogge and Biekart (1969, p. 200) have suggested in the previous chapter that one decision private agencies (INGOs) could make is to identify themselves as

civil society organisations, and as 'national organisations with an internationalist perspective rather than rootless international bodies'.

The research findings show that the practice and perspectives of Caritas and Christian World Service have been continuously impacted by events in Aotearoa New Zealand and externally in the region. This has influenced the decision not to set up programmes or offices in other countries. The impact of context on the early 19th century mission churches and contemporary outcomes of this in influencing the evolution of the INGOs was described in the CID commissioned Treaty Journey's document (Herzog & Radford, 2007) and mentioned in Chapter 4. External factors of networks in Asia and anti-nuclear and peace links with the Pacific have been referred to. Demographic changes in Aotearoa New Zealand, the continuing impact of neoliberal economics and political shifts on the churches, or other constituencies of the INGOs, can be seen to have impacted heavily on Caritas and Christian World Service as grounded INGOs. The capacity of such INGOs to be in solidarity is linked with the ability to engage in practices of reciprocity. The practice of Caritas and Christian World Service to link these relevant issues with the INGOs international aid and development relationships and practices has consolidated the practices of reciprocity in the work of the INGO.

Individual people who are employed by or involved in the Boards of the franchise INGOs may also have been impacted in some way by Aotearoa New Zealand anti-racism, peace, economic and political issues, but if so, this does not appear to be affecting the Northern-determined institutional practices of the franchise INGOs. The history of the entry of the franchise INGOs into Aotearoa New Zealand has been discussed in Chapter 4. In each case a particular group of people in Aotearoa New Zealand has invited the INGO or responded to approaches from people and groups in Northern countries. Save the Children local committees which had previously supported Save the Children UK collaborated to form the Aotearoa New Zealand Save the Children organisation

and to affiliate with the international Alliance. Interaction between groups in North America and Aotearoa New Zealand facilitated the entry of church-founded World Vision, and a connection was made by Aotearoa New Zealand people to TEAR Fund UK as a church-related group. Contact was also made between that group and Compassion International. A splinter group from CORSO and financial support from Australia enabled Oxfam to be established in Aotearoa New Zealand. Different ideological perspectives have been involved in the establishment of these INGOs. The intention that is common to the different processes of establishment is that the purpose of each is to support the initiatives and agendas of a Northern INGO by raising funds.

The fundraising intentions of the franchise INGOs and support of, and engagement in, interventionist practices – together with the suggestion that these INGOs seek partnership to support the development intentions of the INGO – would indicate that solidarity is not part of the partnership practice of the Northern INGOs that mandates the core practice of the franchise INGOs.

## **Conclusion**

Discussions with INGOs have been used to explore the development practice and the INGO concept of partnership. The research has shown that the language of partnership both expresses an aspiration (Fowler, 1998) of the INGOs, and is used instrumentally by them (Crewe & Harrison, 1998). This was evidenced in the different INGO defined partnership practices of intervention or reciprocity examined in the research data. The concept of solidarity as the core component of partnership has been used in this analysis to examine the different INGO partnership practices explored in the previous chapter through this core component of partnership.

This deconstruction of the language and practice of INGOs has shown that the historical remnants and continuing realities of colonisation have not been recognised by the franchise INGOs in the practices of intervention that have



been described as partnership. Apparently the Federation, Confederation, Alliance or Evangelical networks have not been challenged by World Vision, Oxfam, Save the Children and TEAR Fund as a consequence of, or recognition of, the ongoing discourses and debates about colonisation in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. Recognition of aspects of colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand and as a factor in other situations has been an indicator of reciprocity in the practices of the non-franchise Aotearoa New Zealand-originating INGOs.

It is evident that the entrenched structures of neoliberal economic globalisation are utilised by the franchise INGOs in the described practices of intervention. These structures are apparently unremarked by the INGOs in relation to the contexts in which the international Federation, Confederation or Alliance are located or in the international perspectives of Evangelical Christianity. The enculturated practice of structural analysis in Caritas and Christian World Service has informed the recognition of the impact of neoliberal economic globalisation on the practice of the INGOs and on the situations of partner groups.

Conflicting and ongoing debates about national development occur in Aotearoa New Zealand and are reflected in the economic and political role of the Aotearoa New Zealand government in a variety of contexts. Caritas and Christian World Service have shown awareness of what is happening to people in the contemporary economic climate in Aotearoa New Zealand and related this to other contexts. This awareness did not emerge in any way in data from the discussions with franchise INGOs except in the Save the Children concern for children in Aotearoa New Zealand (as indicated in the INGOs support for repeal of Section 59 of the Crimes Act). The clearest indication of congruence between the interests of the INGOs and the New Zealand Government has been the mandated focus on the Pacific by Oxfam, and the government establishment of the contestable Partnership Fund.

The realities of structural racism and continuing colonisation, the links between poverty in this country and elsewhere, and clarity about the particular role of the INGO and the primary decisions of the partner, have demonstrated that the Aotearoa New Zealand originating INGOs are grounded nationally and regionally. This grounding has consolidated the practices of reciprocity. The practices of reciprocity suggest that the concept of development cooperation is reflected in some ways in the practice of Caritas and Christian World Service. Concern for the common good in the programmes and concerns of the partner is also recognised in some ways in the practice of the two INGOs. The acceptance of, and if necessary negotiation about or advocacy for, the development agendas of partners which are shaped by the partner's situation is also evident. For Caritas and Christian World Service persisting with the intentions to engage in practices of reciprocity is an indication of the aspiration to be in solidarity with partners.

The concept of solidarity as the definitive understanding of partnership has been used to analyse the significance of the different practices of INGOs evident in the research findings. The literature on partnership has made it clear that groups and organisations in countries of the South are interested in partnerships with donors which express solidarity with the aspirations and the challenges that are driving those groups and organisations. The indications from the data are that the Caritas and Christian World Service with their intention of engaging in practices of reciprocity are closer to arriving at solidarity than are the interventionist practices of the franchise INGOs. In the terms of Sogge and Biekart (p.200) the franchise INGOs of Save the Children, World Vision, TEAR Fund and Oxfam appear to be connected to rootless international bodies.

The discussion in the next chapter considers the impact on INGOs of changes in INGO language, church/secular demographics and the market, and the way in which INGOs are dealing with such factors. Suggestion is then made of topics for further research that have been generated by this research.

## 7. CONCLUSION

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### *INGOs and Partnership in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Discussion and Issues Requiring Further Research*

#### **Introduction**

A clear link between the practice of the INGOs and a particular development theory or theories was not apparent in the research data. Initial examination of the research findings showed that any development theory referred to was generally cited as a justifying factor to support the already enculturated practices of the INGOs.

Recognition that the research process had not produced a clear link between theory and practice in the described ongoing work of the INGOs led to further examination of the data. This showed extensive references by INGOs to partner and partnership when discussing the development practice of the INGO. This became the focus of the research.

#### **Perspectives on Partnership**

A review of literature relevant to the partnership practices of INGOs led to the selection of the concepts of intervention and of reciprocity as the categories for defining the INGOs understanding and practice of partnership. The data shows that the franchise INGOs had in common interventionist practices of interference, intrusion and meddling which were described as partnership. Reciprocity, which recognises that international partnerships are an intercultural act and that knowledge, behaviours and perspectives of both INGOs and partners are socially and collectively determined, is the described practice of non-franchise INGOs. The key factors which generated different practices have been identified in Chapter 5. These are historical antecedents, grounding in the home context of INGOs and receptiveness to the voice of the other.

The analysis in Chapter 6 has tested the identified practices of INGOs against solidarity as the core component of partnership. Solidarity was not able to be identified in the interventionist practices of Save the Children, Oxfam, World Vision or TEAR Fund. The statements about INGO attempts to identify as a New Zealand INGO have been described in the thesis as incremental and as not leading to change in the enculturated practices of the INGOs. Practices of reciprocity by Caritas and Christian World Service evident in the research data have been taken as an indication that these INGOs aspire to be in solidarity with partners. Factors of being grounded nationally and regionally and the recognition of structural racism, continuing colonisation, poverty here and there together with clarity about the INGO role appear to have consolidated reciprocity as a practice of those INGOs.

### **What the research has shown**

The further analysis of research findings and the focus on partnership has generated an emerging hypothesis about the development practices of INGOs. This is that the international practices of intervention or reciprocity by the INGOs have been and are being determined by relationship of the INGOs to a Federation, Confederation, Alliance or Evangelical network and its primary location, or to the Aotearoa New Zealand context. The social construction of the INGOs, INGOs and social change, and the impact of changing society on INGOs as socially constructed are now discussed.

### **INGOs as a Socially Constructed Institution**

The development project and aid industry of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century created a role in society for the six INGOs which have been the subject of this research. It has been shown that the INGOs emerged during the Great War (Save the Children), the Second World War (Oxfam in the UK, and groupings that became CORSO, Christian World Service and Caritas in Aotearoa New Zealand), the Korean War (World Vision in the US) and the famine in Biafra (TEAR Fund UK). All did so from within societies in which altruism and concern for the distant

needy already existed. The responses over previous decades of religious, labour and other groups had followed the routes opened up by trade and colonisation.

The INGOs that emerged in the period following the Second World War initially perpetuated the previous patterns of international response. Chapter 4 has shown that in the post-Second World War the concerns in the then Dominion of New Zealand mirrored those which motivated Save the Children and Oxfam in the UK and World Vision in the US, and later motivated TEAR Fund. Each INGO created a public profile of continuing as in wartime to respond to disasters and emergencies. Initially this response by Oxfam and the Aotearoa grouping of Catholic, CORSO and the beginnings of Christian World Service included support for reconstruction in Northern war torn areas. For three of the INGOs - Save the Children from the 1914-18 war, World Vision after the Korean war and TEAR Fund responding to the Biafran famine – the focus was on individual children. Chapters 4 And 5 have shown the processes by which the INGOs ‘embraced’ (Manji & O’Coill, 2002) the development agenda.

The shifting social construction of the INGOs over the decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from the 1940s and 50s has taken place during the systemic changes identified in the McMichael timeline in Appendix 1. This shows the decades in which development became the focus of economic and political international relations and systemic shifts to globalised systems in the next decades are described. McMichael’s schema is supported by Fowler (1998) who suggested that the development goals and policy agendas in the North were redefined in the context of a lack of global rival at the end of the Cold War. The concern to maintain political stability with economic growth in countries of the South and East generated a shift from strategies for geopolitical control to global market competition.

Contexts from which INGOs have responded internationally to particular concerns have changed over the decades, and the situation of countries which

are the focus of INGOs concerns has also changed. The social constructing of the INGOs within the broader constructing of the aid and development systems consolidated the embedded interventionist practices in the international Northern INGOs to which the Aotearoa New Zealand franchises are affiliated. It has been the Aotearoa New Zealand context in which the social construction of the emerging INGOs occurred and evolved practices of reciprocity. The analysis has suggested that these practices exist alongside the dominant interventionist practices that the franchise INGOs brought into the Aotearoa New Zealand aid and development sector. All the INGOs are subject to the impact of the changing social, political and economic environment nationally and internationally. Language and practice are identified as indicators of changes in the INGOs in these changing contexts.

### **INGO Language**

The issue of language has been discussed in the literature. Smillie (1995, p. 183) stated that sustainability replaced the concept of self-sufficiency in the late 1980s. Fowler (1998) identified the ideological aspiration of international solidarity on which the partnership of northern and southern NGOs was initially based. Fowler (2000a) then identified that INGO relationships with the poor and marginalized had been captured by the concept of participation. The concept of tyranny has been used by Cooke and Kothari (2001, 2002) in examining participation. The IDS (2001) policy briefing identified a range of meanings associated with practice, including partnership and participation, and demonstrated the gaps between rhetoric and practice. The Australian research by Keevers *et al.* (2008) showed that in the social policy space of that country partnership and participation are framed in major discourses of neoliberalism, managerialism, new paternalism and network governance which other readings have shown to be occurring in both South and North.

Taking account of the contentions nature of the concept of partnership this research has explored the use of the language partnership by the INGOs.

Fowler suggested that the use of the term partnership is too often used “to camouflage aid relationships that are unbalanced, dependency-creating and based on compromises in favour of the powerful” (2000b, p. 26). Analysis of the research findings has shown that the use of partnership language to describe the interventionist practices can be described as camouflage. Where this may be the case in the practices of reciprocity is not evident in the research findings.

Accountability requirements by INGOs of partners, particularly when based on the accountability requirements of back-donors such as Government ODA, have been referred to in the literature and in the research data. Within those discussions there has been reference to monitoring, evaluation and impact assessment. Expressed INGO concerns about accountability, or INGO requirements of accountability, have shown that the use of the language of management and associated practice is an indicator of the prospect or otherwise for solidarity in any partnership.

### **Church/Secular**

The rationale provided by Oxfam for the establishment of that franchise INGO in Aotearoa New Zealand was that a secular INGO was required by some CORSO people. The statement ignores the fact that the six respondent INGOs share a history of impulses to respond to need in other countries within the geopolitical concerns of the respective countries in which trading, colonisation, and missionary activity were linked. Chapter 4 has shown that during wartime and after secular and church/religious groups cooperated for this non-government international purpose. It is apparent from INGO-related literature or websites that INGO networks and activities in the originating countries of the UK, USA and Aotearoa New Zealand occupy the same social space as church-related, church-founded and non-church groupings. This is evident to some extent in the Third Sector literature.

This research has not explored the issue of the particular ideological motivations of the different practices of the INGOs. The tentative thesis that context determines INGO practice has suggested that the practice of reciprocity as opposed to intervention has emerged in Aotearoa New Zealand principally because Caritas and Christian World Service have roots in the mission churches which drew on early history in Aotearoa New Zealand to respond to contemporary issues of the Treaty of Waitangi, to poverty and to peace within an anti-nuclear country, together with regional issues.

Demographic changes in Aotearoa New Zealand over the last fifty years suggest that sectors which have traditionally supported partnership as solidarity may continue to become less influential within the market based definitions of need, values and international relations. The statistics in Appendix 3 show the 2011 figures on permanent and long-term arrivals in Aotearoa New Zealand. In that year almost 22,000 people from the neoliberal economic environments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, and 20,000 from Oceania most of which were from Australia, arrived to settle in the neoliberal economic environment of Aotearoa New Zealand. The statistics also show that of the 4,000 from Africa and the Middle East, most were from South Africa. The ground out of which the practices of reciprocity evolved is inevitably changed by these demographic factors. It is unlikely that the demographic changes will work against the interventionist practices of the franchise INGOs.

### **INGOs and the Market**

Issues raised by recent Third sector studies are relevant to INGOs in the changing environment of the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The distinctions between private and non-government organisations are no longer straightforward as increasingly businesses include some socially related activity and INGOs become more businesslike. Reference to the websites or accessible financial statements of INGOs in the public arena will demonstrate the extent to which INGOs include



corporates among donors and whether the INGO is involved in retail activity.<sup>73</sup> Discussions on the accountability requirements of INGOs in respect of funded partners, and of INGOs in receipt of government subsidy or any other back donor funding has supported the critiques about the influence of the market on INGOs and partners organisations in the South alike. Haugh and Paredo (2011) identified the pressure on third sector organisations to conform with mainstream management practices. This recognised factor can be applied to the difficulty of maintaining the distinctiveness of the INGOs from the private and public sectors.

An example of the difficulty of distinctiveness is demonstrated in the information in Chapter 4 about the New Zealand government aid programme which now involves the contestable Partnership Fund. This Fund is open to any in charitable, non-profit, private and state sectors which can deliver the Government's development objectives. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade have determined the criteria that are required to be met by programmes from the different sectors. This is an example of the blurring of the distinctiveness of INGOs referred to by Haugh and Paredo. These and other issues have generated a discourse on hybridity in third sector studies.

### **Shape –Changing INGOs**

Hull et.al (2011) have discussed hybridity in non-governmental or civil society organisations. Three types of hybridity are suggested: policy hybrids refer to the crosspollination of neoliberal and social justice in policies; value hybrids blend incongruent values which require mediation; and practice hybrids give greater voice to 'beneficiaries' (2011, p. xxiv). The crosspollination of neoliberal ideology and social justice can be identified in the rhetoric of Oxfam particularly, and is also evident behind the child rights focus of Save the Children. The business practice of World Vision, which includes the management of child sponsorship

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<sup>73</sup> This does not include the process for gifting specific items to specific groups or individuals which is a part of all the INGOs fundraising

along with development practice, identifies this INGO as a value hybrid. TEAR Fund is identified as a value hybrid also, despite the much smaller management infrastructure of that INGO. The concept of practice hybrids can be applied, in aspiration at least, to Caritas and Christian World Service.

Thus social, economic and geopolitical changes continue to socially construct the INGOs. The globalised economics of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and emerging geopolitical shifts, particularly in the Asia Pacific region in which the INGOs carry out their work, are evident in the actions of the New Zealand Government to the INGO sector in recent years. It is apparent in data that the globalised practices of neoliberal economics is reinforcing the practices and perspectives of the international Federation, Confederation, Alliance and Evangelical networks that the franchise INGOs are perpetuating. The businesslike manner in which Eglantyne Jebb established Save the Children and Cecil Jackson-Cole established Oxfam means that both have been cross-pollinated with the neoliberal economics that are now dominating in the market. The discussion by Lindsay (2005) which describes the movement of the leaders of evangelical Christianity into positions of social power in different sectors will influence the value hybrids of World Vision and TEAR Fund and can be seen to be doing so on the websites of these INGOs.

Caritas and Christian World Service may be considered practice hybrids in consideration of their capacity to express solidarity through practices of reciprocity. The market orientation of Aotearoa New Zealand is more accommodating to the public activities of cross-pollinated and value hybrid INGOs than to the solidarity practicing hybrids. This reality raises the question about the necessity of support from some sectors in Aotearoa New Zealand society for the alternative partnership practices that have become enculturated in the work of Caritas and Christian World Service.

## **Issues requiring Further Research**

### **INGOS in International Relations**

This research which has explored international development non-government organisations (INGOs) as a socially constructed institution within Aotearoa New Zealand society, and from within the originating societies of the franchise INGOs, has shown clearly that this institution is indisputably involved in international relations. A deeper analysis is required of the diplomacies of a kind carried out by the non-government sector – as distinct from the private sector – in the international relations of INGOs as geopolitical shifts occur in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In this connection, the discussion on legitimacy of different INGO interventions needs exploration. An analysis of the INGO involvement in international relations will critique the distinction utilised in this research between franchise and non- franchise INGO international practices and modes of diplomacy.

### **Increasing Social Diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand**

Franchise INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand with historical antecedents in the UK and USA represent the socially constructed practices of INGOs in those countries. INGOs which have originated in Aotearoa New Zealand have been shown to be a social construction of 19<sup>th</sup> century British settler society. Factors which have influenced that social construction include the impact of the South Pacific location and proximity to Asia, and also the incorporating of a Treaty of Waitangi perspective, which then emerged in CID and motivated the CID commissioned Treaty Journeys research. Continuing migrations (Appendix 3) from the Pacific and from countries in Asia, and the significance of the largely British and other Northern migrations which have not known the bicultural struggles of the longer resident communities from the North, means that the population of Aotearoa New Zealand continues to more ethnically, culturally, religiously and politically diverse.

The issue which these demographics raise is the question of how, and if, such a diverse population will socially construct an institution which can engage in

appropriate practices of responding through international relations to situations of concern in other countries. INGOs which choose to do so, possibly assisted by CID if it has the capacity, can assist the sector by researching the potential for an Aotearoa New Zealand international response of solidarity from a bicultural and widely multicultural, economically and politically diverse population in Aotearoa New Zealand to support groups and organisations in communities in other countries. The 20<sup>th</sup> century shaping of INGOs in Aotearoa New Zealand means that such a shaping in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is possible. Deconstructing the international practice of INGOs is critical in the changing geopolitical environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

### **Child Sponsorship**

The CID 2009 Annual report was able to show that more money was given to INGOs for child sponsorship than for general funding or emergency appeals together.

|                     |              |
|---------------------|--------------|
| Child sponsorship   | \$57,583,342 |
| General fundraising | \$38,268,785 |
| Emergency appeals   | \$10,793,252 |
| Membership fees     | \$6,447,764  |

Research is needed on the factors that contribute to the continuing high proportion of public support for this fundraising strategy of INGOs.

The importance of this research is also suggested by the social realities of and contemporary discourses on child poverty and child abuse in Aotearoa New Zealand. These link the issue of child poverty to the current economic and political structures of Aotearoa New Zealand society. This research, which has identified grounding, interdependence and solidarity as INGO aspirations, would suggest that there are clear links between the situation of children in Aotearoa New Zealand and those that the child-sponsoring INGOs are marketing. An analysis of the substantial ongoing support for child sponsorship would address

factors in Aotearoa New Zealand which generate this support and an appropriate response to the marketing of children in this way by INGOs.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis has argued that the INGOs have been and are socially constructed by countries in the North and by British settler society in Aotearoa New Zealand. The contextually constituted different practices between the franchise INGOs and the Aotearoa New Zealand originating INGOs have been demonstrated. The dominance of the market, changing demographics and the blurring of the boundaries in some areas of INGO practice have indicated that INGOs are dependent on economic and political factors and on a supportive sector within Aotearoa New Zealand society. That dependency makes the social, political and economic environment critical for the capacity of INGOs to be critically reflective of their practice and the international relations in which each is engaged.

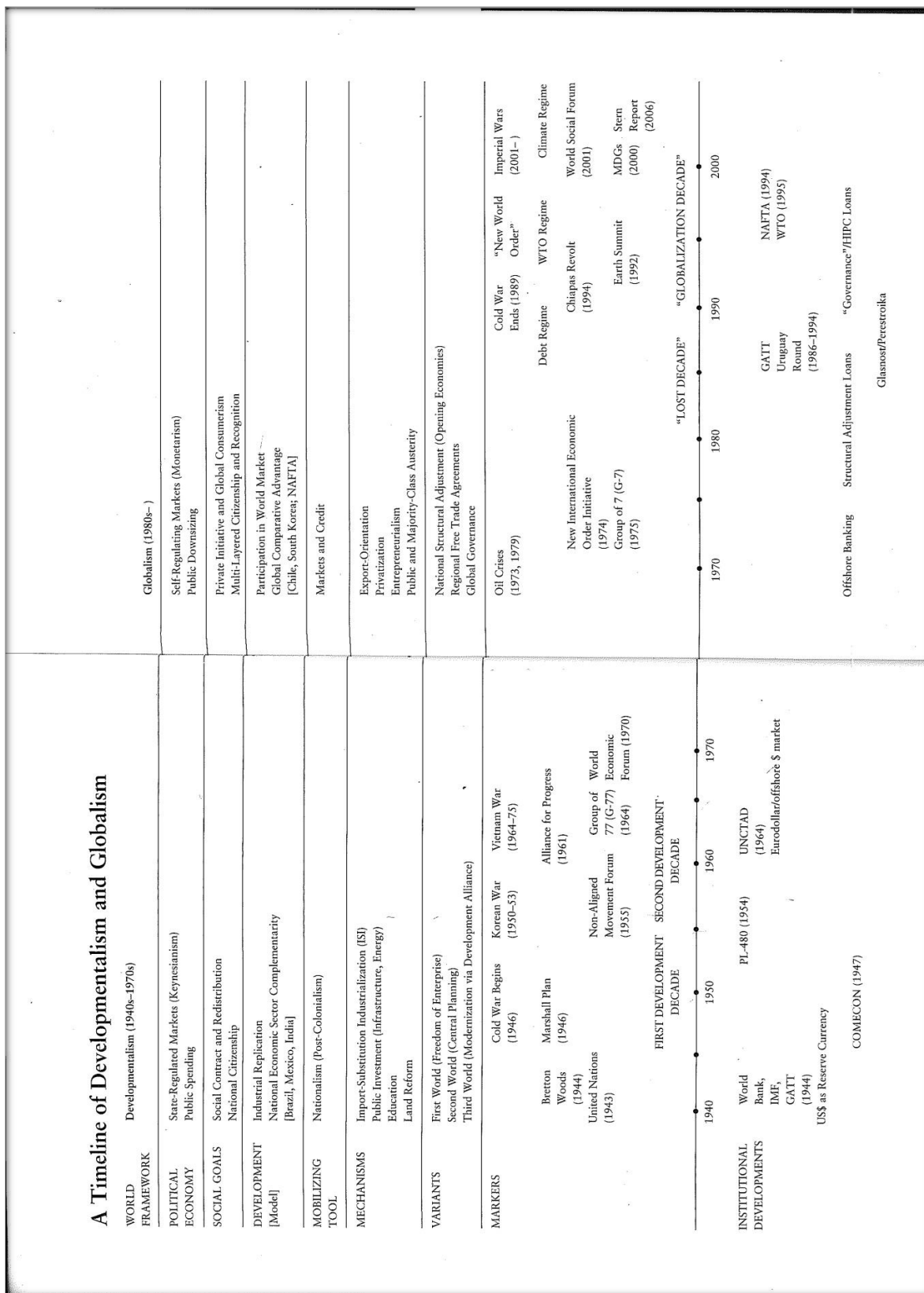
The topics for research are an indication that there exist within the social construction of the INGOs some socially constituted factors that could, within Aotearoa New Zealand, encourage further exploration of the practice of INGOs in international relations, particularly in the context of multiple geopolitical changes. Strategies to identify the potential for engaging in a bicultural/multicultural discourse on international solidarity, and to support a critique of local, or Aotearoa New Zealand-specific support for children, as it is marketed by INGOs for sponsorship, will address existing points of contention in the aid and development sector generally, and in the INGOs.

Sociologically, it would appear that the 20<sup>th</sup> century socially constructed role of INGOs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is still an open question.

# APPENDIX 1

## A Timeline of Developmentalism and Globalism (McMichael)

Used with permission. From McMichael, P. (2008). *Development and Social Change: A Global Perspective* (4th ed.). Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore. PINE FORGE PRESS/An Imprint of Sage Publications, Inc.



## APPENDIX 2

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*Preliminary Questionnaire distributed to the six INGOs and adapted for the two sector people*

**JULY/AUGUST 2009**

### **QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION WITH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT NGOs**

Basic premise for such discussion:

A recent article in *World Development* 37/5 2009 deals with research, carried out by academics in Dutch and German universities and institutes, into the question of what determines the allocation of aid by non-governmental organisations. They comment that “the NGO landscape is highly diverse”.

Initial questions:

- 1) What is the position in the organisation of the person(s) being interviewed?
- 2) How did this organisation get started?
- 3) How long has this organisation been working in this country?
- 4) How many people are employed in this organisation? Where?
- 5) Where does the policy which informs all parts of this organizations located?

### **THE AID AND DEVELOPMENT WORLD**

The questions in this section are intended to introduce discussion about any changes in your organisation arising from shifts in development theory and discourse:

- 1) What the organisation is doing
- 2) Why the organisation is doing this work
- 3) How the work of the organisation is carried out
- 4) What the organisation communicates to its constituency
- 5) How your work is described in fundraising publicity

I am interested in the experience of this organisation as it relates to the focus of my research.

### **ABSTRACT**

“The thread that weaves together the story of colonialism, developmentalism, and globalization, is that development is a project of rule”(McMichael, 2008, p. xv). The research supporting this paper is designed to test that thesis. The literature review

analyses the dominant and contemporary discourses on development, and the research undertaken analyses the way in which the practice of international non-government development organisations are impacted by the shifts in such discourses. Undertaking this research and analysis locates the interweaving of the threads identified by McMichael in the history and contemporary expressions of colonisation, together with the intentional implementation of neoliberal economic globalisation, in the social, political and economic structures of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand out of which international development non-government organisations carry out their work.

The following diagram is simply a tool to facilitate out discussion. I have composed from the reading I have been doing on development theory and discourse. It is not intended to be exhaustive. A blank diagram, which you might like to use of in preparing to answer the following questions, is attached at the end of this questionnaire.



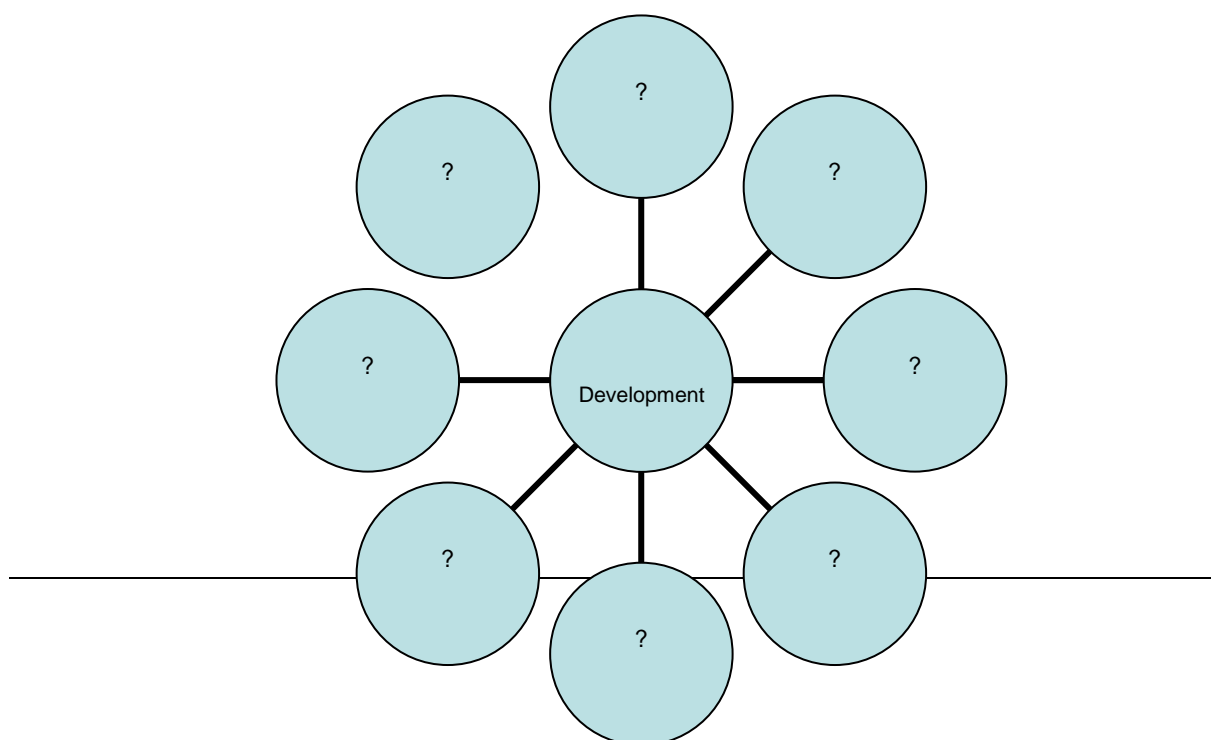
- 1) When did development become a focus and policy of the work of this organisation?
- 2) How did it become part of your work?
- 3) At that point, what was the understanding of development utilised by this organisation?
- 4) Did the policies of the organisation and the communication with the public or any other practice of the organisation change as a result?



- 5) Have there been further changes in the concept of development utilised by your organisation?
- 6) What have these been?
- 7) Did changing ideas on development change the policy/the communication with the public and/or practice of your organisation in any ways?

**General:**

- 1) How does working out of the Aotearoa New Zealand context affect your work?
- 2) Does your organisation participate in the activities of CID and Devnet?
- 3) Are there any other networks that your organisation is involved in – in this country? Internationally?
- 4) Are any of these different networks influential in the policy making of your organisation?

**For your use:**

# APPENDIX 3

## Immigration Statistics 2011

International Travel and Migration: April 2011

Table 6

### Permanent and long-term arrivals<sup>(1)</sup>

By country of last permanent residence

| Country of last permanent residence | April month  |              |              | Year ended April |               |               | Change from 2010 |              |               |             |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
|                                     | 2009         | 2010         | 2011         | 2009             | 2010          | 2011          | Month            |              | Year          |             |
|                                     |              |              |              |                  |               |               | Number           | Percent      | Number        | Percent     |
| <b>Oceania</b>                      | <b>1,634</b> | <b>1,611</b> | <b>1,436</b> | <b>19,939</b>    | <b>20,759</b> | <b>19,672</b> | <b>-175</b>      | <b>-10.9</b> | <b>-1,087</b> | <b>-5.2</b> |
| Australia                           | 1,189        | 1,282        | 1,137        | 13,278           | 15,735        | 15,430        | -145             | -11.3        | -305          | -1.9        |
| Fiji                                | 214          | 99           | 89           | 3,456            | 2,014         | 1,161         | -10              | -10.1        | -853          | -42.4       |
| Samoa                               | 117          | 123          | 118          | 1,527            | 1,458         | 1,442         | -5               | -4.1         | -16           | -1.1        |
| Tonga                               | 57           | 52           | 46           | 705              | 634           | 627           | -7               | -13.5        | -7            | -1.1        |
| <b>Asia</b>                         | <b>1,965</b> | <b>1,813</b> | <b>2,077</b> | <b>26,996</b>    | <b>25,652</b> | <b>27,088</b> | <b>264</b>       | <b>14.6</b>  | <b>1,436</b>  | <b>5.6</b>  |
| China, People's Republic of         | 348          | 321          | 457          | 5,440            | 5,965         | 6,736         | 136              | 42.4         | 771           | 12.9        |
| Hong Kong (SAR)                     | 33           | 33           | 69           | 643              | 623           | 736           | 36               | 109.1        | 113           | 18.1        |
| India                               | 432          | 504          | 473          | 6,730            | 6,669         | 7,285         | -31              | -6.2         | 616           | 9.2         |
| Japan                               | 367          | 332          | 354          | 2,368            | 2,072         | 2,004         | 22               | 6.6          | -68           | -3.3        |
| Korea, Republic of                  | 137          | 118          | 100          | 1,966            | 2,114         | 1,889         | -18              | -15.3        | -225          | -10.6       |
| Malaysia                            | 51           | 40           | 52           | 1,373            | 1,373         | 1,387         | 12               | 30.0         | 14            | 1.0         |
| Philippines                         | 334          | 155          | 223          | 3,729            | 2,227         | 2,034         | 68               | 43.9         | -193          | -8.7        |
| Singapore                           | 26           | 21           | 43           | 601              | 487           | 671           | 22               | 104.8        | 184           | 37.8        |
| Sri Lanka                           | 21           | 40           | 36           | 572              | 470           | 571           | -4               | -10.0        | 101           | 21.5        |
| Taiwan                              | 52           | 62           | 76           | 764              | 706           | 760           | 14               | 22.6         | 54            | 7.6         |
| Thailand                            | 70           | 91           | 63           | 851              | 864           | 846           | -28              | -30.8        | -18           | -2.1        |
| Viet Nam                            | 20           | 24           | 32           | 486              | 580           | 624           | 8                | 33.3         | 44            | 7.6         |
| <b>Europe</b>                       | <b>1,502</b> | <b>1,088</b> | <b>1,249</b> | <b>26,973</b>    | <b>24,539</b> | <b>22,678</b> | <b>161</b>       | <b>14.8</b>  | <b>-1,861</b> | <b>-7.6</b> |
| France                              | 48           | 46           | 70           | 1,164            | 1,379         | 1,382         | 24               | 52.2         | 3             | 0.2         |
| Germany                             | 96           | 91           | 124          | 2,492            | 2,537         | 2,331         | 33               | 36.3         | -206          | -8.1        |
| Ireland                             | 112          | 64           | 110          | 1,507            | 1,555         | 1,428         | 46               | 71.9         | -77           | -5.1        |
| United Kingdom                      | 1,070        | 740          | 757          | 18,768           | 16,167        | 14,190        | 17               | 2.3          | -1,977        | -12.2       |
| <b>Americas</b>                     | <b>385</b>   | <b>395</b>   | <b>477</b>   | <b>7,323</b>     | <b>7,141</b>  | <b>7,421</b>  | <b>82</b>        | <b>20.8</b>  | <b>280</b>    | <b>3.9</b>  |
| Canada                              | 74           | 104          | 103          | 1,826            | 1,804         | 1,952         | -1               | -1.0         | 148           | 8.2         |
| Chile                               | 47           | 33           | 56           | 531              | 513           | 531           | 23               | 69.7         | 18            | 3.5         |
| United States of America            | 159          | 176          | 183          | 3,625            | 3,504         | 3,619         | 7                | 4.0          | 115           | 3.3         |
| <b>Africa and the Middle East</b>   | <b>368</b>   | <b>226</b>   | <b>240</b>   | <b>5,848</b>     | <b>3,808</b>  | <b>4,008</b>  | <b>14</b>        | <b>6.2</b>   | <b>200</b>    | <b>5.3</b>  |
| Saudi Arabia                        | 61           | 12           | 34           | 761              | 406           | 695           | 22               | 183.3        | 289           | 71.2        |
| South Africa                        | 157          | 97           | 76           | 2,924            | 1,418         | 1,247         | -21              | -21.6        | -171          | -12.1       |
| United Arab Emirates                | 27           | 26           | 48           | 373              | 458           | 572           | 22               | 84.6         | 114           | 24.9        |
| <b>Not stated</b>                   | <b>121</b>   | <b>126</b>   | <b>221</b>   | <b>1,910</b>     | <b>1,721</b>  | <b>2,589</b>  | <b>95</b>        | <b>75.4</b>  | <b>868</b>    | <b>50.4</b> |
| <b>Total</b>                        | <b>5,975</b> | <b>5,259</b> | <b>5,700</b> | <b>88,989</b>    | <b>83,620</b> | <b>83,456</b> | <b>441</b>       | <b>8.4</b>   | <b>-164</b>   | <b>-0.2</b> |

1. Includes overseas migrants who arrive in New Zealand intending to stay for a period of 12 months or more (or permanently), plus New Zealand residents returning after an absence of 12 months or more.

Note: SAR Special Administrative Region

Source: Statistics New Zealand

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