

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-
NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>



ISBN

IDS Library
University of Sussex
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RE, UK

PLEASE RETURN BY

**IN SEARCH OF NGOs: TOWARDS
A FUNDING STRATEGY TO CREATE
NGO RESEARCH CAPACITY**

IN

EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

LIBRARY

- 7 JAN 1993

**Institute of
Development Studies**

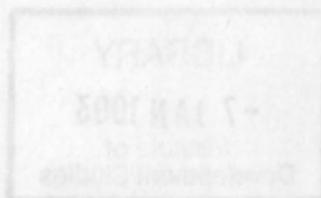
by

Njuguna Ng'ethe

**Institute for Development Studies
University of Nairobi
Occasional Paper No. 58
1989**

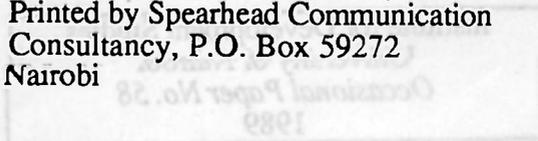
First Published in 1991 by
the Institute for Development Studies (IDS)
University of Nairobi
P.O. Box 30197, Nairobi, Kenya

© Institute for Development Studies and
Njuguna Ng'ethe



by
Njuguna Ng'ethe

Copy edited by Kibisu-Kabatesi
Typeset by Nairobi University Press
Printed by Spearhead Communication
Consultancy, P.O. Box 59272
Nairobi



First Published in 1991 by
The Institute for Development Studies (IDS)
University of Nairobi
P. O. Box 30197, Nairobi, Kenya

© Institute for Development Studies
Nairobi, Kenya

In Search of NGOs

Copy edited by Kibisu-Khanda
Typeset by Nairobi University Press
Printed by Spearhead Communications
Consultancy, P.O. Box 50117
Nairobi

CONTENTS

Introduction

I.	Introduction	7
	Research Objectives	11
	Data Gathering	12
	The Problem of Definition	13

Region

II	NGOs in the Region	19
	Introduction to Country Profiles	19
	Somalia	20
	Ethiopia	21
	Uganda	23
	Tanzania	25
	Zambia	26
	Malawi	28
	Zimbabwe	29
	Kenya	30

Towards NGO-Based Research

III	The Problem of Classification	33
	The Problem of NGOs' contribution to Development...	37
	A Footnote on NGOs' Funding	38
	What is Vs by Whom	39
	NGOs as Organisations	40
	Donor Practices - IDRC as a Case	42
	Conception of Research	44
	Community Consultation and Observation	45
	Research on Documented Research	45
	Project on Documented Research	46

Project and Community Inspired Research	46
Base-line Data	47
Evaluations	48
Theoretical Research	48
A Footnote on Writing Skills for Dissemination	49

Summary of Views and Experiences

IV	Internal capacity	51
	Consultants	52
	Public Research Institutions	53
	Role of Donors	54
	Types of NGOs	55
	Research Advantage	55
	Research Capacity	56
	Grant Sizes	56
	Minimal Organisational Requirements	57
	Impact on Competing Institutions	57
V	The state of our knowledge on NGOs	58
	Overall Conclusions	59

Appendices

Appendix I	Somalia	61
Appendix II	Ethiopia	63
Appendix III	Uganda	65
Appendix IV	Tanzania	67
Appendix V	Zambia	70
Appendix VI	Malawi	71
Appendix VII	NGOs Depositories	72
Appendix VIII	NGOs Studied in Kenya	74
	Footnote to Appendix	75

Introduction

A decade ago, few development experts paid much heed to the existence of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) let alone their contribution to development. Today, development 'experts' and social scientists engaged in development studies, would have a difficult time justifying their position and knowledge if they do not know something about NGOs.

Unfortunately, what is 'known' about NGOs is often clouded by what is 'believed' about them. Theoretically, it should be relatively easy to distinguish fact-based knowledge from belief based on some articles of faith. In practice, however, such analytical distinction is extremely difficult. The reason is that, in the current sociology of knowledge of NGOs and the accompanying epistemology of this knowledge, NGOs, as principal sources of this knowledge have tended to generate and target this 'knowledge' in a way that creates some myths about themselves; a feat achieved often by deliberately blurring the line between fact and belief.

NGOs beliefs about themselves are, however, sincere and, therefore, it is no surprise that these beliefs have over the years become a major part of our 'knowledge' of these development agents. It is only recent that systematic empirical investigation of NGOs' contribution to development has begun to take place¹.

1

The recent (1988) publication of a fairly comprehensive directory of NGOs in Kenya by the Kenya National Council of Social Services (KNCSS) is one indicator of this trend. In addition, Research institutions at Universities are beginning to mount systematic research programmes on NGOs. Such a programme is now in existence at the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) of the University of Nairobi. An important by-product of this research programme is that several graduate students are now writing their

Hitherto, what has been 'known' about NGOs has been based on the belief that²:

- 1 NGOs are **altruistic organisations** which are designed to respond to the needs of others rather than imposing their own solutions;
- 2 NGOs are **autonomous** and therefore distinctive and independent from governments;
- 3 NGOs foster **participation** and therefore provide channels for ordinary citizens to participate directly in development;
- 4 NGOs are **efficient** and therefore mobilize and use financial and other resources in a cost-effective fashion;
- 5 NGOs foster **co-operation** and therefore have a distinctive mutually beneficial relationship with the target populations.

In addition to these beliefs, it is now generally accepted that the role of NGOs in development has grown tremendously in the last decade or so, a fact which is itself reflected by two other facts; (1) from a relatively few charity and relief oriented organisations in the 1960s, examples of which included the Red Cross, Y.M.C.W.A., CARE, OXFAM, various churches, etc., the number of NGOs has grown enormously, especially in the last fifteen years. It is now estimated that there are well over 2,000 NGOs in the industrialised North which are channelling financial

theses on the contribution of NGOs to development. The recent publication of a *World Development Issue* (Vol. 15: Autumn 1987) entirely devoted to NGOs is another indicator of the current attempts to systematically study the work of NGOs.

- 2 These articles of faith are discussed in more detail in *Bridges of Hope: Canadian Voluntary Agencies and the Third World*. The book, published by the North-South Institute in 1988 and written by Tim Broadhead and Brent Herben-Copley with the research collaboration of Anne-Mane Lambert, is an excellent review of the Canadian NGO scene. However, the study has several short-comings, the most important ones being (i) It is primarily based on what NGOs had to say about themselves (beliefs) and (ii) the field work was inadequate in that only six field trips were undertaken to Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Haiti, Jamaica, Mali, Peru and Zimbabwe and in our view the "one month" duration of each trip was too short a period, (iii) the study was conducted by an outsider. Therefore, it is not obvious that they were fully capable of correctly interpreting the extremely complex

and human resources, either directly or indirectly to some 10,000 to 20,000 NGOs in the South³, (2) an increasing share of resource transfer from the North to the South is passing through the NGOs. A recent report (1986)⁴ by the Organisation for Economic Development (OECD) notes that NGOs now receive as much as US\$ 3.3 billion from private sources and another US\$ 1.5 billion from official aid agencies. A related, and somewhat similar estimate is that the NGO sector probably grants almost US\$ 4 billion a year to assist some 100 million people in the Third World⁵. The Environmental Liason Centre in Nairobi estimates that there are between 8,000 and 9,000 NGOs operating in Africa. The situation in one developed country, Canada, provides more evidence of the growing might of NGOs.

In Canada, a 1981 estimate put registered charities operating in that country at 40,000 'with more being created everyday'⁶. A 1988 study estimates that some 220 Canadian development agencies can be classified as 'voluntary agencies whose primary activity is international development'⁷. The agencies are extremely diverse, especially in 'financial size'. Some like the World Vision Canada and World University Services Canada (WUSC), have annual budgets of over US\$ 25 million each. Other smaller ones, like the Christian Farmers Federation of Alberta and the Comite' de Solidarite' Tiers Monde have combined budgets (1984-1988) of

local NGO scene.

3 Piers Campbell "Management Services for Development NGOs." ESAE Newsletter: Autumn 1986. Mr. Campbell was, at the time when he made the estimate a Programme Director of management for development of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) in Geneva. He was therefore well positioned to know the NGO scene.

4 OECD, Development Assistance Committee. *Development Co-operation 1988 Report*. Paris: OECD 1986.

5 Campbell, Piers. *op. cit*

6 Statistics Canada. An overview of volunteer workers in Canada. *The Labour Force* (May, 1981).

7 Tim Broadhead et al. (1988) *op. cit.* page 9.

US\$ 100,000.

In all, however, the traditional 'matching grant' programme of support for NGOs stood (in 1986) at 8% of the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) overall budget. Furthermore, 'new channels of CIDA funding over the past five years have boosted the share of Official Development Assistance (ODA) going through NGOs to about 12%. Added to privately raised funds, NGOs account for some 22% of total aid funds, both public and private'⁸.

No wonder then the NGO sector has been referred to as the new 'growth sector', a sector which thrives on and indeed celebrates values derived from **altruism, charity, development participation, efficiency, co-operation, diversity, pluralism, institutional autonomy, individualism and strength in diversity**. The overall philosophy of NGOs is, in turn, supposed to be derived from these values.

The philosophical values and the factual expansion of the NGO sector are currently and will in future be used as criteria

In 1981, CIDA's matching grant programme was re-organised to include responsibility for the participation of Universities, Colleges, Unions, Professional Associations and Co-operatives; many of the large volunteer-sending NGOs were transferred to a separate programme, the International Co-operation and Development Services (ICDS) division. In its first year, the NGO division disbursed some US\$ 5 million to 50 development projects carried out by 20 agencies. By the mid 1980s, matching funds were being provided by almost 200 agencies in support of 2,400 projects. Nor is support restricted to NGO division/ACDS channels; development agencies also received funding from the matching grants programmes of several provincial government. CIDA's International Humanitarian Assistance (IHA) division funds relief and recovery projects and increasingly the bilateral division of CIDA offers a number of special arrangements for NGOs. For further details see: Tim Broadhead et al *Bridge of Hope: Canadian Voluntary Agencies and the Third World*. North South Institute, (1988) Chapter 1.

8. Tim Broadhead "NGOs: In One Year, Out the Other". *World Development* Vol. 15. Autumn (1987) page 1.

against which the development contribution of NGOs will be assessed. The overall burden of this assessment will be to match philosophical beliefs and self-image against actual achievements.

Though this particular review does not call for a detailed reflection on what are and will be the main issues in the on-going assessments of NGOs contribution to development, it is worthwhile to keep three issues in mind. These are:

- 1 What exactly do NGOs do?
- 2 Within what institutional and policy frameworks do they operate?
- 3 What is the nature of the partnership between Northern and Southern NGOs?

The issue of partnership between Northern and Southern NGOs is of particular interest since it allows for some observations on the related issues of donor funding, effectiveness and evaluation of NGO activity and of central concern to this study, the issue of creating research capacity within the NGO sector.

Research is crucial to the growth and development of any organisation and the achievement of the organisation's objectives. The private profit-oriented economic sector has long recognised this. Is there such a recognition in the *private, non-profit development sector which is essentially what the NGO sector is? Is research funding an integral part of an NGO programme from the beginning? How do they define research? Who conducts research and about what? Where does the research originate?* This study attempts to answer some of these questions.

Research Objectives

This study had four objectives to;

- 1 provide an operational definition of NGOs.
- 2 provide a review of NGOs in the region.
- 3 address the question of Research and Development within NGOs in the region and its relationship to other issues such as the overall contribution of NGOs to development, their

- 4 weaknesses and strengths, their sources of funds, etc, and
4 make observations on the state of databases that provide information on NGOs.

Data Gathering

The study is based on several years of interaction with NGOs during which more than 30 NGOs were interviewed on a wide range of issues including the issues discussed herein. These intensive and extensive interviews yielded extremely useful insights which form the bulk of the original observations in this study. This is in addition to secondary data presented in this study.

The open-ended interviews were held with two categories of interviewees. The first category consisted of people who were considered knowledgeable about the subject matter. This included mainly NGO personnel in Kenya.

The second category of interviewees consisted of people outside the NGO community but who have had some interactions with NGOs. These included members of the donor community*, academic colleagues and private consultants who have in the past consulted for NGOs.

In addition to interviews, visits to Embassies and High Commissions in Nairobi were undertaken to solicit information and collect materials on the social-political-administrative context under which NGOs operate in the countries under study. Unfortunately this proved less useful than expected. Perhaps due to the specialised

* The author is a member and has been a discussion leader of the Population Donors NGO Consultative Forum. This is a fairly informal forum hosted roughly every 2 months by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). Nearly all the major donors and all the major NGOs in Kenya are usually represented. The discussions revolve around a pre-selected topic and are led by the pre-selected person considered knowledgeable on the topic. Past discussion leaders have included academics, representatives from Ford Foundation, UNESCO, FAO and the World Bank, among others.

nature of the subject, little information exists in the Embassies and High Commissions. The visits were, however, useful in another respect; they did reveal the degree to which the subject of NGOs is a sensitive topic.

Overall, it was difficult to obtain data on some countries. Even in countries where data was available, it was fragmentary. As stated in the introduction and will be reiterated in the last section of this study, the state of our knowledge of NGOs is very poor. This was summarised up by one High Commission official whose duty is 'to co-ordinate activities of NGOs which operate from Nairobi'. After one-and-a-half hour discussion, the official remarked: 'If you get any information on NGOs in my country, please let me have it', adding that 'tell the donor agencies that perhaps the first thing they should do before even worrying about research by NGOs in my country, is to fund a research project to produce a directory of NGOs in my country'. This particular official, like most people who 'know' NGOs had great difficulty defining an NGO.

The various data gathering methods were intended to yield a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data with a view to assessing whether and how best to assist NGOs develop some research capacity.

The Problem of Definition

Some questions come to mind when perusing the few available documents on NGOs from this region. The crucial question seems to be: who qualifies to be an NGO and under what criteria? Is it the legal status? Is it the kind of work the NGO does?

A common agreement is that currently, there are no common terminologies available or in use which actually describe what NGOs are. There is also common agreement that as a term, 'NGO' is relatively new but as a concept it is very old. Furthermore, as a term and as a concept, 'NGO' is extremely complex if not

downright misleading.

It is unfortunate that documents on NGOs, especially NGO directories, do not shed enough light on what organisations qualify to be called NGOs. One only gets a rough picture of what NGOs are but not an exclusive concept describing what NGOs are as opposed to other types of organisations. A few examples illustrate the problem.

The 1988 Voluntary Organisation in Community Enterprise (VOICE) directory of NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa which deal with Women Issues, Economic and Technical Advancement and Development Research, lists NGOs as university institutes, women's groups and what are clearly Unions. Thus, in Lesotho for example, the Institute of Southern African Studies of the National University of Lesotho, is listed as an NGO even though the University is clearly a public institution. In Kenya, the Kenya National Farmers Union (KNFU) is listed as an NGO and so is the Kenya Planters Co-operative Union (KPCU). Three specific women's groups are also listed as NGOs. Given that Kenya has between 20,000 and 25,000 women's groups, one begins to worry about the criteria used to qualify only three groups to be NGOs when they are presumably doing the same thing as the other women's groups.

The 1985 NORAD directory of NGOs in Botswana reveals another interesting dimension of the problem; trying to use the legal status as a criterion for differentiating NGOs from other organisations. Here, four types of legal status are all listed. These are societies, companies limited by guarantee (profit-making) and private companies that work as co-operatives. Southern Rural Development Association of Botswana, a company limited by guarantee but profit-making is listed as an NGO. The Tshwaragano Enterprises, a private company which 'works as a cooperative' is listed as an NGO. Note that normally, NGOs are usually registered under the Societies Act or under Companies Act as companies

limited by guarantee, non-profit-making.

The 1988 *VOICE* directory of NGOs in Zimbabwe and the 1988 Kenya National Council of Social Service (KNCSS) directory of NGOs in Kenya, illustrate yet other dimensions of the problem. The *VOICE* directory lists two UN bodies, namely United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) as NGOs. Normally one would think of these, not as private organisations, but as Intergovernmental Public Organisations. The KNCSS directory, to use just one example, lists the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) as an NGO. IDRC is funded entirely through public funds, and its board of directors is appointed by the Canadian government. Is IDRC an NGO or a Public Donor Organisation, albeit with a highly specialised mandate?

The problem of deciding what constitutes an NGO extends to the terminologies used to describe these organisations. The two most commonly used terms to describe the kind of organisations we have in mind are 'NGO' and 'PVO'. NGO is essentially a negative term connoting that the organisations' activities are 'not governmental activities. Whether 'not governmental' should be extended to mean 'not funded by government' or 'not primarily funded by government etc.' or 'the board of directors not appointed by government etc.' is part of the debate on the nature and organisational set up of NGOs.

Private Voluntary Organisation (PVO) on the other hand, is an American term which, some feel, is much better than NGO in that it positively identifies two characteristics which are relevant in America, viz, private and voluntary. Of the two terms, NGO is thought to be the more universal and is the term recognised and used for organisations accredited to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in which context it was originally defined in Resolution 288(x) of February 27, 1950.

A related term, which often creeps into NGO literature, is

'Voluntary Agency', often used interchangeably and incorrectly with NGO. Though there is no universally accepted distinction between Voluntary Agency and PVO, it is suggested by the International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA) that the "main difference between PVO and Voluntary Agency is that the former can receive a significant proportion of, or even all, its funding from the government whereas the latter must receive most of its funding from private sources"⁹. This makes IDRC for example a PVO. For our purposes PVOs and Voluntary agencies are therefore distinct types within the overall term "NGO".

In spite of reservations about and the shortcomings of NGO directories and other related materials from Eastern and Southern Africa, it appears that overall the materials contain an implicit definition of NGOs. Furthermore, the definition seems to correspond fairly closely to ICVA's¹⁰ summary of a Voluntary Agency as an organisation which should

- 1 be established by a group of individuals or NGOs
 - 2 be autonomous
 - 3 be managed by an independent, volunteer board of directors elected periodically by the membership
 - 4 have a clearly defined constituency and be accountable to that constituency
 - 5 be financially independent (from government)
 - 6 have a formal legal status, permanent headquarters and employ professional or volunteer staff
 - 7 have humanitarian objectives and programmes.
- Most of the organisations that are conceived and listed as

⁹ International Council for Voluntary Agencies, *Definitions of Non-Governmental Organisations, Voluntary Agency and Related Terms*. Geneva. Mimeo 1983, page 3. As quoted in Alan F. Fowler's "NGOs in Africa: Naming Them by What They Are" in K. Kinyanjui (Ed). *Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) Contributions to Development*, Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies (IDS), Occasional Paper (OP) No. 50, 1985.

NGOs in this region do indeed possess several of the above characteristics in varying degrees. We should however, emphasize that one of the most important defining characteristic of an NGO is its legal status, perhaps not as stated by ICVA but in the sense that the organisation must declare itself as non-profitmaking. This alone would disqualify profit-making consultancy firms and other private institutions from receiving research grants intended for NGOs. It is in light of this that a known authority on NGOs in Kenya has defined NGOs as "organisations that are not part of the government and are voluntary, non-profit making and non-partisan"¹¹. This is a better definition of an NGO and together with the ICVA's characteristics listed above constitute a good operational definition of an NGO.

10. *Ibid*, page 3.

11. Sam Kobia *The Old and The New NGOs; Approaches to Development* in K. Kinyanjui (Ed) *Ibid*. Page 32. Reverend Sam Kobia is currently the Secretary General of the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK), an umbrella NGO constituting the Protestant denominations in Kenya.

NGOs in this region do indeed possess several of the above characteristics in varying degrees. We should however emphasize that one of the most important defining characteristics of an NGO is its legal status, perhaps not as stated by ICVA but in the sense that the organization must declare itself as non-profit-making. This alone would usually profit-making consultancy firms and other private institutions from receiving research grants intended for NGOs. It is in light of this that a known authority on NGOs in Kenya has defined NGOs as "organizations that are not part of the government and are voluntary, non-profit making and non-partisan"¹⁰. This is a better definition of an NGO than the one given by ICVA. The characteristics listed above continue a good operational definition of an NGO. It is important to note that these characteristics to most countries are characteristic of NGOs. Furthermore, it is important to stress that ICVA is not strictly an Agency but an organization which should be established by a group of individuals.

1. be established by a group of individuals
2. be autonomous
3. be managed by an independent body of persons
4. elect periodically by members
5. have a clearly defined non-profit-making objective
6. be financially independent
7. have a formal legal status, separate legal entity
8. that receive no or minimal government funding
9. be organized for specific objectives
10. that have no religious or political affiliations

¹⁰ International Council for Voluntary Agencies, *Handbook of Non-Profit Organizations*, London, 1971, p. 10. The ICVA is a non-profit-making organization established in 1945. It is a global organization of voluntary agencies. The ICVA is a non-profit-making organization established in 1945. It is a global organization of voluntary agencies. The ICVA is a non-profit-making organization established in 1945. It is a global organization of voluntary agencies.

NGOs in the Region

Introduction to Country Profiles

NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa region operate in a variety of country contexts which reflect the peculiar history, development philosophy and problems in each country. This makes it difficult to generalize except in the sense that NGOs do indeed operate in these countries, and that all governments require that they be registered with relevant authorities. In Malawi though, there is little information, either written or oral on NGOs since NGOs 'were not encouraged' until a few years ago.

Relations with the government is an issue in all the countries. In some countries, NGOs seem to operate without the benefit of an umbrella 'co-ordinating' organisation while in a few others, such umbrella organisations exist. The numbers and types of known NGOs differ. The majority of the countries are without NGO directories. Therefore U.S. NGOs with links in these countries are used to illustrate the types of NGOs found in these countries (Appendices II-VI). Ultimately though, each country will have, in future, to be studied in more detail by any funding agency interested in the work of NGOs. What follows in the next section is, therefore, a summary of the NGO situations in eight African countries in Eastern and Southern Africa*.

* The country summaries which follow are largely extracted from Deull C.B. and Laurel A. Dutcher, *Working Together: NGO-Co-operation in Seven African Countries*. American Center for Voluntary International, ... (Inter Action 1987).

Somalia

Somalia is economically poor but culturally rich and proud. The Somali people are linked by very strong extended family groupings deriving from four main clans. Though transportation is poor, news travels quickly through the family networks. But the poor infrastructure still complicates national administration.

According to Deull and Dutcher, the concept of locally based voluntary agencies is foreign to Somalia and, some argue, perhaps not necessary in an extended family network of responsibility. Thus "Somalians had never even heard of NGOs before the first crisis in 1978"¹². Consequently, there are very few, some would say, *only one*, Somali NGO, Haqabtir. Even this one grew out of an International Labour Organisation (ILO) programme and only succeeded in registering itself in 1984. Most of the NGOs in Somalia then are international NGOs working in the country on refugee, relief and development programmes such as education, water and community development.

There is no comprehensive listing of NGOs operating in Somalia. However, there are at least 45 U.S. NGOs with links in Somalia (Appendix II). Furthermore there are about 31 NGOs active in Somalia with the majority working in the Southern Provinces. Recently a formal cooperative mechanism was created in southern Somalia. This body, Association of Voluntary Agencies in Somalia (AVAS) was registered after a long struggle against, among other things, government antipathy toward the creation of such a body.

Relations between the government and NGOs in Somalia have

12.

Deull, C.B. and Laurel, A. Dutcher; *Working together; NCO Cooperation in Seven African Countries: American Council for Voluntary International Action (Inter Action) 1987*. We would like to reiterate that most of the country summaries which follow are largely extracted from this study.

been fragmented, if not poor. No one government ministry co-ordinates NGO activities and as many as nine different ministries may be involved in a given sector which leads to duplication and uneven distribution of services. However, due to security concerns, the government seems to be wary of the NGO community while at the same time welcoming the resources and expertise brought to the country by foreign NGOs.

Three international agencies are particularly active in Somalia and provide a substantial amount of NGO funding. These are USAID, UNHCR and UNICEF. USAID provides grants especially under the Development Partners Programme. UNHCR has tried to co-ordinate relief work of NGOs, and UNICEF, like UNHCR, has attempted to facilitate co-ordination.

Overall, NGOs in Somalia are still struggling to find a foothold. As the nature of their work shifts from relief to rehabilitation and development, the need for research will naturally become more evident. In the meantime, the most urgent research need is to produce a comprehensive directory of NGOs in that country. The entry point seems to be AVAS.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia is a country virtually in a state of perpetual emergency due to recurring drought which produces cyclical famine, the most recent being in 1974 and 1984. This in turn demands intense effort from government, international organisations and NGOs. Fortunately for Ethiopia, unlike Somalia, the concept of NGOs is not new. If it is accepted that traditional self-help associations are a form of NGOs, then NGOs in Ethiopia have a long history in the form of *Edir* (neighbourhood mutual aid association) *Ikub* (rotating credit associations) and *Maredaja Mahaber* (self-help associations). In addition, such modern associations as sports clubs, professional associations, the YMCA

etc. have a long history too¹³

Though there is no readily available history or directory of NGOs in Ethiopia, relief agencies have occupied centre stage of NGO activities in the country in the last 15 years. Some of the relief is provided by the over 80 U.S. NGOs with links in Ethiopia (Appendix III). The agencies operate under the central co-ordination of the government Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC) which requires all NGOs and all expatriate staff to register with it. RRC reviews virtually all project proposals, and in most cases, develops a formal tripartite agreement with the NGO and the appropriate government ministry for the NGO's plan of co-operation. In addition to RRC, Christian Relief and Development Agency (CRDA), founded at the end of the 1974 famine as an *ad hoc* group of several Christian NGOs, facilitates interagency co-operation. By 1986 CRDA had a membership of 46 international and Ethiopian NGOs representing most of the major NGOs in the country. An important aspect of CRDA's 'facilitation' is its fund raising activities both for its own projects and as a funding broker giving sub-grants to members.

Generally, relations between government and NGOs in Ethiopia have alternated between warm and cold. NGOs are welcome to Ethiopia because they perform vital tasks but as was pointed out during interviews, it must be remembered that 'they operate within the overall context of a centrally planned economy'. It is for this reason that 'government has insisted that only those NGOs which are prepared to stay in Ethiopia and be engaged in rehabilitation and reconstruction after the relief work is done, should come to Ethiopia'.

13

For a detailed discussion on these modern and traditional indigenous associations, see Salole, G.M. *Not Seeing the Wood for the Trees: Searching for Indigenous Non-Governmental Organisations in the Forest of Voluntary Self-help Associations*. Paper prepared for a conference on The Role of Indigenous NGOs in African Recovery and Development, January 1988. Khartoum, Sudan.

In addition to RRC and CRDA, other key agencies in Ethiopia include United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Ethiopia (UNOEOE) which performs important information gathering and dissemination and advocacy services; Catholic Relief Services, Catholic Secretariat; Lutheran World Federation and Mekane Jesus, all of which were deeply involved in relief assistance during the 1984 famine crisis. Also important is the Churches Drought Assistance Africa/Ethiopia (CDAA), later known as Joint Relief programme (JRP) which was launched in 1984 and has channelled food supplies from USAID, ECC, Canada, Australia, Germany and Italy to about 30 international and Ethiopian NGOs.

Overall, perhaps even more than Somalia, the NGO scene in Ethiopia is dominated by relief activities. But, as in Somalia, relief is gradually giving way to rehabilitation and development, especially environmental rehabilitation. This is an area which desperately requires and demands research. RRC, CRDA and CDAA/JRP could help in identifying those NGOs which are ready to shift from relief to rehabilitation and development, which the Ethiopian government, quite rightly, demands.

Uganda

Uganda was a thriving country but its recent history has been one of virtual destruction. Government and NGO development programmes have been sporadic at best. During the peak of the recent wars in 1985-86, NGO programmes almost came to a halt and only a handful of international NGOs remained in the country. Many registered NGOs existed in name only. Not surprisingly therefore, the few NGO programmes which continued focused on relief operations, particularly in the Luwero Triangle.

There is no readily available listing or directory of NGOs operating in Uganda. However, the National Council of Voluntary Social Services for Uganda (NCVSS) though lacking personnel and resources, has a membership of 130 organizations, of which eighty

are active. The members include Babies Homes, and organisations focussing on the handicapped, welfare, education, youth and relief. U.S. NGOs with links in Uganda could be more than seventy (see Appendix IV). The NCVSS is still weak and would like to have the authority, comparable to RRC in Ethiopia, to determine where and how NGOs operate in Uganda.

Relations between government and NGOs in Uganda seem to be fairly good at the moment. In 1986, an NGO Aid Co-ordination Sub-committee was established as a Sub-committee of the Cabinet's Aid Co-ordination Committee, to foster communication and co-ordination among NGOs, donor agencies and government. Unfortunately the NCVSS has not been a participant in meetings organised by the NGO Aid Co-ordination Sub-committee, giving rise to the complaint of the NCVSS being by-passed by large international NGOs, donors, and the government.

Some of the most important NGOs currently active in Uganda include the Ugandan Red Cross, the Christian Council, the Catholic Secretariat, Quaker Peace and Service, Volunteers in Service Overseas, and Experiment in International Living. In addition, the major international donor organisation are active in Uganda and fund NGO activities. These include FAO, EEC, USAID, UNICEF and the World Bank.

Overall, it would seem, like Ethiopia and Somalia, the main NGO activity in Uganda is relief oriented. Some of those NGOs such as the Catholic Secretariat, and the Christian Council, whose other activities include education could be potential candidates for research funding. The entry point seems to be the NCVSS which, in spite of its problems, has among one of its functions, registry of NGOs.

Tanzania

Tanzania, unlike Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia, has had a relatively stable political and economic climate since independence in 1961. This means that relief has not been an NGO preoccupation. Unfortunately, the stability has not always translated into a climate conducive to the overall flourishing of NGOs in the country. In the heyday of villagization, characterised by strict adherence to Party ideology and, paradoxical as it may seem, centrally controlled decentralization, the NGOs often found the going a bit rough as the Party and the administrators looked down on community based self-help groups and anything that smacked of organisational autonomy and organisational individualism. With the current liberalisation, the situation is changing for the better, at least from the NGOs' point of view.

NGOs are however not a current phenomenon in Tanzania. Some of the Church-based NGOs have existed since before independence. One of the oldest NGOs in the country, Tanganyika (now Tanzania) Boy Scouts was established in 1921. The Christian Council of Tanzania and the Tanzania Episcopal Council also predate independence.

There is no comprehensive directory of NGOs in Tanzania. However, U.S. NGOs with links in Tanzania are close to ninety, if not more (Appendix V). Since the beginning of the current liberalisation, there has been an upswing in the number of NGOs seeking and being granted registration in the country. This has led to the proposed establishment of an NGO forum, Tanzania NGO (TANGO) (Appendix VB) which has so far received the support of twenty-four NGOs in the country, including some of the most important ones, such as Tanzania Red Cross, Tanzania Girl Guides, UMATI (National Family Planning), NGO Committee Co-ordinating Adult Education organisations, YWCA, and YMCA.

Relations between the government and NGOs in Tanzania

have on the whole, warmed considerably in the last few years, though, like all governments in this region, the Tanzania government keeps a close watch on NGOs activities and sources of NGOs funding. This is done primarily by the Treasury though the latter does not seek to co-ordinate NGO activities. In fact there is no formal forum for co-ordinating NGO activities in Tanzania.

The new 'new wave' of NGO emergence in Tanzania has led to the appearance of all manner of organisations which span all the traditional NGO activities such as community mobilization, provision of services, family planning, youth, women and interestingly, research. The renewed NGO activity in Tanzania has led an observer¹⁴ to classify some of them as 'opportunist', meaning that they are meant for personal benefits.

Opportunism notwithstanding, some of the NGOs look like extremely good candidates for future research funding. These include the well known NGOs listed and others like the Tanzania Media Women's Association, Tanzania Young Farmers Association and the proposed Tanzania Development Research Group (Tadgred). The evolution of TANGO is worth keeping an eye on as it might be the future entry point.

Zambia

Once one of the more prosperous African countries due to copper mining, Zambia now suffers from the worldwide decline in copper prices and neglect of its agricultural sector. Consequently the current emphasis is on agriculture, by no means an easy task given that 40% of the population is urban, the highest in subsaharan Africa. Zambia has had a stable government since independence. Unfortunately, it has had a long history of hosting refugees due to the political history of its neighbours. Relief therefore, is a major

14. Fowler, A. The Ford Foundation, Nairobi, in a personal communication, April 1989.

NGOs' activity.

Like most of the other countries in this region, there is no directory of NGOs in Zambia. However, according to Deull and Dutcher, Zambia's NGO community seems to be a mixture of new and long established Zambian and international agencies, including thirty-eight U.S. NGOs with links in Zambia (Appendix VI). Such organisations as Africare, Adventist Development and Relief Association (ADRA), Catholic Secretariat of Zambia, Christian Children's Funds, Christian Council of Zambia, CUSO, Mennonite Central Committee, Planned Parenthood Association of Zambia, UNICEF, USAID, UNDP, World Vision, YMCA, Zambia Red Cross, World Food Programme, Women's NGOs Co-ordinating Committee etc., are all active in Zambia.

The Zambia Council of Social Development (ZCSD) founded in 1974, facilitates cooperation of NGOs as a non-governmental membership organisation. But ZCSD membership is not composed exclusively of NGOs. In 1986, for example, ZCSD had a membership of sixty which included seventeen government district councils, eight mining co-operation social welfare committees, thirty Zambian social welfare and development organisations and five international NGOs.

Government-NGO relations in Zambia are good. But, like other countries in the region, NGOs are required not only to register with the Government but also to co-ordinate their activities with those of district councils, in particular. The councils play an important role in Zambia's version of decentralized planning.

As Zambia tries to re-orient her population from mining to agriculture she will require massive training in agricultural technology and adoption of existing technology to Zambia conditions. This will require research. Some of the international NGOs in the country such as the World Food Programme in conjunction with local NGOs will, no doubt, want to take the lead

in the new development direction.

Malawi

Malawi, landlocked and uncomfortably close to South Africa, does not seem to have had an NGO 'boom' at any time in its political history. During colonial times, Malawi was a junior partner in the colonial Central African Federation which was dominated by the senior most partner, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) followed by the Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). On the break-up of the Federation and consequent independence, Malawi, like most landlocked neighbours of South Africa, adopted a policy of co-operation with South Africa. This policy has however not saved Malawi from an influx of refugees from, particularly, Mozambique. Current estimates put Malawi's refugee population at 10-12% of the total population. Relief, therefore, is a major activity in Malawi.

It is only in the last few years that NGOs have been authorised in Malawi, indicating that relations between NGOs and government are yet to thaw. Consequently, there is little information on the overall NGO scene. What little information there is suggests the existence of roughly thirty local and international NGOs, involved in relief, community development, education, health and other development activities such as conservation and rehabilitation. USAID sources indicate that U.S. NGOs with links in Malawi are over twenty (Appendix VII). The African NGOs Environment Network (ANEN) lists four additional NGOs working in the area of conservation. These are Christian Service Committee of Churches, Mountain Project Wildlife Clubs, National Fauna Preservation Society and the Environmental Education, Training and Research Committee of the University of Malawi. Though there is little information on the detailed activities of the NGOs in Malawi, it seems most likely that those NGOs involved in environmental preservation, for example, would, of necessity need to undertake some research.

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is one of the three countries in the region, the other two being Kenya and Botswana, for which a fairly comprehensive directory of NGOs exists. This calls for brevity as the directory is not readily available for reference.

NGOs have had a very long history in Zimbabwe no doubt reflecting the white settlers' pre-occupation with charitable organisations. Indeed many Zimbabwean NGOs currently addressing development needs of the country are former Rhodesian social welfare organisations which originally focused on the white urban population. Many Zimbabwean NGOs still retain their traditional social welfare focus but others are shifting from welfare to development concerns.

The VOICE directory lists 243 NGOs in Zimbabwe. What is striking about these NGOs is their age. Most of them are quite old, no doubt reflecting their origin, as stated, in settler urban-based welfare associations. Of the 243, only forty-eight were founded in the ten years prior to independence in 1980. Even fewer, thirty-seven, have been founded since independence.

Zimbabwe is the only country in this region where inter-NGO conflict is evident. Unlike locally based NGOs in other countries in the region, Zimbabwean NGOs enjoyed a great measure of local 'territorial freedom' during 1965-1980 when the country was under international sanctions. Since then, international NGOs have entered Zimbabwe, and many Zimbabwean NGOs have objected.

The inter-NGO conflict in Zimbabwe is reflected in the constitution of VOICE, the successor organisation to the colonial Southern Rhodesia Council for Social Service. The VOICE constitution deliberately attempts to limit the participation of international NGOs in the running of VOICE by designating them as 'Associate Members' of VOICE rather than full 'Regular

Members'. While relations between government and NGOs in Zimbabwe can be described as stable, the 'nationalism' of the 'Regular Members' of VOICE has meant that international NGOs have had to tread carefully, in order not to ruffle any feathers, either in government or ruling Party.

NGOs in Zimbabwe, like other NGOs in this region, are involved in a myriad of activities. The VOICE directory lists fifteen major areas of activities, which include adult education, children and youth, guidance and counselling, health, rehabilitation, senior citizens homes, training, volunteer services, women and development. But most of the NGOs are multi-purpose organisations involved in development in one way or another. For a closer understanding of NGOs in Zimbabwe, VOICE is the key organisation.

It is quite evident by looking at the listing of NGOs in Zimbabwe that a great number are involved in activities which, in theory, have a research dimension. Silveira House for example is being funded by the Ford Foundation and IDRC precisely to conduct research. It seems then that the sheer diversity of NGOs in Zimbabwe will lead to increased demand on resources from donor organisations, including research funding.

Kenya

Kenya, has the most NGOs in the region. Fortunately, like Zimbabwe, a fairly comprehensive directory has recently (1988) been produced by the Kenya National Council of Social Service (KNCSS).

Kenya has a conducive setting for NGO activity. Since independence in 1963, the country has had a stable government, infrastructure and facilities have developed considerably, and Nairobi serves as a regional communication and transportation centre for East and Central Africa. The social philosophy of

Harambee, or active community participation through self-help activities, plus the evolving decentralized district focus for rural development (DFRD) policy are particularly compatible with NGO activities.

Estimates of NGOs in Kenya range from 400-600, of which roughly 100 are international. This estimate excludes the thousands of *Harambee* groups of which as observed earlier, between 20,000 and 25,000 are women's groups. In addition, many agencies have their regional offices in Nairobi.

NGO activities in Kenya are quite decentralized, indeed some would say, unco-ordinated if not downright chaotic. However closer examination reveals a complex system of interlocking networks with sometimes over twenty organisations co-operating among themselves. Co-operation is active in the areas of women's issues, energy, children, community health, physically handicapped, training, church organisations and rural enterprises.

Apart from the functions in which NGOs actively co-operate, the NGOs are engaged in many other development activities. The KNCSS isolates twenty-two development areas in which NGOs are involved. These include environmental, charity, community development, technology, agriculture, shelter, population, youth and women. *One thing to note about NGOs in Kenya is that relief is not a major pre-occupation* though the country has had its share of refugees and the occasional drought. Most of the NGOs are involved in development activities and are found in all the forty-one districts in the country. Their importance can, for example, be gauged from the fact that they provide 40% of all health services in the country (*The Daily Nation: April 19, 1989*).

The KNCSS, established in 1964 with funding from Rowntree Trust and the Kenyan government, has as one of its

function the provision of services to the entire NGO community¹⁵. All NGOs are currently required to register with KNCSS. Historically, KNCSS has focused on Social Services such as services for families, children, youth, the aged and handicapped.

KNCSS remains quasi-governmental under the ministry of culture and social services. In the last few years, KNCSS has broadened its focus to meet the needs of Kenyan and international development NGOs.

Overall, the climate for NGO activities in Kenya is good. However, there is an emerging feeling that the country has already too many NGOs. Consequently, there has been a deliberate though not publicly announced slow down in the registration of new NGOs.

Many NGOs are working in areas, especially technology and agriculture, where research is obviously needed. Such NGOs should be good candidates for research grants. Current thinking is that the state is likely to move, in the very near future, towards the direction of integrating NGO programmes more closely with those of the state. Whether this is done through KNCSS or some other institutional arrangement still remains to be seen¹⁶.

15. In 1983, Voluntary Agencies Development Assistance (VADA) was created with the commitment to serve the entire NGO community in Kenya, especially in technical services. In 1984 USAID chose VADA as the funding vehicle for US\$ 12 million grants to Kenya and international NGOs. VADA however lacked grass-roots legitimacy and it soon ran into problems with other NGOs and eventually with its main donor-supporters, namely, the USAID and the Ford Foundation. See Ng'ethe, N. and Oluoch D.M., *Voluntary Agencies Development Assistance (VADA): An Evaluation on Behalf of The Ford Foundation*. Nairobi, April 1987.

16. The NGOs co-ordinating Act of 1990 has since been passed to, among others, facilitate the co-ordination of NGOs activities in Kenya.

Towards NGO-Based Research

The Problem of Classification

From the foregoing it is evident that it is virtually impossible to provide a classification of NGOs in this region, because the necessary data are not complete and secondly, even if the data were complete, as in Kenya, Botswana and Zimbabwe, NGOs, by the nature of their activities have a way of defying classification. Few students of NGOs and even fewer NGO practitioners have attempted a classification of NGOs, especially in Africa. For those who have been foolhardy enough to try such a classification, the going has been tough.

One possible classification is that of 'indigenous' and 'foreign' NGOs, where foreign refers to branches of international NGOs operating in a particular country, and indigenous refers to local NGOs which are initiated and managed by the local people. VOICE constitution implies such a classification. The problem with this classification is that some, if not most of the so-called 'foreign' NGOs; are *usually managed by local people with the help of a few personnel from the parent NGOs*. This is the case in Kenya. The so-called 'indigenous NGOs' on the other hand, though usually ran by local people are most *likely dependent on foreign resource*, and this makes their 'indigenouness' purely legal, which is perhaps of little consequence¹⁷. The Green Belt Movement in Kenya is a good

17. For further discussion of this problem see Ng'ethe, N., Sam Kobia and Bartloy Warrity *Creating an Enabling Environment for African NGOs; A Consultancy Report on Behalf of Voluntary Agencies Development Assistance (VADA)*. Nairobi Mimeo, 1986. See also Uphoff, N.T., Cohen, J.M. and Goldsmith, A.A. *Feasibility and Application of Rural*

example of this. It is as indigenous as any NGO can be but is still dependent on such sources as DANIDA, NORAD and the UN Voluntary Fund.

To the extent that this classification can be of some use, it is that it draws our attention to the 'traditional indigenous' social and development organisations in this region such as age-grade and burial, societies, rotating credit and savings organisations, women's groups, *Edirs*, *Ikubs*, etc. Unfortunately few of these are regarded as NGOs. Second, it draws our attention to the 'modern' or 'new' NGOs which have been started by local people, regardless of the financial sources of these NGOs. Whether the focus is on 'traditional indigenous' or 'modern indigenous' NGOs in the region, our knowledge of them is still much less than that of international NGOs.

A conceptually related classification is that developed by Alan Fowler¹⁸, viz 'induced organisations' and 'indigenous organisations'. The former refers to organisations that owe their existence to external intervention rather than being indigenous to the community themselves. This then means that if an NGO has been induced, it cannot be indigenous even though it is staffed by nationals of the countries concerned. Some of the mushrooming research institutions in Kenya, such as the International Centre for Research on Agroforestry (ICRAF) could very well qualify as induced organisations. Exactly when, and how and by whom an NGO has been induced is the main problem with this classification. Indeed it could be argued that some so-called 'indigenous NGOs' have been induced in that they have come about as a result of ideas generated outside the country and brought back by the country's

Development Participation, A State of the Art Paper. Ithaca, NY 14853, Cornell University, Centre for International Studies, 1979.

18. Fowler, A. *NGOs in Africa, Naming Them By What They Are* in Kinyanjui K. (Ed.) *Non-governmental Organisations Contribution to Development*, IDS OP No. 50, 1985.

elites.

Perhaps the most common classification of NGOs is in terms of what they do. NORAD in Botswana tries to classify NGOs in that country into six categories as *assisting organisations* whose primary activity is providing service to other people, children and youth, disabled persons, farmers, rural producers and women. The categories overlap a great deal. In most African rural areas, for example, the farmers are also the rural producers. They are also mostly women.

VOICE has the same problems, even though it utilizes more elaborate classification categories. These are: adult education, children and youth development, guidance and counselling, health, natural and historical conservation, rehabilitation, religious affiliated senior citizens homes, senior citizens organisation, service clubs, training, volunteer services and women.

The KNCSS uses two types of classification. The first is a sectoral classification with twenty two sectoral areas but again the overlaps are obvious. The second classification is fairly academic and somewhat incomprehensible for most people as it tries to classify NGOs on the basis of two dimensions; organisational accountability and organisational resource base. Neither of the two classifications is successful in that the categories are certainly not mutually exclusive, to name just one dimension of the problem.

Less ambitious though perhaps no less unsatisfactory, is the suggestion by Sam Kobia¹⁹ that NGOs in this region should be divided into two categories; the old and the new NGOs. The term 'old' should refer to urban-based charitable organisations, usually predating independence, and dominated by missionary interests. After independence some of the 'old' NGOs did move into the rural areas but their primary activity continued to be relief and various

19.

Kobia Sam, *New and Old NGOs Approaches to Development in K.*

forms of social services using a well established rural network. *'New' NGOs on the other hand are more recent, wealthier, pushy, run by fairly well trained personnel, impatient with 'old' NGOs and claim to be more efficient, especially in dispensing funds.* They claim too that they are involved in development, not social services or charitable work. Zimbabwe and Kenya have a large number of NGOs which fall into these two categories. In Kenya, NCKK and indeed the KNCSS are good examples. VOICE in Zimbabwe is obviously a different organisation from its predecessor.

The problem with trying to classify NGOs is that by their very nature most NGOs in the region are multi-purpose, just as development activity is multi-dimensional. Even those NGOs that on the surface belong to one category, on closer examination turn out to belong to five or six categories. The NCKK is a good example. It is, to use VOICE's categories, religious affiliated, children and youth, women, guidance and counselling, health, training, and development'. It is both 'old' and 'new'. This means that each *NGO should be approached individually with a view to ascertaining what it actually does and consequently whether what it does has, research dimensions.* Ultimately though, one must look for a 'good organisation'.

A suggestion here is that if indeed one must look for a classification for purposes of funding, perhaps it would make sense to fall back on the non-scientific classification of *relief-welfare oriented NGOs and development oriented NGOs.* True, the categories will not be mutually exclusive for historical and organisational reasons but they can be useful in certain circumstances. Within the development-oriented NGO, the undertakings defy classification as some NGOs are involved in activities that are technical in nature, some are even involved in technology research. *These should be good candidates for funding.* Most of the new indigenous NGOs seem to fall into the category of

development NGOs.

The Problem of NGOs' Contribution to Development

The problem of NGOs' contribution to development in Eastern and Southern Africa, and indeed the entire African continent, is *one of immeasurable contribution which is literally immeasurable and unmeasured*. None of the countries have any statistics to indicate, no matter how crudely, NGOs' contribution to development. The nearest statistic is that in Kenya NGOs provide 40% of all health services available in the country²⁰.

Data documenting the contribution of NGOs to development is desperately needed. Governments do not have the data. Instead most governments are usually interested primarily in keeping track of overseas resources flowing to NGOs. Beyond that, *NGOs contribution to development is only known by the NGOs themselves*. Unfortunately, most of them have not documented it systematically, let alone collated the knowledge for dissemination. Furthermore, this knowledge is tainted with beliefs held by NGOs about themselves. From the perspectives of the state, it takes great courage to announce publicly that sizeable proportion of development is not being provided by the state, but by the private, non-profit sector.

But, data or no data, it is 'known' that NGOs have contributed enormously in such areas as relief, community mobilization, health, education, spiritual well-being, service to youth and women, service to handicapped and increasingly service to the urban destitute. However, their contribution to development research has been minimal or may be not so minimal depending on how 'research' is defined.

In those countries where NGOs have been engaged in

20.

Daily Nation, Nairobi, April 19, 1989. Page 4.

development as opposed to relief, NGOs have attempted to promote alternative, community-based development as opposed to state-centered development. What is not known is the relative success rate.

A Footnote on NGOs' Funding

One of the least documented aspects of NGOs role in development is their funding sources. Though this topic will be revisited again, *NGOs are understandably reluctant to reveal the 'magnitude' of the funds*. This has been one source of conflict between NGOs and the state in the region.

NGOs, whether local or international, mostly derive their resources from overseas links, or the local representatives of these links. This is true of most NGOs except the traditional indigenous self-help groups that rarely receive overseas funding. The overseas sources include such major ones as USAID, UNICEF, UNHCR, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Oxfam, etc. and the smaller ones such as overseas churches and related charitable organisations. A look at the appended U.S. NGOs with links in the countries under review gives one a good idea of the funding sources.

The relationship between Northern NGOs and NGOs in the region, like the rest of Africa, is one of dependence. No wonder then that in such a highly nationalistic development climate as found in Zimbabwe, some members of VOICE should loudly make it known that international NGOs should 'pack up and go'. Ironically, the same members insist that the proper role of international NGOs is to facilitate 'external funding relationship'²¹, meaning dependence.

21. Deull, C.B. *et al.*, *Op. cit.* page 47.

What is vs by Whom

In the on-going efforts to understand NGOs as development agents, few issues have received less attention than the issue of NGO-based research. Thus, looking through the published and non-published conference papers and consultancy reports, one is struck by the complete absence of any discussion on this topic. This topic is often alluded to at conferences and seminars in this region but not pursued in any sustained manner. Instead, researchers, NGO personnel and other students of NGOs have usually confined themselves to the 'what' of research or developing an inventory of 'research tasks' and 'research issues and areas'.

These issues have now been clearly identified. The main ones include: classification of NGOs, characteristics of NGOs, patterns and nature of resource mobilization for NGOs, NGOs' relationship with the state, co-ordination of and collaboration within the NGO community, and institutional strengthening of NGOs through training and other means.

While these research issues are now becoming common place, the issue of who conducts research on these issues, how best it can be undertaken by NGOs themselves, *and indeed the vital question of the relationship between who conducts the research and its effectiveness as an input in the development process*, have yet to reach centre stage. Why is this the case? The answer to this question, and making sure that the question of NGO-based research is given the prominence it deserves as an issue in its own right, among other 'research tasks', falls legitimately within the overall mandate of donor agencies and *should receive more attention in the future*. Perhaps one should start by looking at NGOs as organisations.

NGOs as Organisations

NGOs, whether local or international are poor organisations. Few in this region can qualify as "good organisations". According to one authority on NGOs, a good organisation should have²²:

- i a clearly defined purpose and a well developed strategy to which all (constituency, board and staff) are committed.
- ii effective and appropriate programmes.
- iii the necessary resources, in terms of personnel, finance, equipment, materials, technology and information.
- iv committed and capable staff.
- v sound organisational structures and systems.
- vi effective relations with external bodies, e.g. governments, donors, local communities and others involved in similar activities.
- vii well functioning organisational and management processes, such as problem-solving, planning, monitoring, co-ordination and evaluation.

Most NGOs do not have a clearly defined purpose or strategy, perhaps because they are designed to respond to short-term objectives. This is in turn dictated by their "project-mode of operation". NGOs live on a project-by-project basis. Projects are by design, short-term, usually lasting no more than 2-3 years which means that funding is not guaranteed beyond that period. This then means that NGOs cannot undertake medium to long-term 'programme planning'. The project mode of operation also means that NGOs cannot guarantee for themselves good quality personnel, equipment, materials, technology etc. over a reasonably long period of time. In short, most NGOs live from day-to-day and from hand-to-mouth.

22. Campbell, Pyers, *Improving the Organisational Effectiveness of NGOs*. Paper prepared for the Conference on "The Role of NGOs in African Recovery and Development", Khartoum, Sudan, January 1988.

A typical NGO in this region will have *a fairly committed staff but then this commitment tends to be negated by poor organisational structures*. Usually, the headquarters are well paid and have well thought out terms and conditions of service. At the field level, the situation is the opposite. The staff is overworked, underqualified, poorly equipped; a mixture of paid staff and volunteers and generally not sufficiently consulted by the headquarters staff. Internal communication is poor and the normal management functions poorly performed.

In such conditions of organisational weakness, most NGOs will want to demonstrate success by implementing as many projects as possible and as quickly as possible. Project numbers is what donors, operating within the project mode of operation, understand best.

In the haste to implement, research is the first casualty. In a recent study of NGOs involved in population activities in Kenya, (and these are some of 'the best' NGOs in the country), it was found that organisation-wise, all of them suffer from poor organisation features, leading to nearly total neglect of research. Only three out of ten NGOs studied had undertaken any kind of research²³. But even then, it depends on what we mean by research'.

Suffice it to say that in funding NGO-based research, donor agencies should *go beyond the conventional practice of just evaluating the research proposal and on purely technical grounds for that matter, to the less conventional, immediately more time consuming, but in the long-run more profitable practice of looking at the organisation submitting the proposal to ascertain whether it is*

23

Ngethe, N. et al., *Population Support for Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Government Ministries Through the National Council for Population and Development: An Evaluation Project of the Government of Kenya and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)*. Nairobi, IDS, May 1988.

a good organisation.

There is a strong opinion within the NGO community that in the past, *donors have been extremely selective, if not too selective in their choice of which NGOs (research proposals) to fund.* Donors have generally funded little NGO research. Have donor funding practices contributed negatively to the development of NGOs, research capacity? IDRC is a case in point.

Donor Practices: The Case of IDRC

Summaries of current and completed IDRC projects in this region, show how few of these projects are NGO projects. Take Kenya for example. Out of the current seventy-one projects, only ten projects are NGO projects. Out of the seventy completed projects, only eight have been NGO projects. Other countries in the region have done worse. In Zimbabwe, out of a total of thirty-three projects, only six are NGO projects. Somalia, Malawi and Zambia do not seem to have any IDRC funded NGO projects. Uganda seems to have only one (Mawazo Journal) out of twenty three projects, Tanzania has two projects out of a total of seventy-four. Ethiopia too has two projects out of a total of seventy-five, both to the Organisation for Social Science Research in East Africa (OSSREA), an academic research NGO-based in Addis Ababa of which the author is a founder member.

In funding NGOs, IDRC seems to have concentrated, quite understandably, on *NGO with a good reputation and credibility.* In Kenya, these include the Mazingira Institute, NCKK, KENGO, Public Law Institute and the Aga Khan Foundation. In Zimbabwe they include Silveira House and the Journal of Social Change and Development. Overall, IDRC has funded mainly universities and government ministries. "You learn by doing" said one NGO interviewee. 'If you are not funded to do, you will never do and consequently, you will never be funded'.

IDRC is of course not a typical donor agency in that most

agencies do not specialize in promoting and funding research, rather, they fund "development projects". In this context, the issue of research funding takes on a different dimension. Donors argue that research cannot and should not be treated separately from practical development activities. In other words, research should be treated as an integral part of a development undertaking, for purposes of funding*. The problem, however, is that *most NGOs do not make adequate budgetary provision for research perhaps because they view research as a nuisance by-product in the process of implementing that water project or running that Health clinic*. To the extent therefore that research is budgeted for, it is usually at the insistence of donors and even then the research is usually never undertaken. Those NGOs which have in the past undertaken some research agree that overall the problem of research within the NGO community is one of inadequate budgetary provisions, and underqualified personnel within the NGO, rather than one of inadequate funding from donors.

Funding or no funding, NGOs argue further that paucity of research within the NGO community can only be meaningfully discussed within the *overall context of NGOs institutional and organisational weaknesses and the consequent need for overall institutional strengthening*.

Research demands a lot of time. To even think systematically about 'the need' for research requires a lot of time, not to mention a lot of specialized expertise. Time and specialized expertise are exactly two commodities which nearly all NGOs do not have. Most NGOs staff consists of *development generalists* and therefore lack the expertise to think about and conceptualize research. The conclusion is obvious. A donor who seeks to *strengthen the research capacity of NGOs must also seek to strengthen the overall*

* This view seemed to be common among donors attending the NGO-Donor Consultative Forum mentioned earlier, with a few exceptions such as the Ford Foundation which actively supports research by and on NGOs.

institutional capacity of the organisation. This should be through undertaking longer term programme funding as opposed to the current donor practice of short-term project funding which does not cater for institutional capacity development.

Conception of Research

One of the important issues to emerge from this study is that there is an urgent need to reflect on what is meant by 'research' in the context of trying to attend to urgent development matters, community pressures, scarcity of resources and the kind of organisational weakness discussed above. The need to perhaps redefine research as an undertaking becomes obvious when it is also obvious that donors and professional researchers on the one hand, and NGO administrators on the other hand, talk at cross purposes when discussing research. They do not always understand the same thing by the term; 'research'. The result is that NGOs fear the term 'research' let alone the actual research undertaking, even as they proceed to offer their own understanding of the research undertaking. To most NGOs research is a '*highly mystified activity*'. There is therefore an urgent need to demystify it by disaggregating it into its various stages, as is traditionally done in 'research methods' courses.

But, to most NGOs, there is an even more urgent need to *legitimize each of the research stages by treating it as a discreet research activity in its own right as opposed to being merely a step or stage in the supposedly overall research undertaking as formulated in the research proposal submitted to the donor.* This way NGOs are able to understand and explain most of what they do as having a research component. In other words, there are different levels of research in addition to, and sometimes as opposed to, different stages of research.

Community Consultation and Observation

Community consultation and observation is what most NGOs do best. It is on the basis of this that community needs are established and surprising to professional researchers, most NGO projects are based on this type of consultation rather than on highly formalized feasibility studies. Unfortunately, there are no standardized methods for this type of research and the methods are never documented. It is therefore, according to purists, not *inter-subjectively transmissible*, meaning that a different person using the same methods will not arrive at the same conclusion. NGOs are however adamant that this type of research be accepted as legitimate research rather than as an initial stage in the research undertaking. To NGOs, donors and academicians rarely understand this type of research, though NGOs often do it, and usually base their projects on it.

Research on Documented Research

In highly formalised and integrated research undertaking, community observation and consultation might lead to a study of existing literature to find out whether anyone has undertaken research on the observed community problems, say, the poor state of water technology in the community. In the world of NGOs, however, a case can be made for conceiving document review as a type of research in its own right. Even then, few NGOs ever undertake this type of research.

Carried out well, this type of research can be extremely useful. It is through this type of research that NGOs can understand government policy as contained in policy statements, and even more important, what previous research can be of use to them i.e. what *research findings they can apply or disseminate* without incurring the enormous costs of generating their own data.

The main reason why most NGOs do not undertake even research on research is that they *lack the time and often qualified personnel, especially those who understand research findings well enough to extract from them what might be useful to the NGO*. To NGOs this type of research is also rarely fully understood by donors though this research can lead to broad policy evaluations.

An obvious need, is for an NGO documentation centre where NGOs can go and review the documents they consider essential to their work, including NGO related research. The first step in this direction is to assemble the documents under the care of knowledgeable persons. Donors should give some thought to the problem of funding such a documentation centre.

Project and Community Inspired Research

This is a slightly higher type of research in that it requires systematic observation and systematic documentation of the observations. The distinguishing characteristic of this type of research, is that the need for it *cannot be fully foreseen before a project is underway*. But once a project is underway, the need to answer community questions emanating from the project gives rise to research. This is the type of research that is geared towards answering very specific community questions and meeting very specific community needs. This is the kind of research that the African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF) undertakes.

AMREF has elevated this type of research to a 'model' essentially arguing that research must not be conceived in abstract; *research and service to the community must be linked together*. As the research findings become available, they are immediately made use of by the community as an integral part of the NGO service to the community. Out of the Hydatid project in Turkana might arise the need to conduct research on the epidemiology of the disease.

This is the type of research that Kenya Energy Non-

Governmental Organisation (KENGO) too undertakes. Out of the community demand to grow a certain indigenous tree, KENGO might undertake research, in conjunction with the community, to find out why the tree is not growing in the first place. NCKK, and other well established NGOs such as the Family Planning Association of Kenya (FPAK) also sometimes undertake this type of research.

This research can only be *effectively undertaken by the NGO personnel itself, demanding as it does a great deal of interaction with the community and constant feedback to and from the community*. It is the kind of research which is ill-suited for an outside consultant, demanding as consultants do, very specific schedules and time limits within which to complete the research. Consultants find this type of research a nuisance and most academicians find it inelegant. *Next to community observation, this is the kind of research most NGOs favour and they should be encouraged and enabled to undertake it themselves.*

Base-line Data

This type of research is not necessarily linked to an on-going project though it could be. Its major characteristic is that *it aims at gathering primary baseline data* either because the NGO intends to undertake a project in the near future or because the need for such data has become necessary in the course of a project. It does not however seek to *answer immediate community questions or meet immediate community needs*. NCKK has sometimes undertaken this type of research in preparation, for example, for undertaking a project on small-scale businesses for women in an urban slum. Before such a project is undertaken, social and economic profiles of the women has sometimes become necessary.

This research can be easily foreseen and consequently budgeted for in advance. It is the kind of research that *consultants usually undertake because it is easy to plan, and somewhat*

mechanical. Academicians like it because it can be elaborately conceived.

Evaluations

NGOs understand evaluations as a form of research. So do donors. Unfortunately evaluations *are not always welcome by NGOs for the reason that they involve making a judgement on their activities*. Furthermore, by their very nature, evaluations are often inspired by donors who, rightly, want to know whether resources have been put to good use. But NGOs often express the feeling that the *external evaluations often miss some of the most important aspects of their work because the importance of these aspects is not immediately obvious to an outside observer*.

In some cases therefore, NGOs have undertaken their own internal evaluations to complement external evaluations. Even then, few NGOs have the capacity to conduct their own internal evaluations. Even if they did, it is highly doubtful that internal evaluations can become acceptable alternatives to external evaluations for obvious reasons. However, there is a case for donor agencies to strengthen NGOs' capacity for *internal evaluation* because such evaluation, no matter how subjective, often contain invaluable internal insights.

Theoretical Research

Few NGOs have undertaken or are planning to undertake theoretical research for obvious reasons. It should be noted however that in some cases, other types of research do lead to theoretical questions which must be investigated before an NGO can successfully undertake a planned project. Thus KENGO might not succeed in growing the indigenous tree in which case there might be a need for theoretical research before the tree can be successfully grown. In this case KENGO will have to contact a research

institution with more advanced equipment, better qualified personnel and generally better capacity to answer theoretical questions through research.

There are two issues here. One, NGOs have no capacity to conduct theoretical research. Two, NGOs argue that if they sought to develop the capacity this would *drastically alter the nature of their work if not the nature of the organisation*. In short, they do not have any sort of comparative advantage in this area.

A Footnote on Writing Skills for Dissemination

Overall, NGOs, to the extent that they undertake their own research, undertake fairly low level, albeit important, Community Consultation and Observation (CCO) research. In some cases, they undertake Research on Documented Research (RDR). For all the other types of research, NGOs mostly have to rely on outside consultants, sometimes even in those cases, as in Project on Documented Research (PDR), where they stand to improve their work immensely if they utilised their own personnel. All in all, however, whenever they undertake research there is a tremendous and obvious need to learn how to document their findings in a systematic way. With better documentation skill, CCO research, the kind of research which they normally undertake, could improve to such an extent that it would gain enormously in credibility. In any case, before any research can be disseminated, it must first be written in clearly understood language. Hence the need for acquiring writing skills.

with more advanced equipment, better qualified staff and generally better capacity to answer theoretical questions through research.

There are two issues here. One, NGOs have no capacity to do theoretical research. Two, NGOs argue that if they sought the capacity, this would eventually affect the nature of their work for the nature of the organization. In short, they do not have the capacity to do theoretical research.

Notes on Writing Skills for Dissemination

Overall, NGOs to the extent that they undertake their own research, undertake fairly low level, albeit important, Community Action Research (CAR) research. In some cases, they undertake Research on Documented Research (RDR). For all the types of research, NGOs mostly have to rely on outside consultants, sometimes even in those cases as in RDR on Documented Research (RDR), where they stand to improve their own research if they utilized their own personnel. All in all, whenever they undertake research there is a tremendous need to learn how to document their findings in a readable way. With better documentation skill, CAR research, the type of research which they normally undertake, could improve to the extent that it would gain enormously in credibility. In any case, before any research can be disseminated, it must first be in a clearly understood language. Hence the need for

Writing Skills

For NGOs to be able to disseminate their research findings, they need to have the capacity to write in a clear and understandable way. This is not a simple task, as it requires a certain level of education and training. NGOs should invest in training their staff in writing skills, as this will help them to communicate their research findings more effectively. This is particularly important for NGOs that are engaged in community action research, as they need to be able to communicate their findings to a wide range of stakeholders.

Summary of Views and Experiences

Internal Capacity

Apart from a few international NGOs, few NGOs have any internal capacity for research except Community Consultation and Observation research. Some local NGOs have attempted at one time or another, to create some capacity but they have eventually given up. In Kenya, those who have made the attempt include NCCCK, KENGO, Undugu Society and the Public Law Institute. They now agree that while they should strive to develop some kind of a nucleus research unit, *they should not seek self-sufficiency as this would be too expensive*. Even for nuclear units they have found the available resources not commensurate with the quality of personnel research demands.

There are of course the exceptional NGOs that are deliberately *designed to undertake research*. NGOs such as the Mazingira Institute and ICRAF in Kenya, do indeed possess a fair measure of internal capacity. But even these have to rely on external assistance from time to time. Furthermore as organisations, they are set up quite differently from typical NGOs in that they require fairly stable financial commitments in order to retain the high calibre research personnel. It is *easier for IDRC to work with this category of NGOs than with the typical NGOs*. Some NGOs in this category, for example AMREF and the African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS) and Mazingira, do even *offer consultancy services* to governments and other NGOs. Others, like the proposed Tanzania Development Research Group (Tadreg) are specialized research NGOs founded on the belief that public research institutions have failed to offer independent reflection and research on the major

national issues, precisely because they are publicly funded and therefore dare not be too critical. *These specialized research institutions should also be able to work closely with donor agencies.* They include OSSREA in Ethiopia, Mawazo in Uganda and Tadreg in Tanzania, to name only three.

Consultants

As stated several times, most NGOs have to rely on external consultants for research. NGOs have mixed experience with consultants but overall they are *rarely satisfied with the work of external consultants.* One estimate has it that only about one-third of consultancy work is of good enough quality. Why is this the general case? Several reasons are usually advanced.

One: consultants are too expensive and therefore NGOs tend to retain them for too short a period of time which, in turn, results in poor quality work. Two: consultants, especially international consultants fail to admit that they are ignorant. They try to give answers when it is obvious they do not have any. Three: due to their commercial nature, consultants tend to give answers within a time deadline which in some cases is not possible. Four: consultants are totally unable to work with NGOs to provide solutions. They instead come and go. They are therefore only suited for certain types of research but certainly not the type of research which will demand painstaking interaction with the community over an unspecified period of time. Five: generally, consultants lack experience with the NGO world. They do not understand NGOs as much as they should. The language of their research and the way they conceive the research problem reflect this lack of understanding.

NGOs understand that part of their problem with consultants is that they are usually unable to identify *the right consultants* even after interviewing the candidates. Furthermore, NGOs are generally *unable to draw clear terms of reference.* In most cases, consultants

end up drawing their own terms of reference which might not reflect exactly what the NGOs had in mind. After the research has been undertaken, most NGOs are unable to understand the findings. *They have to rely on the same consultants to explain the findings and this is often not part of the terms of reference.* No wonder then, that commercial consultants and NGOs seem to be developing antipathy towards each other. Most NGOs now tend to rely on individual local consultants as opposed to commercial firms. International consultants are regarded with some suspicion *as donor-imposed, and too expensive* thus eating up the entire budget. On the other hand, donors argue that consultants are not expensive; it is only that *NGOs never properly budget for them;* that it is a budgeting problem rather than a funding one.

Some of the consulting institutions *compete* with NGOs for research funds, especially in cases where the status of the institution with regard to whether it is *profit or non-profit making is not clear.* Under these circumstances NGOs feel rightly that *such institutions should not qualify for research grants.* This is especially so when their organisational set-up *leans heavily towards commercial profit-making consultancy firms.* Unfortunately in some cases, the line between profit-making and non-profit-making can be quite thin. ACTS in Kenya is one such case.

Public Research Institutions

In some countries, Kenya being the best example, many public research organisations have emerged in the last ten years. Some of the research from these organisations is relevant to the work of NGOs. Furthermore these institutions are obvious competitors for research grants. More important, the mode of collaboration between these institutions and NGOs has not yet emerged, if it is going to emerge at all. NGOs feel that they *can, though not yet, become consumers of research from these institutions.*

This will very much depend on the type of research undertaken by these institutions. If it is too theoretical or cast in a language and framework that is *too esoteric*, then NGOs will not be able to make use of it. However, some NGO research *does require theoretical back up, if not theoretical justification*. A good example is the research on energy saving wood and charcoal stoves. Can these institutions provide the theoretical back up? One would hope so, but then this would require some institutionalisation of co-operative mechanisms.

One possible way towards institutionalization is for these institutions to formally involve NGOs in planning their research programmes. This way, NGOs can have an input into issues of interest to them. A related form of institutionalization is for these institutions to provide "research internships" or "research apprenticeships" for NGO personnel. This has so far not been given much thought.

Role of Donors

NGOs generally have mixed feelings about donor contribution to research. On the one hand there is the feeling that donors usually push for the wrong kind of research, the kind that requires highly formalized proposals, the kind that most NGOs cannot produce. The outcome is that donors end up developing the proposals. More important, by demanding highly formalized research and evaluations, *donors deliver the NGOs into the hands of consultants rather than help NGOs develop their own internal capacity by learning through doing*. This goes back to the question of what is meant by research and perhaps even more important - the need to conceive of NGOs as *learning institutions*.

Typical NGOs have not played a major role in the region in the area of research and development, if research is conceived as a highly formalized undertaking. This is especially true of *indigenous NGOs* which typically lack any research capacity. For this type of

research, they have had to rely heavily on consultants. Even then, the volume of research has been low and dominated by evaluations.

A few NGOs have, however, played an outstanding role. A good example is the NCKK in Kenya which through research on school leavers in the 1960s, made a policy break through which led to the establishment of Village (now Youth) Polytechnics in Kenya. NCKK continues to be one of the few NGOs in Kenya which actively engage in most of the research types discussed with the exception of theoretical research.

Types of NGOs

While it is extremely difficult to classify NGOs, there are two categories of NGOs that are relevant for development research.

The first category is the "non-relief" NGO that is primarily *engaged in development activities* such as water, agriculture, transfer of technology, preservation of environment etc. The *development NGOs* have an obvious need for research. The second category is relatively new. This is the type of NGO that has been specifically *set up with research* as a major element in its agenda. This type of NGO is likely to undertake research relatively cheaply compared to high powered public research institutions which, by their very nature, have very high overhead costs.

Research Advantage

The first advantage that NGOs have in the area of research and development is that their overhead costs are relatively low. Their research can therefore, be relatively inexpensive. However, this advantage is usually erased by their reliance on consultants, that is, when and if consultants are costed at market rates.

An even important advantage is that NGOs are close to local communities. Their research is usually tied to on-going

development activities. This is an advantage that public research institutions and universities would like to have but they do not. To take full advantage of this leverage however, NGOs should be assisted to develop *internal research capacity*. This way, the researchers can stay close to the community, engaging in *interactive research*.

Research Capacity

Unfortunately few NGOs have any research capacity. This is linked to their overall institutional weaknesses. It is doubtful whether "most" have even the capacity to administer research projects using consultants as researchers. "Research specialist NGOs" however, do have the capacity to disseminate technology once the technology has been simplified. However, simplification of technology will continue to be done by public institutions for the foreseeable future. In spite of this, most NGOs feel that they should not be relegated entirely to the role of research consumers. Rather, they must be assisted to combine the three roles of administrators, researchers and consumers; only then can they grow as organisations.

Grant Sizes

Due to overall institutional weaknesses, most NGOs cannot handle large research grants, unless some of the grant money was meant for general institutional strengthening. Most NGOs certainly do not want to become research institutions. Neither do they want most of their personnel to spend most of the time thinking about research. NGOs often have to make unenviable choices on how to deploy very few personnel. Therefore, relatively *small grants intended to finance research on practical community-based development issues* might be the best policy.

Minimal Organisational Requirements

NGOs are rarely "good organisations" as defined earlier. In fact, nearly all NGOs lack most of the qualities of a good organisation. However, they usually do possess one key characteristic of a good organisation namely, *commitment to their work*. It is this characteristic which more than compensates for the absence of the other characteristics.

It is therefore difficult, if not unfair, to catalogue minimal requirements which donors must look for in an NGO, except perhaps as theoretical guides only. As such, donors could look for an NGO that: (i) is non-profitmaking, (ii) has a well established institutional set up and not merely a "one project" NGO without institutional stability, (iii) has a clearly articulated mission statement, (iv) has a cadre of permanent staff to give a permanent sense of purpose to volunteers in the field and, (v) is generally a "good organisation".

Donors could do well, *to concentrate on those NGOs specialising in research, and umbrella NGOs which pull together a number of NGOs*, for example, NCKK, KENGO, KWAHO, and the Catholic Secretariat in Kenya. This way the research benefits can be more widely spread. In all cases, though, *priority should be given to modern indigenous NGOs as opposed to traditional indigenous NGOs and foreign NGOs*. Again in all cases, the national "co-ordinating" bodies described earlier should prove useful in identifying good organisations.

Impact on Competing Institutions

NGOs are likely to continue to require relatively small research grants, in the foreseeable future. Consequently their research should not have a major impact on either the quantity or quality research by competing institutions. If anything, the NGOs

feel that their research is of such practical nature that it can only complement research undertaken by other private and public institutions, with one exception; *private consulting firms which should not qualify for research grants as the NGOs are already dependent on them.* For those NGOs specialising in research, competition with public institutions can only improve the quality of research as both types of institutions compete for scarce research resources.

The State of Knowledge of NGOs

As stated in the introduction to this study, the state of our knowledge of NGOs is poor. What little knowledge there is, for example, consultancy reports, is fragmented and in nearly all cases not published. In order to improve our knowledge of NGOs in this region, the following measures are one way of setting the process of knowledge accumulation in motion (Appendix VIII).

- 1 Funding baseline surveys of NGOs in those countries in the region where comprehensive NGO directories do not exist. Only in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Botswana do such directories exist.
- 2 Funding, every two years or so, an exercise to update the directories.
- 3 Funding, in each country, a detailed analysis of a representative sample of NGOs involved in development activities, particularly indigenous NGOs, with a view to establishing their research needs, the degree to which they undertake research and the applicability of the research to development.
- 4 Establish contacts and mechanisms of consultation with those international organisations which have accumulated some expertise and data on the role of NGOs in development.
- 5 Establish contacts and mechanisms of consultation with national organisations in the region, engaged in facilitating NGO collaboration, with a view to helping these organisations

- strengthen themselves as institutions.
- 6 Establish contacts with research institutions and other custodians of data in the region with a view to assisting these institutions strengthen their data base.
 - 7 Establish within various donor agencies - NGO "corners" as it were, where data on NGOs could start accumulating. This might eventually lead to an NGO Documentation Centre.

Overall Conclusion

Given that our knowledge of NGOs is generally poor and subjective, that what we know suggests that NGOs are generally not very good organisations and that the issue of NGO-based research has not been given adequate thought, it is perhaps *unwise for donors to make a generalised commitment to funding NGO-based research.*

However, if donors should seek to evolve a general policy on funding NGO-based research, as opposed to funding other types of institutions and individuals, then the place to begin would be to *undertake a focused but comprehensive evaluation of the NGO based research projects which donor agencies have so far funded.* This might provide a good pointer as to which direction the agencies might want to go, in pursuit of this rather slippery sector of development.

It is suggested that the major institutions of research should not only be the universities but also the research institutions and other organisations of research. The view is that the research institutions should be established within various donor agencies. NGOs could also be established wherever they are not established. The research institutions should be established in the region.

Overall Conclusion

Given that our knowledge of NGOs is generally poor and subjective, that what we know suggests that NGOs are generally not very good organisations and that the issue of NGO-based research has not been given adequate thought, it is perhaps time for donors to make a renewed commitment to funding NGO-based research. In the past, the donors and agencies have not done enough to support the growth of research in the region.

- However, if donors should seek to evolve a general policy on funding NGO-based research, it is proposed that the following steps be taken:
1. Undertake a general but comprehensive evaluation of the NGO-based research projects which donor agencies have so far funded. This might provide a good pointer as to which direction the agencies might want to go, in pursuit of this rather slippery sector of development.
 2. Funding in each country should be directed to support representative sample of NGOs in development activities, particularly in the areas of research, education and health.
 3. Establish contacts and mechanisms of consultation with those international organisations which have accumulated some expertise and data on the role of NGOs in development.
 4. Establish contacts and mechanisms of consultation with national organisations in the region, engaged in facilitating NGO collaboration, with a view to helping these organisations

Appendix I

A. ¹U.S. NGOs with links in Somalia as of 1984-86

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. African Medical & Research Foundation | 23. United Methodist Committee/ on Relief |
| 2. Africare | 24. US Committee for Somali Refugee Relief |
| 3. American Friends Service | 25. US Committee for UNICEF |
| 4. American Red Cross | 26. Volunteers in Technical Assistance |
| 5. Association of Voluntary Surgical Contraception | 27. World Concern |
| 6. CARE | 28. World Vision |
| 7. Catholic Relief Services | 29. Council of International Programme for Youth Leaders and Social Workers, Inc. (S) |
| 8. Church World Service | 30. Darien Book Aid Plan, Inc. (S) |
| 9. Experiment in International Living | 31. Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities |
| 10. Institute of International Education | 32. Emergency Relief Fund International (S) |
| 11. Interchurch Medical Assistance | 33. Food for the Hungry, Inc. |
| 12. International Catholic Migration Committee | 34. Ford Foundation (S) |
| 13. MAP International | 35. Friends of SOS Children's Village, Inc. (S) |
| 14. Mennonite Central Committee | 36. Int'l Book Project, Inc. (S) |
| 15. New Trans-Century Foundation | 37. International Community for the Relief of Starvation and Suffering (CROSS) |
| 16. DEF International | 38. David Livingstone Missionary Foundation, Inc. (S) |
| 17. Operation California | 39. Margaret Sanger Center (S) |
| 18. Oxfam America | 40. Int'l Rescue Committee Inc. |
| 19. Partnership for Productivity | |
| 20. The Presiding Bishop's Fund | |
| 21. Save the Children Federation | |
| 22. Trickle up Program | |

42. Volunteers in Overseas Co-operative Assistance (VOCA) (S)

43. Volunteers in Overseas Co-operative Assistance (VOCA) (S) Somalia (AVAS)

- 23. United Nations Committee on Relief
- 24. US Committee for Somalia Relief
- 25. US Committee for UNICEF
- 26. Volunteers in Technical Assistance
- 27. World Council
- 28. World Vision
- 29. Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders and Social Workers, Inc. (2)
- 30. Danon Book Aid Plan, Inc. (2)
- 31. Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities
- 32. Emergency Relief Fund International (2)
- 33. Food for the Hungry, Inc.
- 34. Ford Foundation (2)
- 35. Friends of SOS Children's Village, Inc. (2)
- 36. Int'l Book Project, Inc. (2)
- 37. International Community for the Relief of Starvation and Suffering (CROSS)
- 38. David Livingstone Missionary Foundation, Inc. (2)
- 39. Margaret Sangar Center (2)
- 40. Int'l Rescue Committee Inc.

- 1. African Medical & Research Foundation
- 2. Africa
- 3. American Friends Service
- 4. American Red Cross
- 5. Association of Voluntary Surgical Cooperation
- 6. CARE
- 7. Catholic Relief Services
- 8. Church World Service
- 9. Experiment in International Living
- 10. Institute of International Education
- 11. Interchurch Medical Assistance
- 12. International Catholic Migration Committee
- 13. MAP International
- 14. Mennonite Central Committee
- 15. New Tans-Century Foundation
- 16. OCF International
- 17. Operation California
- 18. Orlan America
- 19. Partnership for Productivity
- 20. The Presiding Bishop's Fund
- 21. Save the Children Federation
- 22. Ticks Up Program

Appendix II

²U.S. NGOs with Links in Ethiopia as of 1984-86

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Adventist Development and Relief | 25. Institute of International Education |
| 2. Missionary Sisters of Africa | 26. InterAid |
| 3. AIR SERV International | 27. Interchurch Medical Assistance |
| 4. American Friends Service | 28. International Voluntary Services |
| 5. American Jewish Joint Dist. Co. | 29. Lions Club International |
| 6. American Leprosy Missions | 30. Lutheran World Ministries |
| 7. American Red Cross | 31. Lutheran World Relief |
| 8. Americares Foundation | 32. MAP International |
| 9. Association of Volunteer Surgical Contraception | 33. Mennonite Central Committee |
| 10. Baptist World Alliance | 34. Mercy Corps International |
| 11. Brother's Brother Foundation | 35. Near East Foundation |
| 12. CARE | 36. OIC International |
| 13. Catholic Medical Mission Board | 37. Operation California |
| 14. Catholic Relief Services | 38. Oxfam America |
| 15. Christian Children's Fund | 39. The Presiding Bishop's Fund |
| 16. Christian Reformed World Relief | 40. Public Administration Service |
| 17. Church World Service | 41. Rotary International |
| 18. Concern America | 42. Save the Children Federation |
| 19. Direct Relief International | 43. SIM International |
| 20. Eritrean Relief Committee | 44. Southern Baptist Convention |
| 21. Experiment in International Living | 45. Trickle Up Program |
| 22. Food for the Hungry | 46. Unitarian Universities Service |
| 23. Grassroots International | 47. United Methodist Committee on Relief |
| 24. Helen Keller International | 48. U.S. Committee for UNICEF |

49. World Concern
50. World Relief Corporation
51. World Vision
52. World Wildlife Fund - U.S.
53. Missionaries of Africa (M.Af.)
54. Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa (S.O.L.A.)
55. Africa Enterprise (S)
56. African Mission Services, Inc. (S)
57. Aid for International Medicine, Inc. (S)

U.S. NGOs with Links in Europe

1	Advocate Development and Relief
2	Missionary Sisters of Africa
3	AIR SERV International
4	American Friends Service
5	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
6	American Leprosy Mission
7	American Red Cross
8	American Foundation
9	Association of Volunteer Surgical Contractors
10	Bagdad World Alliance
11	Brother's Brother Foundation
12	CARE
13	Catholic Medical Mission Board
14	Catholic Relief Services
15	Christian Children's Fund
16	Christian Reformed World Relief
17	Church World Service
18	Concern America
19	Direct Relief International
20	Eastern Relief Committee
21	Experiment in International Living
22	Food for the Hungry
23	Grassroots International
24	Heifer Relief International

30	Latin American World Relief
31	Latin American World Relief
32	MAP International
33	Memorial Committee
34	Mercy Corps International
35	New East Foundation
36	OIC International
37	Operation Callisto
38	Oxfam America
39	The Presiding Bishop's Fund
40	Public Administration Service
41	Rotary International
42	Save the Children Federation
43	SEM International
44	Southern Baptist Convention
45	Tackle Up Program
46	Unitarian Universalist Service
47	United Methodist Committee on Relief
48	U.S. Committee for UNICEF

Appendix III

2 U.S. NGOs with Links in Uganda as of 1984-86

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. African Inland Mission | (RSCJ) |
| 2. Missionary Sisters of Africa | 25. Salvation Army (see regional listing) |
| 3. African Enterprise | 26. Margaret Sanger Centre (S) |
| 4. African Medical & Research Foundation (AMREF) | 27. Southern Baptist Convention |
| 5. American ORT Federation | 28. Technoserve, Inc. (S) |
| 6. American Red Cross | 29. Trickle Up Program (S) |
| 7. Association of Voluntary Surgical Contraception | 30. United Methodist Committee on Relief (S) |
| 8. Baptist World Alliance | 31. World Concern (S) |
| 9. Brother's Brother Federation | 32. World Neighbours, Inc. |
| 10. CARE | 33. World Vision Relief Organization, Inc. |
| 11. Catholic Medical Mission Board | 34. Young Men's Christian Association of the US |
| 12. Catholic Relief Services | 35. Adventist Development and Relief Int'l (ADRA) |
| 13. Christian Children's Fund | 36. Missionaries of Africa (M.Af.) |
| 14. Christian Reformed World Relief | 37. African Wildlife Foundation (see regional listing) |
| 15. Church Women United | 38. Agricultural Co-operative Development International |
| 16. Church World Service | 39. Centre for Development and Population Activities |
| 17. CODEL: Co-ordination in Dev. | 40. Children Incorporated (S) |
| 18. Compassion International | 41. Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus, Inc. (MCCJ) |
| 19. CUNA Foundation | 42. Comboni Missionary Sisters (CMS) |
| 20. Direct Relief International | 43. Compassion Relief and |
| 21. Experiment in International Living | |
| 22. Global Outreach | |
| 23. Habitat for Humanity | |
| 24. Society of the Sacred Heart | |

-
- | | | |
|--|-----|---|
| Development, Inc. (S) | 59. | St. Charles Lwanga African Academy (S) |
| 44. Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders and Social Workers, Inc. (S) | 60. | MAP International (S) |
| 45. Damien-Button Society for Leprosy Aid, Inc. (S) | 61. | Medical Mission Sisters (SCMM) |
| 46. Darien Book Aid Plan, Inc. (S) | 62. | Medical Missionaries of Mary (MMM) |
| 47. Food for the Hungry, Inc. (S) | 63. | Mennonite Central Committee |
| 48. Ford Foundation (S) | 64. | Minnesota International Health Volunteers |
| 49. Freedom House, Inc. (S) | 65. | Mission Aviation Fellowships (S) |
| 50. Heifer Project International, Inc. (S) | 66. | National 4-H Council (S) |
| 51. Priests and Brothers of the Congregation of Holy Cross (CSC) | 67. | National Savings and Loan League (S) |
| 52. Holy Ghost Fathers (CSSp.) | 68. | Pathfinder Fund (S) |
| 53. Inter-Aid, Inc. | 69. | Rescue Now (S) |
| 54. Interchurch Medical Assistance, Inc. (S) | 70. | Rotary International |
| 55. International Book-Project, Inc. (S) | | |
| 56. International Liason, Inc. (S) | | |
| 57. International Road Federation | | |
| 58. David Livingstone Missionary Foundation, Inc.(S) | | |

Appendix IV

A. ⁴U.S. NGOs with Links in Tanzania as of 1984-86

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. A.T. International | 23. Interchurch Medical Assistance |
| 2. Adventist Development and Relief | 24. International Catholic Migration Com. |
| 3. Africa Fund | 25. International Lifeline |
| 4. Africa Inland Mission | 26. Lutheran World Ministries |
| 5. Missionary Sisters of Africa | 27. Lutheran World Relief |
| 6. African Medical & Research Foundation (AMREF) | 28. MAP International |
| 7. American Leprosy Missions | 29. Mennonite Central Committee |
| 8. American Public Health Association | 30. Operation Bootstrap Africa |
| 9. American Red Cross | 31. Operation Crossroads Africa |
| 10. AMIDEAST | 32. Oxfam America |
| 11. Association of Volunatry Surgical Contraception | 33. PIACT/PATH |
| 12. Brother's Brother Foundation | 34. Population |
| 13. Catholic Medical Mission Board | 35. Presbyterian Church (USA) |
| 14. Catholic Relief Services | 36. The Presiding Bishop's Fund |
| 15. Brothers of Christian Instruction | 37. Rotary International |
| 16. CODEL: Co-ordination in Development | 38. Southern Baptist Convention |
| 17. Direct Relief International | 39. Trickle Up Program |
| 18. Family Health International | 40. United Methodist Committee on Relief |
| 19. Family Planning Int'l Assistance | 41. World Neighbours |
| 20. Heifer Project International | 42. World Vision |
| 21. Helen Keller International | 43. World Wildlife Fund - US |
| 22. INSA | 44. Missionaries of Africa (M.Af.) |
| | 45. Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa (S.O.L.A) |
| | 46. African Enterprise (S) |

47. African Wildlife Foundation (see regional listing)
48. Agricultural International
49. Association for Voluntary Sterilization Inc. (S)
50. Centre for Human Services (S)
51. Brothers of the Christian
52. Church of God, Inc. (Anderson, Indiana)
53. Church World Service
54. Consolata Society for Foreign Missions (ICM)
55. Salvation Army (see regional listing)
56. Sister Cities International (S)
57. Southern Baptist Convention
58. Technoserve, Inc. (S)
59. Volunteers in Overseas Co-operative Assistance (VOCA) (S)
60. World Vision Relief Organisation, Inc.
61. Young Men's Christian Association of the United States.
62. Young Women's Christian Association of the USA.
63. Co-ordination in Development (CODEL) (S)
64. Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders and Social Workers. Inc- (S)
65. Damien-Dutton Society for Leprosy Aid, Inc. (S)
66. Darien Book Aid Plan, Inc. (S)
67. Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities
68. Education Development Centre, Inc. (S)
69. Episcopal Church in the USA.
70. Erie Diocesan Mission Office (see regional listing)
71. Ford Foundation.
72. Freedom House, Inc. (S)
73. Friends of SOS Children's Village, Inc. (S)
74. Holy Ghost Fathers, (CSSp.)
75. International Book Project, Inc. (S)
76. International Road
77. Jesuit Fathers and Brothers (SJ) (S)
78. La Leche League International
79. Lions Clubs International
80. St. Charles Lwanga Africa Academy (S)
81. Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic (MM)
82. Medical Missionaries of Mary (MMM)
83. Mission Aviation Fellowship (S)
84. Moravian Church in America Inc. (S)

B. The following Organisations have agreed to join (TANGO)

1. Tanzania Red Cross
2. UMATI - National Family Planning
3. CDFT - Community
4. Development Trust Fund Girl Guides
5. IDS Study Group
6. Women Research and Documentation Project (WRDP)
7. KWIECO - Kilimanjaro Women
8. Sauti ya Siti
9. Aga Khan Women Association
10. Adult Education Association (CHEWATA)
11. NGO Committee Co-ordinating Adult Education Organisation
12. Wanawake Wakatoliki Tanzania
13. EMAU - Youth Upbring Association
14. YCW (VIWAWA)
15. Tanzania Women Development Foundation
16. Christian Professional of Tanzania (CPT)
17. Nyumba ya Sanaa
18. Y.W.C.A.
19. Women Mass Media (TAMWA)
20. President National Trust Fund (PNTF)
21. TAMOFA
22. Tanzania Young Farmers Association
23. Tanzania Welfare Counselling Consultancy Association

Appendix V

⁵U.S. NGOs with Links in Zambia as of 1984-86

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Adventist Development and Relief | 19. MAP International |
| 2. Missionary Sisters of Africa | 20. Society of Mary |
| 3. Africare | 21. Save the Children Federation |
| 4. Catholic Medical Mission Board | 22. Mennonite Central Committee |
| 5. Catholic Relief Services | 23. Oxfam America |
| 6. Christian Children's Fund | 24. PACT |
| 7. Church Women United | 25. Presbyterian Church (USA) |
| 8. Church Women Service | 26. Public Administration Service |
| 9. Co-ordination in Development (CODEL) | 27. Rotary International |
| 10. Direct Relief International | 28. Salvation Army |
| 11. Family Planning International Assistance | 29. Southern Baptist Convention |
| 12. Habitat for Humanity | 30. Trickle Up Program |
| 13. Heifer Project International | 31. United Church Board |
| 14. Hellen Keller International | 32. United Methodist Committee on Relief |
| 15. Institute for Cultural Affairs | 33. U.S. Com. for UNICEF |
| 16. Interchurch Medical Assistance | 34. World Vision |
| 17. International Catholic Migration Committee | 35. YMCA of the USA |
| 18. Lutheran World Relief | 36. YWCA of the USA |
| | 37. World Wildlife Fund - US |

Appendix VI

6 U.S. NGOs with links in Malawi as of 1984-86

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Adventist Development and Relief | 10. International Catholic Migration Com. |
| 2. Missionary Sisters of Africa | 11. International Eye Foundation |
| 3. Catholic Medical Mission Board | 12. MAP International |
| 4. Catholic Relief Service | 13. Society of Mary |
| 5. Co-ordination in Development (CODEL) | 14. PIACT/PATH |
| 6. Family Planning International Assistance | 15. Presbyterian Church (USA) |
| 7. Helen Keller International | 16. Rotary International |
| 8. Institute of International Education | 17. Margaret Sanger Center |
| 9. Interchurch Medical Assistance | 18. Save the Children Federation |
| | 19. Sister Cities International |
| | 20. Southern Baptist Convention |
| | 21. United Methodist Com. on Relief. |
| | 22. World Vision |

Appendix VII

Some Depositories of NGO Data

Institution	Data Type
1 American Council for Voluntary International Action, 220 Park Avenue South, New York, NY. 1003 USA.	Monographs on NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa.
2 The North-South Institute, 55 Murray Street, Suite 200, Ottawa, Canada K1N 5M3	Material on Canadian Voluntary Agencies in the Third World.
3 International Council for Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), 13 rue Gautier, 1201 Geneva, Switzerland.	Materials, both conceptual and empirical on the work of NGOs in Third World Countries.
4 United National Environment Programme (UNEP), Regional Office for Africa, P.O. Box 30552, Nairobi.	Directory of African NGOs involved in the Conservational rehabilitation activities related to deserts and arid lands; rivers and lake basins; forests and woodlands; and seas.
5 African NGOs Environmental Network (ANEN), P.O. Box 53844, Nairobi.	NGO Directory: Directory of Indigenous African NGOs involved in desertification control activities .
6 Kenya Energy Non-Governmental Organisation (KENGO)	Regional survey and Congress of Indigenous NGO network in Africa.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 7 | Voluntary Organisations in Community Enterprise (VOICE), 16 Samora Machel Avenue, Harare, Zimbabwe. | Directory of Non-Governmental organisations: 1988 (in Zimbabwe). Directory of NGOs in Eastern and Southern Africa working on women issues and economic and technical advancement. |
| 8 | Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), P.O. Box 879, Gaborone, Botswana. | Directory of Non-Governmental Organisations in Botswana. |
| 9 | The Ford Foundation, Nairobi. | Materials on NGOs in East and Southern African Region including a Directory of Christian Organisations in Kenya. |
| 10 | Kenya National Council of Social Service (KNCSS) | Materials on NGOs in Kenya, including a Directory of NGOs in Kenya (1988). |
| 11 | United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Nairobi. | Materials on American and Local NGOs in Africa, especially Kenya. |
| 12 | Environmental Liason Centre (ELC), Nairobi. | Computerised data on NGOs in Africa. |
| 13 | Institute for Development Studies (IDS), P.O. Box 30197, Nairobi. | Monographs and a wealth of unpublished conference papers and consultancy reports on NGOs in Africa. |

Appendix VIII

NGOs' Studied in Kenya

- A. *During This Study***
1. Kenya Energy Non-Governmental Organisation (KENGO)
 2. The Mazingira Institute
 3. The National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK)
 4. The Public Law Institute (PLI)
 5. The Aga Khan Foundation
 6. The Kenya Rural Enterprise Programme (KREP) The Undugu Society The Kenya Men Christian Association
 7. The Kenya National Council of Social Service (KNCSS)
 8. African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF).
- B. *During A Recent Study on Related Issues***
1. Christian Health Association of Kenya (CHAK)
 2. Family Planning Association of Kenya (FPAK)
 3. Kenya Catholic Secretariat
 4. Salvation Army
 5. Family Life Association of Kenya
 6. Y.M.C.A.
 7. Y.W.C.A.
 8. Kenya National Union of Teachers
 9. Kenya Medical Association
 10. The KANU Maendeleo ya Wanawake
 11. National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK)
 12. The Kenya Freedom from Hunger
 13. The Kenya Boy Scouts Association
 14. The Kenya Girl Guides Association
 15. The Kenya Youth Association
 16. Institute of Cultural Affairs
 17. The Kenya Women Medical Association
 18. The Kenya Association of Social Workers
 19. The Kenya Red Cross
 20. Business and Professional Women's Club

Footnotes to Appendix

- 1 Various Sources
Key Institution: Association of Voluntary Agencies in Somalia (AVAS)
- 2 Source: Various Sources
Key Institution: None yet though Tanzania NGOs (TANGO) is likely to emerge soon as a key institution.
- 3 Source: Various Sources
Key Institution: Zambia Council for Social Development (ZCSD)
Membership: 60 groups.
Fundings 1985 approximately US\$ 30,000
Oxfam (UK) grant - 73%
Own operations - 17%
- 4 Source: Deul et al.
- 5 Source: Various sources.
- 6 Key Institution not known