

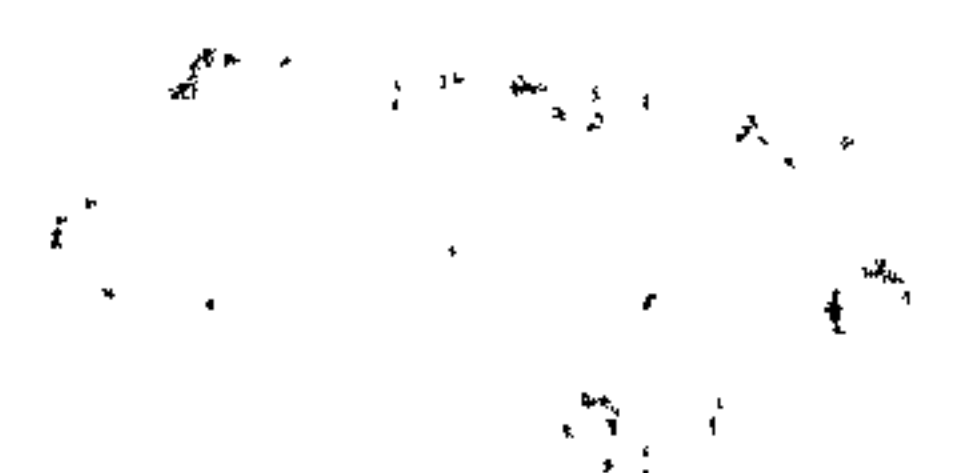
**Organisational Levels and Organisational Characteristics:
Oxfam GB and the Disability Movement in Uganda**

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Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

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March 2008

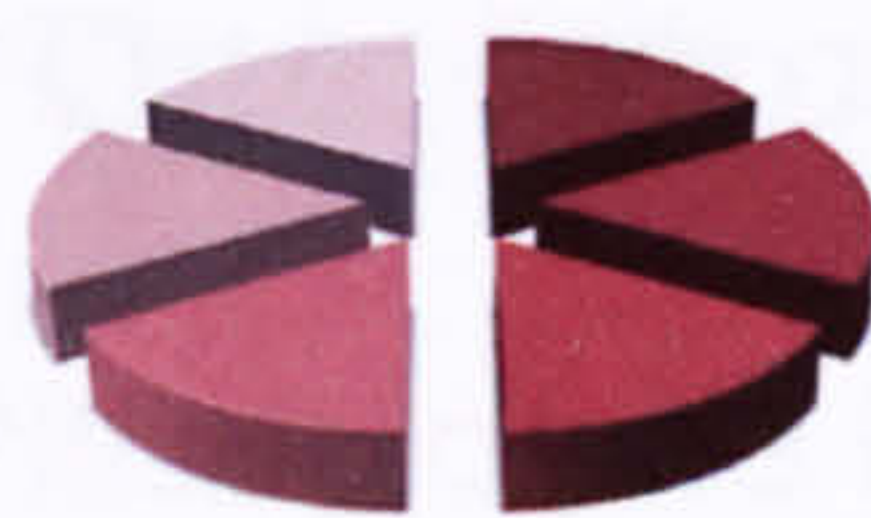


Organisational Levels and Organisational Characteristics: Oxfam GB and the Disability Movement in Uganda

In the past decade, Oxfam has streamlined and restructured its global activities in an attempt to professionalise and strategise. This move has affected the relationship between different Oxfam components and between Oxfam and its partners. A three layered approach, looking at structural elements, ideational elements and organisational learning, is used to pick apart the restructuring and its effects within the Oxfam GB head office, the Oxfam Ugandan Country Office, The National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda (NUDIPU), and NUDIPU's district branches. The fate of disability issues within this picture reveal the inequalities involved between North and South, and the able bodied and persons with disabilities.

Key themes:

INGO management
Disability and Development
Disability Mainstreaming
Organisational Learning

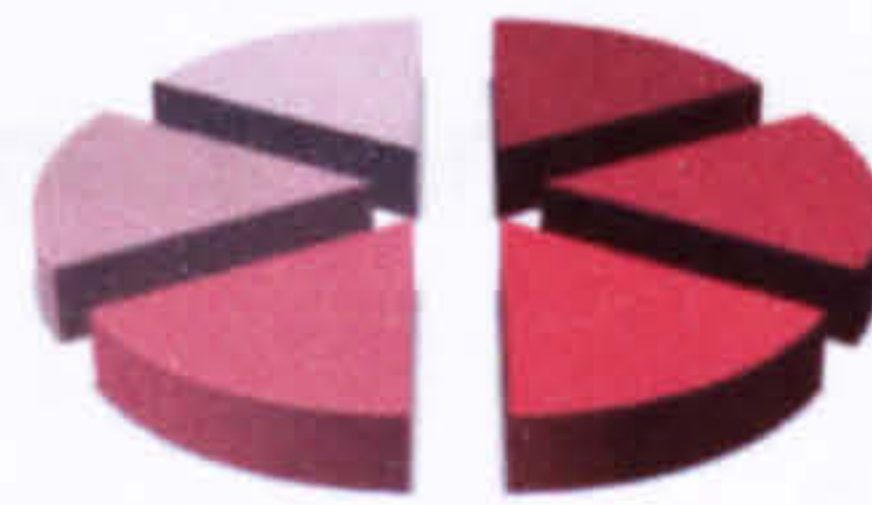


ACRONYMS

ADD	Action for Disability and Development
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CSOPNU	Civil Society Organisations for Peace in Northern Uganda
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DADO	Dodoth Agro Pastoral programme
DFID	Department for International Development
DPI	Disabled Peoples International
DPO	Disabled Persons' Organisation
DSI	Danish Council of Organisations of Disabled People
EARPP	East Africa Regional Pastoralist Programme
FPD	Foundation for People with Disabilities
GAD	Gender and Development
HECA	Horn, East and Central Africa
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
KAMDAB	The Kamuli District Association of the Blind
KAMDAD	The Kamuli District Association of the Deaf
KAMUDIPU	The Kamuli Union of Persons with Disabilities on Uganda
KAWIDA	The Kamuli Association of Women with Disabilities
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NAD	Norwegian Association of the Disabled
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NUDIPU	National Union of Persons with Disabilities of Uganda
NUWODU	National Union of Women with Disabilities of Uganda
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OI	Oxfam International
OLOC	Organisational Levels and Organisational Characteristics
PLWHA	People Living with HIV/AIDS
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
SCOs	Strategic Change Objectives
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association
UNAB	Ugandan National Association of the Blind
UNAD	Ugandan National Association of the Deaf
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UPIAS	Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation
WID	Women in Development

Chapter One: Introduction

The Pleasures and Pitfalls of the Ph.D.: Methodology, lessons learnt and the background to the model



1.1

The Question and the Incomplete Hypothesis

This investigation started with two questions: how does Oxfam GB conduct its work in Uganda, and how does it treat its partners? The answer was anticipated to be relatively straightforward, requiring a simple model to draw out the avenues of power and use of knowledge contained within the hierarchical levels formed by Oxfam's head office, the Uganda country office and the partner. Armed with a copy of Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*,¹ and an overly simple 'Levels of Intentionality Model', I set out to reveal how pyramids of power² and networks of observation³ reinforced western dominance in International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO) development work.

As the information came in, it became obvious there was more to this problem than a hierarchy based on a Western-dominated development discourse.⁴ The simple question had a complex answer. INGOs were not just development organisations: increasingly they were becoming corporate entities as well.⁵ Development theories were only part of the story: this investigation had to take

¹ Foucault, Michel (1977) *Discipline and Punish* trans. Sheridan, Alan, (London: Penguin).

² Foucault, Michel (1977) *Discipline and Punish* p. 174.

³ Foucault, Michel (1977) *Discipline and Punish* p. 177.

⁴ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Chichester: Princeton University Press).

⁵ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' *Global Social Policy* Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 338.

on board discourses pertaining to the business world if the relationship between the levels was to be fully understood. To compound this, the partner to be used as the case study, chosen because of its long history of involvement with Oxfam, was involved in a minority area: disability. Before the field research began it was decided that, in order to investigate this case study thoroughly, a background in disability studies would be an essential starting point. These three disciplines, development, business and disability, came to dominate the analysis.

The Organisational Levels and Organisational Characteristics (OLOC) model was developed as a framework to highlight trends and uncover what is often hidden or misrepresented in the increasingly multifaceted INGO world. The model is an aid to analysis: it presents a systematic way of breaking down the vast and varied influences which affected the Oxfam-partner relationship. Although it was designed specifically to investigate this one relationship, its simple and methodical approach to complex organisational phenomena means that it can be used in other research projects to help understand the fate of minority issues such as gender and disability within an INGO and INGO-partner relationship.

1.2 The Background

There are four main reasons which make this particular case study interesting. Firstly, in the late 1990s, Oxfam underwent a series of major organisational changes, including redesigning the network of its global managerial hierarchy and a strategic focusing of its aims and objectives.⁶ Secondly, the issue of disability in development is increasingly coming under scrutiny, and for a while was an issue Oxfam pioneered.⁷ However, despite this attention, most development work still marginalises disabled people and disability issues.⁸ Thirdly, the National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda (NUDIPU) has achieved an international reputation for the advocacy work it has conducted, for which it received a great deal of support from Oxfam.⁹ The discussion of the successful elements and weaker aspects of NUDIPU's work and its relationship with Oxfam provides a number of useful insights for the study of disability advocacy, INGO-supported advocacy campaigns and INGO-partner relationships. Finally, in 2005, Oxfam ended its funding partnership with NUDIPU; the evaluation of the reasons for withdrawal revealed elements of Oxfam policy which may not have been visible had an ongoing relationship been the focal case study.

⁶ Oxfam GB (1998) *Setting the Course for the Twenty-First Century: Oxfam Strategic Review* (Unpublished Report).

⁷ Abu-Habib, Lina (1997) *Gender and Disability: Women's Experiences in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxfam UK and I); and Coleridge, Peter (1993) *Disability, Liberation and Development* (Oxford: Oxfam UK and I).

⁸ Foakes, Helen and Ryman, Helen (2001) 'Introduction' in World Vision (Ed.) (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 4; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 16; and Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work: "Nothing About Us, Without Us"' *World Development* Vol. 31, No. 3, p. 577.

⁹ Frost, Barbara (1999) 'Action for Disability and Development: Working with disabled people's organisations in developing countries' Stone, Emma (Ed.) (1999) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 52; and Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue (2003) *Disability, Equality and Human Rights: A Training Manual for Development and Humanitarian Organisations* (Oxford: Oxfam GB) p. 25.

The reasons for Oxfam's withdrawal of its support to NUDIPU were formally cited as "internal reasons".¹⁰ These were predominantly related to Oxfam's move to focus its activities on a selection of "Strategic Change Objectives" (SCOs): areas where Oxfam had an expertise and could have the most impact on the lives of those it was trying to help.¹¹ These reasons removed the need for Oxfam to make any official judgements regarding the quality of work or suitability of tactics used by NUDIPU in the course of its withdrawal from the area. However, as the following chapters will reveal, informal opinions were formed by Oxfam's employees in Uganda, and the decision to end this specific partnership involved more influences than the official shift in policy: some related to organisation-wide trends, and some reasons related to informal opinions and events.

The many influencing factors which affected the decision taken by Oxfam's Uganda office to stop funding this specific disability-related partnership masks the implementation of a decision made at head office not to devote specific resources to, or promote disability issues, within Oxfam's work.¹² Oxfam made declarations that "we will seek to positively include... disabled as well as able bodied",¹³ and published a manual in 2003 detailing how to include disabled people in humanitarian and development work.¹⁴ This earned Oxfam a reputation with disability activists as having a positive approach to disabled people.¹⁵ However, Oxfam in fact withdrew from the issue of disability in the period under scrutiny. This withdrawal has led to programmes focusing on disabled people and disability issues being phased out and disabled people being sidelined from Oxfam's development work. Through the examination of the case study, and wider organisational trends which affected the decisions regarding that partnership, these contradictions between statements and

¹⁰ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* (Unpublished Report) p. 49.

¹¹ Whitbread, Jasmine (2006) Interview.

¹² Whitbread, Jasmine (2006) Interview.

¹³ Oxfam GB (2000) *The Difference Starts with You: Oxfam's Diversity Strategy* p. 2.

¹⁴ Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue (2003) *Disability, Equality and Human Rights*.

¹⁵ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 21.

reputation, and policy and implementation, will not only be highlighted, but also explained.

The case study provides a good basis for an interesting exploration, but what makes it academically interesting, and what makes the OLOC model of interest to academia? Firstly, the combination of development, management and disability studies has not been used in this sort of analysis before, and secondly, the OLOC model presents a new framework and theoretical approach to breaking down discourses, economics, prejudice, culture, management and all the other factors which combine to create the environment in which policy is formulated and enacted.

1.3 The Methods

CHOOSING THE CASE STUDY

The initial desire to investigate how INGOs worked came from my involvement with Oxfam in a volunteer capacity. The aim was to demystify the INGO, and determine what exactly happened between donor and beneficiary. Uganda was chosen because its unique history has, in recent years, created a facilitative environment for national NGOs to thrive, and a welcoming setting for INGOs to work in the country either directly with beneficiaries, or through the Ugandan NGOs.¹⁶ NUDIPU was chosen as the case study due its prolonged involvement of Oxfam GB in Uganda. After the research had commenced, Oxfam decided to end the relationship with this partner.¹⁷

To assess the opinions of the people who were meant to be the target of NUDIPU's work, and therefore benefiting from Oxfam's support, two visits to the Kamuli district of Uganda were made to interview persons with disabilities (PWDs). This area was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was an area in which Oxfam was not directly operational, so opinions would not be tainted by Oxfam's other programmes. Secondly, it was an area which was considered a 'model district' by the national representative Disabled Persons Organisations (DPOs) of Uganda; and thirdly, because the National Union of Women with Disabilities in Uganda (NUWODU) was willing to facilitate access to PWDs and local DPO leaders.

¹⁶ Dicklitch, Susan (1998) 'Indigenous NGOs and Political Participation' Hansen, Bernt Holger and Twaddle, Michael (Eds.) *Developing Uganda* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers) p. 145; and Wamai, Nafuna; Walera, Ismail; and Wamai, Gimono (1997) *The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Social Development: A study of Health Sector NGOs in Mbale and Mubende* p. 1.

¹⁷ Naylor, Emma (2005) Personal Communication.

GATE KEEPERS, LOGISTICS AND COMMUNICATION

At the start of the research, I had a personal contact within Oxfam. However, symptomatic of the high staff turnover which will feature in the analysis of the case studies,¹⁸ within a few months the contact had left. I was able to establish new contacts by e-mailing employees, including the former international director who is now the executive secretary of Save the Children Fund UK. Similar circumstances happened once NUDIPU was contacted: arrangements were made with the executive secretary for the research, but on arrival in Uganda, he had left; luckily, his successor was equally amenable and research commenced.

The inclusion of NUWODU in the research process provided not only a different perspective on the Oxfam-NUDIPU relationship, but also a wider perspective of the national DPO's relationship with their local branches and smaller DPOs. NUWODU personnel were also extremely helpful in recruiting interpreters in both sign-language and Lusoga; and organising access to regional branches of NUDIPU, NUWODU, The Ugandan National Association of the Blind (UNAB), and The Ugandan National Association of the Deaf (UNAD). These connections also led to interviews with local district councillors, drama groups of women with disabilities, and individual women and men with disabilities (both associated with local or regional groups, and isolated individuals.)

Kamuli was described by NUWODU as a model region, where it had a successful local branch and affiliations with several local groups, such as a drama group of women with disabilities.¹⁹ Although it was considered a model district in terms of outreach and activities, this did not mean that the operations were flawless, or had an extensive coverage, but that they were considered an example of the way forward for the disability movement. For the sake of this research, it was decided that illustrations of more successful operations would throw light onto the intentions of the disability movement and its momentum

¹⁸ Oxfam GB (2005) *Oxfam Annual Report and Accounts 2004/2005* p. 13; Oxfam GB (2006) *Oxfam Annual Report and Accounts 2005/2006* p. 15.

¹⁹ Nalusiba, Cissy (2006) Information Officer for NUWODU, Interview.

more successfully than a district which was considered to be poorly organised and mobilised.

Kamuli is about a three hour drive from Kampala, located in the South East with an estimated population of 856563 in 2005, and population density in 2002 of 236 per km². It is a mixed cultural society and the main language is Lusoga.²⁰ The research conducted in this region was conducted in English, or through a translator, who translated between from Lusoga, sign language and English. The district-wide organisations consulted were:

- The Kamuli Association of Women with Disabilities (KAWIDA)
- The Kamuli Union of Persons with Disabilities on Uganda (KAMUDIPU)
- The Kamuli District Association of the Deaf (KAMDAD)
- The Kamuli District Association of the Blind (KAMDAB)

Five group interviews were held in Kamuli: one with the leaders and active members of the regional DPOs (11 people); one with prominent members of KAWIDA (4 people); one with a drama group of women with disabilities (approx 15-18 people); one with a group of disabled people and their families in the Women with Disabilities Group 'Baligema Kumumwa' (people will be surprised) (15 people); and one with staff and disabled pupils at the St. Kizito Primary School (15 people). Eighteen women and men were interviewed on a one-to-one basis.

At the national level, twelve prominent leaders of national DPOs were questioned, as well as five people from ADD in Uganda, and five employees of Oxfam Uganda. Communications were established with two employees of Oxfam's regional office, and five from the head office. Eighty-two reports produced by the different organisations involved from the national Ugandan and international level were also examined, as well as a number of entries from an Oxfam database.

²⁰ About Uganda (undated) Kamuli District Travel Information.

*

This discloses the source of the information which was used to build the following argument; the next section describes the rationale behind the methodology and discusses problems encountered and lessons learnt during the research process.

RATIONALE, ETHICS AND LESSONS OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

This research was designed to explore variances in discourse, ideas and decisions at different levels of the Oxfam hierarchy. A preliminary model was used to shape the direction of the research and the choice of research methods; this was called the 'Levels of Intentionality Model' and it sought to investigate whether there were differences in 'intentions' within a programme being run collaboratively between a partner, country office and INGO head office. However, once the research had been conducted, the initial model, although capable of ordering the information, was insufficient to present a comprehensive and ordered analysis of the trends which had been uncovered. This led to a new model, which was shaped by the details gathered during the research, and a more accurate representation of the relationships and trends involved in this case study.

The Levels of Intentionality Model defined what type of knowledge would be collected to answer this question; this involved interviews of individuals involved in the development process from the corporate management at the top of Oxfam's decision-making pyramid, through to the 'beneficiaries' in rural Uganda. Where possible, these would be conducted face-to-face, but phone interviews, or even e-mail communication were resorted to if face-to-face meetings were not possible. There was also to be a large focus on analysing documentation produced by the organisations involved, to gain a wider understanding of how these organisations defined themselves, the issues and their policies.

As the PWDs in Uganda did not produce such documentation, group and individual interviews were relied on to understand the perception of NUDIPU at the grassroots level and the work Oxfam funded NUDIPU to conduct. However, conducting research with disabled people in rural areas of Uganda raises many issues regarding ethics, accountability and responsibilities. These will now be examined.

Conducting Research with Disabled People

Historically, disabled people's experience of research has been one of oppression, exploitation and of being peripheral to the process of research, formulation of ideas, and dissemination.²¹ They have been treated as medical commodities to examine (often in very personally invasive manners),²² to be discussed in their absence (or as if they were absent), and as a topic for non-disabled researchers to write about from the position of expert, for which the researchers receive money, recognition and increased career prospects.²³

Research has been viewed by many disability theorists as an alienating process.²⁴ The act of observation, interrogation and discussions combined with the hierarchical expert-subject manner in which these processes are conducted may, as Stone and Priestley note, "reinforce existing feelings of passivity or exclusion."²⁵ In society, disabled people have predominantly occupied a position from which they are unable to exercise their will or get their view-points and

²¹ Bury, Mike (1996) 'Defining and Researching Disability: Challenges and Response' in Barnes, Colin and Mercer Geof (Eds.) *Exploring the Divide* (Leeds: The Disability Press); and Hughes, Bill and Paterson, Kevin (1997) 'The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body: towards a sociology of impairment' *Disability and Society* Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 331.

²² Brisendon, Simon (1986) 'Independent Living and the Medical Model of Disability' in Shakespeare, Tom (Ed.) (1998) *The Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives* (London: Cassell) p. 20.

²³ Oliver, Mike (1992) 'Changing the Relations of Research Production?' *Disability, Handicap and Society* Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 101-114.

²⁴ Oliver, Mike (1992) 'Changing the Relations of Research Production?'

²⁵ Stone, Emma and Mark, Priestley (1996) 'Parasites, Pawns and Partners: Disability Research and the role of the non-disabled researcher' *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 47, No. 4, p. 704.

knowledge treated with as much respect as non-disabled people.²⁶ Against this background, Stubbs makes the following reflection on the research process: "Questioning other people about their lives, particularly where the questioners have more power or are not trusted friends or family members, is a process of extracting personal parts of themselves for our own use and gratification."²⁷

The criticism that researchers often exploit their research subjects and left them disheartened or psychologically undermined has also come from some development theorists, such as Adams. In 'An Open Letter to a Young Researcher', Adams describes the experiences of the inhabitants of a village in Senegal: how experiences of research had left them untrusting and betrayed by the consistent outcomes, which were always against their interests; and how the procession of Western researchers failed to recognise the villagers' knowledge systems as valuable.²⁸

It is not just the process of research which causes concern to disability theorists; they also point to how "[d]ecades of 'scientific' research have perpetuated the marginalisation of disabled people, justifying segregationist policies, eugenics, and the systematic denial of human rights."²⁹ Research findings have played a fundamental role in maintaining the discourse justifying the treatment of disabled individuals in a medicalised manner, lifting the knowledge of non-disabled practitioner to an esteemed position.³⁰ This argument is similar to Orientalism's tenet that Western research on the Third World played a fundamental role in creating and maintaining the discourse which helped justify and uphold

²⁶ Drake, Robert F. (2002) 'Disabled people, voluntary organisations and participation in policy making' *Policy and Politics* Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 373-385 p. 374; and Hurst, Rachel (2003) 'Conclusion: enabling or disabling globalisation?' in Swain, John; French, Sally; and Cameron, Colin (Eds.) *Controversial Issues in a Disabling Society* (Maidenhead: Open University Press) p. 164.

²⁷ Stubbs, Sue (1999) 'Engaging with difference: Soul-Searching for a methodology in disability and development research' in Stone, Emma (Ed.) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 273.

²⁸ Adams, Adrian (1979) 'An Open Letter to a Young Researcher' *African Affairs* Vol. 78, No. 313, pp. 451-479.

²⁹ Stone, Emma and Mark, Priestley (1996) 'Parasites, Pawns and Partners' p. 701.

³⁰ Bury, Mike (1996) 'Defining and Researching Disability'; and Hughes, Bill and Paterson, Kevin (1997) 'The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body' p. 331.

colonialism and consequent Western global dominance.³¹ When the analysis of these two discourses is combined, it becomes clear that disabled people in developing countries are significantly disadvantaged in the research experience.³²

Although both of these discourses have witnessed some redress, and new ideas regarding the capabilities of both disabled people and people from developing countries have filtered into the dominant discourses,³³ the legacy of past ideas still remained dominant and influenced perceptions and decisions taken within INGOs. Discourses do not change overnight: they require constant chipping away at ideas entrenched in many institutions, countries and individuals. This takes time and many different ideas, images and research projects providing alternative ideas to replace the original discourse. The following quote from Chambers describes the many small endeavours needed to bring about social change:

"Social change flows from individual actions. By changing what they do, people move societies in new directions and themselves change. Big simple solutions are tempting but full of risks. For outsiders, most of the time, the soundest and best way forward is through innumerable small steps and tiny pushes, putting the last first not once but again and again and again. Many small reversals then support each other and together build up towards a greater movement."³⁴

For this reason, when producing a piece of research, not only should a researcher bear in mind how the methods of research affect the individuals and communities being researched by contact and interaction with them, but also, how the research will be presented, what it says, and its possible applications for justifying oppressive or liberating practices.

³¹ Said, Edward (1978) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin).

³² Ghai, Anita (2001) 'Marginalisation and Disability: experiences from the Third World' in Priestley, Mark (Ed.) (2001) *Disability and the Life Course: Global Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p. 29; and Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals: Relevance, Challenges and Opportunities for DFID* p. 6.

³³ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 580.

³⁴ Chambers, Robert, (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* (London: Pearson, Prentice Hall) p. 217.

The Emancipatory Research Paradigm

The Emancipatory Research Paradigm was devised by Oliver³⁵ to provide researchers of disability issues with a set of guidelines to help them conduct their research in a non-exploitative, non-alienating way and to present their findings in a way which would not lead to further oppression. Zarb describes the paradigm as follows:

“Emancipatory research paradigm is more a set of principles – fairly loosely defined at that – than a set of rules for doing disability research. These principles are a product of the increasingly vociferous critique of existing disability research by disabled people who have been, or are potentially its objects (or victims), and researcher’s (disabled and non-disabled) self-reflection on their own practice.”³⁶

The exact principles and strictness of the model vary between authors, but collectively, the main principles are:

- a) The research must adopt the social model of disability. (The social model will be defined in chapter three, section 3.3.1.)
- b) It must abandon objectivity and be overtly politically committed to the disability movement.
- c) It must be relevant and beneficial to disabled people, and must provide research with the potential to add to the empowerment of disabled people themselves.
- d) It must reverse the relations of research production: this means it must be instigated, designed, led and throughout be accountable to disabled people and their organisations.³⁷

These are difficult to adhere to, indicated by the fact that no-one has claimed to have succeeded to in completing a successful emancipatory research process,³⁸ but they are a useful target to aim for, especially if one wishes to produce research which is considered credible by the disability studies community. Below I shall discuss the four points in turn and how my research relates to each one.

³⁵ Oliver, Mike (1992) ‘Changing the Relations of Research Production?’.

³⁶ Zarb, Gerry (1992) ‘On the Road to Damascus: First steps towards changing the relations of disability research production’ *Disability, Handicap and Society* Vol. 7, No. 2 p. 127.

³⁷ Stone, Emma and Priestley, Mark (1996) ‘Parasites, Pawns and Partners’; and Zarb, Gerry (1992) ‘On the Road to Damascus’.

³⁸ Stone, Emma and Priestley, Mark (1996) ‘Parasites, Pawns and Partners’ p. 706.

a) *The research must adopt the social model of disability.*

The social model of disability will be defined in more detail in chapter three, section 3.3.1. Briefly, the social model holds that an impairment does not disable an individual, it is the barriers formed by society which prevent that individual participating in everyday life.³⁹ This is the opposite of the medical model which places the emphasis of disability on the individual's impairment, deviation from the physical norm, and personal inadequacies. The adoption of the social model in the conception, conduct, production and dissemination of research is seen as important to ensure against investigations being conducted and ideas distributed which adopt a variant of the medical model, therefore reversing the gains disability activists have made in the last three decades.

The following analysis looks at how disabled people are included or excluded from development work. Oxfam has explicitly sided with the social model of disability in its rhetoric,⁴⁰ but as will be shown throughout this investigation, this did not affect its organisation-wide approach to disability. The standpoint I have taken in this research is that disabled people are excluded from development work through the design of the programmes, not because their impairment means they are not capable of benefiting from the programmes on offer. For example, if information about development work is spread via radio, people with aural impairments cannot access that information. If information is distributed in leaflet form with no Braille alternative, blind people are excluded. If meetings are held in physically inaccessible locations, those with physical impairments are excluded. If the cultural barriers within their own society which encourage prejudice are not addressed, disabled people will be excluded from meaningful

³⁹ Stone, Emma (1999) 'Disability and Development in the Majority World' in Stone, Emma (Ed.) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) pp. 2-3.

⁴⁰ Abu-Habib, Lina (1997) *Gender and Disability: Women's Experiences in the Middle East* p. 11.

participation.⁴¹ The debates and arguments surrounding these issues will be explored in more detail in chapter three.

The geographical spread of the discourses of the social model has also been selected as an element for analysis in this research. There are some who believe the social model's cultural exportation beyond the Western settings in which it evolved can be seen as imperialistic,⁴² and some who raise concern that its global dominance has prevented local alternatives developing which reflect local ideas and situations.⁴³ In this light, the social model is both used, and scrutinized in the rest of this thesis.

b) It must abandon objectivity and be overtly politically committed to the disability movement.

There is no such thing as value-free research. Research is undertaken for a reason and it has consequences. For many years, disabled people and individuals in the developing world have been subjected to research processes for the benefit of other people with their own political agenda, whether that was justifying institutionalisation, sterilisation, colonisation or putting the 'natives' to work in the colonies.⁴⁴ Disability theorists now insist that, if a disabled individual or group is to be involved with research, it should lead to beneficial results for them. There should be specific political aims drawn into the research plan and an overt political commitment to the disability movement.

Disability, whilst being the main focus of my case study, is neither the sole concern, nor the original impetus for this project. Although I shall take on board and present the political issues regarding disability which arise throughout this research, the larger picture needs to be maintained: that disability is only one of

⁴¹ Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' in World Vision (Ed.) (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 19.

⁴² Stone, Emma (1999) 'Disability and Development in the Majority World' p. 3.

⁴³ Miles, M. (1996) 'Community, Individual or Information Development? Dilemmas of concept and culture in South Asian disability planning' *Disability and Society* Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 485.

⁴⁴ Doty, Roxanne Lynn (1996) *Imperial Encounters: The Politics of Representation in North-South Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

the issues Oxfam is working with in Uganda and worldwide, and that the use of this case study is to highlight the cultural and institutional interaction between Oxfam and a national Ugandan NGO. For this reason, I cannot claim to be solely pursuing the political issue of disabled people's empowerment.

c) It must be relevant and beneficial to disabled people, and must provide research with the potential to add to the empowerment of disabled people themselves.

Zarb described how research is not the magic bullet of the disability movement: "by itself, research cannot ever lead directly to the empowerment of disabled people (or any other group for that matter)".⁴⁵ What is being required of research for it to be classified as 'emancipatory', is not the magic formula to release disabled people from their oppression, but to provide them with some tools and insights with which to help them on their journey to empowering themselves. By helping to identify oppressive practices, revealing the social construction of oppression, and dispel the myth of immutability of certain social relationships and practices, researchers can aid disabled people, or more accurately DPOs, with the long task of advocacy and re-education of the public and organisations. Research and arguments in this vein can contribute to the task of chipping away at the dominant discourses and practices which keep them in the social positions they are in.

As Barnes writes: "The rationale of the emancipatory disability research paradigm is the production of research that has some meaningful practical outcome for disabled people."⁴⁶ This may involve research and evidence which can be used in advocacy campaigns; new ideas for the targets of lobbying efforts; disseminating the research to reach a wider audience, thereby helping to redress the social creation of disability as inability; or the development of a new

⁴⁵ Zarb, Gerry (1992) 'On the Road to Damascus' p. 127-8.

⁴⁶ Barnes, Colin (2003) 'What a Difference a Decade Makes: reflections on doing 'emancipatory' disability research' *Disability and Society* Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 12.

model to pick apart the INGO and show where disabled people are disadvantaged and excluded within the decision-making processes.

This investigation raises several issues of particular political interest to disability studies. This includes how, with Oxfam's move to become more business-like and strategic in its aims and objectives, disability became even more sidelined within the organisation than previously; and how an organisation such as Oxfam can have a good reputation for pro-disability policies, when in fact, it has no concrete policies in place for inclusion. By raising the awareness of how disability issues and disabled people are being excluded from development, this research contributes to the campaign urging INGOs to make their work accessible to disabled people and responsible to the entire community with which they work.

d) It must reverse the relations of research production: this means it must be instigated, designed, led and throughout be accountable to disabled people and their organisations.

The emancipatory research paradigm emphasises the accountability the researcher has to the disabled community in an attempt to avoid the oppressive projects and investigations of old, which were researcher-led and not in the interests of disabled people. By insisting that research should be instigated and led by disabled people, the aim is to reverse the power of agenda-setting which has been historically held by the institutions, research think-tanks and funding bodies; these bodies have traditionally defined what was researched and by whom.

The choice to include the disability dimension in this research came after the research was already framed and the ball was moving; it was also my idea and not the disabled community's idea to focus on this issue. Once disability became a central issue, I consulted with disabled individuals and institutions, such as NUDIPU, for their ideas and contributions. In initial communications with

NUDIPU, the premise of the research was described by the executive secretary as “a good idea” and “within our interests”;⁴⁷ however, in the end, it is the ESRC and the University to whom I am accountable.

Throughout this research, I have taken on board and considered the issues raised by the DPOs and PWDs interviewed; this does not mean the following analysis takes the side of the DPO partner whilst examining why the Oxfam-NUDIPU relationship ended. Chapter six will discuss the good points and the weaker elements of NUDIPU’s advocacy work and its relationship with its donors; but NUDIPU must not be taken as being synonymous with the disabled community, for many of the criticisms mentioned, were raised by disabled people in Uganda during interviews.⁴⁸

In terms of my personal position in the formation of the following argument, I believe that the INGO’s increased emphasis on business-minded development and strategic focusing on fewer areas is dangerous when it results in the institutionalised exclusion of a minority group. If an INGO argues that it is focusing on fewer areas in order to conduct better-quality programmes, it should develop comprehensive programmes which do not categorically exclude a minority group. I also hold that arguments that ‘disability is a specialist issue’; ‘disability is too costly to incorporate into development plans’; or ‘we work with the whole community, disabled people will benefit from the improvement of their community’ are flawed. This is because INGOs are setting the example that exclusion is acceptable, thereby perpetuating discrimination; it also means that whilst their peers are able to benefit from development programmes, disabled people are losing out on financial and social opportunities, separating them even further from their community. These arguments will be developed further in chapter three.

⁴⁷ Mwesigye, James (2005) Personal Communication.

⁴⁸ Disabled People in Kamuli (2006) Interviews.

1.4

The Problems and Lessons

The research process did not go entirely to plan; there were a number of obstacles and misunderstandings which affected the collection of information and details. The loss of contacts, timing of field-work, communication barriers, expectations of participants, and even the connotations of my name, all caused problems during the research experience; but these hurdles also presented opportunities and insights which may not have been accessible if the research had gone entirely to plan.

Making contact with Oxfam and NUDIPU was not as hard as maintaining the links with these organisations. Both organisations had a high staff turnover,⁴⁹ and my initial contacts with both Oxfam and NUDIPU left before field work began. With NUDIPU, an e-mail quickly re-established the link with the organisation; the Oxfam contact was not as easily replaced as the employees and the organisation had less to gain from talking to a researcher; therefore, many e-mails were either replied with “sorry, I am too busy” or not at all. Eventually some contacts were established, but not as many as I had hoped; there was also a dominance of shorter phone interviews over the lengthy face-to-face interviews I had planned. However, two of Oxfam’s senior employees were particularly helpful and at times extremely candid about their opinion of Oxfam’s policies.

The second instalment of the field work clashed with the run-up to Uganda’s first multiparty elections since the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came to power. This meant that NUDIPU and Oxfam were both busy running advocacy and lobbying campaigns. I had initially planned to present my research findings to them at this stage, providing them the opportunity to respond before the argument was finalised. This could have led to some interesting insights, but

⁴⁹ Oxfam GB (2005) *Oxfam Annual Report and Accounts 2004/2005* p. 13; Oxfam GB (2006) *Oxfam Annual Report and Accounts 2005/2006* p. 15.

was not possible during that period. A report will be sent to all of the main participants after completion.

This could be seen as a flaw in the research plan; however, the timing of this visit did highlight the politicisation of the disability movement. The political leanings of NUDIPU were described in donor reports, interviews and commentaries of NUDIPU, but the experience of listening to the topical debates between regional DPO leaders, seeing the election posters on the offices, and conducting group interviews where several of the regional PWD representatives were wearing yellow baseball caps signifying their support the NRM leader, Museveni, emphasised the concerns donors had over NUDIPU's involvement in politics. This will be explored further in chapter six, section 6.3.2.

Access to the PWDs interviewed in Kamuli was organised by NUWODU's regional branch, KAWIDA. This could raise questions about the representative nature of the sample; however, as the interviews were not about NUWODU's work, using a regional DPO to access PWDs was a justifiable method. The purpose of these interviews was to provide insight into opinions and perceptions at this level, rather than draw out any main 'facts' or 'trends' to incorporate into the following thesis; for this reason only a small sample was needed. The PWDs interviewed were predominantly female, and the research team (composed of myself; NUWODU's information officer; KAWIDA's executive secretary, who translated between Lusoga and English; and a volunteer for NUWODU) was entirely female. Not every person interviewed was involved with KAWIDA, or another DPO, as KAWIDA was able to use its links to locate PWDs in the area. We also interviewed a couple of disabled people not in the original itinerary after seeing them near other interviewees and asking them if they were interested in participating. All interviewees had the nature of the research explained to them before being asked if they wished to participate.

Other problems during field work included the sign language interpreter, who had been scheduled to translate at a group meeting including a number of Deaf

participants, failing to turn up. Luckily, the Lusoga-English interpreter knew enough sign-language to translate. During some of the interviews, the presence of a white person generated a lot of interest from passing children, and as the research team went to the interviewees, who were often in public places, conducting these interviews was sometimes hampered by gathering crowds. Some of the local groups of PWDs also mentioned that they liked to receive white visitors, as it usually leads to funding. Although it was explained to them I was a researcher and not from a funding organisation, the fact that NUWODU had previously taken visitors from The Danish Council of Organisations of Disabled People (DSI) to visit these groups, which later sent funding to these groups, fuelled a misperception.

Two field work trips were conducted, and some of the same interviewees were visited twice to discuss their opinions in more detail. Despite the research team being composed of the same people, except for the volunteer, the experience was very different the second time round. This was because I was able to clarify a misperception which dramatically altered the research team's perception of me. In between visits, I was informed by a social acquaintance that everyone assumed I was a staunch catholic because 'Caroline' was a very catholic name in Uganda. This was intensified by my ties with a convent having been discussed early in the relationship.

Once it had been communicated to the research team that I was not a staunch catholic, behaviours around me changed remarkably. Grace was no longer said before every cup of tea, and alcohol was consumed in front of me. I realised how the first trip had not been entirely accurate in assessing the cultural side of the DPO; I had been given the impression that religion dominated everything, because their perception of my beliefs had affected their behaviour. The interviews on the second trip to Kamuli felt more relaxed and informative: a combination of talking to the same interviewees again, having built up a better relationship with the research team, and the clarification that I was not judging them on their religious values.

*

These experiences shaped the information I collected; contributed to my understanding of the relationships between PWDs, regional DPO branches, national DPOs, and INGOs; and influenced the creation of the OLOC model. The analysis over the next five chapters will break down and demystify the chains which link Oxfam in the UK to the beneficiaries in rural Kamuli.

1.5 The Outline

CHAPTER TWO

This chapter introduces the theory behind the OLOC model and shows the reasoning behind the model's construction. It explores why it is necessary to break the analysis of the INGO down into horizontal levels, and identifies six further sub-divisions which can be made at each level. These sub-divisions consist of six 'organisational characteristics': Managerial Structures, Working Practices, Aims and Objectives, Marketing, Mainstreaming Minority Issues and Learning as an Organisation. This chapter introduces five of these characteristics; the theoretical background for 'Mainstreaming Minority Issues' is discussed in chapter three.

CHAPTER THREE

This chapter explores disability and development, culminating in a discussion of mainstreaming a minority issue within an INGO's development work. The reasons why disability is a justifiable topic for this investigation is established by looking at why disability is an issue for development organisations to take seriously; the theories, arguments and discourses which influence campaigners and INGO rhetoric; and how development organisations address disability issues, in theory and practice. The chapter concludes by presenting a seven stage mainstreaming cycle which can be used to see where mainstreaming efforts are breaking down, and to plan efficient and effective mainstreaming efforts which work

CHAPTER FOUR

This is the first of the three case study chapters. It looks at Oxfam GB in the UK and its role in shaping and imposing the head office's blue-prints for its organisational focus. Through a discussion of the policy decisions and activities revolving around Managerial Structures, Working Practices, Aims and Objectives, Mainstreaming Minority Issues, Marketing and Learning as an Organisation, the first layer of analysis is put in place for this case study. This chapter discusses what elements of Oxfam's official policy were translated into actual activity, and what elements dissipated during the long journey between head office policy and grassroots implementation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Following the same structure as chapter four, this chapter takes as its focus Oxfam's Uganda office; its approach to disability issues; and its relationship with NUDIPU, as perceived by the employees of the Kampala office. The effects of the organisational characteristics designed and installed by head office are revealed by taking each of the six categories outlined in chapter two and exploring how they manifested at the country office level. The examination of how Oxfam's organisational policy shaped activities at this level reveals the complex interplay of influencing forces which shaped the decisions which were made; how certain elements of Oxfam's policy blocked other aspects of its development work from operating efficiently; and how the emphasis of certain issues and practices bolstered the prominence of specific areas.

CHAPTER SIX

The analysis in chapter six moves beyond Oxfam's organisational structure to examine the impact Oxfam's policies had on the disability movement in Uganda. The analysis focuses on four of the six organisational characteristics which shaped the previous chapters. By comparing the areas of Managerial

Structures, Working Practices, Aims and Objectives and Learning as an Organisation, patterns were uncovered which showed how the Oxfam-NUDIPU relationship was vulnerable to the trends set in motion through many different aspects of Oxfam's organisational culture, and how many of the decisions taken by Oxfam's Uganda Office had unintended consequences for the wider disability movement in Uganda.



INTRODUCTION

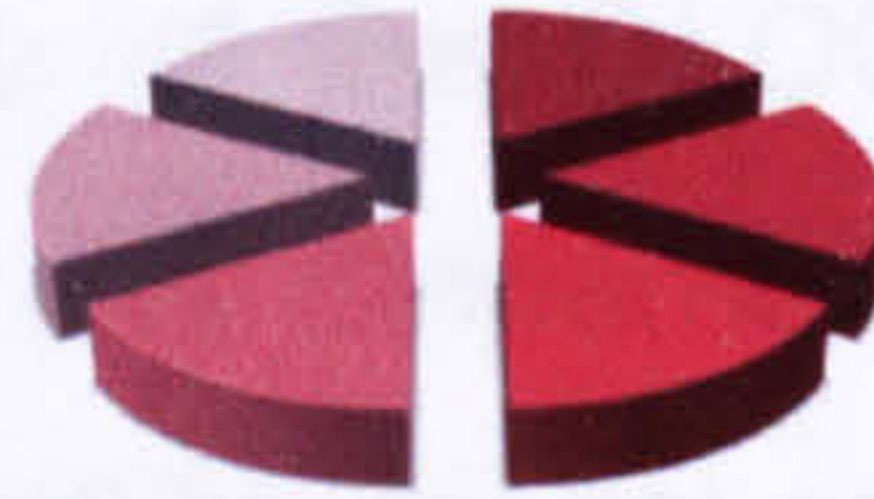
Setting the Scene and Defining Key Concepts

The focus of this research is the International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO) relationship between Oxfam GB and the National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda (NUDIPU), the focus is how this relationship was affected by the complex interplay of institutional and behavioural forces present in Oxfam's organisational structure and the institutional paraphernalia of the wider Ugandan NGO sector. This chapter will be exploring the theoretical basis of the Organisational Learning and Organisational Characteristics (OLOC) model which was developed for this study. The OLOC model was designed specifically for the study of how minority interests fare in the INGO setting. What can you do to improve the situation and what can obstruct it; the model ultimately seeks to understand why INGO relationships which receive minority interests and how they are influenced by the decisions made about the relationship.

Particular attention is given to influencing factors within the INGO setting have been identified as 1) a history of organisational specialisation. These six categories are: 1) organisational structure, 2) working practices, 3) aims and objectives, 4) communication, 5) monitoring and 6) organisational learning. Why and how these factors may influence the relationship will be explored.

Chapter Two: The OLOC Model

Organisational Levels and Organisational Characteristics: a look into the INGO development machine



2.1

INTRODUCTION

Setting the Scene and Defining Key Concepts

The topic for this research is the International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO)-partner relationship between Oxfam GB and the National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda (NUDIPU); the focus is how this relationship was affected by the complex network of institutional and behavioural forces present in Oxfam's organisational structure and the institutional paraphernalia of the modern day INGO. This chapter will be exploring the theoretical basis of the Organisational Levels and Organisational Characteristics (OLOC) model which has been created for the analysis. The OLOC model was designed specifically for the study of how minority interests fare in the INGO setting, what can promote the minority cause, and what can obstruct it; the model ultimately seeks to explore INGO-partner relationships which revolve around minority interests and explain what influences the decisions made about the relationship.

For this analysis the different influencing factors within the INGO setting have been categorised into six bundles of organisational characteristics. These six categories are 1) managerial structures, 2) working practices, 3) aims and objectives, 4) mainstreaming, 5) marketing and 6) organisational learning. Why such divisions have been made, and why these categories were chosen will be

explained later in this chapter, in section 2.1.3, after the basis and rationale behind the OLOC model has been introduced. Category 4) mainstreaming will be the sole focus of chapter three, so will not feature in this chapter.

2.1.1 INFLUENCES FROM THE LITERATURE

In creating the theoretical basis of the OLOC model, the works of Escobar, Ferguson, Mosse and Barnett and Finnemore have proven highly influential. Before the detailed explanation of the model commences, the main points which have been harvested from these authors will be highlighted.

Escobar describes development discourse as a composition of many different elements. These elements interact to form the terrain on which development actions are conceived and enacted, incorporating a significant bias towards ideas originating and preferred by the West.¹ The composite bricks of the development system include many forces striving for the realisation of specific aims, as well as conscious and subconscious patterns of behaviour linked to institutional or social beliefs. Understanding how these different elements interact with each other is the key to understanding development as discourse.²

In the institutional setting of the INGO, the interaction of different elements becomes even more fundamental in explaining behaviour and decision-making processes: the wider development scene is distilled into a structured and results-orientated institution, tying different elements into a closed system, usually dominated by bureaucratic management structures. Barnett and Finnemore take Escobar's ideas and apply them to international organisations.³ They describe how the dominance of bureaucracy within organisations can dramatically alter the decision-making terrain leading to activities which may

¹ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Chichester: Princeton University Press).

² Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* pp. 40-41.

³ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' *International Organizations* Vol. 53 No. 4, pp. 699-732.

counter progression to what the organisation states as its primary goals.⁴

The notion of a terrain upon which development actions are conceived and enacted has been taken as the starting point for the OLOC model to dissect the INGO monolith and gain insight into the complex decision-making processes contained within.⁵ It is acknowledged that this decision-making terrain incorporates a multiplicity of different institutional imperatives and behavioural influences which are present in each decision-making hub within the INGO. As is depicted in figure one, if the INGO is perceived as a disk, the top of this disk represents the decision-making terrain, upon which many different elements have left their imprint and affect the likelihood of certain decisions being made. As shall be discussed in more detail later, this terrain is not reflected accurately in the image the INGO presents to the outside world. For this reason, 'image' is treated separately in the diagrammatic representation of this model, being portrayed as the outside edge of the disk, symbolising that the INGO packaged and marketed 'image' is not the equivalent of the gritty, complex and at times controversial, internal decision-making terrain.

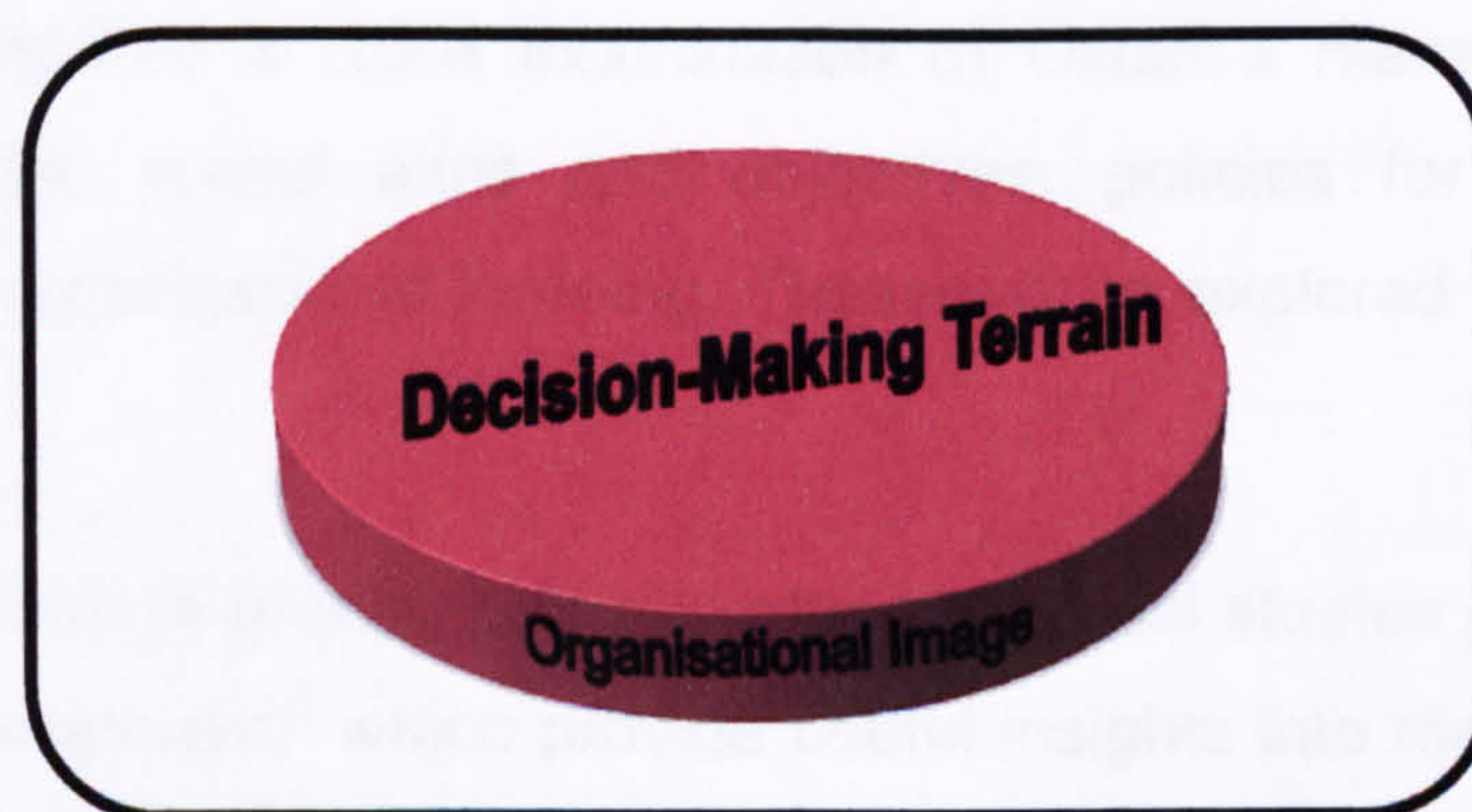


Fig. 1: First component of the diagram representing the OLOC Model.

⁴ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 702.

⁵ Ukpong, Ebebe A. (1993) 'The Constraints of NGOs' Operational Flaws on Rural Development in Nigeria' *Journal of Social Development in Africa* Vol. 8, No. 1, p. 56.

In his study of the World Bank's work in Lesotho, Ferguson shows how the different elements present in development organisations create an "unauthored resultant constellation":⁶ a complex web of institutional imperatives and behavioural influences which result in unintended and unanticipated outcomes. This constellation produces 'instrument-effects', where the unintentional outcomes of the organisation's activities discreetly serve the interests of the dominant parties.

In this research, we are concerned with how policy and such unintentional effects influenced Oxfam's decisions regarding NUDIPU, a partner working in the disability arena. The instrument-effects detailed in the following chapters are concerned with the maintenance of disability as a specialist intervention issue, thereby medicalising and depoliticising the issues,⁷ and also ensuring the dominance of able-bodied individuals in the development arena. The research concludes that disabled people were disadvantaged through policy decisions to withdraw from work specifically with disabled people, and also through the culmination of other elements to create unintended but very real obstacles to the inclusion of disabled people in Oxfam's other development work. To reach such a conclusion required a close examination of Oxfam's managerial structure, working practices, stated aims and objectives, policies for mainstreaming, marketing, and organisational learning. These will be explored in chapters four, five and six.

This sort of analysis is greatly aided by ethnographical studies such as Mosse's *Cultivating Development*,⁸ which provide useful insights into the working culture of INGOs, thoroughly analysing different elements within the system. The OLOC

⁶ Ferguson, James (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (London: University of Minnesota Press).

⁷ Michailakis, Dimitris (2003) 'The Systems Theory Concept of Disability: one is not born a disabled person, one is observed to be one' *Disability and Society* Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 210; Oliver, Mike (1986) 'Social Policy and Disability: some theoretical issues' *Disability, Handicap and Society* Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 6.

⁸ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development: An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice* (London: Pluto Press).

model combines ethnographic, sociological, institutional and management theories to help peel away the layers hiding the influential trends, ideas and procedures which affect the INGO-partner relationship. In the age of increasing bureaucratisation and growth of multi-layered, supposedly decentralised INGOs, incorporation of these diverse perspectives in a model has become essential if the model is to be successful in its task of explaining behaviour and analysing outcomes.⁹ By using the management theories which have been taking hold of the INGO world in the last two decades as a starting point, and uniting the growing body of literature dealing with the professionalisation of the INGO¹⁰ with ethnographic approaches,¹¹ the focus of the analysis is sharpened to those elements which are most influential, or important by virtue of their absence, to the relationship under investigation.

The complexity which was introduced when INGOs began to expand their bureaucracies and disperse responsibilities to different parts of their organisational apparatus has led to an obfuscation of the decisions and activities, shielding a full comprehension of the INGO's internal workings.¹² The multifaceted nature of INGO operations means certain aspects often go overlooked in evaluative studies, and consequently, the full dimension of the decisions regarding partners is not immediately apparent. The treatment of the INGO as a single entity also overlooks the processes through which socially held norms and values are internalised.¹³ By underplaying internal differences and interactions, the negotiations, interpretations and potential triumph of certain values in the overall planning and execution of programmes are left

⁹ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 701.

¹⁰ Ramia, Gaby (2003) 'Global Social Policy, INGOs and Strategic Management: An Emerging Research Agenda' *Global Social Policy* Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 91; Soal, Sue (2002) 'NGOs on the Line: an essay about purpose, rigour, rhetoric and commodification' *CDRA Annual Report 2001/2002*; and Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' *Global Social Policy* Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 329.

¹¹ Ferguson, James (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine*; and Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development*.

¹² Ferguson, James (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine*.

¹³ Fisher, William F. (1997) 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices' *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 26, p. 449.

unquestioned.

Saying that to understand an INGO's working practices and its relationship with its partners one has to look at the wider development scene is not new or revolutionary. However, this research aims to highlight aspects, such as learning and branding, which often go unnoticed in INGO analysis. It also aims to place these elements, and others more commonly discussed but not necessarily linked, in an analytical structure spanning the INGO's operational loci, to reveal unanticipated correlations, and the effects of policy emphases, neglect or explicit inattention.

2.1.2 WHY 'ORGANISATIONAL LEVELS'?

The OLOC Model is a guide to target analysis in an efficient and revealing manner. By identifying organisational levels and organisational characteristics within the INGO, a starting point for the investigation is provided. From here, trends can be identified, even if not apparent when the organisation is dealt with in its composite whole. This section explains why 'Organisational Levels' are included in the OLOC Model; these levels are composed of managerial tiers within the INGO, dispersed throughout the globe depending on where the INGO works. The section will also explain why the levels are an important starting place for analysing INGO-partner relations.

The external challenges faced by INGOs in the 1990s were numerous and came in the form of discursive criticisms of development policy and a changing working environment for INGOs. Shifts in the dominant development discourses, fuelled by the increase in development think tanks and development policy institutes,¹⁴ led to existing policies being criticised for lacking efficiency, participation and sustainability.¹⁵ Changing circumstances in the economical, political and marketing scene created new challenges for INGOs, such as the

¹⁴ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 330.

¹⁵ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 329.

need to work harder to gain access to the declining funds available from the donor community.¹⁶

INGOs had to respond to increased competition for funds;¹⁷ higher levels of scrutiny by the research community, media and donors;¹⁸ increased power by donors to hold the INGOs accountable to specified standards;¹⁹ an emphasis on grassroots decentralised development;²⁰ and the need to become more businesslike in their day to day operations.²¹ These factors resulted in fundamental changes in the internal workings of larger INGOs, introduced increasingly bureaucratic and administrative focused activities,²² and a shift towards an administratively decentralised, layered organisational structure.²³

The decentralisation of administrative duties throughout the organisation means that different decision-making tasks are being faced at different levels. However the need to look at the levels is more profound than this. Barnett and Finnemore highlight the dilemma for analysis created by the presence of groups in different locations and divisions within a large organisation:

“Different segments of the organization may develop different ways of making sense of the world, experience different local environments, and receive different stimuli from outside; they may also be populated by

¹⁶ INTRAC (2001) 'NGOs and Partnership' NGO Policy Briefing Paper No. 4, p. 5; and Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 329.

¹⁷ INTRAC (2001) 'NGOs and Partnership' p. 5; Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 329.

¹⁸ Khan, Mohammad Mohabbat (2003) 'Accountability of NGOs in Bangladesh: A critical overview' *Public Management Review* Vol. 5, Issue 2, p. 271.

¹⁹ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gina (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations' *Development in Practice* Vol. 15, No. 1, p. 77.

²⁰ Crewe, Emma and Harrison, Elizabeth (1998) *Whose Development?: An Ethnography of Aid* (London: Zed Books) p. 70; and Tandon, Rajesh (2000) 'Riding high or nosediving: development NGOs in the new millennium' *Development in Practice* Vol. 10, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 325.

²¹ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 338.

²² Minogue, Martin (2000) 'Should Flawed Models of Public Management be Exported?' *Issues and Practices' Public Policy and Management Working Paper Series (IDPM) Working Paper No. 15, p. 5.*

²³ Townsend, Janet G.; Porter, Gina; and Mawdsley, Emma (2002) 'The Role of the Transnational Community of Non-Governmental Organizations: Governance or Poverty Reduction?' *Journal of International Development* Vol. 14, Issue 6, p. 834.

different mixes of professions or shaped by different historical experiences. All of these would contribute to the development of different local cultures within the organization and different ways of perceiving the environment and the organization's overall mission."²⁴

If different segments of the organisation have varying conceptions of their mission, the decision-making terrain will not be homogenous throughout the organisation. For any analysis to uncover the nature of the decision-making process and the influence of different organisational characteristics, these levels need to be taken into account as independent and related bodies influencing INGO activities.

The changing development discourse in the 1990s pressured INGOs to show how they were grassroots led, and what efforts were being taken to move decision-making closer to the 'beneficiaries'.²⁵ These changes initiated the pursuit of structural decentralisation by many INGOs.²⁶ Decentralisation saw a selection of decision-making powers devolved to offices and workers located outside of the INGO's head office; this created or redefined levels of hierarchy within the organisation which mirrored the avenues through which funding would be transferred.²⁷ These new levels brought more offices and groups into the INGO's decision-making management structure, and these new decision-making hubs were within the INGO, under its brand name, but not tightly integrated into head office, bureaucratically, geographically or ideologically. These offices fostered their own relationship with the stated policy of the organisation, and in the context of the myriad of elements affecting the decision-making terrain, this was not a straightforward process.

²⁴ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International' p. 724.

²⁵ Crewe, Emma and Harrison, Elizabeth (1998) *Whose Development?* p. 70.

²⁶ Bavistar, Amitar (2004) 'Between micro-politics and administrative imperatives: Decentralisation and the watershed mission in Madhya Pradesh, India' *The European Journal of Development Research* Vol. 16, Issue 1, p. 26.

²⁷ INTRAC (2001) 'NGOs and Partnership' p. 4.

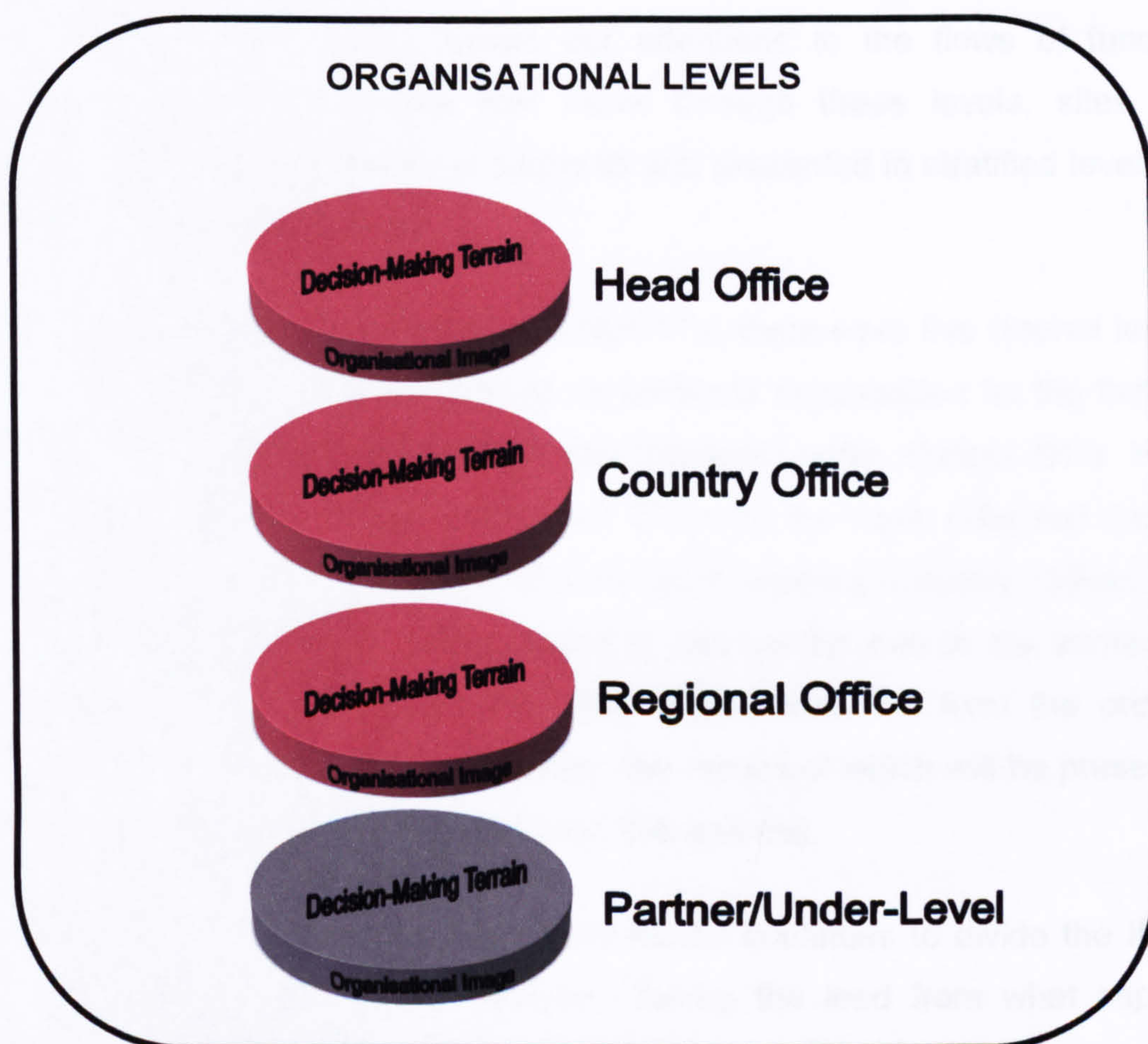


Fig. 2: First layer of the diagram representing the OLOC Model.

Having established the analytical starting point as ‘the levels’ within the INGO’s structure, as is illustrated in figure two, it must be emphasised that this is a heuristic aid to the study of the INGO’s internal workings. Individuals are not restricted to employment in stratified offices, and a purely ethnographic approach could take into account what Fisher calls the “multiple translocal connections” which shifts “the emphasis from a set of organizations to a fluid web of relations”.²⁸ However, the OLOC Model is concerned with examining how the application of ideas from management and development theories plays out in the dominant decision-making hubs, how this affects partner-INGO relations, and the ramifications for issues regarded as peripheral such as disability. Like

²⁸ Fisher, William F. (1997) ‘Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices’ p. 450.

Fisher's analysis, the model "draws our attentions to the flows of funding, knowledge, ideas, and people that move through these levels, sites and locations",²⁹ but the information is analysed and presented in stratified levels for clarity and illustrative purposes.

In the relationship between Oxfam and NUDIPU, there were five distinct levels: Oxfam International (OI) which acts as an umbrella organisation for the thirteen different Oxfam chapters throughout the Western world; Oxfam GB's Head Office based in the UK; Oxfam's Regional Office for the Horn, East and Central Africa (HECA), based in Nairobi; Oxfam GB's Uganda Country Office; and NUDIPU. OI and the HECA office played a less central role to the immediate Oxfam-NUDIPU relationship, so the other three levels will form the primary targets of the following analytical scrutiny, the results of which will be presented in three separate chapters, (chapters four, five and six).

Using these levels as a basis, the OLOC Model continues to divide the INGO down into smaller sections for analysis. Taking the lead from what aspects featured most prominently in the field research, the relevant discourses were investigated in more depth and categories drawn up to help dissect the evidence collected. Forming a balance between the elements highlighted by the actors and those which proved influential when compared to theoretical debates, certain focus **organisational characteristics** were chosen around which to arrange the analysis within the levels. The dominant influences originated from management and development theories; therefore this evaluation shall start by providing a background of the ideas, contextualising the findings.

²⁹ Fisher, William F. (1997) 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices' p. 450.

2.1.3 WHY 'ORGANISATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS'?

Different levels within INGOs receive organisational policy, but this is not a homogenous list of clearly demarcated aims and objectives: there are guidelines for staff on how to conduct the INGO operations; publically stated policy emphases; internal focus areas such as gender mainstreaming; individual crusades over certain issues; and local, cultural and personal preferences. Within this multitude of influencing elements, each level receives their mandate, defines it and negotiates with others to establish their role; the interplay of various organisational characteristics is highly influential in *how* decisions are made and *what* decisions are made. In this section, I will provide a more lucid definition of what I mean by 'Organisational Characteristics'.

In the OLOC Model the 'levels' within the INGO form the main starting point for dissection: the 'characteristics' provide the framework within which to continue the analysis. Phillips and Edwards describe development organisations as being far from "bland, homogenous entities";³⁰ the actual output of the development organisation is a product of intentions being challenged, interpreted, and negotiated. Different levels of the INGO contain "numerous 'stakeholders' [with] multiple agendas",³¹ and the activities conducted in the name of the INGO are a product of negotiation. Phillips and Edwards claim that all individuals within the system "have some potential capacity to influence development outcomes".³² However, the interplay of forces highlighted in the following sections will reveal the extent to which the different influencing elements culminate to place the higher levels in a much stronger position when it comes to spreading their interpretation of the role of the INGO; those at the lower levels have to work a lot harder to enact decisions which counter dominant policy directives, or include issues not considered central to the INGO's image. At each different level,

³⁰ Phillips, Sue and Edwards, Richard (2000) 'Development, Impact Assessment and the Praise Culture' *Critique of Anthropology* Vol. 20, No. 1, p. 49.

³¹ Phillips, Sue and Edwards, Richard (2000) 'Development, Impact Assessment and the Praise Culture' p. 49.

³² Phillips, Sue and Edwards, Richard (2000) 'Development, Impact Assessment and the Praise Culture' p. 49.

organisational characteristics affect decision-making in different ways; therefore it becomes necessary to closely examine a range of elements at each level, not just within the INGO as a whole.

Personal attitudes towards women and disabled people, the aim of improving access to education for girls living in poverty, the need to show that the organisation's work has an impact, and the fundraising imperative in an increasingly competitive and high profile media setting are all elements which have significant influence over the operations of the INGO. These elements affect the behaviour of the individual employees and of the organisation, resulting in the display of many different **organisational characteristics**. The origins of the different organisational characteristics are diverse, and they do not follow a consistent, unified guide for action: rather they create a constellation of different 'behavioural chains' which affect the decision-making terrain.

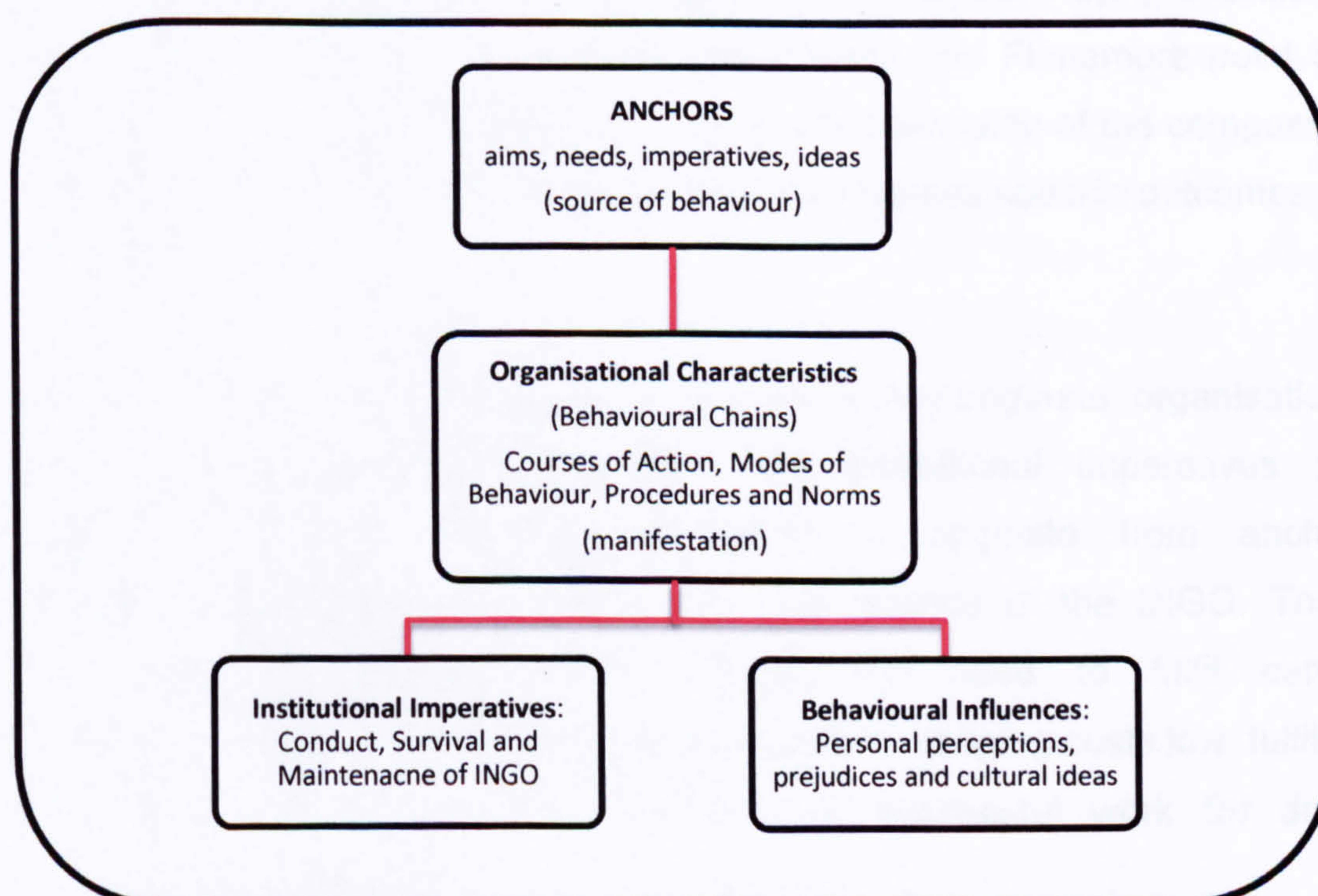


Fig. 3: Behavioural Chains and Organisational Characteristics.

Each influencing element (prejudice, aim, need, or imperative) can be viewed as an anchor to which a chain is attached; the chain represents a singled out organisational characteristic, pictured in this model as a 'behavioural' chain. As shown in figure three, this behavioural chain can be seen to pass through the decision-making terrain, mixing with other chains, leaving an imprint on the scenery, and making its presence felt during the process of policy formation and the day to day conduct of the INGO's work. Some chains are big and unavoidable, such as the need to produce evidence of accountability and the need to provide material for INGO marketing campaigns. Some chains are small, break easily, or are hidden and obstructed by the larger chains. These smaller, weaker chains include ideas such as the mainstreaming of disability issues and organisational learning.

Organisational characteristics are therefore a collection of chains passing through the levels of the INGO; they can be singled out for individual analysis, and grouped into smaller manageable bundles for analysis. Paying attention to these separate characteristics does not, as Barnett and Finnemore point out, make this analysis "mere description,"³³ as an understanding of the composition of organisations is essential if behaviour and what causes specific outcomes are to be explained.³⁴

Depending on the nature of the anchor from which they originate, organisational characteristics can be initially divided into institutional imperatives and behavioural influences. Institutional imperatives originate from anchors concerned with the survival, conduct and maintenance of the INGO. These imperatives affect decision-making through the need to fulfil certain requirements: the maintenance of accurate accounts, keeping costs low, fulfilling fundraising needs, and providing evidence of successful work for donor

³³ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 701.

³⁴ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 701.

consumption. These imperatives are explicitly promoted through institutional mechanisms, such as job descriptions, aims and objectives and codes of conduct; alternatively, they are pursued through institutional discourse, forming an acceptable code of behaviour learnt through induction, training and socialisation. These imperatives are all aimed at institutional issues, including marketing, branding, image, accounting, organisational learning and the activities which fulfil the INGO's development mandate.

Personal perceptions, prejudices and cultural ideas are also present in the decision-making terrain; these result in 'behavioural influences'. These anchors can codify themselves in official policy, for example, the issuing of directives for the inclusion of women in all the INGO's work, or the decision not to continue with training to encourage the inclusion of disabled people. However, this set of organisational characteristics exerts most influence at the micro-level, where the multitude of decisions and activities which occur between official policy and implementation slowly incorporate personal ideas allowing for policy slippage³⁵ or the 'evaporation'³⁶ of less popular or trickier options. This has been observed many times with plans detailing the inclusion of women in development projects which fail to lead to their inclusion on the ground.³⁷ Behavioural influences include notions such as 'Western conceptions of development are superior'; 'disabled people are too risky to be a target for development initiatives'; and 'women are not as important as men in society, therefore should not be the focus of this development project'. All of these influences can affect the decisions which are taken regarding the INGO-partner relationship. When the phrase 'organisational characteristics' is used in this analysis, it refers both to

³⁵ Fowler, Alan (2000) 'Degrees of Separation: perspectives on the Decentralisation of International NGOs' in Gibbs, Sarah with Smillie, Ian; Pratt, Brian; and Fowler, Alan 'Decentralised NGO Management' *INTRAC Occasional Papers Series 18* p. 16; and Joakes, Susan (Ed.) (1997) 'Retreat or Advance? Mainstreaming Gender Analysis at the Institute of Development Studies' *Journal of International Development* Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 725.

³⁶ Longwe, Sara Hlupekile (1997) 'The evaporation of gender policies in the patriarchal cooking pot' *Development in Practice* Vol. 7, No. 2.

³⁷ Hadjipateras, Angela. (1997) 'Implementing a gender policy in ACORD: Strategies, constraints and challenges' *Gender and Development* Vol. 5, Issue 1, p. 29; and Oxfam GB (2003) *Programme Impact Report 2003* p. 19.

institutional imperatives and behavioural influences.

Not all organisational characteristics are compatible; for example, those based in the need to market the INGO to the Western donors have been shown to directly counter efforts for downward accountability.³⁸ This creates unexpected dynamics in the decision-making process which affect the INGO-partner relationship. By including an awareness of these characteristics explicitly in the analysis, not only the often noted replication and reinforcement of Western ideological and discursive dominance³⁹ is revealed, but also what Barnett and Finnemore refer to as the *dysfunctions* and *pathologies* of international organisations.⁴⁰ Dysfunctions are defined as behaviour which undermines an organisations stated goals and pathologies pertain to dysfunctions resulting from bureaucratic characteristics.⁴¹ These dysfunctions and pathologies occur when different organisational characteristics within the INGO are working towards different goals, and by doing so, introducing weaknesses and inefficiencies into the system. For example, the following chapters will discuss how efforts to move decision-making closer to the ground were countered by Oxfam's UK based Head Office needing to keep control over policy to ensure donors got the programmes they had contributed money towards. Similar contradictions in INGO work have been discussed by other academics.⁴²

Further pursuit of this avenue of enquiry revealed other examples where contradicting elements have led to consequences directly in opposition to what

³⁸ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gina (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction' p. 77; and Soal, Sue (2002) 'NGOs on the Line'.

³⁹ Ferguson, James (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine*; and Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development*.

⁴⁰ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organisations'.

⁴¹ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 702.

⁴² Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations'; Bavistar, Amitar (2004) 'Between micro-politics and administrative imperatives'; Cooley, Alexander and Ron, James (2002) 'The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action' *International Security* Vol. 27, No. 1, p. 7; Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gina (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction'; and Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 116.

the organisation may have stated as policy. This occurs when the complex decision-making terrain is hostile to one weak organisational characteristic, but favourable to others; the dominant organisational characteristics override the weaker one and can produce outcomes directly against that behavioural chain's aim. For example, an INGO may state it values diversity and includes women, ethnic minorities and disabled people in all of its work, but with closer inspection, very few disabled people are included in the actual development work. This occurs because institutional imperatives such as cost-efficiency combine with behavioural influences which prejudice against disabled people to create an environment where there is no support, facilities or knowledge to enable this behavioural chain to influence the activities of the organisation. The INGO can take steps to strengthen the weak organisational characteristic through measures such as targets, training and monitoring, but to mainstream an issue requires a significant effort. Chapter three investigates the complicated arena of mainstreaming, focusing specifically on disability issues, and drawing on lessons from gender mainstreaming.

Organisational characteristics provide a useful framework for analysis. When an INGO-partner relationship is under scrutiny, the key influencing elements need to be highlighted and their interaction thoroughly investigated. The behavioural chains of the organisational characteristics can be seen to crisscross throughout the INGO's layer-cake structure; some chains are stronger in some levels than others, and chains that are present at one level, may not be present at other levels. At each level within the organisation, the institutional imperatives and behavioural influences affect how and what decisions are made. At each level, different organisational characteristics hold more sway over the actions of individuals than others. For example, the need to market the INGO will be more influential over the actions of individuals in marketing departments, whereas the imperative to satisfy the immediate needs of people in the aftermath of an earthquake will be felt most by the front line employees.

Paying attention to the organisational characteristics cutting across the levels of

the INGO provides much insight into the decision-making process. Where the levels provide us with initial blocks to break the analysis down into, the organisational characteristics are used to divide the research into three further subcategories: 'Structural Elements', 'Ideational Elements' and 'Organisational Learning'. Within these three sections bundles of organisational characteristics are identified. Each case study chapter will take one level and break it down into these three subsections, and pursue the framework outlined here. The analysis will be descriptive in nature, and the framework is not rigid, allowing related phenomena to be analysed in sections, but not shaped by the categories. It also must be stressed that the categories were defined after the research, therefore the collection process was not tainted by predefined artificial partitions and guiding ideas.

a) Structural Elements

The 'levels' within the INGO provide the initial points for dissection in the OLOC model and these represent the first divisions of the Structural Elements. The elaboration in this section will ground each 'level' targeted for analysis in the map of the organisation. This map is composed of ties between departments, offices, partners and donors. However, in the contentious world of managerial and development theories, even this is not as clear cut as it seems, involving debates on the nature, use and drawbacks of decentralisation in the INGO setting;⁴³ relations with partners; and the ever present and ever controversial issue of personal networking.⁴⁴

⁴³ Pratt, Brian (2000) 'Politically Correct or Good Practice? The Debate on Decentralised Management of International NGOs' in Gibbs, Sarah with Smillie, Ian; Pratt, Brian; and Fowler, Alan (2000) 'Decentralised NGO Management' p. 5.

⁴⁴ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 107.

b) Ideational Elements

The Ideational Elements centre on the meaty debates and negotiations regarding policy and interpretation. The possible coverage in this area is extensive; however, being guided by the field work, the following categories proved fundamental to the Oxfam-NUDIPU relationship so have formed the basis of analysis here and in the following chapters:

- **Working Practices:** these are related to how the INGO defines the appropriate conduct of its work. This includes elements of accountability, cost-effectiveness and impact.
- **Aims and Objectives:** the policy making bodies within the organisation define the aims and objectives for the INGO forming a collection of rhetorical statements which are delivered to the donors and the public. In this research these are called organisational 'concept-blocks'. This section will look at how these are formulated, communicated and used at each level within the INGO. What the organisation states in its rhetoric does not always reflect which goals are backed up with practical measures which could lead to a significant chance of that organisational characteristic thriving in the decision-making terrain. The concrete measures taken to implement policy will be referred to as organisational 'blue-prints'.
- **Marketing:** this section has been highlighted because of its growing importance in the INGO world, and because of the influence marketing imperatives exert on other behavioural chains.
- **Mainstreaming gender and disability issues:** the theoretical basis of this collection of organisational characteristics will be discussed in detail in chapter three.

c) Organisational Learning

The business and management spheres of knowledge-management and organisation learning were starting to be seen as essential for the evolution and efficient performance of international corporations,⁴⁵ and in some areas, INGOs were starting to adopt similar rhetoric.⁴⁶ In a strategic review of its operations in 1998, Oxfam raised the issue of how to 'know what it knows' and how to share that knowledge.⁴⁷ However, despite adopting terminology from theories of organisation learning, including specialist terminology such as, implicit and tacit notions of learning,⁴⁸ Oxfam, and the INGO world have often failed in their attempt to emulate the business world in this respect.⁴⁹

To summarise, there will be three sections, dealing with six bundles of organisational characteristics, structured as follows:

- **Structural Elements**
 - 1) Managerial Structure

- **Ideational Elements**
 - 2) Working Practices
 - 3) Aims and Objectives
 - 4) Marketing
 - 5) Mainstreaming Minority Issues

- **Organisational Learning**
 - 6) Learning as an Organisation

⁴⁵ Stockton, Nicholas (2006) *The Accountability Alibi*; and Takahashi, Chie (2006) 'Partnerships, learning and development: a case study from Ghana' *Development in Practice* Vol. 16, No 1, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Takahashi, Chie (2006) 'Partnerships, learning and development: a case study from Ghana' p. 40; and Vincent, Robin and Byrne, Ailish (2006) 'Enhancing learning in development partnerships' *Development and Practice* Vol. 16, No. 5, p. 386.

⁴⁷ Oxfam GB (1998) *Oxfam GB (1998) Setting the Course for the Twenty-First Century: Oxfam Strategic Review* (Unpublished Report) p. 14.

⁴⁸ Oxfam GB (1998) *Setting the Course for the Twenty-First Century* p. 141.

⁴⁹ Powell, Mike (2006) 'Which Knowledge? Whose reality? An overview of knowledge used in the development sector' *Development in Practice* Vol. 16, No. 6, p. 525.

The OLOC Model can now be seen as divided into levels, and each level into six bundles of organisational characteristics. As we progress through the analysis, the relevant section of the following diagram, figure four, will be brought back to indicate which organisational bundle has been reached.

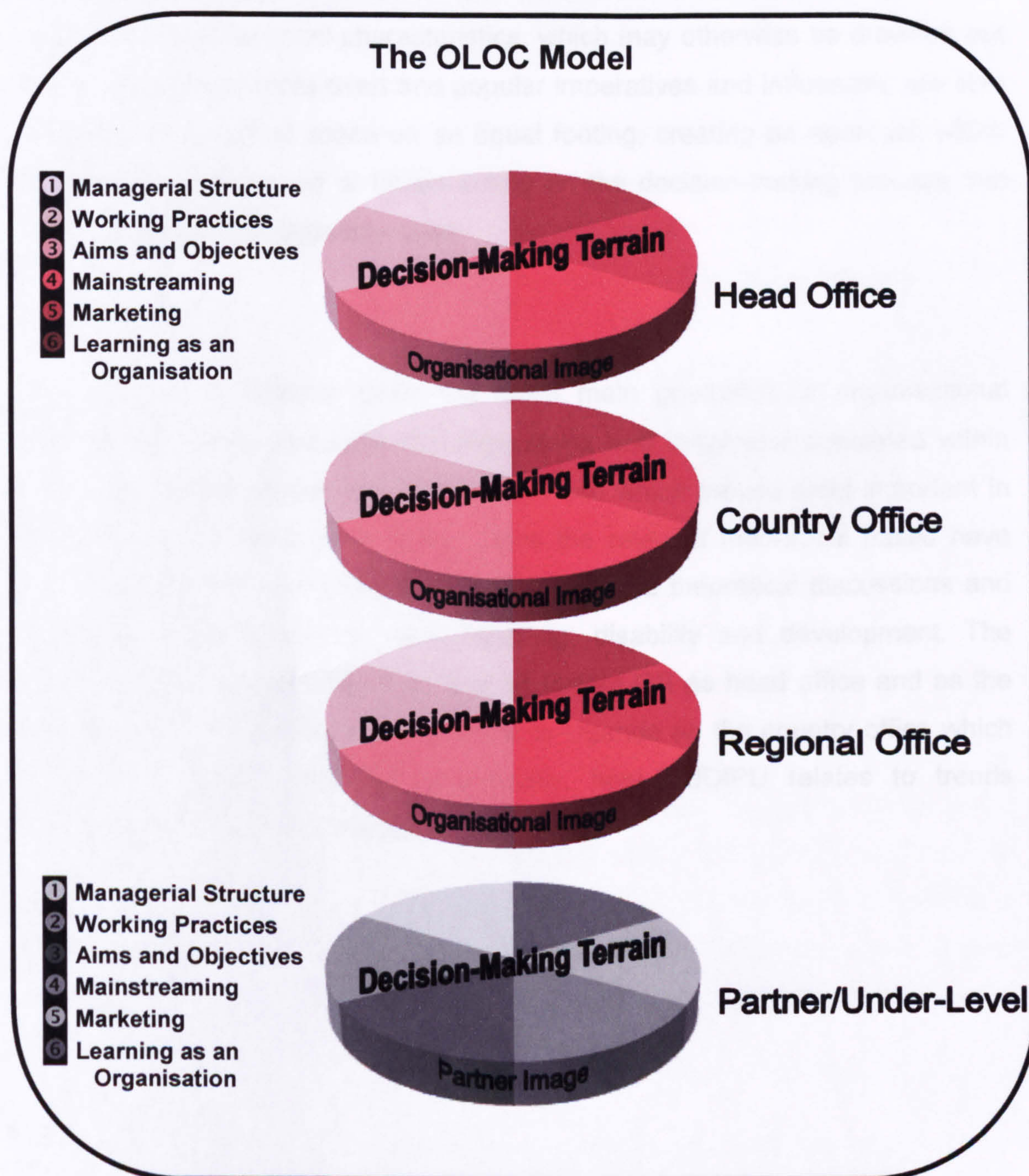


Fig. 4: The OLOC Model.

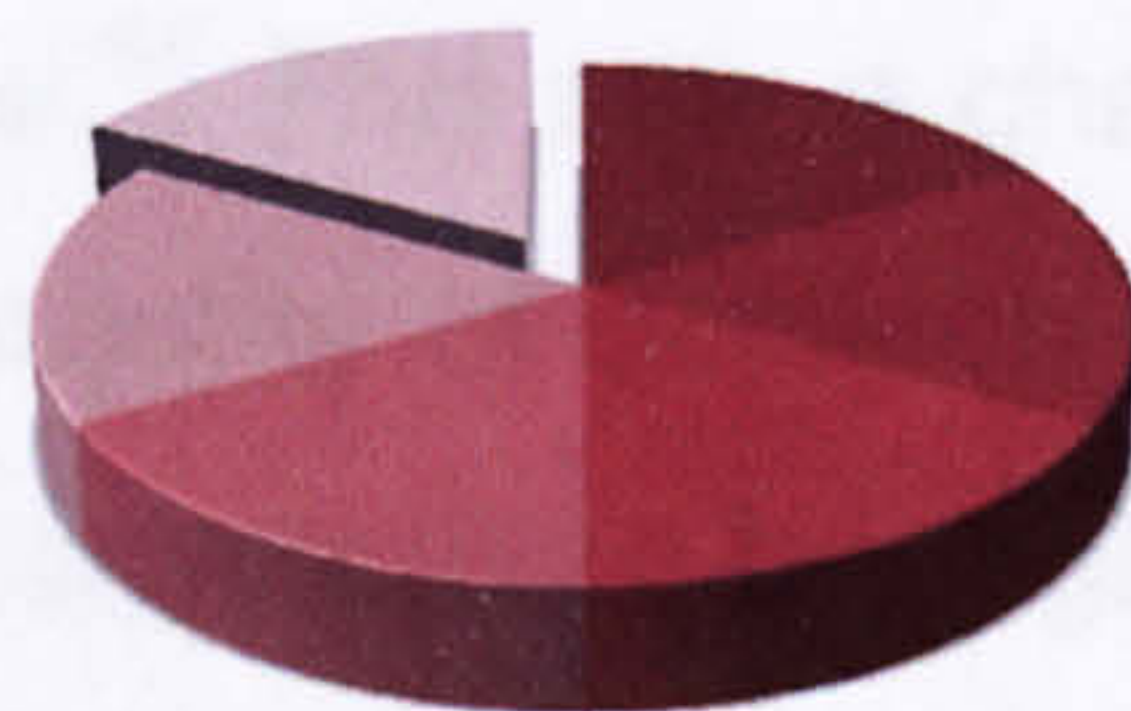
As each bundle of organisational characteristics is analysed, where there are correlations between organisational characteristics which promote the INGOs goals, or create dysfunctional or pathological behaviour, these shall be explicitly highlighted. When all these segments are analysed and reinserted into the wider investigation, a fuller picture of how decisions have been made will be presented. Organisational characteristics, which may otherwise be drowned out by the presence of more overt and popular imperatives and influences, are able to share the analytical space on an equal footing, creating an approach which takes note of the myriad of forces acting on the decision-making process, not just the obvious or fashionable ones.

*

The rest of this chapter takes the three main groupings of organisational characteristics and discusses the imperatives and influences contained within them. The characteristics highlighted are those which proved most important in explaining our specific case study. Once the relevant theoretical bases have been covered, the next chapter will build on these theoretical discussions and introduce issues related to mainstreaming, disability and development. The following three chapters will then look at Oxfam GB as head office and as the engineer of the lower levels; Oxfam GB in Uganda as the country office which meets the partner, NUDIPU; and finally, how NUDIPU relates to trends highlighted by the OLOC model.

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

Deconstructing the Development Machine



1 Managerial Structure

Looking at the managerial structure is an important starting point in explaining the internal workings of an INGO, as Padaki explains: “The way in which work is structured determines the actual organisational processes directly and far more powerfully than do statements of intent and sentiment”.⁵⁰ What statements does the shape of the managerial hierarchy convey? What networks are created, and how do these set up opportunities and obstacles for other organisational characteristics? These are just some of the questions this section will be looking into as it discusses the mapping of the INGO, decentralisation, the incorporation of partners into the managerial structures and finally the issue of personal networking as organisational networking.

2.2.1 MAPPING THE INGO

The INGO which is the focus of this investigation, is one of the UK’s several so called ‘super-INGOs’.⁵¹ Global in nature and occupying the highest ranks in the fundraising league tables, these super-INGOs vary in composition and outlook, but share many similarities. The larger UK based INGOs which command a dominant position in the market can attribute their marketing strength to their affiliation with an international consortium of INGOs sharing the same name,

⁵⁰ Padaki, Vijay (2007) ‘The human organisation: challenges in NGOs and development programmes’ *Development in Practice* Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 73.

⁵¹ Ramia, Gaby (2003) ‘Global Social Policy, INGOs and Strategic Management’ p. 80; Smillie, Ian (2002) ‘Conclusion’ in Gibbs, Sarah with Smillie, Ian; Pratt, Brian; and Fowler, Alan (2000) ‘Decentralised NGO Management’ *INTRAC Occasional Papers Series* 18 p. 44; and Stubbs, Paul (2003) ‘International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy’ p. 333.

logo, image and ethos.⁵² Since the early 1990s, most UK chapters of these international affiliations of super-INGOs have come under pressure to decentralise their managerial structures,⁵³ taking the inspiration from models exhibited in the corporate world.⁵⁴ This saw a change from the dominant model of the INGO, which had the majority of decision-making power concentrated in the head office⁵⁵ to a model characterised by regional and country offices which hold some operational decision-making and power over selected managerial decisions. These offices were aligned along the networks of funding channels,⁵⁶ and still came under the jurisdiction of the UK based head office.

The offices and decision-making hubs dispersed through the organisation can be plotted to form a 'map' of the organisation. As decentralisation was not a uniform process among the different UK based INGOs, this map is an important place to start developing an understanding the internal workings of the INGO under scrutiny.

2.2.2 DECENTRALISATION

The "rush towards decentralisation"⁵⁷ was inspired by theories present in the development, management and business worlds, and the changes it shepherded in profoundly affected how organisational characteristics were communicated throughout the INGO managerial hierarchy, and which imperatives and influences were emphasised in the decision-making hubs. More importantly, decentralisation changed the location of decision-making, meaning

⁵² Henderson, Keith M. (1997) 'Alternatives to Imposed Administrative Reform: the NGOs' *International Journal of Public Sector Management* Vol. 10, No. 5, p. 355.

⁵³ Fowler, Alan (1992) 'Decentralisation for international NGOs' *Development in Practice* Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 123; and Pratt, Brian (2000) 'Politically Correct or Good Practice?' p. 5.

⁵⁴ Fowler, Alan (1992) 'Decentralisation for international NGOs' p. 123; and Pratt, Brian (2000) 'Politically Correct or Good Practice?' p. 7.

⁵⁵ Fowler, Alan (1992) 'Decentralisation for international NGOs'; Hastie, Rachel (1997) *Disabled Children in a Society at War: A Casebook from Bosnia* (Oxford: Oxfam UK and Ireland) p. 67.

⁵⁶ INTRAC (2001) 'NGOs and Partnership' p. 4.

⁵⁷ Pratt, Brian and Gibbs, Sarah (2000) 'Preface' in Gibbs, Sarah with Smillie, Ian; Pratt, Brian; and Fowler, Alan (2000) 'Decentralised NGO Management' *INTRAC Occasional Papers Series* 18 p. 1.

where previously sole authority over important decisions was concentrated in the one centralised office, after decentralisation there were multiple decision-making terrains becoming more influential in shaping the activities of the INGO.

Stubbs describes how the catalyst for major changes in structure, and the increased professionalisation of the development worker, came in the 1990s. Reduced funds for development work threw notions of efficiency, accountability, cost-effectiveness and an increased preference for grassroots participation,⁵⁸ into the INGO arena. This caused major structural changes towards more decentralised forms, coupled with a growing emphasis on the partners in the institutional map as genuine 'partners' in the design and implementation of the development operation. The introduction of regional or country offices helped move day to day decision-making closer to the areas of activity; this was seen to increase the downward accountability of the INGO's work.⁵⁹ The INGO could also use the partner's existing structure and experience without having to incur the expense of setting up these structures.⁶⁰ This extended their reach closer to the grassroots without having to invest in the structure and individuals directly, or take responsibility for the any longitudinal maintenance.⁶¹ The presence of the partners within the structure heightened perceived legitimacy by enabling 'participation' through the inclusion of local groups,⁶² albeit often not as genuine partners, but something more akin to an under-level.

The notion of the **under-level** is a tool devised by for the OLOC model to distinguish the nature of the INGO-partner relationship. An under-level is characterised by upwards (rather than downwards) accountability, a strong

⁵⁸ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 329.

⁵⁹ Oxfam GB (2001) *Oxfam Annual Report and Accounts 2000/1* pp. 4-5.

⁶⁰ Muhereza, Frank Emmanuel (June 2004) *Oxfam GB – A Long Term Program Strategy for the Rwenzori Region August 2004 – December 2010* (Unpublished Report) p. 34; and Oxfam GB in Uganda (2005) *The Rwenzori Livelihoods Improvement and Good Governance Project* (Unpublished Report) p. 27.

⁶¹ Kapoor, Dip (2005) 'NGO partnership and the taming of the grassroots in rural India' *Development in Practice* Vol. 15 No. 2; and Michael, Sarah (2004) *Undermining Development: The Absence of Power among Local NGOs in Africa* (Oxford: James Curry and Indiana University Press).

⁶² Fisher, William (1997) 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices' p. 454.

donor-beneficiary ethos and lack of attention paid to the partners' long term sustainability. Genuine partnership cannot be based on such characteristics. Why and how such a distinction is made between genuine partners and under-levels will be discussed in the next section.

Decentralisation is highly regarded as a democratic and participatory form of management.⁶³ Because of its popularity with donors and the benefits it is supposed to yield, decentralisation has become an end as well as a means for many development organisations,⁶⁴ leading to the situation where, as Smillie describes: "some agencies are still pushing towards decentralisation without really understanding why or what might be the advantages or weaknesses of the structures they are designing so enthusiastically."⁶⁵ Often decentralisation results in unforeseen drawbacks and contradictory trends between organisational characteristics: pushes for decentralisation can introduce new imperatives into the decision-making terrain which can thwart or bolster other organisational characteristics. Therefore, how the INGO reacts to the pressures for decentralisation, the new 'map' of the organisation and what measures are introduced to accompany any major structural shifts will have a profound effect on decision-making and needs to form the basis of the analysis.

Three forms of managerial decentralisation which bear relevance to the field of development have been identified in development literature: deconcentration, delegation, devolution.⁶⁶ There is a need to start the analysis of INGO decentralisation with an understanding of what types of decentralisation are available, and the benefits and drawbacks of each option.⁶⁷

⁶³ Hope, Kempe Ronald Sr., and Chikulo, Bornwell C. (2000) 'Decentralization, the New Public Management, and the Changing Role of the Public Sector in Africa' *Public Management Review* Vol. 2, Issue 1, p. 28.

⁶⁴ Smillie, Ian (2002) 'Conclusion' p. 44.

⁶⁵ Pratt, Brian and Gibbs, Sarah (2000) 'Preface' p. 1.

⁶⁶ Bergh, Sylvia (2004) 'Democratic decentralisation and local participation: a review of recent research' *Development in Practice* Vol. 14, No. 6, p. 781; and Fowler, Alan (2000) 'Degrees of Separation' p. 10.

⁶⁷ Fowler, Alan (1992) 'Decentralisation for international NGOs' p. 122.

The most limited form of decentralisation is 'deconcentration'. In these instances, responsibilities are delegated, but decision-making power is retained by the head office.⁶⁸ This reduces the risk of rogue decisions being made which do not correspond with the central power's vision,⁶⁹ can herald the title of decentralisation, but lacks efficiency and genuine relocation of power. As Bergh claims, deconcentration is the weakest form of decentralisation.⁷⁰ For INGOs, this can mean the handing down of accountancy or reporting functions,⁷¹ but the power to make grants and approve programmes of the lower offices remains with head office.

'Delegation' represents the next category of decentralisation. Bergh describes how this involves the transferral of responsibility for decision-making and administration to an organisation beyond the central authority, but accountability to that centre is maintained.⁷² Hope and Chikulo explain how this form of decentralisation is seen to be more "business-like", and that it is increasingly "used as a tool for making decisions more relevant to local needs and conditions".⁷³ For the INGO, such delegation would involve granting a regional or country office, or a specific person within these offices, the power to authorise grants and expenditures in accordance with a prearranged agreement with the head office. All operations, as Pratt and Gibbs make clear, would still be "defined within general parameters set by head office".⁷⁴

The final form of decentralisation is 'devolution'. Hope and Chikulo define this as "the granting of decision-making powers to lower authorities and allowing them

⁶⁸ Bergh, Sylvia (2004) 'Democratic decentralisation and local participation' p.781.

⁶⁹ Sharma, Chanchal Kumar (2004) 'Decentralization Dilemma: Measuring the Degree and Evaluating the Outcomes' *Indian Journal of Political Science* Vol. 67, No. 1 p. 54.

⁷⁰ Bergh, Sylvia (2004) 'Democratic decentralisation and local participation' p.781.

⁷¹ Pratt, Brian and Gibbs, Sarah (2000) 'Introduction' in Gibbs, Sarah with Smillie, Ian; Pratt, Brian; and Fowler, Alan (2000) 'Decentralised NGO Management' *INTRAC Occasional Papers Series* 18 p. 2.

⁷² Bergh, Sylvia (2004) 'Democratic decentralisation and local participation' p.781.

⁷³ Hope, Kempe Ronald Sr., and Chikulo, Bornwell C. (2000) 'Decentralization, the New Public Management, and the Changing Role of the Public Sector in Africa' p. 30.

⁷⁴ Pratt, Brian and Gibbs, Sarah (2000) 'Introduction' p. 2.

to take full responsibility without reference back”.⁷⁵ This may be the strongest form of decentralisation,⁷⁶ but as Fowler points out, the governors who have legal responsibility for the activities of the INGO would be put in an awkward position if the INGO were to transfer too much authority to the outreaches of the INGO without any checking mechanisms in place.⁷⁷ Accountability to the donors would also prevent such a radical shift of power away from the centre,⁷⁸ and finally, as will be discussed later in this chapter, in the marketing section, coherence of organisational practice and image is considered vital in the marketing of the INGO.⁷⁹ If the outposts of the organisation were allowed to set their own priorities, it would lead to a greater divergence, not convergence, of the INGO’s activities.

The structural elements of INGOs change to reflect contemporary expectations. What will be shown in later discussions is that, when the motivations behind the decentralisation movements met with other institutional imperatives arising from business and management discourse, a ‘subversion’ occurred.⁸⁰ Movements to decentralise were not, as Baviskar made clear, “simply empty rhetoric that can be dismissed as a top-down, donor-driven discourse”,⁸¹ but the conflict of forces from the drive to decentralise and the necessity to retain managerial control resulted in “a curious paradox”.⁸² The need to ‘show decentralisation had been implemented’ took its place among other imperatives where success had to be demonstrated. Decentralisation had to vie for space with the need to show impact, grassroots participation and accountability. These often undermined

⁷⁵ Hope, Kempe Ronald Sr., and Chikulo, Bornwell C. (2000) ‘Decentralization, the New Public Management, and the Changing Role of the Public Sector in Africa’ p. 30.

⁷⁶ Hope, Kempe Ronald Sr., and Chikulo, Bornwell C. (2000) ‘Decentralization, the New Public Management, and the Changing Role of the Public Sector in Africa’ p. 30.

⁷⁷ Fowler, Alan (2000) ‘Degrees of Separation: Perspectives on the Decentralisation of International NGOs’ p. 17.

⁷⁸ Bavistar, Amita (2004) ‘Between micro-politics and administrative imperatives’ p. 26.

⁷⁹ Jenkinson, Angus; Sain, Branko; and Bishop, Kevin (2005) ‘Optimising communications for charity brand management’ *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* Vol. 10 p. 79.

⁸⁰ Baviskar, Amita (2004) ‘Between Micro-Politics and Administrative Imperatives’ p. 26.

⁸¹ Baviskar, Amita (2004) ‘Between Micro-Politics and Administrative Imperatives’ p. 26.

⁸² Baviskar, Amita (2004) ‘Between Micro-Politics and Administrative Imperatives’ p. 26.

genuine and far reaching decentralisation efforts as head office could not afford to risk a relaxation of other institutional imperatives, such as central control over definitions of policy.⁸³

Centralised control still characterises INGO operations: thematically focused strategic plans have become commonplace,⁸⁴ and there is a pressure to produce evidence that the right sort of work has been undertaken.⁸⁵ However, the restructuring that took place for decentralisation had effects which were not all about control: offices were created or expanded throughout the globe and organisation. These new hubs of interpretation took root inside the INGO's body; communities were created with a stake in the INGO's work, and group identities were formed. In these locations, operational decisions were made, administration conducted and opinions were formed. Groups with the potential to challenge the dominant view of INGO policy, development, business or management ideas came into being.

Many overlapping institutional imperatives and behavioural influences affected the possible actions and voice of the various offices. Organisational characteristics which facilitated lower level influence over decision-making processes included the freedom over day to day decisions, being the 'authors' of country level strategic plans, and choosing the programmes and projects they wished to work on (albeit dependent on the approval of head office). The lower levels also had control over the information and knowledge they put into the INGO, via reports, databases and other forms of knowledge transfer. The implications of this for the organisation will be discussed further in the section on Organisational Learning.

⁸³ Khan, Mohammad Mohabbat (2003) 'Accountability of NGOs in Bangladesh: A critical overview' p. 275.

⁸⁴ de Conink, John (2005) *Current procedures and policies dominating aid: building strong relationships and enabling NGOs meet their stated aims?: A summary report on research carried out in Uganda, 2000-2004* p. 9.

⁸⁵ Townsend, Janet G.; Porter, Gina; and Mawdsley, Emma (2002) 'The Role of the Transnational Community of Non-Governmental Organizations' p. 835.

*

The most decentralised element of the INGO's operations are not, in fact, part of the INGO; on the outskirts of the INGO's institutional operations exist semi-autonomous groups: the partners. These are tied to the structure in a symbiotic relationship. Partners need the support and funds of the INGO, which in turn needs the partners to claim accountability, improve efficiency, and to play the role of beneficiary. However, whether the relationship can justifiably be called a partnership has been called into question by a number of partners, donors and academics.⁸⁶ It is to the 'partners' that we now turn our attention.

2.2.3 PARTNERS OR UNDER-LEVEL?

As with the move to decentralisation, the increased use of 'partners' can be seen as a reflection of a change in development discourse. The use, or even the creation, of local or national organisations to act as a partner for the INGO is not a new tactic by development bodies; local partner NGOs have often acted as the conduit between INGOs and the local beneficiaries.⁸⁷ Over the last three decades, fewer INGOs choose to be operational, (conducting the grassroots development work themselves), opting instead to recruit local groups to carry out operations for them.⁸⁸

The recent emphasis on working with partners saw a growth in the importance and quantity of national and local NGOs affiliating with the INGO; but the choice to label these organisations as 'partners' obscures both the varied nature of these relationships and the different types of organisations involved. This section will discuss the origins of the discourses which favour the use of

⁸⁶ DSI (2007) *DSI Mini-programme Country Strategy Paper Uganda 2007 – 2011* p. 41; INTRAC (2001) 'NGOs and Partnership' p. 3; and Oxfam GB (2007) *Oxfam GB in Partnership A Global Strategic Evaluation 2006/07* p. 47.

⁸⁷ Igoe, Jim (2003) 'Scaling Up Civil Society: Donor Money, NGOs and the Pastoralist Land Rights Movement in Tanzania' *Development and Change* Vol. 34, Issue 5, p. 881.

⁸⁸ Lewis, David (1998) 'Development NGOs and the Challenge of Partnership: Changing Relations between north and South' *Social Policy and Administration* Vol. 32, No. 5, p. 501.

partners before moving on to explain why the OLOC model is reluctant to call the lower level the 'partner' until certain standards are met to qualify them as such: until then, the label of under-level is allocated.

The discursive change which brought about the interest in partners originated not from the partners themselves, but from Western critiques and discourses of development. Stubbs locates the origins of this "linguistic shift towards 'partnership'"⁸⁹ within the 1996 OECD/DAC strategy paper 'Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation' and later development in the 2001 'DAC Guidelines on Poverty Reduction'.⁹⁰ The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) is the body of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which is responsible for helping to define the OECD's co-operation with developing countries; its ideas are influential in the development world. The content of these reports, and other ideas emanating from other think tanks, practitioners and academics, profoundly affected the direction of the discourses shaping development activities.

The contemporary view of 'partnership' vis-à-vis the previous stance is clearly described by Crewe and Harrison:

"It is no longer common for either NGOs or government donors to speak in terms of 'beneficiaries' or 'counterparts' when referring to the institutions, groups, and individuals who are the recipients of aid. Such terms imply unacceptable passivity. Rather, those on the receiving end of aid are portrayed as if they were on equal terms: they are partners – with implicitly the same objectives and the same ability to articulate these as donors. This interpretation of partnership has an apparently strong moral dimension."⁹¹

The moral element of 'partnership' adds potency to this strand of development discourse. The growth of the number of partner organisations clustered in the lower levels of the INGO's network is a reflection of this, and the presence of partners in the map of development work has become entrenched: setting

⁸⁹ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 336.

⁹⁰ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 336.

⁹¹ Crewe, Emma and Harrison, Elizabeth (2000) *Whose Development?* p. 70.

examples and fortifying the discursive power of the notion of partnership. Partnership is seen, often mistakenly, to be evidence of 'participation', and as Mosse points out, the need to show participation in development work is essential, even if genuine opportunities for participation are undermined by other organisational characteristics, such as the institutional imperative to maintain control.⁹²

The use of partners is seen as a tactic to help introduce, or create the appearance of, downward accountability. However, Wallace and Chapman highlight how the presence of a financial relationship negates local ownership and control and turns accountability upwards towards the financiers.⁹³ The relationship usually veers towards a "[w]e have the money, you want it, so you had better behave as we think correct" attitude.⁹⁴ In an environment where funds are scarce, it is very difficult for those with the funds to enter into discussions with those who want the funds on an equal footing. This issue of donor influence of the partner's aims, objectives and activities will be discussed in the aims and objectives section.

The INGOs also face limited funding, and the choice to use partners can also be seen in relation to the savings the INGOs can make by using existing local NGOs which are already operational, rather than investing money to create the capacities themselves.⁹⁵ The flip side of this cost-efficiency strategy is the subsequent dependency of partners on INGO funds for survival. The encouragement and creation of local NGOs and the funding of activities aligned with the INGOs' mandate, often fails to take into account the partner's long term sustainability, ignoring capacity building for local fundraising, setting up membership fees or developing the partner's own business base. Dicklitch notes that most Ugandan NGOs:

⁹² Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 160.

⁹³ Wallace, Tina and Chapman, Jennifer (2003) *Some realities Behind the Rhetoric of Downward Accountability* Working paper presented at Intrac 5th Evaluation Conference, Holland p. 1.

⁹⁴ Crewe, Emma and Harrison, Elizabeth (1998) *Whose Development?* p. 70.

⁹⁵ Muhereza, Frank Emmanuel (2004) *Oxfam GB – A Long Term Program Strategy for the Rwenzori Region* p. 34.

“are dependent on foreign funding for their continued existence and programmes. Most indigenous NGOs are unable to secure a stable domestic source of funding, consequently having to rely on foreign funding in order to make ends meet. This paucity of finances thus leads, in many cases, to external dependence and competition between NGOs for scarce donor funding.”⁹⁶

The power relations involved between INGOs and their partners are skewed by the control of resources.⁹⁷ Fowler highlights the incongruity in the support being provided to NGOs in East Africa by Western donors, and the “indigenous economic base and potential for local support”.⁹⁸ This raises serious questions regarding the longitudinal survival of the organisations which are bestowed the title of partner by the INGO, or the likelihood of balanced negotiations being able to occur between partners. To put it another way, INGOs often fail to genuinely address issues of longitudinal sustainability for the local groups they choose to work with, providing the West with a perpetual role as benefactor.

It is not only the dependence on INGOs’ funding which creates the power imbalance: the lack of control over the timing of this relationship also puts the partners in a weaker position. For those partners who have secured a long term relationship with an INGO, the annual cycles of reports, accounts, approval and release of funds, are controlled and scheduled by the INGO. Marcuello and Marcuello refer to this as the “rhythms of cooperation”,⁹⁹ and the conditioning of temporal obligations and need for approval, reinforce the upwards, Western orientated focus of this network of relations.

When viewed as a level in the OLOC model, there are four factors which need to be considered to assess whether the lowest level should be considered as a

⁹⁶ Dicklitch, Susan (1998) *The Elusive promise of NGOs in Africa: Lessons from Uganda* (Basingstoke: Palgrave) p.28.

⁹⁷ INTRAC (2001) *NGOs and Partnership* p. 3.

⁹⁸ Fowler, Alan (1995) ‘NGOs and the Globalisation of Social Welfare: Perspectives from East Africa’ in Semboja, Joseph and Therkildsen, Ole (Eds.) *Service Provision Under Stress in East Africa* (London: James Curry) p. 65.

⁹⁹ Marcuello, Carmen and Marcuello, Chaime (1999) ‘Northern words, Southern readings’ *Development and Practice* Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 153.

partner, or an under-level: a) Donor Environment b) Partner Clout c) Partnership Interaction and d) Commitment and Responsibility. The aim is to assess whether the partner can contribute to the relationship, or if it is a one way 'tool' for the INGO to use: as one partner complained to Oxfam GB: "We don't want to be just a subcontractor to Oxfam GB. True partnership is about being fully involved in designing the programme."¹⁰⁰

The relationship will change over time, both in terms of the donor's perceptions of the competencies and legitimacy of the partner's working practices,¹⁰¹ and in terms of the alignment of the partner's activities with the changing strategic aims and objectives of the donor organisation.¹⁰² Managing change, such as the development of phase out strategies,¹⁰³ making sure the donor's funding does not encourage the partner to overstretch the scale and scope of their activities beyond what will be sustainable at the end of the partnership,¹⁰⁴ or taking steps to change the partner's working practices to make them more appealing to the donor,¹⁰⁵ is part of a good relationship. Abrupt changes, unreliable support and lack of clarity over the future of the relationship indicate a poor approach to partnership. What may at one point in time be categorised as a good partnership may deteriorate, or a true partnership can be fostered from a highly dependent start. At any one point in time the INGO-partner interaction will be defined by the following:

¹⁰⁰ Oxfam GB (2007) *Oxfam GB in Partnership: A Global Strategic Evaluation 2006/07* p. 47.

¹⁰¹ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal* Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 385.

¹⁰² de Conink, John (2005) Current procedures and policies dominating aid pp. 11-12.

¹⁰³ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 49.

¹⁰⁴ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 46.

¹⁰⁵ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 389.

a) Donor Environment

An INGO-partner relationship will be shaped by what other donors are either already funding the partner organisation, or could be tapped as potential donors. If the partner is working in a geographical area where there are a lot of donors, in a thematic area or on activities which donors are looking to fund, and has a good reputation for being legitimate and efficient, the partner will find it easier to attract donors for what it wishes to do and have more bargaining power with each donor.¹⁰⁶ Excluding the rare examples of self-sufficient and well established organisations such as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) and the Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) of India,¹⁰⁷ most NGOs live in a world of intense competition for funding.¹⁰⁸ In this environment, what activities the 'partners' can run depend on what the donors will fund.¹⁰⁹

Over time, the donor environments in a given geographical or thematic area will change. For example, recently in Uganda, many donors have been cutting back on the number of partners they work with in the country, resulting in many Ugandan NGOs losing their funding and creating an even more competitive environment.¹¹⁰ The thematic area donors look to fund may also change. Hurst describes how when the disability movement first started, aid organisations were eager to support Disabled Persons Organisations (DPOs).¹¹¹ However, the issue fell out of fashion, and the dominant perception that disability is a specialist issue best left to specialist organisations reinstated itself, and the potential pool

¹⁰⁶ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 387.

¹⁰⁷ Michael, Sarah (2004) *Undermining Development* p. 23.

¹⁰⁸ Dicklitch, Susan (1998) *The Elusive promise of NGOs in Africa: Lessons from Uganda* p.28.

¹⁰⁹ Barr, Abigail and Fafchamps, Marcel (2006) 'A client-community assessment of the NGO sector in Uganda' *Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 42, No. 4, p.612; and Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals: Relevance, Challenges and Opportunities for DFID* p. 16.

¹¹⁰ de Conink, John (2005) *Current procedures and policies dominating aid* p. 9.

¹¹¹ Hurst, Rachel (1999) 'Disabled People's Organisations and Development: Strategies for Change' in Stone, Emma (Ed.) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 31.

of donors for DPOs became even starker.¹¹²

In assessing the nature of a specific INGO-partner relationship, the proliferation of donors which the partner may access, for the activities the partner wishes to focus on, needs to be considered. More importantly, the partner's immediate donor network, how many donors it has a relationship with, what area of their work the donors support and what kind of relationship the partner has with them, will affect the partner's dependency on each donor and its ability to follow its own aims and objectives.

b) Partner "Clout"¹¹³

Being able to attract donors is only half of the story. If the partner is attracting funds because it will run the projects the INGO wants to run, without having any input, it is a subcontractor and the relationship cannot be regarded as a partnership.¹¹⁴ The partner's actual input into the relationship can be assessed in several ways; these revolve around its bargaining power and how it negotiates with its existing and potential donors.

New NGOs do not start out as strong negotiators; strength comes through a process during which respect is earned and a resource base is accumulated. A lot of INGO-partner relationships focus on conducting activities which produce an impact:¹¹⁵ the developing of the partner's resource base and sustainability beyond the scope of the current activities are often neglected.¹¹⁶ It has been argued that the capacity building that is provided by the INGO's for their partners

¹¹² NUDIPU (2005) *Annual Progress Report on Advocacy and Lobbying May 2004 – April 2005: Submitted to Oxfam GB in Uganda* (Unpublished Report) p. 13; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 8.

¹¹³ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 391,

¹¹⁴ Oxfam GB (2007) *Oxfam GB in Partnership: A Global Strategic Evaluation 2006/07* p. 47.

¹¹⁵ de Conink, John (2005) *Current procedures and policies dominating aid* p. 9; and Katumba, George (2006) Programme Coordinator for NUWODU, Interview.

¹¹⁶ Eade, Deborah (2007) 'Capacity building: who builds whose capacity?' *Development in Practice* Vol. 17, No. 4, p. 632; Oxfam GB (2006) *Global Programme Learning Report 2006: A review of evaluations and assessments of Oxfam GB's programme work* p. 22.

is less about sustainability and more about implementation of Western institutional trappings¹¹⁷ and raising the partner's reputation in activities such as auditing in order to attract more Western donors.¹¹⁸

Goddard and Assad describe this process as follows:

"Earning some "clout" was... a process that preceded bargaining for change. It entailed consolidating relationships with key stakeholders. Organisations achieved this by co-opting institutional donors into long-term relationships that transcended the initial funding encounters. The objective was to seek their purposeful involvement into activities of the NGO and explore future common interests".¹¹⁹

This shows the dominant methods for earning clout focus on gaining access to more funding. Other potential sources of sustainability which may be available to these NGOs include ownership of their own offices, especially with space which could be rented out;¹²⁰ the cultivation of a business element of their activities,¹²¹ such as selling handicrafts or providing services; government grants; membership fees;¹²² or other forms of local fundraising. These avenues are either left unexplored, or the lack of resources in the country mean there simply isn't the money available from the government or amongst the constituents to charge membership fees.¹²³

Whether a partner organisation has managed to accumulate a good position with donors is evident in how they can bargain for change. This involves

¹¹⁷ Igoe, Jim (2003) 'Scaling Up Civil Society' p. 874; and Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gina (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction p. 78.

¹¹⁸ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 384.

¹¹⁹ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 391.

¹²⁰ Nalusiba, Cissy (2005) Information Officer for NUWODU, Interview.

¹²¹ Kruse, Stein-Erik; Kayonga, Santa V.I.; Mathisen, Trine Rønning; and Roslyng-Jensen, Kristine (2003) *Norwegian Support to Civil Society in Uganda Section 2: Profiles of Ugandan Organisations* pp. 51-52.

¹²² Barr, Abigail and Fafchamps, Marcel (2006) 'A client-community assessment of the NGO sector in Uganda' *Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 42 No. 4, p. 613.

¹²³ Neeteson, Annemarie (1998) *Support to the National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda: Final Evaluation* (Unpublished Report) p. 10; and Walugembe, Joseph with Peckett, Julia (2005) 'Power struggle: Uganda has an impressive array of people with disabilities involved in politics. But do they get to have their say?' *The New Internationalist*.

techniques such as being able to selectively reject opportunities for funding which do not conform to their modus operandi, being able to take policy initiatives, and being able to secure a basket funding arrangement with donors.¹²⁴ In a basket funding arrangement a number of donors contribute to a central fund, giving the partner more flexibility over its activities.¹²⁵ For the partner, this is highly desirable, but a partner needs to have developed a certain degree of clout to be able to push for such an arrangement.¹²⁶ Towards the end of the Oxfam-NUDIPU relationship NUDIPU was raising the idea of a basket fund with its donors.¹²⁷ When a partner is either dependent on one donor overall, or for one specific aspect of its programme, flexibility is severely curtailed, and in the development world, dependent INGO-partner relationships dominate.¹²⁸

c) Partnership Interaction

Dependency is a normal phase in INGO-partner collaboration, and it does not mean the relationship is dysfunctional: however it does undermine the partnership status.¹²⁹ How the two organisations interact and the evolution of the relationship can either foster a genuine partnership, or maintain the under-level as a subcontractor with little long term security. The interaction between the partner and the INGO reveals a lot about the status or the potential status of the relationship, and often, the activities which occur during interaction, are not aimed at bolstering the independence of the partner.

There is a tendency for the INGO to adopt the role of donor and the partner the

¹²⁴ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 387.

¹²⁵ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' pp. 391-392.

¹²⁶ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' pp. 391-392.

¹²⁷ Nilsson, Annika; Balayo, Seezi; Mwesigye, James; Petersen, Poul Erik; and Kokhauge, Bengt (2002) Mid Term Review Report DSI/NUDIPU Programme District-Based Disability Organisations (Unpublished Report) p. 23.

¹²⁸ Lewis, David (1998) 'Development NGOs and the Challenge of Partnership' p. 504.

¹²⁹ OECD (2001) 'Evaluation Feedback for Effective Learning and Accountability' *Evaluation and Aid Effectiveness No. 5*, p. 21.

role of receiver.¹³⁰ In this relationship, there is a one-way transference of funds and knowledge;¹³¹ the partner's working practices¹³² and aims and objectives are aligned with the donor's agenda.¹³³ The implications of this for the ideational elements of the OLOC model will be discussed in more detail in the sections dealing with working practices and aims and objectives. For the physical structure, it reveals a linkage which is tied up with conditionalities,¹³⁴ unidirectional,¹³⁵ and involving one dependent party. When these characteristics are present, fostering genuine partnership is challenging,¹³⁶ and it is a challenge which often goes unaddressed.

Failure to address the donor-recipient nature of the relationship is neither guaranteed, nor the sole responsibility of the more powerful party. Some partners enter into a relationship with an INGO for the finances without actually being interested in the joint ventures, learning and risks involved in a partnership.¹³⁷ Others overstretch themselves in organisational size and the scope of their activities,¹³⁸ "succumbing" to donor dependency.¹³⁹ However both parties of the partnership have responsibilities which need to be observed if the OLOC model will register this relationship as a genuine partnership.

¹³⁰ DSI (2007) *DSI Mini-programme Country Strategy Paper Uganda* p. 41.

¹³¹ Eade, Deborah (2007) 'Capacity building: who builds whose capacity?' p. 635.

¹³² Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 384.

¹³³ Eade, Deborah (2007) 'Capacity building: who builds whose capacity?' p. 635.

¹³⁴ DSI (2007) *DSI Mini-programme Country Strategy Paper Uganda* p. 41.

¹³⁵ Eade, Deborah (2007) 'Capacity building: who builds whose capacity?' p. 635.

¹³⁶ DSI (2007) *DSI Mini-programme Country Strategy Paper Uganda* p. 41.

¹³⁷ Lewis, David (1998) 'Development NGOs and the Challenge of Partnership' p. 504.

¹³⁸ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 46.

¹³⁹ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 47.

d) Commitment and Responsibilities

One characteristic of an under-level which distinguishes it from a partnership is that it is easily shed from the structure of the INGO¹⁴⁰ without issues of commitment or responsibility coming into play. If a dependent relationship has developed, and the donor wishes to withdraw from that relationship, how it goes about that task reveals a great deal about the real status of the relationship and the INGO's definition of 'partnership'. This involves looking at the reason for withdrawal, the level of dependency the partner had on the INGO, the partner's relationship with other donors, the general trend of the donor environment, the communication and timing of the decision to withdraw and the implementation of an exit strategy.

Eade highlights an aspects of the INGO-partnership relationship in which INGOs show limited responsibility to their supposed joint collaborators: "NGOs can, and do, pick up and then abandon their Southern 'partners' without being called to account."¹⁴¹ The DPOs consulted in this research believed that the INGOs could too easily cut off aid;¹⁴² it was also highlighted that when the donors got tired of funding an organisation, it was often terminal to that partner.¹⁴³ In cases like this, the high donor dependency of many partners can be seen as a "time bomb".¹⁴⁴ However, there is a tendency in the NGO world that for as long as the funding relationship continues, the partner will continue to expand its activities and size.¹⁴⁵ Most funding comes earmarked for certain activities which prohibit the partner redirecting funds to activities such as fostering its business base. This leads to a situation where either the activities which are receiving funding, or

¹⁴⁰ Fisher, William (1997) 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices' p. 454; and Michael, Sarah (2004) *Undermining Development* p. 118.

¹⁴¹ Eade, Deborah (2007) 'Capacity building: who builds whose capacity?' p. 636.

¹⁴² Katumba, George (2006) Programme Coordinator for NUWODU, Interview.

¹⁴³ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme*; and Regional Representative for NUWODU (2006) Interview.

¹⁴⁴ Ndeezi, Alex (2002) 'Disability and Development: A Success Story from Uganda' in VENRO *Entwicklung ohne Ausgrenzung: Menschen mit Behinderung als entwicklungspolitisches Querschnittsthema im Kontext der Menschenrechte* p. 35.

¹⁴⁵ Goddard, Andrew and Assad, Mussa Juma (2006) 'Accounting and navigating legitimacy in Tanzanian NGOs' p. 394.

even the whole NGO, will cease to operate once the donor pulls out.

The longitudinal progression of the relationship reveals the true nature of the partnership or the under-level. This is sometimes clearer after the relationship has ended than during the actual partnership. As Eade asks: “how genuinely interested are NGOs in what happens after ‘their’ project has finished?”¹⁴⁶ Her answer is that it is rarely beyond the filing of the final report on how the funds were spent, which then gathers “dust deep in the organisational archives.”¹⁴⁷

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Can it be a partnership if one side is treated, or even wishes to act, as a subcontractor for the other? Or if one side has no long term security, and the other could pull out relatively quickly, terminating the activity or even the partner? If the partner is able to participate in the design and definition of policies for the ‘joint venture’, and if there is a longitudinal commitment combined with responsibility on both sides for the activities and organisations involved in the relationship, then the lower level of the OLOC model can be referred to as the ‘partner’. If the partner is too easily discarded, acts irresponsibly with the funds, or merely carries out the INGO’s policies for them, then it is labelled as the under-level in this model.

This section will finish with a brief overview of the nature of personal networking in the INGO world, thereby concluding the introduction of the ‘Structural Elements’.

¹⁴⁶ Eade, Deborah (2007) ‘Capacity building: who builds whose capacity?’ p. 637.

¹⁴⁷ Eade, Deborah (2007) ‘Capacity building: who builds whose capacity?’ p. 637.

2.2.4 PROFESSIONALISATION AND PERSONAL-NETWORKING

Personal networking exists throughout the development organisation and the under-level.¹⁴⁸ With the increasing move towards the more business-like development INGOs, tensions are emerging between personal and professional networking. Decision makers are faced with a choice: to ally organisations or departments based on familiar personal relationships and a history of involvement with specific members of staff, or to base a partnership on proposals, organisational track record, and an element of the unknown.¹⁴⁹

Mawdsley, Townsend and Porter describe the ambivalent relationship development practitioners maintain with the persistence of personal networking:

“At present, while everyone working in or around the development NGO sector is well aware of the primacy of personal relations... formal development discourses and institutions tend to be anxious, silent, or even hostile on the subject. This opposition to the personal arises partly from understandable concerns about corruption and partly because of the more contentious issue of ‘professionalisation’.”¹⁵⁰

Such delicate networks should not be left out of the analysis of any INGO-partner relationship. The field work conducted for this research uncovered stories of funding being granted because of personal ties between partner staff and INGO employees.¹⁵¹ Other accounts revealed a flip side: when such relationships were based on individuals, the removal of the individual from the INGO or the partner led to the cessation of a working relationship.¹⁵² Current INGO-partner relationships may have evolved from earlier personal relationships, and certainly the fragile relationships with the partners in the under-level are steeped in personal relationships and influence. These have helped secure funding, but the trend towards removing the personal element in

¹⁴⁸ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 107.

¹⁴⁹ Stubbs, Paul (2003) ‘International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy’ p. 339.

¹⁵⁰ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gina (2005) ‘Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations’ p. 77.

¹⁵¹ Nalusiba, Cissy (2005) Information Officer for NUWODU, Interview.

¹⁵² Katumba, George (2006) Programme Coordinator for NUWODU, Interview.

the professionalised development world can be another factor causing previous ties to the under-level to be broken, and partners to lose their patronage.¹⁵³

Mosse describes how personalistic networking operates not just at the under-level, but 'brokering networks' are prevalent throughout large development organisations.¹⁵⁴ For a policy or programme to gain credence within a development organisation, it needs to gain the support of key brokers within the organisational hierarchy. If support is forthcoming, often based on which individuals can be won over, a programme will find its way into writing, reports will claim a programme, interpretation or approach is essential, and it becomes a reality. However, these brokering networks can also fall apart, with individuals losing interest in an issue or programme they previously supported, thereby spelling the end of the programme or approach within the development organisation.¹⁵⁵ When trying to get a minority issue on the agenda, winning over key individuals at different levels within an INGO is the first step in the mainstreaming process, which will be discussed further in chapter three, section 3.4.4.

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This section has looked at the map of the organisation, placing the offices and levels on the map and discussing the form INGOs' operational structures take. This has introduced the hardware of the development machine and discussed the influences which shape how the INGO chooses to arrange its offices and networks of power. The next section builds on this web of offices, networks and levels by discussing what ideas are put into this development machine, and how they are processed.

¹⁵³ Katumba, George (2006) Programme Coordinator for NUWODU, Interview.

¹⁵⁴ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 192.

¹⁵⁵ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* pp. 190-192.

2.3

IDEATIONAL ELEMENTS

The Manufacturing Process: discursive ideas to institutional substance

Working practices, aims and objectives, mainstreamed issues (dealt with in chapter three) and marketing imperatives account for a significant portion of the organisational characteristics which affect the decision-making process. These institutional guidelines direct action and shape day to day activity. The previous section presented the INGO machine; this section will deal with the theories on development and management which create the INGO's purpose and define what potential actions are conceivable. As Goble observed in his research of Persons with Disabilities (PWDs) in institutional environments, "Institutions are made as much of thoughts, beliefs and organisational practices as of bricks and mortar".¹⁵⁶ Development and managerial ideas are raw materials which are fed into the managerial structure. Through deliberate tactics deployed by key management within the INGO, certain behavioural chains are strengthened to create the organisation's dominant and official programme. However, in the process, other organisational characteristics are weakened, some intentionally, others inadvertently, and some behavioural influences which run counter to the organisation's official mandate still manage to dominate the decision-making terrain.

Barnett and Finnemore describe how international organisations are keen to spread their norms, acting as a conveyer belt to carry models of good behaviour, both in terms of correct management styles and development programme content, to the rest of the world.¹⁵⁷ All offices of the INGO are exposed to the promotion of specific options for development activities and explicit managerial

¹⁵⁶ Goble, Colin (2004) 'Dependence, Independence and Normality' in Swain, John; French, Sally; Barnes, Colin; and Thomas, Carol (Eds.) *Disabling Barriers – Enabling Environments 2nd Edition* (London: Sage Publications) p. 42.

¹⁵⁷ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 712.

norms and values. Through detailed instructions on how to conduct the working practices of the development organisation, and what aims and objectives to pursue, Escobar describes how “certain behaviours and rationalities are promoted.”¹⁵⁸ In these operations of power, the area local to each level and decision-making terrain is extremely important.¹⁵⁹ The knowledge, ideas, messages and experiences which circulate throughout each level determine how the INGO’s work is conducted, and affects the local actions which culminate to form the overall activities of the INGO.

The Politics and Economics of Public Management: A History for INGO

This section aims to examine the debates behind the INGO’s working practices, aims and objectives and marketing imperatives. This will prepare the framework for application to three separate levels of Oxfam’s operations, in chapters four, five and six.

2.3.1 WORKING PRACTICES



2 Working Practices

In the 1990s, INGOs were facing an increasingly difficult operational environment. There was an overall decrease in funding available for their activities and mounting pressure to professionalise.¹⁶⁰ Ideas of ‘New Public Management’, although not new, started to be increasingly influential in the INGO world.¹⁶¹ These theories of management emphasised the benefits of leaner organisations, decentralisation, empowering the beneficiaries, customer

¹⁵⁸ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* p. 46.

¹⁵⁹ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* p. 46.

¹⁶⁰ INTRAC (2001) ‘NGOs and Partnership’ p. 5; and Stubbs, Paul (2003) ‘International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy’ p. 329.

¹⁶¹ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gina (2005) ‘Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations’ p. 77; and Soal, Sue (2002) ‘NGOs on the Line’.

satisfaction, and better mechanisms of public accountability.¹⁶² The day to day running of the INGO was profoundly affected by this change, and the ideas on which managerial procedures were based saw major discursive shifts. As Stubbs describes, “[t]his fundamental reorganization of many leading INGOs, introducing ‘modern methods’ evolved by ‘management consultants’ in the private sector; with texts of management gurus... replacing those of earlier favoured authors”.¹⁶³

The theories and discourses of New Public Management infiltrating the INGO world became the new rational science.¹⁶⁴ The shift placed new imperatives on those working within the INGO. Upper levels of the INGO now had to juggle elements of ‘marketisation’ alongside existing development concerns,¹⁶⁵ and lower levels were facing new roles handed down to them in the drive for decentralisation. Issues of providing evidence of impact, being cost-effective, accountable and business-like came to share the discursive space with development ideas.

The move towards quantifiable targets, cost management,¹⁶⁶ and the growing emphasis on ‘results’, changed the INGOs’ organisational characteristics and the influences which were present in the decision-making terrain. From design through to implementation, an eye needed to be kept on how the results could be assessed, codified, and shown to donors. A new culture of targets and measuring performance emerged,¹⁶⁷ resulting in what Mawdsley, Townsend and Porter call a “micro-managing obsession with audits, targets, and performance indicators.”¹⁶⁸ This changed what type of development projects were run, how

¹⁶² Sarker, Abu E. (2005) ‘New Public Management, Service Provision, and Non-Governmental Organisations in Bangladesh’ *Public Organization Review* Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 250.

¹⁶³ Stubbs, Paul (2003) ‘International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy’ p. 329.

¹⁶⁴ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) ‘The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations’ p. 707.

¹⁶⁵ Stubbs, Paul (2003) ‘International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy’ p. 338.

¹⁶⁶ Stubbs, Paul (2003) ‘International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy’ p. 338.

¹⁶⁷ Wallace, Tina and Chapman, Jennifer (2003) ‘Some realities Behind the Rhetoric of Downward Accountability’ p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gill (2005) ‘Trust, accountability, and

they were run, the kind of work which took place in the development offices, and relationships with the partners.

Making sure money spent has an impact, and the desired impact, is better than running programmes which do nothing, or are detrimental to the communities they operate in. However, the emphasis meant that 'development' was being repackaged into what Powell describes as "a set of deliverable actions at the end of which a product has been delivered," turning development into "a giant service industry".¹⁶⁹ Employees were charged with conducting development-by-numbers, in which creative thought was, on the whole, replaced by filling in the gaps with the required programme or administrative action.¹⁷⁰ Aims and objectives became divided between development and managerial concerns, indicating a significant change in the working ethos of the INGO.

Such changes, although they do not exclude qualitative results orientated programmes, or explicitly counter decentralisation strategies, place pressure on the different departments to orientate their activities to report success.¹⁷¹ This changes the nature of what activities INGO employees choose to pursue in the first place. The race to collect results which could be counted,¹⁷² and the "bureaucratic imperative to retain control,"¹⁷³ were two institutional imperatives present in the working culture of INGOs which hindered decentralisation strategies¹⁷⁴ and many other aims and objectives, both locally defined and official organisational policy. This process, where bureaucratic imperatives can be seen as obstacles to the achievement of stated goals is evidence of the presence of organisational pathologies.¹⁷⁵

face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations' p. 77.

¹⁶⁹ Powell, Mike (2006) 'Which Knowledge? Whose reality?' p. 519.

¹⁷⁰ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 718.

¹⁷¹ Hadjipateras, Angela (1997) 'Implementing a gender policy in ACORD' p. 33.

¹⁷² Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gill (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations' p. 80.

¹⁷³ Bavistar, Amita (2004) 'Between micro-politics and administrative imperatives' p. 26.

¹⁷⁴ Bavistar, Amita (2004) 'Between micro-politics and administrative imperatives' p. 26.

¹⁷⁵ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of

Although the stated aims and objectives may not change, the struggle to meet targets can overtake other intentions,¹⁷⁶ and programmes are redesigned into shorter termed, measurable, less ambiguous or risky¹⁷⁷ endeavours. The consequences are a decreased incentive for innovation and neglect of minority groups. For example, Mosse reveals in his research, that targets led to the sidelining of women¹⁷⁸ and Coleridge notes how operational pressures result in the exclusion of disabled people.¹⁷⁹ This exclusion occurs because groups which are believed to be more reliable in churning out the desired outcomes for the INGO are considered safer options. Similarly, the choice of development activity is affected, with programmes offering less tangible aims, such as 'empowerment' lacking appeal when alternatives are easier to "massage into figures".¹⁸⁰ This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, section 3.4.2, which looks specifically at how attempts to mainstream minority issues into INGO work is undermined, and section 3.4.4, which examines how an INGO can take steps bolster the mainstreamed issue.

The new managerial focus, which demanded evidence of cost efficiency and results, created a new onus for producing reports which fell on every level of the INGO and on most INGO employees. Wallace and Chapman describe how this new working culture of targets and audits had the effect of reinforcing Western authority:

"UK NGOs and donors are working in a wider context that reinforces the culture of bureaucratic control, measurement of concepts and change, proving effectiveness to auditors, managers and potential critics. These are reinforcing the power of those with the money and ensure an upwards focus within NGOs. This undermines concepts of partnership which

International Organizations' p. 702.

¹⁷⁶ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gill (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations' p. 80.

¹⁷⁷ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 116.

¹⁷⁸ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 151.

¹⁷⁹ Coleridge, Peter (1993) *Disability, Liberation and Development* (Oxford; Oxfam UK and Ireland) p. 51.

¹⁸⁰ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gill (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations' p. 80.

require two way negotiation, listening, and downward accountability.”¹⁸¹

Reporting demands were central to increased organisational mechanisms for managerial ‘surveillance’.¹⁸² The collation of information; the need to submit reports; and the checking mechanisms to ensure the stated organisational standards of cost efficiency, low wastage, and financial accountability were met and made explicit, culminated to produce routines which instilled ‘good worker ethics’. The act of writing these reports involved the repetitive use of the INGO’s chosen aims and objectives, as well as explicit use of the working practices emphasised by the organisation. Through this, the employees learned to use and accept the ideas contained in the reports.¹⁸³

Individuals within the INGO can therefore be seen to relate to the standards of working practices in three distinct ways, as illustrated in figure five. Firstly they fall under the **scrutiny** of higher levels which measure the activities of lower levels against the stated working ethos of the INGO. Even the highest levels have donors watching them and commonly accepted ideals of working culture to guide them. Secondly, the levels in the hierarchy are instructed to use delineated **procedures**. Their work is shaped by the given methods, and through acting repetitively in the desired manner, working practices become internalised and normalised.¹⁸⁴ Finally, each level is responsible for making sure the lower levels or the under-level are proficient in the techniques. As such, they act as a **conduit** for the preferred way of working.

¹⁸¹ Wallace, Tina and Chapman, Jennifer (2003) *Some realities Behind the Rhetoric of Downward Accountability* p. 10.

¹⁸² Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gill (2005) ‘Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations’ p. 78.

¹⁸³ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) ‘The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations’ p. 718.

¹⁸⁴ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* p. 88; and Ferguson, James (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine* pp. 258-9.

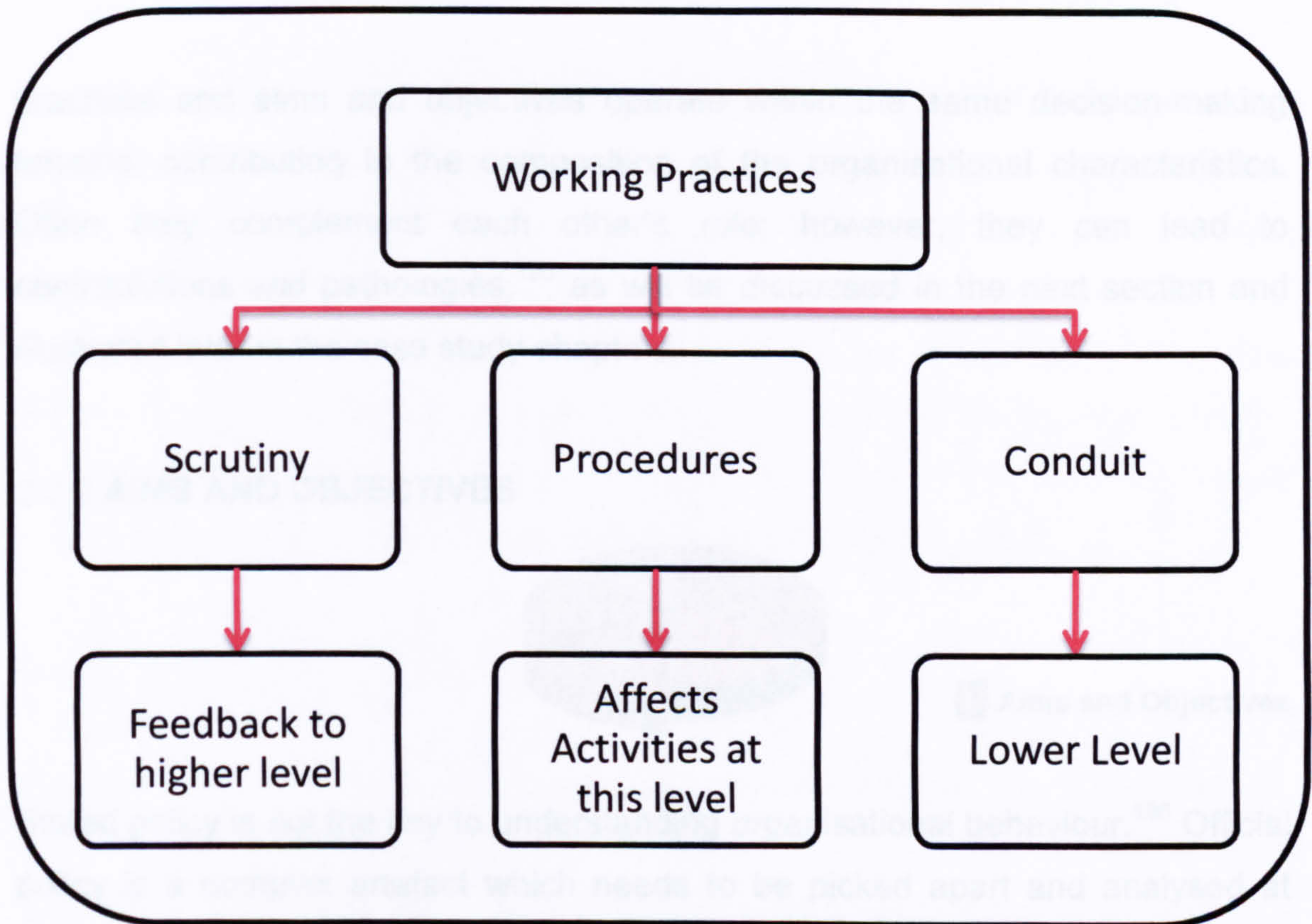


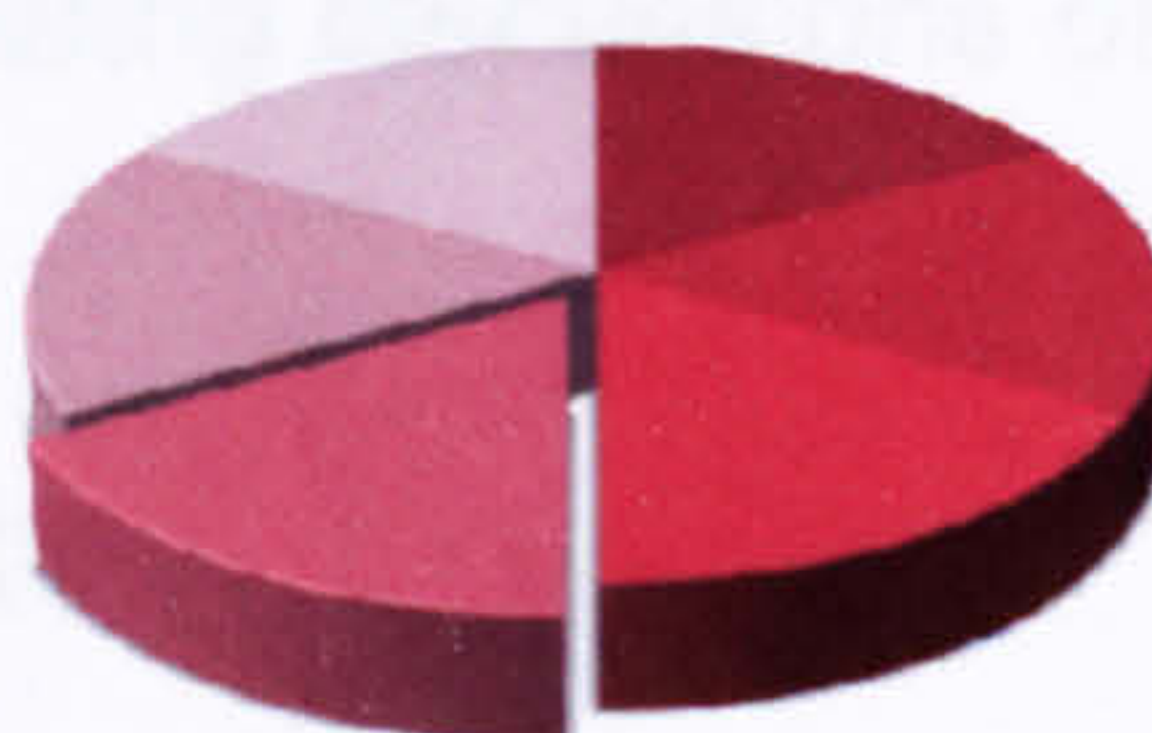
Fig. 5: Level's relationship with Working Practices

Through the application of these working practices, INGOs intend to create an efficient and productive work force to conduct the activities which should lead to 'development'. The working practices reflect *how* the institutional side of the work is to be undertaken, the aims and objectives lay out *what* the INGO wishes to focus its efforts on, and how it intends to achieve 'development' in the field. In many ways, the next collection of ideas shaping INGO work has a lot in common with the working practices. Each level is scrutinised against stated policy; expected to use the procedures laid out in the aims and objectives; and tasked to act as a conduit, passing on resources and knowledge to enable activities in these areas to commence in lower levels.

The differences between these two sections stems from the discursive bases they are rooted in. The aims and objectives of the INGO are solidly rooted in development discourses, the working practices are orientated more towards managerial discourses. Despite originating from distinct sources, working

practices and aims and objectives operate within the same decision-making terrains, contributing to the composition of the organisational characteristics. Often they complement each other's role; however, they can lead to contradictions and pathologies,¹⁸⁵ as will be discussed in the next section and illustrated later in the case study chapters.

2.3.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES



3 Aims and Objectives

Stated policy is not the key to understanding organisational behaviour.¹⁸⁶ Official policy is a complex artefact which needs to be picked apart and analysed at each level of the organisation and against different institutional imperatives and behavioural influences. What information and ideas end up on paper signifying the official policy is a compromise between different personal and group interests, the INGO's legacy of previous involvements and experience, and the need to produce a unifying document accounting for the different activities being undertaken.¹⁸⁷ The aims and objectives of the INGO are firmly rooted in dominant development discourse. They are a 'product', but the officially stated aims and objectives are also a 'tool'. Internally, they act as a lynch pin around which to orientate organisational activities, keeping different offices aligned with each other. Externally, they act as a statement to the public and donors, explaining what the INGO stands for, the product it offers, and to appeal for funding.

This emphasis on aims and objectives started to become increasingly important from the early 1990s onwards. As bureaucratic control was tightened, policy

¹⁸⁵ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' pp. 699-732.

¹⁸⁶ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 230.

¹⁸⁷ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development*

became more influential to the behaviour and actions of development workers, which had a profound impact on the decision-making process. What was subsequently done in the INGO's name, including the choice of partners, was heavily influenced by these elements of the organisational characteristics. The following section will look at how discourse is turned into official policy, how policy is communicated and implemented throughout the organisational levels, and how the aims and objectives of the partners relate to this structure. These trends will be shown in action during discussions of the case study.

FROM DISCOURSE TO POLICY

Williams notes that there are many scripts on development, many experiences, documents and opinions; however, only few voices actually manage to be heard and influence major policy decisions.¹⁸⁸ The voices that are heard most clearly are those of “experts trained in the Western tradition”.¹⁸⁹ These voices are compatible with the existing system, are aware of the myriad of imperatives the INGO has to juggle, and have more opportunities to publicise their opinions. The resultant ‘development discourse’ shapes options, opportunities, donor expectations and activist aspirations. Through this myriad of influences, the organisation has to carve an operational path, transforming discourse into a guide with institutional uses.

Deliberations of development discourse can be taken back to the economics, representations and discursive creation of the North and South, and INGOs themselves. For expedient analysis, this section will focus on the debates surrounding appropriate content and focus of development operations, including the division of possible programmes into categories. Escobar highlights that development discourse is a multifaceted phenomenon, containing many elements which relate to each other in different ways. To understand this

¹⁸⁸ Williams, Gavin (2003) ‘Studying Development and Explaining Policies’ *Oxford Development Studies* Vol. 31 No. 1 p. 52.

¹⁸⁹ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* p. 111.

discourse, the relationship between the different elements needs to be understood. This is important, for as Escobar observes: “It is this system that allows the systematic creation of objects, concepts, and strategies; it determines what can be thought and said.”¹⁹⁰

A convenient entry point for this analysis was an examination of the common buzz words found in the official documents of the larger INGOs in the UK. This revealed a high level of repetition of certain terms covering both managerial and developmental categories. Popular terms were ‘participation’, ‘partnership’, ‘accountability’, ‘sustainability’ (of programmes), ‘impact’, ‘environmental sustainability’ and ‘professional’ (conduct).¹⁹¹ Complex notions of what should be the focus of development INGOs, defined by practitioners, researchers, the media and donors, had been distilled into a form useful to the INGO.

What were created are **concept-blocks**: bricks from which the overall policy could be constructed. Oxfam has a list of nine Strategic Change Objectives (SCOs), Care International has five mission points,¹⁹² and Concern Worldwide has seven Key Operational Policies.¹⁹³ Such blocks are also used outside of the INGO setting; the clearest example being the eight Millennium Development Goals. The thing to note here is the simplification of a complex body of ideas, into something an organisation can use. Bullet points are easily communicated throughout different levels. Focus areas have a practical use to the organisation internally by orientating programmes and enabling the transition from theory to action, and externally by highlighting the INGO’s unique qualities, helping with publicity and appeals for donations.

In this research, therefore, **concept-blocks** are defined as a statement of policy by the organisation. These may be aims, objectives, target groups or statements

¹⁹⁰ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* pp. 40-41.

¹⁹¹ In order of the frequency the terms appeared on the official stated policy of 10 large INGOs based in the UK.

¹⁹² Care International ‘Our Vision and Principles’

¹⁹³ Concern (2005) *Concern Worldwide: Policy Statement*

of working practices: any declaration which can be used to define what actions the INGO claims to be conducting to itself, or to the outside world. These concept-blocks can then be used as a base around which to develop more detailed **blue-prints** to help translate declarations into actual activities. Not every concept-block will actually be backed up by a comprehensive blue-print, hence why some policy declarations fail to translate into action. The terms concept-blocks and blue-prints have been chosen because of the use INGOs make of the terms 'aims and objectives'. This distinction in the analysis is intended to highlight the difference between INGO rhetoric and INGO behaviour.

*

Each level within the INGO interacts with the stated aims and objectives. As with working practices, the nature of this relationship with the policy of the INGO can be divided into conduit, procedures and scrutiny. These facets of the aims and objectives become apparent through the communication and installation of the concept-blocks.

COMMUNICATING AND INSTALLING POLICY CONCEPT-BLOCKS

To take our case study as an example, at the time of investigation Oxfam GB had five aims divided into nine objectives. The clear demarcation of aims and objectives occurred in 1998, and from then on, Oxfam had categories within which to organise its existing and future programmes. Having defined policy and acquired these building blocks, a concrete strategy was designed to ensure the organisation's many regional and country offices aligned with these concept-blocks. The blue-print involved activities such as sending out high level management to evaluate existing programme work, classify all programmes and partners according to the SCOs and if necessary close down projects which did not fit within the concept-blocks.¹⁹⁴ By insisting that each level produce strategic

¹⁹⁴ Oxfam GB Head Office Employee (2005) Interview.

plans and submits proposals for the work it wishes to conduct, further mechanisms to ensure compliance with the new concept-blocks were introduced.

This was not a nonnegotiable dictum issued from head office, and the lower levels were given the opportunity to justify programmes outside of the main concept blocks.¹⁹⁵ As the case study chapters will describe, the processes of interpretation and negotiation which resulted in the local level definition of aims and objectives were complex and took many years to settle. The process had a profound impact on the activities the Uganda level conducted, as well as which partners were worked with. The permeation of these policy concept-blocks even affected the structure of the office. The employees were arranged into SCO teams, and activities were usually focused on one category or concept-block.

Oxfam's Strategic Change Objectives:

- **SCO 1: Right to a Sustainable Livelihood**
 - SCO 1.1: People living in poverty will achieve food and income security
 - SCO 1.2: People living in poverty will have access to secure paid employment, labour rights, and improved working conditions
- **SCO 2: Right to Basic Social Services**
 - SCO 2.1: People living in poverty will achieve tangible improvements in their health through increased access to basic health services, clean water and sanitation
 - SCO 2.2: All children living in poverty will achieve their right to a good-quality basic education, and adults will have access to sufficient educational opportunities to help overcome their poverty
- **SCO 3: Right to Life and Security**
 - SCO 3.1: Fewer people will die, fall sick, and suffer deprivation as a result of armed conflict or natural disasters
 - SCO 3.2: Fewer people will suffer personal or communal violence, forced displacement, or armed conflict
- **SCO 4: Right to be Heard**
 - SCO 4: Poor and marginalised people will have an effective voice in influencing decisions affecting their lives, will achieve their civil and political rights, and will enjoy equal status with others
- **SCO 5: Right to equity**
 - SCO 5.1: Women and men will enjoy equal rights
 - SCO 5.2: Ethnic, cultural, and other groups oppressed or marginalised by reasons of their identity will enjoy equal rights and status with other people

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¹⁹⁵ Oxfam GB Head Office Employee (2005) Interview.

¹⁹⁶ Oxfam GB (2003) *Oxfam GB Strategic Plan 2003-2006*.

Seven years after the introduction of these categorisations, virtually all action was conceived of in terms of the blocks provided by head office. Each programme was allocated to an SCO category, and description of project work usually involved explicit reference to the SCOs. These can be seen to represent an extreme manifestation of what Escobar calls “grids of observation”.¹⁹⁷ Partly a managerial tool and partly an attempt to pursue a united vision of development: the categories provided by head office defined the options available to the lower levels, and thereby maintained control over them.¹⁹⁸ As Barnett and Finnemore argue: “The ability to classify objects, to shift their very definition and identity, is one of bureaucracy’s greatest sources of power.”¹⁹⁹

This is one illustration of an INGO’s efforts to align its organisation along its main organisational concept-blocks. Chapter three, section 3.4, will investigate how concept-blocks such as Oxfam’s declaration in its 2003-2006 strategic plan that it will be “ensuring that gender issues are central in all the work we do”²⁰⁰ compare to other declarations, such as the declaration in Oxfam’s Diversity Strategy that: “In carrying out our work we will seek to positively include and equally value, for example, Black people as well as White people, women as well as men, disabled as well as able bodied and older people as well as younger people.”²⁰¹ These two statements are markedly different because the first declaration was backed up with an extensive blue-print strategy for mainstreaming, but the second declaration did not see the same commitment for each target area. Concept-blocks provide a rallying point for activity, but that is no guarantee that it will be translated into any form of action.

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¹⁹⁷ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* p. 42.

¹⁹⁸ Fisher, William F. (1997) ‘Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices’ p. 458.

¹⁹⁹ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) ‘The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations’ p. 710.

²⁰⁰ Oxfam GB (2003) *Oxfam GB Strategic Plan 2003-2006* p. 4.

²⁰¹ Oxfam GB (2000) *The Difference Starts with You* p. 2.

The lower levels of the organisation have to adopt the working culture and policy framework of the entire organisation. The use of policy concept-blocks helps guide the lower level offices to create a unified organisational image; however, blue-prints need to be drawn up for a comprehensive uptake of a specific issue. Partners, on the other hand, have an entirely different experience of the aims and objectives. They are free from any obligations to an organisational image, but, they are not free from the effects of unifying forces, which result in many unintentional and negative consequences in the under-level of the INGO.

PARTNER AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

INGOs choose to work with partners for several reasons, based both on managerial and developmental concerns. These were discussed earlier in this chapter. Which smaller NGOs they choose to engage as partners, depends on the operational field of the smaller NGO and the aims and objectives of the INGO. It is also common for an INGO to set up a smaller 'independent' organisation to act as a partner. At the onset of the relationship, the INGO's support is given for activities which correspond with the aims and objectives of their own organisation. Over time, as policy flexibility was curtailed in favour of more concrete concept-blocks,²⁰² the lower levels of the INGO have had less flexibility over which partners they could elicit support from, becoming more focused on set areas. Shifts in policy, therefore, affect decisions regarding partners.

Although the partner is chosen for its correspondence with the INGO's aims and objectives, the genuine nature of this alignment has been called into question by a number of people. Funding is scarce for NGOs. With such competition, funding opportunities from INGOs can cause NGOs to change what they were intending to do. Mosse, for example, notes that people change what they ask for

²⁰² Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 117.

depending on what's on offer.²⁰³ This may lead to a retrospective alignment of aims, with the partner and beneficiaries happy with the programmes being conducted,²⁰⁴ but, Kapoor raises concerns that this is more a case of the tail wagging the dog.²⁰⁵ If the relationships are based on what programmes the donor will fund, the partner lacks any real agency in the relationship; the mutual aims and objectives are not genuine, nor is the 'partnership'.

Igoe describes a more pathological manifestation which occurs when donor funding seeks out amenable partners. His research details an incident where funding was not actively sought by the beneficiaries, but the recipients felt pressured to conduct the donor organisation's programme because those in local positions of power feared being labelled as anti-development and losing out on further funding opportunities later.²⁰⁶ Such occurrences can lead to the INGO-partner relationship becoming more about moving money as opposed to learning from and using the partner's local knowledge. Both Marcuello and Marcuello²⁰⁷ and Kapoor²⁰⁸ document occasions where recipients have accepted funds and conducted programmes against their better judgement, resulting in outcomes detrimental to their livelihoods and development.

Once the partnership has been entered into, the threat of the termination of funding is very persuasive in keeping the partner acquiescent to the INGO's perspective.²⁰⁹ With the increased focus on central organisational policy, annual budgets and reports, and recordable impact, INGOs are starting to favour shorter termed affiliations with their partners, or focussing on fewer ties with longer term trusted partners.²¹⁰ With more local NGOs experiencing only short

²⁰³ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 92.

²⁰⁴ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 117.

²⁰⁵ Kapoor, Dip (2005) 'NGO partnership and the taming of the grassroots in rural India' p. 211.

²⁰⁶ Igoe, Jim (2003) 'Scaling Up Civil Society' p. 873.

²⁰⁷ Marcuello, Carmen and Marcuello, Chaime (1999) 'Northern Words, Southern Readings' pp 151-158.

²⁰⁸ Kapoor, Dip (2005) 'NGO partnership and the taming of the grassroots in rural India' p. 211.

²⁰⁹ Kapoor, Dip (2005) 'NGO partnership and the taming of the grassroots in rural India' p. 211.

²¹⁰ Oxfam GB (1998) *Setting the course for the twenty-first century* p. 71.

term relationships, their insecurity is heightened²¹¹ which puts their aims and objectives at risk of being usurped by those with the money.

Efforts to keep the alignment between the aims and objectives of the INGO and the partner risks programme intentions being 'hijacked'.²¹² Where funding is dependent on the smaller organisation implementing the advice in policy and managerial areas, the orientation of the policy of the partner will often shift to keep funding. Pressure for the partner NGO to adopt "western institutional trappings such as department directors, programme staff, and constitutions," has also been noted.²¹³ However, the main concern of the financial relationship is the skewing of accountability upwards towards the donors, away from the people 'development' is aimed at helping. The following extract from INTRAC's *NGO's and Partnership* describes this pathology:

"whilst in theory accountability to local constituencies is important, in practice the funding processes 'hijack' the accountability mechanisms and re-orient them towards Northern donors. Northern NGOs assume a control function, whilst Southern NGOs risk becoming donor-driven and distanced from their grassroots constituencies."²¹⁴

A large degree of this 'control function' boils down to monitoring. As with the relationship between the INGO's managerial levels, mechanisms of supervision are predominantly exercised through the requirement of evidence of both managerial standards and achievement of development targets. This use of set standards is monitored through an increasing focus on proposals, reports and audits, which have become increasingly central to the INGO-partner relationship.²¹⁵

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²¹¹ Katumba, George (2006) Programme Coordinator for NUWODU, Interview.

²¹² INTRAC (2001) *NGOs and Partnership* p. 3.

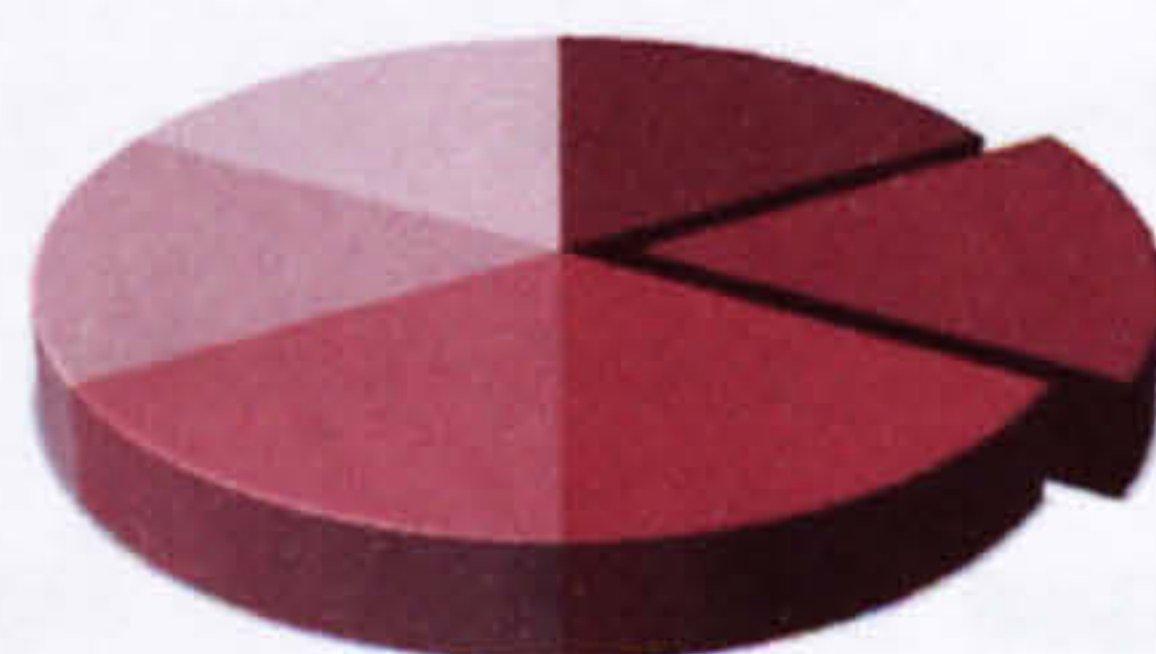
²¹³ Igoe, Jim (2003) 'Scaling Up Civil Society' p. 874.

²¹⁴ INTRAC (2001) *NGOs and Partnership* p. 3.

²¹⁵ Mawdsley, Emma; Townsend, Janet G.; and Porter, Gill (2005) 'Trust, accountability, and face-to-face interaction in North-South NGO relations' p. 78.

The need for coherent organisational activities and managerial standards throughout the organisation and those it chooses to affiliate with is extremely important in terms of being able to oversee and coordinate so many programmes and projects, and to be able provide the donors with the type of activities they wish to support. The final institutional imperative which requires a coherent organisational image, is marketing, and it is to this that the analysis now turns.

2.3.3 MARKETING



Marketing

Jenkinson, Sain and Bishop highlight the following points organisations should bear in mind when marketing a charity brand:

“Every organisation benefits from a clear, shared mental picture of its identity that is deeply rooted in its reality. Any organisation should possess something distinctive and unique that characterises it and makes it recognisable in relation to other entities. In addition, it should identify a set of aspirations that are coherent with its identity. The value that it delivers should reflect its uniqueness.”²¹⁶

The previous discussions of policy concept-blocks and coherence show that the larger INGOs are taking strides to produce such coherent images and identifiable brands. From the 1990s, INGOs have had to become more adept at marketing and familiar with the methods of businesses. The notion of the INGO brand is relatively new, but one which is considered vital. From the logo to the sound bites of the visions and missions, there is an eye on how to attract money from the public, government or private donors. This ‘branding’ Ritchie, Swami

²¹⁶ Jenkinson, Angus; Sain, Branko; and Bishop, Kevin (2005) ‘Optimising Communications for Charity Brand Management’ p. 83.

and Weinberg claim is becoming more central to the INGOs activities. "Because of the value they provide, nonprofit brands are now being developed *deliberately* by nonprofit managers, not merely as a by-product of other activities."²¹⁷ For example, a job description for the head of PR for Oxfam GB came with the role "to build and refine Oxfam's brand",²¹⁸ and the programme to redesign the brand was conducted in a volunteer capacity by the professional brand management company, the Interbrand Foundation.²¹⁹

The brand label cultivated by the INGO gives the consumer (in this case Western donors) assurance of quality prior to consumption, and to develop a trust relationship.²²⁰ For INGO work, where verification of how the funds are spent is hard for the everyday person to acquire, the maintenance of the 'brand' is important for the continuation of trust and support. The public have certain things they want to hear about the INGO for the continuation of support, for example, that they are making an impact, that they are working with partners, that they are being cost-effective with their money. For these reasons, the INGOs need to make these details prominent, but as Ritchie, Swami and Weinberg note:

"for a brand to provide the benefits we describe, it must offer more than a recognisable name and image. There must be a corresponding organisational commitment to deliver products (whether goods, services or programs) that are consistent with the brand's positioning."²²¹

Each level within the organisation is affected by these imperatives in different ways. The higher echelons are responsible for creating, and maintaining the coherent product, the lower levels for conducting the quality programmes

²¹⁷ Ritchie, Robin J.B.; Swami, Sanjeev; and Weinberg, Charles B. (1999) 'A Brand New World for Nonprofits' *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 26.

²¹⁸ Oxfam GB (2007) 'Head of PR – Oxfam GB'.

²¹⁹ The Interbrand Foundation (undated) 'The Oxfam Brand'.

²²⁰ Jenkinson, Angus; Sain, Branko; and Bishop, Kevin (2005) 'Optimising Communications for Charity Brand Management' p. 80; and Ritchie, Robin J.B.; Swami, Sanjeev; and Weinberg, Charles B. (1999) 'A Brand New World for Nonprofits' p. 27.

²²¹ Ritchie, Robin J.B.; Swami, Sanjeev; and Weinberg, Charles B. (1999) 'A Brand New World for Nonprofits' p. 27.

advertised, and the producing the information to be used as evidence of the product's delivery.

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The different organisational characteristics discussed above, in the working practices, the aims and objectives and the marketing sections, interlink to produce many different behavioural patterns of the INGO. Sometimes these work well with the other elements present, but as is already becoming apparent, often the results are dysfunctional 'pathologies' which prevent certain policy directives reaching fruition. However, in the network of forces working with and against each other, certain 'instrument effects' are becoming increasingly dominant:²²² upwards accountability and increased petrification of aims and objectives.²²³

The point of this introduction to the structural and ideational elements of the OLOC Model was not to exhaust the possible avenues in uncovering trends and relationships between elements, but to provide a basis before the analysis of the case study begins. The final section turns to a different set of elements. Although ideas of learning and knowledge-management belong in the same category as ideational elements, they possess unique characteristics which require separate analysis.

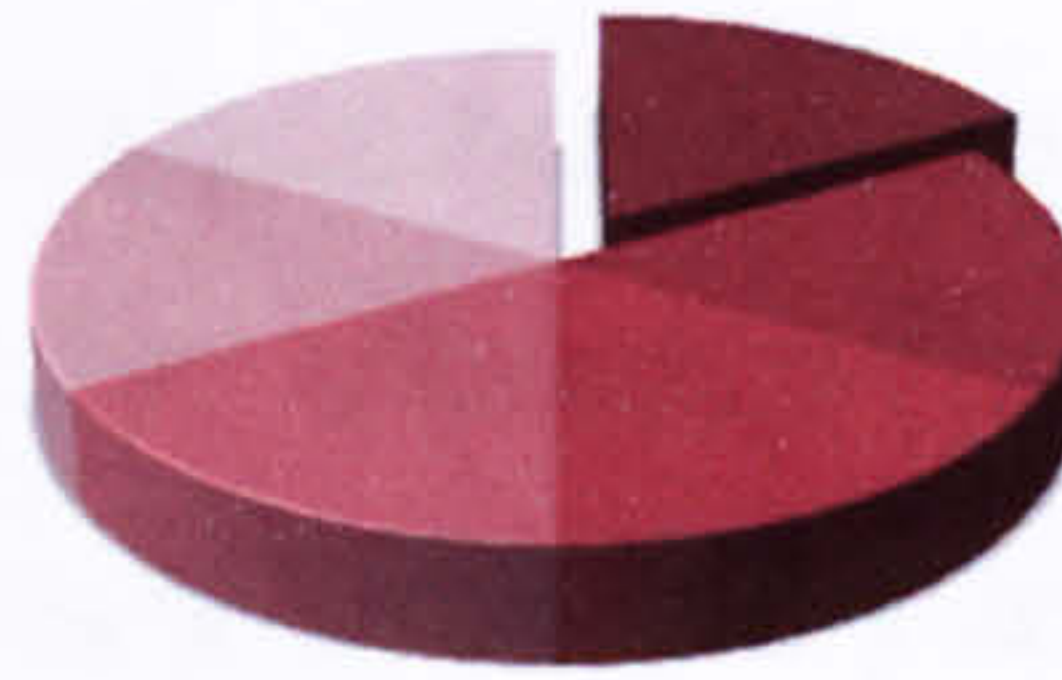
²²² Ferguson, James (1994) *The Anti-Politics Machine*.

²²³ Mosse, David (2005) *Cultivating Development* p. 117.

2.4

ORGANISATIONAL LEARNING

Machine Maintenance and Market Satisfaction



⑥ Learning as an Organisation

Why is organisational learning important to this research? This initial path of investigation came from official policy documentation which was using specific knowledge-management terminology. Delving into the origins of the language being used opened up a cornucopia of new questions and perspectives for looking at changes in institutional imperatives and behavioural influences. Organisational learning accounts for how an INGO adapts its conduct in relation to the knowledge it had accumulated.²²⁴ Changes in organisational characteristics are based on the accumulation and application of knowledge. Changes in the INGO's organisational characteristics create a new terrain for the decision-making processes, which consequently affects the relationship with partners. However, the organisational learning imperative also has to find a space among other priority issues, affecting the actual outcome of the learning process. For this reason, how INGO's accumulate knowledge and learn from it will be examined as the final aspect of the OLOC Model.

Both in the business sector and development studies, the field of organisational learning field is only recently starting to gain attention;²²⁵ therefore issues pertaining to learning and knowledge are often neglected from analyses of INGO activities. Secondly, the case study will examine a process of major institutional change, and as this section will discuss, organisational change is the result of

²²⁴ Power, Grant; Maury, Matthew, and Maury, Susan (2002) 'Operationalising bottom-up learning in international NGOs: barriers and alternatives' *Development in Practice* Vol. 12, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 275.

²²⁵ Knight, Gary A. and Liesch, Peter W. (2002) 'Information Internalisation in Internationalising the Firm' *Journal of Business Research* Vol. 55, No. 12, p. 981.

organisational learning.

Increasingly INGOs are touting notions of the learning organisation:²²⁶ rhetoric has shifted, and more emphasis is being placed on learning and knowledge-management.²²⁷ Lifting the theoretical basis from the business world,²²⁸ this new focus is rooted in concerns for efficiency²²⁹ and impact.²³⁰ Organisational learning, defined by Power, Maury and Maury as “a process of developing new knowledge that changes an organisation’s behaviour to improve future performance”,²³¹ has proved a useful concept-block for INGO management who wish to show their organisation is taking measures to become reflexive and adaptable, with their finger on the pulse of development concerns.

Organisational learning is also popular with those campaigning for greater gender awareness in the INGO sector.²³² If organisational learning is genuinely facilitated within the institution, it will challenge the INGO to review and adapt its perceptions and conceptual bases. These processes should help highlight and address institutionalised gender inequalities. Our case study highlights the increased inclusion of gender issues within Oxfam, as it responded to the knowledge it received about gender issues. The application of this knowledge led the higher level management to include gender issues explicitly into the concept-blocks of the organisation, and the concept-blocks were backed up with

²²⁶ Roper, Laura and Pettit, Jethro (2002) ‘Development and the Learning Organisation: an introduction’ *Development in Practice* Vol. 12, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 258.

²²⁷ Oxfam GB (1998) *Setting the Course for the twenty-first century* p. 14; Power, Grant; Maury, Matthew, and Maury, Susan (2002) ‘Operationalising bottom-up learning in international NGOs’ p. 275; and Solomon, Marla J. and Chowdury, A. Mushtaque R. (2002) ‘Knowledge to action: evaluation for learning in multi-organisational global partnership’ *Development in Practice* Vol. 12, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 346.

²²⁸ Power, Grant; Maury, Matthew, and Maury, Susan (2002) ‘Operationalising bottom-up learning in international NGOs’ p. 273.

²²⁹ Solomon, Marla J. and Chowdury, A. Mushtaque R. (2002) ‘Knowledge to action’ p. 346.

²³⁰ Musyoki, Samuel (2002) ‘Can bilateral programmes become learning organisations? Experiences from institutionalising participation in Keiyo Marakwet in Kenya’ *Development in Practice* Vol. 12, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 370.

²³¹ Power, Grant; Maury, Matthew, and Maury, Susan (2002) ‘Operationalising bottom-up learning in international NGOs: barriers and alternatives’ p. 275.

²³² Kelleher, David and the Gender at Work Collaborative (2002) ‘Organisational learning: a borrowed toolbox?’ *Development in Practice* Vol. 2, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 312.

blue-prints, ensuring gender imperatives were dominant among other organisational characteristics. This change directly affected decision-making and organisational activities. However, the fate of disability equality seemed to be the reverse of gender: despite a foray into the realm of disability research by Oxfam between 1993 and 2003, disability was actually pushed further out of the acceptable parameter of action.

Many have noted that INGOs are, in reality, weak learners.²³³ A number of reasons are provided to account for this, including bureaucratic imperatives to produce speedy, tangible outputs;²³⁴ lack of donor interest in supporting learning;²³⁵ and programme staff being too busy to divert attention to the luxury of learning.²³⁶ These operational necessities and other characteristics of the INGO hamper and distort the learning which takes place. This causes uneven learning and sudden jumps in organisational ideas, with management relying on long term policy frameworks which are deeply entrenched and not easily adapted. When change does come, rather than a gradual, regular adjustment of practice, it disrupts settled patterns of institutional imperatives and behavioural influences, and is costly and time consuming. This can be seen as another example of Barnett and Finnemore's organisational pathologies.²³⁷ However, despite strong evidence of INGOs' shortcomings in organisational learning, they do profoundly engage with the processes of knowledge generation, and their practices are, indeed, affected by the information gleaned from their own employees, activities and from outside. This is not the same as organisational

²³³ Powell, Mike (2006) 'Which Knowledge? Whose reality?' p. 518; Power, Grant; Maury, Matthew, and Maury, Susan (2002) 'Operationalising bottom-up learning in international NGOs' p. 273; and Solomon, Marla J. and Chowdury, A. Mushtaque R. (2002) 'Knowledge to action: evaluation for learning in multi-organisational global partnership' p. 346;

²³⁴ Wiedenhof, C and Molenaar, H. (2006) 'One never knows: research Policy and Knowledge Management in Dutch development cooperation' *Knowledge Management for Development Journal* Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 6-7.

²³⁵ Solomon, Marla J. and Chowdury, A. Mushtaque R. (2002) 'Knowledge to action: evaluation for learning in multi-organisational global partnership' p. 346.

²³⁶ Solomon, Marla J. and Chowdury, A. Mushtaque R. (2002) 'Knowledge to action: evaluation for learning in multi-organisational global partnership' p. 346.

²³⁷ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations' pp. 699-732.

learning, as will be discussed throughout the rest of this section.

INGO learning occurs on four fronts: the individual, the partners, the external and the organisation. These will form the framework for focused analysis in the case study chapters. Before this chapter turns to these sections, it will introduce key ideas in organisational learning, analysing the existing debates and assessing what these have to offer for this study.

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Institutional knowledge-management theory sees 'knowledge' as existing in two forms, explicit and tacit. Explicit knowledge is compiled of data and information and can be "taken out of context and stored".²³⁸ It is accessed through reading, listening and other forms of mono-directional 'teaching'. It is possible to communicate 'explicit knowledge' through documents and reports, and it is easily broken down, codified and used as evidence. It requires limited engagement and exists external to the individual. Tacit knowledge is the knowledge stored in the head of the individual. Knight and Liesch describe it as being "embedded in its possessor and can only be acquired through experience or imitation."²³⁹ This is more valuable to an organisation, but rarer and requires a lot more investment to cultivate.

Learning involves the application of knowledge. The study of organisational learning describes this application of knowledge as having two potential uses: single-loop learning and double loop learning. Takahashi describes single loop learning as being primarily concerned "with effectiveness: how best to achieve existing goals and objectives, while keeping organisational performance within the range specified by existing values and norms."²⁴⁰ This type of learning occurs when new ways are introduced to improve cost-efficiency and

²³⁸ Wiedenhof, C and Molenaar, H. (2006) 'One never knows' p 11.

²³⁹ Knight, Gary A. and Liesch, Peter W. (2002) 'Information Internalisation in Internationalising the Firm' p. 983.

²⁴⁰ Takahashi, Chie (2006) 'Partnerships, learning and development: a case study from Ghana' p. 41.

maximising impact for the existing aims and objectives. Single-loop is a limited form of learning, and as Larsson et al make clear, only focusing on how to conduct currently defined activities at a more optimal level, “can hinder the absorption of disclosed knowledge, that is, for example, quite unrelated to previous knowledge of the organisation”.²⁴¹ The aims and objectives remain intact: all that is questioned, challenged and evolves are the methods for attaining them.

The notion of ‘double-loop’ learning requires a more fundamental revision of the INGO’s perception of itself and its role. Where single loop learning focuses on increasing the efficiency of existing goals, double-loop learning requires the questioning of those goals themselves. Organisational structures which focus on precise aims and objectives, clearly defined and highly emphasised, are inhibitive to double-loop learning, and when change comes, it is less of an organic evolution of the organisation and more of an imposed shake up.

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The focus will now turn to the four fronts of learning to examine the different ways the organisation manages information and knowledge, and how this is translated into learning.

2.4.1 INDIVIDUAL LEARNING

An organisation learns through its employees.²⁴² They are the key agents through which information is gathered, processed and turned into a form useful to the organisation. In all key translations of knowledge, individuals are involved: individuals experience, individuals interpret, they reinterpret, they lay it down on

²⁴¹ Larsson, Rikard; Bengtsson, Lars; Henriksson, Kristina and Sparks, Judith (1998) ‘The Interorganisational Learning Dilemma: Collective Knowledge Development in Strategic Alliances’ *Organization Science* Vol. 9, No. 3, p 291.

²⁴² Knight, Gary A. and Liesch, Peter W. (2002) ‘Information Internalisation in Internationalising the Firm’ p. 983.

paper, and they create new experiences. Knight and Liesch describe four modes through which knowledge is created: socialisation, combination, externalisation and internalisation.²⁴³ These categories provide a convenient basis for looking at learning from a number of different angles in order to pull apart a complex phenomenon.

a) Socialisation: tacit knowledge to tacit knowledge

This process occurs when people with experience share prolonged contact and mutual communication with other people. Each level within the INGO will present their inhabitants with different experiences from which to learn, resulting in markedly different discursive bases in different locations. For example, local level INGO workers with a close relationship with the partners will be able to access experiences of development, whereas those in higher levels will gain experience of meetings with donors, the western public and policy decision meetings.

In the business world, it is often said that a large international corporation's greatest asset is the tacit knowledge stored in the heads of its experienced personnel.²⁴⁴ However, high staff turnover is common in development organisations, and this affects the ability to learn from these individuals (because many have left the organisation).²⁴⁵ Staff turnover also puts into question the cost-effectiveness of investing in their long term training. To store 'knowledge' in the organisation, explicit knowledge in the form of reports and data bases is usually preferred.

²⁴³ Knight, Gary A. and Liesch, Peter W. (2002) 'Information Internalisation in Internationalising the Firm' p. 989.

²⁴⁴ Knight, Gary A. and Liesch, Peter W. (2002) 'Information Internalisation in Internationalising the Firm' p. 983.

²⁴⁵ Musyoki, Samuel (2002) 'Can bilateral programmes become learning organisations?' p. 370; and Powell, Mike (2006) 'Which Knowledge? Whose reality?' p. 525.

b) Combination: explicit knowledge to explicit knowledge

This type of knowledge is formed when the intermediate or higher levels of the organisation combine the reports coming from different areas of the organisation, reassembling them to provide a 'fuller' picture of the scope of the INGO's operations. A great deal of policy decisions within the INGO are formed on the basis of such 'combination' knowledge. These sources of information and ideas, stored in document form, hold much influence over the internal discourses of the organisation, can be widely distributed, and accessed by many.

However, the knowledge has been translated at least twice by individuals who will have incorporated their own ideas, interpretations and preferences, or altered the information to fit in with what they believe the organisation expects from the report, thereby reinforcing the organisation's image. Each time a translation occurs, some information is retained, some is skewed, and some is lost. Combination reports can be highly selective of what information is 'useful'. Escobar notes that those in different positions will have different powers to define "objects to be studied" or "have their problems considered".²⁴⁶ The selection process involved in the formation of reports is related to positions of power and definitions of usefulness. The reporting process has a number of uses, but it also acts as a filtering system, through which the views of the lower levels are filtered by those in higher levels.

Guided by the organisation's existing concept-blocks and personal agendas, 'useful' knowledge is often selected because it will help the organisation have a greater impact towards their goals.²⁴⁷ This encourages single-loop learning. Knowledge which does not fit within the system's preconceived ambit is often lost in the process. This selectivity means combination knowledge more accurately reflects institutional discourses than the realities on the ground.

²⁴⁶ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* p. 41.

²⁴⁷ Phillips, Sue and Edwards, Richard (2000) 'Development, Impact Assessment and the Praise Culture' p. 49.

c) Externalisation: tacit knowledge to explicit knowledge

This happens when an individual who has experience, knowledge and a deep understanding of an event, situation or relationship, codifies this experience into a written report, or other form of communication, such as a presentation or database entry. The organisation needs information and knowledge on which to base its work. Information enables the planning of new activities based on previous experience, shows one part of the organisation what another part has been doing, helps prepare new employees to do their jobs, and shows donors their contributions have led to results.

Knowledge is extracted, translated and passed through the levels of the INGO. Although the lower levels are inputting information into the organisational structure, some of which is transferred or translated up through the levels, the capacity for knowledge originating from one group in a lower level to lead to organisation-wide change is minimal. The sheer quantity of knowledge being collected means that it needs to be reduced and transformed into combination knowledge to be of any use to the organisation, during which process many of the voices are lost, especially if the knowledge is deemed not to relate to the organisation's core concept-blocks.

The individual's tacit knowledge may be selectively used by the organisation depending on its relevance to existing policy, but the organisation shapes what experiences the individual has in the first place, tainting the formation of this tacit knowledge from the very beginning. Individuals operate within their job descriptions, and make sense of what they do through organisational terms and procedures. As Williams describes "They have to adapt to their operating environment and to the everyday practices and discursive forms expected of them."²⁴⁸ This selects the experiences on which tacit knowledge is created; therefore the knowledge entered into the organisation is already contaminated by the organisation's own concept-blocks.

²⁴⁸ Williams, Gavin (2003) 'Studying Development and Explaining Policies' p. 52.

Hailey and James highlight how the time it takes to produce reports, and the need to generate results, create barriers to learning, with individuals unwilling “to engage in new ideas, new technologies, new ways of working, and the hassle of dealing with the quantity of documentation generated”.²⁴⁹ In this environment, the generation of knowledge which questions the aims and objectives of the organisation is highly unlikely, reducing the possibility of double-loop organisational learning arising from individuals within the structure.

d) Internalisation: explicit knowledge to tacit knowledge

Internalisation is about the individual’s acquisition of knowledge. The employees of the INGO learn how to conduct their job; they are trained in the procedures expected of them, and in organisational terminology and labelling.²⁵⁰ They also need to learn about the development programme or programmes they are responsible for. For an efficient workforce, the INGO needs to invest in the training and teaching of its workforce, however, longitudinal, in depth exposure is costly, and the turnover of staff is high. Explicit knowledge is a more efficient base for individual learning, it is quicker, cheaper, and the information is focused on what is considered important to the organisation. Most individuals learn through a combination of socialisation and internalisation of knowledge.

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However, as Oxfam acknowledges in its 1998 Strategic review: “Individual learning... does not guarantee organisational learning.”²⁵¹ Individuals learn, the knowledge is collated, but for organisational learning to occur, *change* needs to occur in the structures and policies of the INGO. Before we move on to looking at how the organisation is learning, one more influential area needs to be considered, what partners and INGOs learn from each other.

²⁴⁹ Hailey, John and James, Rick (2002) ‘Learning leaders: the key to learning organisations’ *Development in Practice* Vol. 12, Nos. 3 and 4 p. 400.

²⁵⁰ Crewe, Emma and Harrison, Elizabeth (1998) *Whose Development?*

²⁵¹ Oxfam GB (1998) *Setting the course for the twenty-first century* p. 141.

2.4.2 PARTNER LEARNING

Ferreira and Neto describe development as, ideally, a learning process in which the partners and targets of development acquire the ability to take “explicit control” over their experience, and gain the capacity to shape their own ‘development’ as opposed to accepting the wisdom and hand outs from the Western INGOs. Programmes should give participants “the opportunity to reflect on their practice and draw lessons from their achievements and failures, and as a way of taking control of their experiences and life.”²⁵²

The relationship partners have with the learning processes of the INGO revolve around what the INGO learns from them, how it handles that knowledge, and what the partner is able to learn from the INGO. Vincent and Byrne highlight that meaningful learning between INGO and partner requires “a degree of meaningful participation”.²⁵³ As has been shown in the previous discussion of management control, emphases on impact and the fragility of partner-INGO relationships means genuine partnerships and joint-venturism is often minimal, thereby undermining the learning relationship from the very start.

The top heavy tendency of the INGO structure can create a distorted perception of the knowledge needs of the structure. Wiedenhof and Molenaar describe the inherent structural inequalities as leading to the donors developing “the attitude that they are there only to give and that they have nothing to learn.”²⁵⁴ Where learning on any scale does occur in the upper echelons of the INGO hierarchy, it is usually based on ‘combination’ reports of translated decontextualised knowledge, already filtered through the INGO’s concept-block criteria.

From the under-level, the partner’s learning experience is usually reduced to a

²⁵² Ferreira, S.D.M and Neto, M. (2005) ‘Knowledge management and social learning: exploring the cognitive dimensions of development in *Knowledge Management for Development Journal* Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 5.

²⁵³ Vincent, Robin and Byrne, Ailish (2006) ‘Enhancing learning in development partnerships’ p. 387.

²⁵⁴ Wiedenhof, C and Molenaar, H. (2006) ‘One never knows’ p 13.

level of acquiescence to the donor's expertise, hampering a profound learning experience for both parties. This also impedes the actual delivery and success of the programme plans, as Ferreira and Neto observe: if the partner is operating with knowledge and plans they have no authority over, no involvement with and no intellectual investment in, they lose the sense of responsibility over the solutions, therefore becoming passive recipients and not actively engaging and learning from the experience.²⁵⁵ This undermines both the learning process and the status of the partnership.

Partners often have knowledge which is extremely useful to the work of the INGO. However, often they doubt their value, or are unable to pass their wisdom on to the INGO. This can be because of the fear of losing funding,²⁵⁶ the partner being unable to articulate their views in the correct terminology or in a format useful to the INGO. Structural barriers also exist in the form of the translation of knowledge into combination form throughout the levels of the organisation, with most detailed information on partners remaining at the country level.²⁵⁷

Ferreira and Neto are aware of the problems of accessing local knowledge, and highlight reasons why the INGO is likely to have trouble obtaining it:

"Local knowledge is mostly tacit knowledge and embedded in the brains of local actors. Normally people are not aware of what they know or of the relevance of that knowledge. They also have great difficulties in identifying, retrieving and expressing what they know. For this reason, it is difficult to achieve effectiveness and productivity in tacit knowledge sharing."²⁵⁸

The knowledge which is successfully extracted is rarely the sort of information which will prove truly challenging to the INGO's practices. It serves to categorise

²⁵⁵ Ferreira, S.D.M and Neto, M. (2005) 'Knowledge management and social learning' p. 8.

²⁵⁶ O'Dwyer, Brendan and Unerman, Jeffrey (2007) 'From functional to social accountability Transforming the accountability relationship between funders and non-governmental development organisations' *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal* Vol. 20, No. 3, p. 464.

²⁵⁷ Dawson, Elizabeth; Dodd, Rosie; Roberts, Jill; and Wakeling, Catherine (2004) 'Issues and challenges for record management in the charity and voluntary sector' *Records Management Journal* Vol. 14, Issue 3, p. 114.

²⁵⁸ Ferreira, S.D.M and Neto, M. (2005) 'Knowledge management and social learning' p. 7.

and place the partner in the organisation's schemata: to check the alignment of intentions, suitability, and effectiveness. Extraction of information from partners is also used for justification and advertisement purposes, reporting to those who fund the INGO of the positive effects the money has had, and to entice new donors.²⁵⁹

The passage of knowledge and the direction of learning is not an even handed affair. The partner learns the 'appropriate' way to run an organisation,²⁶⁰ and the INGO collects information of the partner's activities. However, the partner rarely has access to as much information regarding their benefactors as the INGO can access on them.²⁶¹ The partner's experience of the learning and knowledge-management of the INGO is based more on control and extraction than as a mutual learning process for both organisations.

Partners are taught the basic working culture they are expected to utilise, they are provided with staff training for capacity building in key development areas. They produce proposals and progress reports for the INGO, and are asked questions by a number of INGO personal. Often these questions are asked repetitively by a mixture of personnel from the INGO, from other INGOs, independent consultants and researchers. Many seek to tap into the tacit knowledge and codify it in an explicit form, but the partners' position in the under-level means that 'knowledge' of the upper levels does not travel down. This process, Powell describes, as "highly alienating for those local people involved who, not infrequently, find themselves being asked the same or similar questions time after time, without necessarily seeing much tangible benefit as a result."²⁶²

²⁵⁹ van Doodeward, M. (2006) 'Online knowledge sharing tools: any use in Africa?' *Knowledge Management for Development Journal* Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 43.

²⁶⁰ Igoe, Jim (2003) 'Scaling Up Civil Society' p. 874.

²⁶¹ Fowler, Alan (1991) 'Building partnerships between Northern and Southern NGOs: issues for the 1990s' *Development in Practice* Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 5; and INTRAC (2001) *NGOs and Partnership* p. 4.

²⁶² Powell, Mike (2006) 'Which Knowledge? Whose reality?' p. 525.

2.4.3 EXTERNAL LEARNING

INGOs are tied into a large learning network: they learn (often inefficiently) from their partners and their partners learn from them. They also relate to the external world in terms of affecting discourses on development, political thought, what is on the development agenda,²⁶³ as well as absorbing these concepts into their own practices. Increasingly INGOs are becoming agents for 'educating' the outside world, producing research for use in their political campaigns and advocacy efforts.²⁶⁴

Outside of the INGOs operational world, there exists a large body of think tanks, research organisations, academic institutions and independent researchers all investing in creating knowledge and learning regarding development.²⁶⁵ INGO-INGO collaboration, and engagement with the wider learning environment should benefit all,²⁶⁶ however, in practice such sharing of ideas and knowledge have been troubled.²⁶⁷ Reasons highlighted for this lack of synergy include a lack of "collaborative and management skills";²⁶⁸ lack of organisational emphasis on learning;²⁶⁹ and competition between INGOs, which can lead to unwillingness to discuss failures openly,²⁷⁰ and concerns over confidentiality.²⁷¹

Increasingly, INGOs are overcoming these obstacles and although they see themselves as activist and not research bodies,²⁷² the larger INGOs have produced a large amount of material and research documentation adding to the

²⁶³ Tandon, Rajesh (2000) 'Riding high or nosediving' p. 323.

²⁶⁴ INTRAC (2001) 'NGOs and Partnership' p. 5; and Tandon, Rajesh (2000) 'Riding high or nosediving: development' p. 321.

²⁶⁵ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' p. 330.

²⁶⁶ Stone, Adrian and Pratt, Brian (1994) 'A Survey of Research by UK NGOs' *INTRAC Occasional Papers* No. 3, p. 6.

²⁶⁷ Cottrell, Barbara and Parpart, Jane L. (2006) 'Academic-community collaboration, gender research, and development: pitfalls and possibilities' *Development in Practice* Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 15.

²⁶⁸ Stone, Adrian and Pratt, Brian (1994) 'A Survey of Research by UK NGOs' p. 6.

²⁶⁹ OECD (2001) 'Evaluation Feedback for Effective Learning and Accountability' p. 21.

²⁷⁰ Pratt, Brian (2000) 'Politically Correct or Good practice?' p. 7.

²⁷¹ Stone, Adrian and Pratt, Brian (1994) 'A Survey of Research by UK NGOs' p. 6.

²⁷² Oxfam GB (1998) *Setting the course for the twenty-first century* p. 41.

knowledge base and debates available to practitioners and the research communities.

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The first three fronts of learning have been discussed. These all contribute to the knowledge base on which the organisation can draw on and 'learn'. But how well do INGO's learn? And what factors encourage or hinder the learning characteristics of the INGO in the decision-making terrains?

2.4.4 ORGANISATIONAL LEARNING

Takahashi describes how characteristics of organisations may thwart learning, noting how successful learning requires positive encouragement and an absence of prohibitive forces.²⁷³ In most INGOs, knowledge-management structures are poorly developed, and many other elements are inhibitive to the process. Takahashi draws the comparison with the business sector, which INGOs have emulated in many other managerial areas, to show how INGOs are falling behind with respect to learning:

"There has been a notable lack of learning from the experiences of people and organisations that are part of the process of defining development aid policy and its implementation. In contrast, in the business sector, an organisation's ability to learn faster than its competitors has long been claimed as a key to success."²⁷⁴

For organisational learning to take place, knowledge gathered needs to be applied and the organisation's structures and concept-blocks modified. Drawing on the three fronts of learning already discussed, this section will look at which groups have most influence over which knowledge is used in the learning process, how the learning process occurs, and what, if anything is learnt.

²⁷³ Takahashi, Chie (2006) 'Partnerships, learning, and development' p. 40.

²⁷⁴ Takahashi, Chie (2006) 'Partnerships, learning, and development' p. 39.

The preceding discussions showed how the individual was responsible for generating and translating the information on which the organisation builds its knowledge base. It also revealed unintentional trends which curtailed information which was likely to question the aims and objectives of the organisation. These are internal participants in the learning process; however, the employees are not the only participants. Simpson and Gill note that in the policy design process, “what is used to derive the theory of change is a constructed reality based on the interplay of participants.”²⁷⁵ Those situated in different levels of the organisation play a pivotal role in accumulating explicit knowledge for the policy makers at head office, but this knowledge is consequently mixed with other knowledge arriving from elsewhere. Simpson and Gill highlight concerns that in this melting pot of knowledge, various worldviews may be “privileged over others.”²⁷⁶ Certainly those in the higher levels of the organisation have more influence over the shaping of organisational learning than those in the lower levels. The higher in the hierarchy a group is, the more power they can exercise over “shaping what is in the ‘framework of possible thought’”.²⁷⁷

Head office ultimately decides on the policy framework for the INGO; however, without the donors, they will not be able to finance their programmes. Donors are influenced by the dominant development discourses when choosing what INGOs and activities they wish to finance. The knowledge most likely to facilitate organisational learning, therefore, is a mixture of the collective knowledge of those at head office, and the dominant development discourse, especially issues and perspectives favoured by the donors.

The formation of the knowledge base is the first aspect of the learning process; its application is the second step. Just as organisational characteristics affect

²⁷⁵ Simpson, Robert and Gill, Roderic (2007) ‘Design for development: a review of emerging methodologies’ *Development and Practice* Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 223.

²⁷⁶ Simpson, Robert and Gill, Roderic (2007) ‘Design for development:’ p. 223.

²⁷⁷ Bird, Kate and Pratt, Nicola with O’Neil, Tammie and Bolt, Vincent J. (2004) *Fracture Points in Social Policies for Chronic Poverty Reduction* ODI Working Paper No. 242, CPRC Working Paper No. 47, p. xi.

what knowledge is able to influence policy change, the likelihood of that change occurring, or the nature of that change, is dependent on other forces inherent in the INGO's structure. From the perspective of the corporate world, Levinson and Asahi make the following connection between organisational culture and organisational learning:

“Organizational culture can facilitate or hinder organizational change and/or organizational learning. For example, organizations with open cultures that view change as positive can clearly facilitate learning processes. Conversely, cultures that view stability as a key value, and whose organizational heroes and processes highlight neither change nor flexibility, serve as subtle—and sometimes not-so-subtle—barriers to learning.”²⁷⁸

As has been discussed in the ideational elements section of this chapter, INGOs have a working culture which promotes specific behaviours in the work force and solid thematic guidelines built into their framework. Since the 1990s, the increased move towards a business-like, marketable outlook has created a ‘stability as value’ emphasis. The result is often, as Reeler highlights, that what is ‘learnt’, is limited to what helps get better results for the existing goals. “The learning cycle, which should be a virtuous circle that positively feeds itself, becomes a stuck record with the same lessons being learnt time and time again, without leading to any significant shifts or changes in practice.”²⁷⁹

Double-loop learning is resisted, although not defeated. However, by the time the INGO reacts to the accumulation of knowledge suggesting changes in the structure, the change that is called for is usually quite profound, shaking up many embedded organisational characteristics, and setting new and unanticipated institutional imperatives and behavioural influences into action. New pathologies emerge, as do new successful correlations of forces resulting in good behaviour. What is clear is the power to influence changes in the INGO structure rests not with those the INGO is aiming to help, but in the higher tiers

²⁷⁸ Levinson, Nanette, S. and Asahi, Minoru (1995) ‘Cross-National Alliances and Interorganizational Learning’ *Organizational Dynamics* Vol. 24, Issue 2, p. 55.

²⁷⁹ Reeler, Doug (2001) *Unlearning – facing up to the real challenge of learning* p. 1.

of the INGO structure, and in the expectations of the donors.

*

Stockton makes the comparison between the business sector and the development sector. When it comes to learning, he states: "Ask Toyota how they became the world largest car manufacturer. Listening to customers is what made the difference for them."²⁸⁰ Although the INGO world has adopted many working practices from the business sector, when it comes to organisational learning, there are major structural impediments to effective informed evolution of organisational behaviour. If the consumer is defined as the donor, certain successes in learning from the dominant development discourses can be seen in the design of the concept-blocks. If the consumer is defined as the partner, the INGO's ability to learn comes up against a number of obstacles.

The notion that learning is a luxury,²⁸¹ and that scarce resources need to be devoted to directly assisting the poor, as well as working towards "tangible impact indicators"²⁸² is common in the INGO field. But the relationship between learning and knowledge-management is more complicated than simple changing of priorities. The bias in the direction of knowledge flows and the commoditisation of knowledge for publicity objectifies the 'partners' and the communication of knowledge becomes a reflection of traditional power relations, reinforcing the INGO's intellectual supremacy over the partners, the donors over the beneficiaries, and the higher levels of the organisation over the lower levels.

²⁸⁰ Stockton, Nicholas (2006) *The Accountability Alibi* p. 2.

²⁸¹ Reeler, Doug (2001) *Unlearning – facing up to the real challenge of learning* p. 6.

²⁸² Hailey, John and James, Rick (2002) 'Learning leaders' p. 400.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has picked out influential organisational characteristics which will help explain the events and relationships which were uncovered in the case study. These elements were firmly located in a wider development discourse. For a comprehensive analysis of the forces which will be examined in the proceeding chapters, the relationship between these institutional imperatives and behavioural influences need to be understood. As Escobar clearly explains:

“To understand development as a discourse, one must look not at the elements themselves but at the system of relations established among them. It is this system that allows the systematic creation of objects, concepts, and strategies; it determines what can be thought and said. These relations—established between institutions, socioeconomic processes, forms of knowledge, technological factors, and so on—define the conditions under which objects, concepts, theories, and strategies can be incorporated into the discourse. In sum, the system of relations establishes a discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise; it sets the rules that must be followed for this or that problem, theory, or object to emerge and be named, analyzed, and eventually transformed into policy or plan.”²⁸³

The trends described in the wider development discourses operate in a much more succinct manner within the INGO. However, the confines of the organisation often mean that the different elements from structural, managerial and ideational backgrounds took on, what Barnett and Finnemore describe as pathological characteristics:

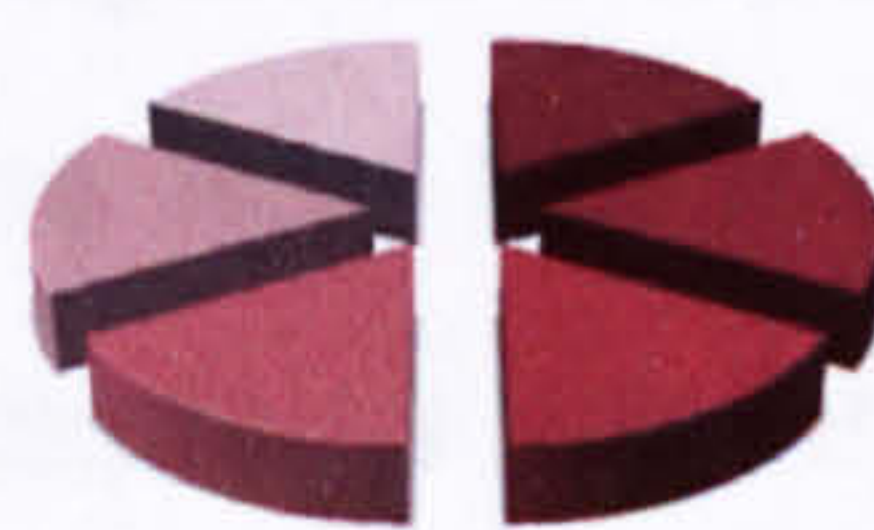
“which we define as behaviour that undermines the stated goals of the organization... [We] show that the same internally generated cultural forces that give [International Organisations] their power and autonomy can also be a source of dysfunctional behaviour. We use the term *pathologies* to describe such instances when [International Organisations] dysfunction can be traced to bureaucratic culture.”²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Escobar, Arturo (1995) *Encountering Development* pp. 40-41.

²⁸⁴ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' p. 702.

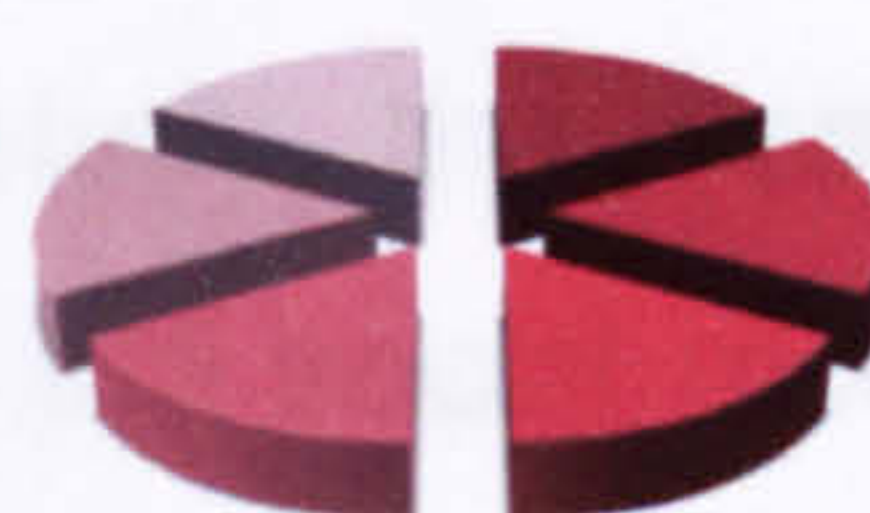
In order to examine the case study, the INGO has been divided into the bureaucratic levels which have come to dominate the larger INGO in today's development world. Each level has different experiences of the forces, elements and characteristics set in motion by managerial and development practices. The affect of these organisational characteristics when they interrelate creates many unanticipated outcomes, some have been discussed in this chapter, and others will be uncovered through the analysis of the case study. The various institutional imperatives and behavioural characteristics have been grouped into three broad sections, physical elements, ideational elements and organisational leaning in order to aid the investigation of what factors affected our area of interest.

The model which has been described in this chapter is a tool with which to pick apart the characteristics of the INGO. The methods described and the focus categories discussed have been chosen to uncover the behavioural chains which run through the INGO affecting decisions regarding partners. These chains have been shown to affect decision-making in a number of different ways, both intended and unintended by those who steer the INGO's operations from the head office. The chains also affect each other, for example, the pressures of cost-efficiency and focus on the production of targets undermines the prospects for organisational learning. However, there is one element still to be discussed: how this, at times hostile, correlation of behavioural chains affects the passage of minority issues throughout the INGO's levels. This will form the focus of the next chapter.



Chapter Three: Of Concept-Blocks and Blue-Prints

Placing disability on the INGO decision-making table and discussing why it usually falls off: The Social Model and Disability Mainstreaming



3.1

INTRODUCTION

A Weak Organisational Characteristic in the Development Arena

Building on the introduction to the Organisational Levels and Organisational Characteristics (OLOC) Model provided by chapter two, this chapter will draw out one behavioural chain to show how organisational characteristics can affect the rhetoric and behaviour of an International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO). Because this research is looking in detail at disability in the INGO setting, it is necessary to look at how the terrain formed by other organisational characteristics block or influence the effects of the behavioural chain representing disability issues.

To explore the nature of a behavioural chain in an INGO, the analysis needs to go through three stages; this chapter is shaped around these stages. The first stage, **justifications**, establishes why the issue should be of concern to the development world; this stage explains why the investigation is worthwhile, as well as providing the background for the following analysis. For example, highlighting the close relationship between disability and poverty provides one reason why disability issues need to be incorporated into development programmes; the history of disabled people's marginalisation from both the

INGO's target communities and mainstream society in the INGO's home country provides another. The reasons which justify disability issues as a target for investigation also affect how this behavioural chain is received in the decision-making terrain; therefore this stage will lay the foundations for the discussions in the later stages.

The second stage, the **anchors**, involves establishing what theories, campaigns or movements are responsible for the presence of this behavioural chain within the organisation. In this case study, the disability movement has provided a unified set of theories, such as the social model and 'disabled people's rights are human rights',¹ with which to challenge INGO behaviour and shape approaches initiated to include disability issues in development. This will be looking at the nature of the disability movement; the theories being put forward to help include disabled people in society and development activities; and finally, how these ideas have been received by the INGO community.

The final stage, **manifestations and mainstreaming**, discusses how these theories and influences actually affect INGO activities. It will discuss the differences which exist between the rhetoric of INGOs which states their work includes disabled people and the practical measures which actually lead to inclusion. Looking at theories and experiences of mainstreaming provides an acute insight into the nature of behavioural chains in the INGO decision-making terrain.

Mainstreaming involves taking a minority group, or issues pertaining to a minority group, (such as women and gender, or disabled people and disability), and putting in place concept-blocks (policy statements) and blue-prints (concrete measures to implement policy), to address barriers to this group's participation in development activities. Viewed in terms of the OLOC model, this can be seen as taking action to bolster a weak behavioural chain by

¹ Lindqvist, Bengt in Albert, Bill (2004) *Briefing Note: The social model of disability, human rights and development* p. 5.

strengthening its position in the decision-making terrain and reducing the organisational characteristics which may thwart attempts to include the minority group or minority issues, such as prejudice or a focus on generating impact.

Basically, this chapter is a discussion of mainstreaming the minority issue of disability into an INGO's work. As was discussed in the previous chapter, INGOs are composed of a myriad of different institutional imperatives and behavioural influences which affect policy formation, decision-making, and the implementation of programmes. We have looked at managerial structures, working practices, aims and objectives, marketing and organisational learning; this chapter will be looking at the final bundle of organisational characteristics: those pertaining to mainstreaming the issue of disability throughout the INGOs work.

The pressure to include disabled people and disability issues in development work is a relatively new characteristic to be added to the cornucopia of concerns the INGO faces,² and despite being taken up prominently in the rhetoric of organisations such as USAID, SIDA, NORAD,³ the World Bank,⁴ and DFID⁵ there has been a noticeable gap between what is included in statements to the outside world and activities taken internally to implement policy within the organisation.⁶ The following analysis will be examining and explaining the gap between the concept-blocks the INGO develops and the blue-prints it implements. This will show the interplay of different characteristics, such as disablism, both overt and aversive (subtle and unintentional excluding or

² Thomas, Philippa (2004) *DFID and Disability: A Mapping of the Department for International Development and Disability Issues* p. 6.

³ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work: "Nothing About Us, Without Us"' *World Development* Vol. 31, No. 3, p. 580.

⁴ Thomas, Philippa (2004) *DFID and Disability* p. 8.

⁵ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development*.

⁶ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 28; SAFOD, FEDOMA and ODG (2006) *Report on International Disability Knowledge and Research (KaR) Dissemination Conference: Mainstreaming Disability: Turning Ideas into Action* Held in Lilongwe, Malawi 14th-16th March 2006 p. 6; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 17.

demeaning behaviour);⁷ the New Public Management focus on administration and results;⁸ and the perceived need to focus on strategic areas to maximise output.⁹

Disability is not the only minority issue for which campaigners are pressing development organisations to heed. A lot of different ideas regarding appropriate priorities are voiced, both inside and outside of the INGO; ideas such as gender mainstreaming, environmental sustainability, participation, and the mainstreaming of people living with HIV/AIDS, all compete for their time on the decision-making table. Changing organisational behaviour, however, is not as simple as raising the issue and arguing the case successfully.¹⁰ This chapter will conclude with a discussion of the barriers faced by efforts to mainstream disability, and what sort of blue-prints can be put in place, and have been put in place for issues such as gender, to strengthen a weak organisational characteristic. Through the implementation of precise blue-prints, including targets, training, and obligations to collect information on specific criteria, a mainstreamed issue can start to leave its imprint on the decision-making terrain: assuming the organisation is willing to invest the time, effort and resources to enforce and reiterate these policies, because mainstreaming is a long-term endeavour and all too often quick fixes are sought.¹¹

⁷ Deal, Mark (2007) 'Aversive disablism: subtle prejudice toward disabled people' *Disability and Society* Vol. 22, No. 1 p. 95.

⁸ Stubbs, Paul (2003) 'International Non-State Actors and Social Development Policy' *Global Social Policy* Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 339; and Townsend, Janet G.; Porter, Gina; and Mawdsley, Emma (2002) 'The Role of the Transnational Community of Non-Governmental Organizations: Governance or Poverty Reduction?' *Journal of International Development* Vol. 14, Issue 6, p. 831.

⁹ Harris-Curtis, Emma (2003) *The Implications of Adopting Rights-Based Approaches for Northern NGOs: A Preliminary Exploration* p. 74; and Ramia, Gaby (2003) 'Global Social Policy, INGOs and Strategic Management: An Emerging Research Agenda' *Global Social Policy* Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 87.

¹⁰ Bird, Kate and Pratt, Nicola with O'Neil, Tammie and Bolt, Vincent J. (2004) *Fracture Points in Social Policies for Chronic Poverty Reduction* p. vii.

¹¹ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 34.

3.2

JUSTIFICATION: THE ARGUMENT FOR INCLUSION

Chronic Poverty and the Individualisation of Disability

3.2.1 CHRONIC POVERTY AND DISABILITY

Compared to the rest of the population, disabled people are more likely to experience severe and prolonged poverty.¹² The elements which combine to predispose disabled people to a life of poverty are multiple and penetrate all aspects of life, including the family environment, socialising, education and employment.¹³ In the developing world, these factors place many disabled people in a condition of 'chronic poverty'. Chronic poverty is more severe than 'poverty', is long term in nature and usually passed on from generation to generation, meaning the children of disabled people are also likely to endure extreme poverty¹⁴ and be exposed to conditions which may in turn disable them.¹⁵

To illustrate disabled people's vulnerability to poverty, their experience of educational opportunities will be explored. Education is the key to escaping poverty for disabled people,¹⁶ the same as it is for the able-bodied. If disabled people are to stand any chance of getting employment and the respect of their communities, education is the main starting point.¹⁷ However, as will be discussed, disabled children in developing countries are more likely to be excluded from the educational opportunities in their communities than their non-disabled peers.

¹² Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals: Relevance, Challenges and Opportunities for DFID* p. 9; and Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 6.

¹³ ILO (2002) *Disability and Poverty Reduction Strategies* p. 4; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 9.

¹⁴ Hulme, David and Shepherd, Andrew (2003) 'Conceptualizing Chronic Poverty' *World Development* Vol. 31, No. 3, p. 405; and Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 6.

¹⁵ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 15.

¹⁶ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 6.

¹⁷ Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' in World Vision (Ed.) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 19.

As children, many disabled people in the developing world are denied an education by not being given the opportunity to attend school or through barriers which prevent their full participation in the schooling which is available.¹⁸ Disabled children are kept out of education due to economic, social and environmental reasons. Where the family is living in, or close to poverty, there is a reluctance to invest in the education of an individual perceived to be incapable of bringing in a future income or with low marriage prospects.¹⁹ The decision not to educate a disabled child is often a pragmatic matter of investing scarce resources in those individuals which are perceived to be the better investment. In communities where disability is shrouded in superstition or shame, there is a disinclination to expose a disabled child because of the social repercussions acknowledging the presence of a disabled member of the family will bring. For example, in some cultures it is feared a disabled child in the family could affect the marriage prospects of other siblings.²⁰ Even when schooling is affordable and the culture amenable to disabled people attending, if the school is physically inaccessible, or there are no special aids to teach children with visual or aural impairments, there is still a barrier to that child getting an education.²¹

Where places in school are provided for a disabled child, barriers to learning arise from inadequate resources to teach disabled people, such as the lack of materials in Braille, mobility aids, teacher training in special needs, or inaccessible class room design.²² Peer bullying has also been cited as a reason

¹⁸ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 8.

¹⁹ Kabzems, Venta and Chimedza, Robert (2002) 'Development Assistance: disability and education in Southern Africa' *Disability and Society* Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 148; and Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 573.

²⁰ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 10; Kabzems, Venta and Chimedza, Robert (2002) 'Development Assistance: disability and education in Southern Africa' p. 152; and Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 573.

²¹ Driedger, Diane (1991) 'Introduction' in Driedger, Diane (Ed.) (1991) *Disabled People in International Development* p. 2; Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 11.

²² Arbeiter, Susanne and Hartley, Sally (2002) 'Teachers' and Pupils' Experiences of Integrated Education in Uganda' *International Journal of Disability, Development and Education* Vol. 49, No. 1, p. 68; Millward, H., Ojwang, V.P., Carter, J.A., and Hartley, S. (2005) 'International

for creating a hostile learning environment for disabled children.²³ These factors account for the high levels of disabled children who, having secured a place in education, drop out.²⁴ This is especially the case in Uganda where, because of special provisions to increase the enrolment of persons with disabilities in schools, more disabled students were registered and entitled to attend school, but later dropped out.²⁵

An element of Uganda's debt relief was the agreement to channel the savings into a Universal Primary Education policy.²⁶ This policy provides four free primary school placements per family. Due to campaigning by the disability movement in Uganda, should a disabled child be present in the household, one of these free places must go to the disabled child.²⁷ Although these measures increased the enrolment of disabled children in primary education by 600%,²⁸ the aforementioned barriers to education were not addressed, resulting in a high dropout rate.²⁹ This was a clear case of attempting to include disabled people in a fundamental part of society before laying the groundwork to enable such participation to be effective.

For those who are disabled from birth, or at a very young age, the lack of educational experience is, to quote Lwanga-Ntale, "a clear recipe for perennial poverty."³⁰ Without an education, employment is harder to find; with an impairment, the work an individual can do is limited. This encourages society's

guidelines and the inclusion of disabled people. The Ugandan Story' *Disability and Society* Vol. 20, No. 2 p. 160; and Ndeezi, Alex (2004) *The Disability Movement in Uganda* (NUDIPU: Kampala) p. 32.

²³ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 11.

²⁴ Ddamulira, Davis (2003) *Participation of Organisations and Partners of Persons with Disabilities in the PEAP 2003 Revision* p. 12; and Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' p. 20.

²⁵ Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' p. 20.

²⁶ Lockwood, Matthew (1999) *National mechanisms for linking debt relief to poverty reduction: challenges and opportunities* p. 5; and McGee, Rosemary (2000) 'Meeting the International Poverty Targets in Uganda: Halving Poverty and Achieving Universal Primary Education' *Development Policy Review* Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 100.

²⁷ Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' p. 19.

²⁸ Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' p. 19.

²⁹ Ddamulira, Davis (2003) *Participation of Organisations and Partners of Persons with Disabilities in the PEAP 2003 Revision* p. 12.

³⁰ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 8.

traditional opinion of disabled people as a burden on society: an opinion is described by Bukumunhe:

“[I]n the past in Uganda, disabled persons, men or women, were a great inconvenience to their families, their relatives, their villages and to themselves. Some disabled people were seen by others as able to do nothing, apart from talking and eating.”³¹

Disabled people are over represented amongst those suffering from economic poverty;³² however, as Yeo observes: “Poverty is not only about rates of income but also about social exclusion and powerlessness”.³³ Looking at poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, including income, education, social capital, voice, social standing and so forth,³⁴ disabled people can be seen to be inherently vulnerable in all categories.³⁵

Disability does not just cause poverty and keep the individual locked in the net of socio-economic deprivation: poverty itself has been shown to place individuals at a much higher risk of becoming disabled; suffering a deterioration in an existing physical, cognitive, mental or sensory impairment; or acquiring other new impairments.³⁶ It also increases the likelihood that children born into

³¹ Bukumunhe, Rosallie B. (1992) ‘I will Definitely Not Go’ in Driedger, Diane and Gray, Susan (Eds.) *Imprinting our Image: An International Anthology by Women with Disabilities* (Canada: Gynergy books) p. 74.

³² Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 6; Hurst, Rachel, ‘Conclusion: enabling or disabling globalisation?’ in Swain, John; French, Sally; and Cameron, Colin *Controversial Issues in a Disabling Society* (Maidenhead: Open University Press) p. 166; ILO (2002) *Disability and Poverty Reduction Strategies* p. 4; Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) ‘Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work’ p. 571.

³³ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 9.

³⁴ Cummings, Sarah; Ferguson, Julie; Bury, Peter; Garai, Atanu; Islam, Baharul; and Ngulube, Patrick (2006) ‘Editorial: On knowledge divides and joined up thinking – anybody interested?’ *Knowledge Management for Development Journal* Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 1; Miller, Ursula and Ziegler, Stefanie (2006) *Making PRSP Inclusive* p. 7; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 9.

³⁵ ILO (2002) *Disability and Poverty Reduction Strategies* p. 4; and Sjöberg, Malena (2005) ‘Of Culture and Identity: Culture as a Political Force’ Aldén, Malin Ekman and Sjöberg, Malena (Eds.) *Handling: Culture and Identity* p. 3.

³⁶ Barnes, Colin (2001) ‘Rethinking ‘care’ from the perspective of disabled people: World Health Organisation recommendations to member states’ in World Vision (Ed.) (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 23; ILO (2002) *Disability and poverty Reduction Strategies* p. 4; p. 13; Miller, Ursula and Ziegler, Stefanie (2006) *Making PRSP Inclusive* p. 66; Rust, Tom and Metts, Robert (2007) ‘Poverty and Disability: Trapped in a Web of Causation’ p. 1; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 15.

households living in poverty will suffer malnutrition, poor medical care and other circumstances which put them at risk at becoming disabled.³⁷

This is the 'Disability-Poverty Cycle'. Yeo describes the interplay of forces as follows:

"There is a vicious circle. Chronic poverty often leads to higher risk of impairment. The impairment can then lead to more marginalisation and exclusion, resulting in disability, more exclusion, loss of income and further poverty. Many elements of this cycle are inevitably inter-linked. However impairment does not inevitably lead to discrimination and disability. It is at this point that the cycle could be broken."³⁸

Development organisations can potentially help break the cycle at this point. However, when development programmes are being run, disabled individuals are often not mobilised enough to attract the attention of those who are planning or running the programme;³⁹ treated as the recipients of charitable handouts;⁴⁰ or considered already 'included' in programmes aimed at the whole population, which are designed as though the participants were all homogenous and able-bodied.⁴¹

Hossain points out that, should disabled people be given the opportunity to meaningfully engage in development initiatives, and society in general, then they would be able to contribute to the development and prosperity of their community.⁴² Such inclusion would not only help redress stereotypical images of disabled people as a burden on society, but improve their self confidence,

³⁷ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 1.

³⁸ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 16.

³⁹ Hossain, ASM Mosharraf (2001) 'the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations' in World Vision (Ed.) (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 29; and Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 6.

⁴⁰ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 20.

⁴¹ Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' p. 19.

⁴² Hossain, ASM Mosharraf, 'the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations' p. 32.

productivity, and ability to contribute to society, as opposed to draining the community's resources.⁴³

Foakes and Ryman highlight that active participation by all elements of the community lead to higher levels of sustainability in programmes and projects:

“World Vision... knows from experience that the greater the involvement of the whole community, the more potential there is for positive and lasting change. Therefore, ensuring the inclusion of disabled people in mainstream development programmes is actually a crucial part of successful and sustainable community development.”⁴⁴

In practice disabled people are, at most, on the sidelines of development. Although their communities may receive development assistance, any developmental gains just widens the gulf between disabled people and those receiving development assistance.⁴⁵ Disabled people remain dependent on hand outs, and the ‘trickle down’ approach to development, which has been widely discredited,⁴⁶ fails to trickle down to them.⁴⁷ As Bird et al argue, improving the economic prosperity of elements within a society does not lead to prosperity for all, especially marginalised groups:

“People experiencing mental illness, alcohol dependency and disability, and those in households led by older people or widows, are likely to be the slowest to benefit and – without specific and sometimes targeted

⁴³ Betts, Jane and Flower, Jonathan (August 2001) ‘towards a level playing field’ in World Vision (Ed.) (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 8.

⁴⁴ Foakes, Helen, and Ryman, Helen (2001) ‘Introduction’ in World Vision (Ed.) (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 4.

⁴⁵ Kabzems, Venta and Chimedza, Robert (2002) ‘Development Assistance’ p. 147; Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 6.

⁴⁶ Bhatta, Gambhir (2001) ‘Of Geese and Ganders: Mainstreaming Gender in the Context of Sustainable Human Development’ *Journal of Gender Studies* Vol. 10, No. 1, p. 18; CPRC (2005) *The Chronic Poverty Report 2004-5* p. 87; Chang, Pilwha (1997) ‘Social Policy in some East Asian Countries’ in Joekes, Susan (Ed.) (1997) ‘Retreat or Advance? Mainstreaming Gender Analysis at the Institute of Development Studies’ p. 721; and Oxfam GB (2006) *Global Programme Learning Report 2006: A review of evaluations and assessments of Oxfam GB’s programme work* p. 27.

⁴⁷ Hossain, ASM Mosharraf (2001) ‘the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations’ p. 29; Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) ‘a unified voice for people with disabilities’ p. 19; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 15.

policies, which reduce stigma and exclusion and protect and build assets – may not benefit at all.⁴⁸

Vulnerable to poverty and unlikely to benefit from the development endeavours aimed at their communities, disabled people warrant special attention in the development field. Without specific interventions, the presence of pro-disability issues in the decision-making terrain at the site of implementation is minimal and any influence on development programmes is lost among the other organisational characteristics. However, there is one more justification of why disability issues warrant special attention in the study of an INGO's organisational characteristics, and that is how disability issues have been defined and individualised in, not only the communities INGOs target, but in their home countries as well. The following discussion will draw upon the origins of the disability movement to highlight the political arguments made against the individualisation of disability.

3.2.2 THE INDIVIDUALISATION (AND DEPOLITICISATION) OF DISABILITY

In the 1970s the UK based Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) began a campaign to challenge the way disabled people were being treated in Western countries.⁴⁹ This group of physically impaired males shared the experience of many disabled people; as the 'other' kept separate in institutions, hospitals and in homes; as the subjects of the privileged scientific gaze; as the source of information on deformed bodies; and as the passive subjects in the scientific definition of 'their medical condition'.⁵⁰

This approach to the treatment of individuals with impairments became represented by the 'medical model' of disability (sometimes known as the

⁴⁸ Bird, Kate and Pratt, Nicola with O'Neil, Tammie and Bolt, Vincent J. (2004) *Fracture Points in Social Policies for Chronic Poverty Reduction* p. 9.

⁴⁹ UPIAS (1974) *Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation: Policy Statement 1974/5*

⁵⁰ Finkelstein, Victor (1980) *Attitudes and Disabled People* (New York: World Rehabilitation Fund); Hunt, Paul (1966) 'A Critical Condition' in Hunt, Paul (Ed.) *Stigma: The Experience of Disability* (London: Geoffrey Chapman) pp. 144-159; and Oliver, Mike (1986) 'Social Policy and Disability: some theoretical issues' *Disability, Handicap and Society* Vol. 1 No. 1 pp. 5-17.

'individual model',⁵¹ or the 'personal tragedy model').⁵² Disabled people's experiences revolved around a focus on their impairments, their personal difficulties of operating in mainstream society and what was wrong with *them*. The medicalisation of disability placed the problem and the solutions in the hands of specialists in the medical and caring professions and 'disability' was constructed as a medical issue.⁵³ This focus on the individual's impairment formed the basis of their interaction with researchers, institutions, the medical profession, carers, politicians, society, and development organisations. These non-disabled 'experts' took away from their 'meeting' with disabled people texts, ideas and meanings based around the problems with the disabled body, and these contributed to the sustained discourses of 'disabled people'.⁵⁴

Experiences and opportunities available to 'disabled people' were framed in terms of society's definition of the 'normal' body, dominant perceptions of the difficulties associated with different impairments, how society tried to solve the problem of the disabled person, and how families and professionals 'helped' disabled individuals overcome the obstacles their impairments created. Disabled people were seen as disabled because of their bodies' deviation from the physical, sensory, cognitive or mental norm, which prevented them from acting as 'normal' people did. By defining disability in such a way, political agency was removed⁵⁵ and disabled people were created as objects of medical or specialist intervention.⁵⁶ INGOs were no different in their perception of disabled people

⁵¹ Coleridge, Peter (1993) *Disability, Liberation and Development* (Oxfam: Oxford UK and I) p. 72.

⁵² Oliver, Mike (1986) 'Social Policy and Disability' p. 6.

⁵³ Bury, Mike (1996) 'Defining and researching Disability: Challenges and Response' in Barnes, Colin and Mercer Geof (Eds.) *Exploring the Divide* (Leeds: The Disability Press); and Hughes, Bill and Paterson, Kevin (1997) 'The Social Model of Disability and the Disappearing Body: towards a sociology of impairment' *Disability and Society* Vol. 12, No. 3, p. 331.

⁵⁴ Oliver, Mike (1992) 'Changing the Relations of Research Production?' *Disability, Handicap and Society* Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 101-114.

⁵⁵ Michailakis, p. 210; Oliver, Mike (1986) 'Social Policy and Disability: some theoretical issues' *Disability, Handicap and Society* Vol. 1 No. 1, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Brisendon, Simon (1998) 'Independent Living and the Medical Model of Disability' in Shakespeare, Tom (Ed.) *The Disability Reader: Social Science Perspectives* (London: Cassell) p. 20.

and their approach was to consider disability a cause for medical intervention, best left for special organisations.⁵⁷

Each type of impairments is faced with different attitudes and barriers and what may disable an individual in one society may not in another. For example, short sightedness does not disable an individual in a society where glasses are readily available,⁵⁸ and a person who cannot use their legs can participate fully in a society where wheelchairs are provided, the architecture is accessible and attitudes are non-discriminatory.⁵⁹ Different impairments are also more prominent in different geographical areas, such as loss of limbs in an area where landmines are common,⁶⁰ impairments caused by polio in areas where vaccination campaigns have not eradicated the disease⁶¹ or even the local availability of cheap lentils which contain high levels of toxins which can cause the neurological disease, Lathyrism.⁶²

Attitudes to, and perceptions of, disability also vary according to geographical area, and therefore between the different levels within the INGO. Global and local perceptions of disability feed on many different societal attitudes, experiences, and prejudices. Disabled people are a heterogeneous group, consisting of individuals with different personalities, experiences, opportunities, capabilities and impairments. Globally, prejudicial behaviour towards disabled people is equally varied. Such attitudes are illustrated through cultural presentations of disability and the treatment of disabled people.

⁵⁷ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 14.

⁵⁸ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 578.

⁵⁹ Miller, Ursula and Ziegler, Stefanie (2006) *Making PRSP Inclusive* p. 58.

⁶⁰ Hurst, Rachel and Lansdown, Gerison (2001) 'We are Children too!: are disabled children included in the rights agenda?' in World Vision (Ed.) (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 13; and Mitchell, Shannon K. (2004) 'Death, Disability, Displaced Persons and Development: The Case of Landmines in Bosnia and Herzegovina' *World Development* Vol. 32, No. 12, p. 2105.

⁶¹ Driedger, Diane (1991) 'Introduction' p. 2.

⁶² Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 575.

For example, Bolt describes the removal of agency and the diminishing of the ontological status of those with impaired vision in Anglophone literature⁶³ Braathen and Ingstad document expressions of prejudice against albinos in some parts of Malawi, where it is commonly believed that, should a pregnant woman see an albino, her child will be born with albinism if she does not spit.⁶⁴ Such attitudes can also spread to those close to the disabled individual: for example, in some areas of Uganda, the mother is blamed for bringing the curse of a disabled child into the family.⁶⁵ But in almost all societies, disability has traditionally been seen as a problem with the individual, and therefore any attempts to deal with disabled people's exclusion from society starts with the individual, not society itself. These attitudes infiltrate both communities in which development work takes place and the decision-making terrains of the INGO where policies are formulated. Any attempt to mainstream disabled people and disability issues have to first address the prejudices and attitudes towards disabled people at every level of the organisation. This is as pertinent an issue in the head office as it is at the country level.

Barriers to disabled people's participation arising from attitudes and beliefs held by society in different parts of the world have evolved within different cultures, economies and security situations. The proliferation and institutional basis of the medical profession are not always as widespread as in the UK, and impairments take on individual cultural connotations. However, whether the family laments the tragedy of the burden of a disabled person, blaming god,⁶⁶ evil spirits⁶⁷ and keeping the disabled person hidden away at home; or their treatment is placed

⁶³ Bolt, D. 'Looking back at literature: a critical reading of the unseen stare in depictions of people with impaired vision' *Disability and Society* Vol.20, No. 7, p. 744.

⁶⁴ Braathen, Stine Hellum and Ingstad, Benedicte (2006) 'Albinism in Malawi: knowledge and beliefs from an African setting' *Disability and Society* Vol. 21, No. 6, p. 605.

⁶⁵ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 13.

⁶⁶ McCloskey, Tony (July/August 1999) *The Norwegian Association of the Disabled – Report: NUDIPU – An Overview* p. 8.

⁶⁷ Avoke, Mawutor (2002) 'Models of Disability in the Labelling and Attitudinal Discourse in Ghana' *Disability & Society* Vol. 17, No. 7, p. 773; and Chimedza, Robert (1998) 'The Cultural Politics of Integrating Deaf Students in Regular Schools in Zimbabwe' *Disability and Society* Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 495.

in the hands of the medical profession; the affect of the attitudinal barriers are the same: it individualises the impairment, places the blame for disability with the individual concerned, and leaves social, cultural, economical and political structures untouched.⁶⁸

This has had a profound effect on how INGOs have historically approached the issue of disability and treated disabled people. The INGOs are based in countries where the dominant approach to disability has been to treat disability as a medical or special issue; this has led to the perception that disabled people should be the domain of specialist or medical organisations, and thereby not part of the target population when designing development programmes.⁶⁹ The country level receives policy from head office, is influenced by local perceptions of disability, and works with communities in which disabled people are marginalised. Unless an individual is present to campaign for the specific inclusion of disabled people, or specific policies in place to facilitate inclusion, it is all too easy to perpetuate the exclusion of disabled people.

Not only are disabled people excluded, but this exclusion is undocumented and usually unnoticed, even by those conducting the INGO's work. The expectations of approaches to disability and development; the fact that most disabled people are marginalised in their communities, usually invisible to INGO workers or researchers;⁷⁰ and the absence of a need to include disabled people in reporting mechanisms effectively writes disabled people out of development. Not only are disabled people removed from development work, the omission of this target group easily passes unnoticed,⁷¹ and no action is taken to change the INGO's approach. This will be explored in more detail later in this chapter, section 3.4.4.

⁶⁸ Oliver, Mike (1992) 'Changing the Relations of Research Production?' p. 105.

⁶⁹ Frost, , Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 14; Hossain, ASM Mosharraf (2001) 'the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations' p. 29; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 21.

⁷⁰ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 16; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 7.

⁷¹ Foakes, Helen and Ryman, Helen (2001) 'Introduction' p. 4; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 16; and Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 577.

The link between disability and poverty, the treatment of disabled people as individuals, and the definition of disability as the domain of medical or specialised bodies are the root of the problems faced by the issue of disability in the development world. In terms of the OLOC model, these are the justifications for singling out the behavioural chain of disability for special analysis. The next section will discuss the two main reactions to the oppression faced by disabled people: the social model and the formation of the disability movement. The social model and the disability movement presented the discourses, ideas, and platform with which to address the disabling forces of society, and INGOs were not immune from the criticisms which were voiced.

3.3

ANCHORS: THE SOCIAL MODEL AND THE DISABILITY MOVEMENT

Locating the discourses and campaigns which provide the arguments to put disability on the decision-making table

3.3.1 THE SOCIAL MODEL

"A good model can enable us to see something which we do not understand because in the model it can be seen from different viewpoints (not available to us in reality) and it is the multi-dimensional replica of the reality that can trigger insights which we might not otherwise develop."⁷²

Models are heuristic devices; they help order the multiple realities of society and enable theorists and political activists to present a simplified picture of reality with which to work.⁷³ This picture of reality is an analytical creation: it does not present a full or extensive depiction of all phenomena associated with the subject in question. By presenting information in such a way, the analysis becomes more incisive, focused and provides a more expedient basis for political analysis and action. A simple model can be used to challenge representations, to find the chinks in discourses and reveal the politics masquerading under the guise of neutral phenomena.

If it enjoys a popular uptake, in time, a model can affect how people perceive reality, but it will only be one influence negotiating within the countless meanings humans have to interpret to make sense of the world. The model's influence is dependent on those who use it, what texts and meanings are produced using its perspective, the audience these texts reach, and whether that audience is profoundly affected by the ideas. The evolution of the 'social model' of disability

⁷² Finkelstein, Victor (2004) 'Representing Disability' Swain, John; French, Sally; Barnes, Colin; and Thomas, Carol (Eds.) (2004) *Disabling Barriers – Enabling Environments* (Sage Publications: London) p. 16.

⁷³ Barnes, Colin (2003) 'What a Difference a Decade Makes: reflections on doing 'emancipatory' disability research' *Disability and Society* Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 9.

reveals how an analytical model can challenge dominant discourses and facilitate the evolution of a counter narrative to have profound political effects.⁷⁴

The social model began with the disengagement of disability from (initially only the 'physical', later the sensory, cognitive and mental) impairment and the revolutionary concept that it was society and not impairment which disabled the individual. This has been compared to the feminist division of gender and sex.⁷⁵ Impairment is defined as the biological condition and disability is the manifestation of barriers created by society through the prevalence of disablist attitudes codified into social behaviour; through the design of buildings and objects which prevents individuals with impairments from using them; and through the meaning society attaches to the impairment, which is accepted by the disabled person contributing to their identity formation through internalisation.

The barriers disabled people face come in three forms, institutional, environmental and attitudinal.⁷⁶ It is by looking at the nature of these barriers that purveyors of the social model hope to challenge society's acceptance of the marginalisation of disabled people and the unquestioned existence of the objects and behaviours which exclude them.

a) Institutional Discrimination

Society codifies common perceptions into the day to day running of the community. Laws, rules, institutions, practices, formalised beliefs and rituals all combine to create the institutionalised reality of society. As a result of the

⁷⁴ Tregaskis, Claire (2002) 'Social Model Theory: the story so far ...' *Disability and Society* Vol. 17, No. 4, p. 457.

⁷⁵ Corker, Mairian (2002) 'A Journey Around the Social Model' in Corker, Mairian and Shakespeare, Tom (2002) *Disability/Postmodernity: Embodying Disability Theory* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group) p. 3; and Watson, N. (2004) 'The Dialectics of Disability: a Social Model for the 21st Century' in Barnes, Colin and Mercer, Geof (Eds) *Implementing the Social Model of Disability: Theory and Research* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 103.

⁷⁶ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' pp. 572-573.

categorical incorporation of disablist attitudes throughout the collective material which constitutes the social order, disabled people are excluded from or treated detrimentally in many aspects of their lives. Institutional discrimination is present in the historic alienation of disabled people in Western academic research,⁷⁷ and in the law in Nepal which allows a man to take another wife should his current wife become disabled, without the need for a divorce.⁷⁸ Institutional discrimination is also present within INGOs which often make no attempt to include disabled people,⁷⁹ and the fact that this exclusion is considered normal and acceptable by most practitioners in the field.

Institutional discrimination allows disablist attitudes, both overt and aversive, to proliferate throughout all elements of life: often unseen, subtle and considered natural. Environmental barriers present a more obvious obstacle to participation for disabled people.

b) Environmental Barriers

Environmental barriers arise from the landscape and artefacts human beings have created to facilitate all activities. This has been called apartheid by design.⁸⁰ The most obvious example of this is a wheelchair user unable to enter a building because of a flight of steps. It also can be seen in campaigns to distribute information which is dependent on the written form with no Braille or audio alternative, or the lack of sign-language interpreters at a meeting.⁸¹ Where architectural plans or information distribution exercises are conceived in the absence of disabled people or disability awareness, exclusion is built into the design. This occurs because disabled people's historic marginalisation and invisibility within society has caused their accessibility needs to be rarely

⁷⁷ Finkelstein, Vic (2001) *A Personal Journey into Disability Politics* p. 5.

⁷⁸ Dhungana, Bishnu Maya (2006) 'The lives of disabled women in Nepal: vulnerability without support' *Disability and Society* Vol. 21, No. 2, p. 139.

⁷⁹ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 572.

⁸⁰ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 4.

⁸¹ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 4.

considered, and because it is acceptable for it to be so.⁸² Most INGOs mirror this wider social trend, and development programmes are designed only to reach the able-bodied beneficiary.⁸³

c) Attitudinal

The final set of disabling barriers identified by the social model are those arising from the attitudes, prejudices, perceptions, fears and beliefs surrounding disability. These shape how disabled people are treated; what people expect from them; and what disabled people internalise, affecting their self-confidence and identity formation. Experiences of disability vary throughout the globe,⁸⁴ from belief in curses and evil spirits,⁸⁵ Social Darwinism,⁸⁶ or even that disability is a result of infidelity.⁸⁷ The result of these barriers is that disabled people are often held in low regard by society and their own families, with few expectations of what they can achieve in their life.⁸⁸ These perceptions and expectations often exclude disabled people from opportunities such as education or social events because it is assumed they would not be able to cope or benefit from the opportunity.⁸⁹

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⁸² Lindqvist, Bengt (2001) 'Foreword: setting the international scene – rights, rhetoric, reality' in World Vision (2001) *All Things Being Equal: Perspectives on Disability and Development* p. 2;

Oliver, Mike (1986) 'Social Policy and Disability: some theoretical issues' p. 6.

⁸³ Ndaziboneye, Benon (2001) 'a unified voice for people with disabilities' p. 19; and Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 10.

⁸⁴ Priestley, Mark (2001) 'Introduction: the global context of disability' in Priestley, Mark (ed.) *Disability and the Life Course: Global Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

⁸⁵ Avoke, Mawutor (2002) 'Models of Disability in the Labelling and Attitudinal Discourse in Ghana' p. 773; and Chimedza, Robert (1998) 'The Cultural Politics of Integrating Deaf Students in Regular Schools in Zimbabwe' p. 495.

⁸⁶ Mackinlay, Liz (2004) *World Vision Cambodia: Disability Research* p. 41.

⁸⁷ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 573.

⁸⁸ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 4.

⁸⁹ Morgan, Ruth (2001) 'Using life story narratives to understand disability and identity in South Africa' in Priestley, Mark (Ed.) *Disability and the Life Course: Global Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p. 97.

Barriers are created in the conception of architectural, object and programme designs and through decisions to exclude individuals which are based on the multitude of signals, ideas, words, pictures and feelings which paint a picture of why a disabled person *cannot do* something as opposed to *how they could* do it. By turning the analytical attention onto the social construction of these barriers and questioning their natural and neutral existence, notions that a person is disabled because of their impairment and physical incompatibility with their surroundings, are challenged. This is the realm of politics: insisting society redresses barriers to participation. The traditional notion that the problem lies in the deformed body removed the need to address such issues: it depoliticised disability. This point is argued by Oliver who highlights that the “personal tragedy theory has served to individualise the problems of disability and hence to leave social and economic structures untouched.”⁹⁰

The social model was born as an instrument for political emancipation.⁹¹ Its fundamental tenet was that disability is created by social barriers, and the disability movement needed to focus on these barriers, not impairments, if it was to address the political issues which caused oppression and exclusion. The model is a “political tool”⁹² and its relative simplicity is, Reeve claims, one of its main strengths in aiding disabled people challenge perceptions of their oppression.⁹³ Its potential uses and perceived strength can be seen in its adoption throughout the globe, by national disability movements in countries North and South, and by international organisations such as the World Bank.⁹⁴

The barriers disabled people face change over the course of history, and vary between cultures. But in their numerous forms, these barriers have a profound effect on how disability is treated in the private and public spheres. The

⁹⁰ Oliver, Mike (1986) ‘Social Policy and Disability’ p. 16.

⁹¹ Tregaskis, Claire (2002) ‘Social Model Theory’ p. 457.

⁹² Oliver, Mike (2004) ‘The Social Model in Action: If I had a hammer’ in Barnes, Colin and Mercer, Geof (Eds.) *Implementing the Social Model of Disability: Theory and Research* p. 26.

⁹³ Reeve, Donna (2004) ‘The Psych-emotional Dimensions of Disability and the Social Model’ in Barnes, Colin and Mercer, Geof (Eds.) *Implementing the Social Model of Disability: Theory and Research* p. 94.

⁹⁴ McClain-Nhlapo, Charlotte (2006) *Training on Inclusive Development*.

development industry is not immune to the interplay of discourses excluding disabled people from wider participation. Wider perceptions of disability are recreated in the microcosm of the INGO through decisions not to focus on disabled people because mainstream INGOs lack 'specialist knowledge' and disability is a specialist area;⁹⁵ exclusion because measures were not taken to make services accessible to those with disabilities;⁹⁶ or the targeting of people who fit the criteria of beneficiary but are more likely to produce positive results than disabled people, who are perceived as an intractable development problem.⁹⁷

At the same time as the widespread sidelining of disabled people in development work, INGOs were moving towards a human rights approach to development. Such approaches state that all human beings have human rights and development work should aim to help all citizens "claim their rights to the opportunities and services made available through pro-poor development".⁹⁸ As part of Oxfam GB's 1995 campaign "Together For Rights, Together Against Poverty",⁹⁹ human rights were evoked as the central campaigning strategy and the notion that "[e]very man, woman, and child has a basic right to life free from misery and want" was championed.

Slim observes that "[p]olitically and legally, the dominant discourse for addressing equality and dignity is now voiced in terms of human rights."¹⁰⁰ This

⁹⁵ Jones, Hazel (1999) 'Integrating a Disability Perspective into Mainstream Development Programmes: The Experience of Save the Children (UK)' in Stone, Emma (ed.) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) pp. 57-8; Foakes, Helen and Ryman, Helen (2001) 'Introduction' p. 4; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 21.

⁹⁶ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* pp. 10-11.

⁹⁷ Albert, Bill, Dube, A.K.; Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation* p 30; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 11; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* pp. 5-6.

⁹⁸ Piron, Laure-Hélène and Watkins, Francis (2004) *DFID Human Rights Review: A review of how DFID has integrated human rights into its work* p. 16.

⁹⁹ Dalton, Dave (1995) *Rights Now! World Poverty and the Oxfam Campaign* (Oxford: Oxfam UK and Ireland).

¹⁰⁰ Slim, Hugo, (2000) 'Dissolving the difference between humanitarianism and development: the mixing of a rights-based solution' *Development in Practice* Vol. 10, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 492.

shift in emphasis has led to both donors and INGOs claiming to have become “rights-based”;¹⁰¹ many organisations even framed their aims and objectives around notions of human rights to reflect this basis.¹⁰² The dominance of ‘human rights’ in international discourses and the practical uses of the concept in creating utilisable policy frameworks, made it the key to speaking the language of development organisations. Because of its inherent value as an analytical and political term, and the gates it could open to international organisation’s policy discussions, talk of ‘human rights’ was adopted by the disability movement.¹⁰³

The notion that disability is a human rights issue was first voiced as part of an international campaign in 1981 with the formation of Disabled People’s International (DPI).¹⁰⁴ However, it was as late as 1998 when The Commission on Human Rights clarified the point and unequivocally declared disability an issue of human rights.¹⁰⁵ The incorporation of disability into the human rights domain was the result of the advocacy work the global disability movement had been conducting. In the years before this official elevation to an issue of ‘human rights’, Wood and others were pushing for the disability movement to start framing their campaign in terms of the human rights debate. In Campbell and Oliver’s influential *Disability Politics* published in 1996, Wood explicitly described this shift in the basic discourses of the movement, when he stated that: “[n]ow the movement is moving forward into saying, ‘This is not just a social model of disability, it’s a human rights model of disability.’”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Slim, Hugo, (2000) ‘Dissolving the difference between humanitarianism and development’ p. 492.

¹⁰² Oxfam International (2001) *Towards Global Equity: Strategic Plan 2001-2004* p. 7.

¹⁰³ Albert, Bill (2004) *Briefing Note* p. 4; Harris-Curtis, Emma (2003) *The Implications of Adopting Rights-Based Approaches for Northern NGOs* p. 74; and Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ Hurst, Rachel and Lansdown, Gerison (2001) ‘We are Children too!’ p. 15; and Manombe-Ncube, Jabu (2001) *Advocacy Lessons from the Disability Movement: Experiences from Southern and Eastern Africa* p. 83.

¹⁰⁵ Hurst, Rachel and Lansdown, Gerison (2001) ‘We are Children too!’ p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ Wood, Richard in Campbell, Jane and Oliver, Mike (1996) *Disability Politics: Understanding our Past, Changing our Future* (Routledge: London) p. 174.

Disabled people, although implicitly included in proclamations of 'human rights', were usually forgotten when it came to evaluating and analysing human rights issues, even though their daily experience often constituted a violation of human rights.¹⁰⁷ Because of their impairments, their suffering was often regarded as unavoidable, or too costly to address at that moment in time: in other words, human rights weren't seen to be their rights.

The increased use of human rights language has been used to explicitly confront development organisations' work and their relation to disabled people. For example, Hastie argued that:

"Without a disability analysis, an agency should perhaps consider whether it can legitimately claim to work in a rights-based, consultative, or participatory manner, because its programmes may not only exclude disabled women, men, and children, but actively reinforce their disadvantage and marginalisation in society."¹⁰⁸

Increasingly, development organisations have incorporated the rhetoric of the social model and 'disability as a human rights issue' into policy statements and concept-blocks. However, as Yeo argues, "The language [of donors] may have changed but the power had not. Unless power is addressed the rights-based approach can in practice only be rights within a limited framework defined by the establishment."¹⁰⁹ The recognition of disabled people's rights as human rights will only be one minor policy competing against many other institutional imperatives and behavioural influences, such as cost-efficiency, gender mainstreaming and personal and group held disablist attitudes. Unless there are significant changes within the organisation, and the organisation defines and designs their 'rights-based' approach to explicitly include disabled people, any rights based approach will still marginalise disabled people. How INGOs can do

¹⁰⁷ DPI (2002) *DPI Position Paper regarding a new international human rights Convention for Disabled People*

¹⁰⁸ Hastie, Rachel (1997) *Disabled Children in a Society at War* (Oxford: Oxfam UK and I) p. 123.

¹⁰⁹ Yeo, Rebecca (2005) *Disability Poverty and the 'New' Development Agenda* p. 13.

this, and how they have gone about doing this will be discussed later in this chapter, in section 3.4.

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To understand the nature of a behavioural chain, it is necessary to understand the anchors from which it originates. The social model is part of the anchors which were responsible for disability issues making it into the decision-making terrains of the INGO, but it is not the whole story: the disability movement also played a major role in convincing INGOs to take up the issue of disability.

On the development scene there has been a general increase in interest in disability.¹¹⁰ This has been reflected in the attitudes of INGOs towards disability issues, with prominent organisations such as Save the Children UK¹¹¹ and Oxfam GB¹¹² adopting the rhetoric of the social model. This change in perception is mainly down to the pressures of the disability movement and disability campaigners¹¹³ who are the reason disability issues have become a behavioural chain within the decision-making terrains of INGOs, and have shaped the way disability issues have been framed and discussed in these terrains. The next section will explore the evolution and nature of this movement as well as how INGOs have related to it.

¹¹⁰ Thomas, Philippa (2004) *DFID and Disability* p. 8.

¹¹¹ Jones, Hazel (1999) 'Integrating a Disability Perspective into Mainstream Development Programmes' p. 57.

¹¹² Abu-Habib, Lina (1997) *Gender and Disability: Women's Experiences in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxfam) p. 11

¹¹³ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 14.

3.3.2 THE DISABILITY MOVEMENT

The disability movement is considered to be a relatively new social movement.¹¹⁴ Due to the history of individualisation, combined with the barriers to participation in society, accessing information and physically inaccessible communal meeting grounds, disabled people have found it difficult to come together collectively and organise for political change.¹¹⁵ However, starting in the 1960s disabled people began to organise collectively and campaign for the redress of their oppression in society.

Although the initial catalyst came from physically disabled men in the UK, the disability movement expanded to include other categories of impairments, and by 1981 it had firmly arrived on the international scene when DPI was created to be an international platform for campaigning and a focal point for the international disability movement.¹¹⁶ Learning from the women's rights movement in America and the campaign against apartheid in South Africa,¹¹⁷ armed with the social model, and having established a global centre for the movement with DPI, the idea of 'the disability movement' spread throughout the world.

The importance of this for the investigation of disability issues within INGOs is twofold: firstly, this new international movement proved to be a strong advocate for the way in which development organisations should conduct their activities, thereby placing new issues on the INGO agenda; secondly, the growth in the disability affected national organisations and movements of disabled people, this presented INGOs with the option of working with disabled persons organisations (DPOs), or altered the way in which INGOs worked with DPOs. For example, Oxfam had been working with disabled people in Uganda since the 1960s;

¹¹⁴ Swain, John; French, Sally and Cameron, Colin (2003) *Controversial Issues in a Disabling Society* (Maidenhead: Open University Press) p. 154.

¹¹⁵ Hossain, ASM Mosharraf (2001) 'the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations' p. 29.

¹¹⁶ Manombe-Ncube, Jabu (2001) *Advocacy Lessons from the Disability Movement* p. 83.

¹¹⁷ Finkelstein, Vic (2001) *A Personal Journey into Disability Politics* p. 4.

before 1987 it framed its work around medical interventions aimed at the individual. In 1987 it became involved with the National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda (NUDIPU) and started adopting the rhetoric of the social model.¹¹⁸

This section will be looking at the essence of the disability movement to understand how it affects the INGO when analysed within the OLOC model. It will be dividing the analysis into the three potential roles the disability movement can perform: to provide a community for internal unity, strength and support; to act as a platform for external campaigning;¹¹⁹ and to fulfil service provision roles to help disabled people overcome their basic needs to enable them to participate in society.¹²⁰

a) Internal Unity, Strength and Support

This section will be looking at the relevance of unity and support to disabled people in developing countries. The motivation for the development of the social model was the isolation of disabled people in institutions in the UK. In developing countries, the isolation takes a different form, but it is still a dominant element in disabled people's lives.¹²¹ The unity and solidarity provided by the disability movement is an important first step to addressing local and national discriminatory attitudes and practices. Isolation prevents individuals learning from the experience of others in similar situations, and building on these to campaign for change.¹²² As ostracised individuals, disabled people are

¹¹⁸ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme*.

¹¹⁹ Barton, Len 'The Disability Movement: Some Observations' in Swain, John; French, Sally; Barnes, Colin; and Thomas, Carol (Eds.) (2004) *Disabling Barriers – Enabling Environments* (Sage Publications: London) p. 285.

¹²⁰ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 14.

¹²¹ Ghai, Anita (2001) 'Marginalisation and Disability: experiences from the Third World' in Priestley, Mark (Ed.) (2001) *Disability and the Life Course: Global Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p. 29.

¹²² Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 583.

powerless to confront those in power to demand inclusion in community development work.

The disability movement can therefore provide a network of kinship and support. INGO-funded networking visits of DPO groups have proven a popular means to achieving these ends.¹²³ Problems with this strategy arise where transport systems are poor, communications unreliable, and disabled people spread throughout rural areas: in these circumstances the impact on 'unity' can be minimal. However, unity can also be discursive. The social model is seen to help bring disabled people together, as are slogans such as "nothing about us, without us" which is used by DPI and many other DPOs. In fact, the disability movement has been criticised by some of its prominent members for sometimes overemphasising the need for a unified voice, prioritising "marching to the beat of a single drum, favouring a united line to competing voices."¹²⁴ Despite these criticisms, the notion of individuals with different impairments coming together and sharing a unified vision has proved popular with national disability movements throughout the world. For example, in Uganda, the idea of unity has been linked with a local Lugandan saying, it is the teeth that are together that can bite the meat.¹²⁵ The Ugandan disability movement also proclaims the more internationally inspired slogan: "nothing for us without us",¹²⁶ showing the collection of influences at work at this level.

The discourses of the disability movement are being transmitted throughout the globe. Whyte provides the following account of the international nature of 'disability' and how related artefacts, discourses and knowledge have moved around the world:

¹²³ Hartley, Sally (2001) 'Editorial' in Hartley, Sally (Ed.) *CBR: A Participatory Strategy in Africa* p. 1; Hossain, ASM Mosharraf (2001) 'the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations'.

¹²⁴ Shakespeare, Tom and Watson, Nicholas (1997) 'Defending the Social Model' *Disability and Society* Vol. 12, No. 2, p. 299.

¹²⁵ Kangere, Maria (2003) *Development and Disability: The Uganda Experience* p. 3.

¹²⁶ Ndeezi, Alex (2004) *The Disability Movement in Uganda* p. 20.

“Disability exists in a global world in the sense that ideas (such as dignity and human rights), policies and programmes... and technologies (everything from wheelchairs to genetic screening) flow across international boundaries. They really move, but their movement is uneven and erratic. They run mostly from north to south. They flow through winding channels. They reach urban more than rural areas, the educated and middle class more than illiterate poor people.”¹²⁷

There is always a danger of accusations of imperialism when Western ideas and discourses are exported to other parts of the world.¹²⁸ One thing which cannot be ignored is the geographical flow of this ‘emancipatory’¹²⁹ movement and its ideas. The social model, the main tenet of the disability movement, has British origins. Other academic debates around disability rights issues are dominated by Western perspectives, voices and experiences.¹³⁰ These ideas, perspectives, campaign strategies and even slogans are transported to the global scene where they affect national disability movements. It also cannot be ignored that ideas such as the social model are taken up by leaders in urban areas, and yet often fail to reach rural areas,¹³¹ or that the adoption of the rhetoric does not always lead to changes in the way disabled people are treated in those countries.¹³²

Campaigners in the UK have “led the world in the creation and development of theoretical frameworks with which to understand disability”,¹³³ and campaigners in the South, although active in many other ways have not yet presented a theoretical alternative to rival the social model and with which to understand

¹²⁷ Reynolds Whyte, Susan (2004) *Disability in Local and Global Worlds* p. 1.

¹²⁸ Stone, Emma (1999) ‘Disability and Development in the majority world’ in Stone, Emma (Ed.) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 3.

¹²⁹ Finkelstein, Vic (2002) *Whose History???: Keynote Address at Disability History Week*.

¹³⁰ Priestley, Mark (2001) ‘Introduction: the global context of disability’ in Priestley, Mark (ed.) *Disability and the Life Course: Global Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p. 3.

¹³¹ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 6.

¹³² Kabzems, Venta and Chimedza, Robert (2002) ‘Development Assistance’ p. 150.

¹³³ Wirz, Sheila L. And Hartley, Sally D. (1999) ‘Challenges for Universities in the North Interested in Community Based Rehabilitation’ in Stone, Emma (Ed.) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 91.

their work.¹³⁴ This is probably because the Western alternative has already been placed in a very dominant position, “overwhelming indigenous knowledge”¹³⁵ and undermining the opportunities for local interpretations to evolve.

The belief held by both disability campaigners and INGOs that they have a “responsibility” to share ideas which may help others overcome oppression,¹³⁶ combined with the influence of the funding channels which move in a southerly direction, has had an effect on the global manifestation of discourses of disability. INGOs that have a specific disability focus to their operations, such as Action for Disability and Development (ADD) are keen to support the uptake of the social model by local communities, national organisations and by other INGOs.¹³⁷ The widespread adoption of the rhetoric of the social model can be seen to have come about through means other than the merits of the discursive arguments alone, but despite the way the discourse has proliferated, the dominant perception that the social model is an invaluable tool for the disability movement is firmly held by groups and organisations in the South as well as the North.

As a tool to overcome oppression, it has proven effective in the Western world and in other countries such as Uganda.¹³⁸ It is also a simple, practical¹³⁹ and flexible model which has been adapted and used in different ways by many national disability movements to reflect their understandings and experiences of oppression.¹⁴⁰ If the disability movement can foster feelings of belonging through the exportation of discursive notions such as the social model, and those

¹³⁴ Wirz, Sheila L. And Hartley, Sally D. (1999) ‘Challenges for Universities in the North Interested in Community Based Rehabilitation’ pp. 91-2.

¹³⁵ Miles, M. (1996) ‘Community, Individual or Information Development? Dilemmas of concept and culture in South Asian disability planning’ *Disability and Society* Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 485.

¹³⁶ Wood, Richard quoted in Campbell, Jane and Oliver, Mike (1996) *Disability Politics* (Routledge: London) p. 174.

¹³⁷ Frost, Barbara (1999) ‘Action for Disability and Development: Working with disabled people’s organisations in developing countries’ Stone, Emma (Ed.) (1999) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 43.

¹³⁸ Ndeezi, Alex (2004) *The Disability Movement in Uganda* p. 8.

¹³⁹ Tregaskis, Claire (2002) ‘Social Model Theory: the story so far ...’ p. 457.

¹⁴⁰ Shakespeare, Tom and Watson, Nicholas (1997) ‘Defending the Social Model’ p. 293.

receiving the ideas believe they can be of use to them, Albert argues that “it is up to disabled people in the South, if they find the social model useful, to interpret it in ways appropriate to their own circumstances.”¹⁴¹

The relevance of this debate for the OLOC model is to firstly explain why decisions are taken to support certain programmes such as the funding of advocacy campaigns run by DPOs, and secondly, to understand that the levels in the OLOC model are caught up both in the transmission of these ideas: through the production of documents supporting the social model,¹⁴² the funding of seminars in which the social model is used to frame the debates,¹⁴³ and supporting organisations which seek to encourage disabled people to unite under the disability movement. These decisions are all intrinsically tied in with the ideas discussed in this section.

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The disability movement and the use of the social model have provided a basis of solidarity for many disabled people throughout the world. However, this has not reached everyone, especially those in rural areas, those without access to this emancipatory knowledge,¹⁴⁴ or those who do not have access to a group or organisation seeking to foster unity and mutual support. That is why the second role of the disability movement is equally important: using the solidarity as a base for campaigns to challenge INGOs, governments and other groups to remove barriers to disabled people's participation in society.

¹⁴¹ Albert, Bill (2004) *Briefing Note* p. 6.

¹⁴² Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue (2003) *Disability, Equality and Human Rights: A Training Manual for Development and Humanitarian Organisations* (Oxford: Oxfam GB).

¹⁴³ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 19.

¹⁴⁴ Miles, M. (1996) 'Community, Individual or Information Development?' p. 485.

b) Platform for Campaigning

The relevance of the platform for campaigning to the OLOC model can be seen in both the disability movement's pressure on the INGO to remove its disabling barriers and the INGO's choice to support DPOs campaigning for change in their own countries.

THE DISABILITY MOVEMENT AND THE INGO

The international disability movement used notions of the social model and how disabled persons' rights were human rights to challenge international organisations and make them look at how their work was discriminating against disabled people.¹⁴⁵ The treatment of disabled people in development work was raising objections because of its basis in the medical model. Mainstream development programmes excluded disabled people and targeted interventions focused on medical issues or 'charitable' handouts.¹⁴⁶

Through sustained campaigns, the development world was confronted and forced to look at how their operations excluded disabled people. The result was a change in perception, inclusive rights-based approaches and rejections of the charitable model.¹⁴⁷ INGOs have started to accept the arguments which have been put forward and the disability movement has moved from a state of confrontation with INGOs to one of partnership, in which it can both advise and monitor the policies and practices of the INGOs.¹⁴⁸

However it has been observed that the changes which occurred in the INGOs' work have mostly amounted to changes in rhetoric.¹⁴⁹ As will be discussed in the next section, an effort to genuinely include a minority issue in any meaningful

¹⁴⁵ Stienstra, Deborah; Fricke, Yutte; D'Aubin, April and Research Team (2002) *Baseline Assessment: Inclusion and Disability in World Bank Activities A1.3*.

¹⁴⁶ Miller, Ursula and Ziegler, Stefanie (2006) *Making PRSP Inclusive* p. 8.

¹⁴⁷ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 14.

¹⁴⁸ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 11.

¹⁴⁹ Albert, Bill (2004) *Is disability really on the development agenda?: A review of official disability policies of the major governmental and international development agencies* p. 9.

way in the decision-making terrain of the INGO, requires a series of concrete-blue-prints. As Albert, Dube and Riis-Hansen advise:

“The one important lesson for the disability movement to take away from this is that getting fine-sounding policies is not nearly enough. In most cases it is only a first tentative step and without continual lobbying the policies can be left swinging decoratively and uselessly in the wind.”¹⁵⁰

THE INGO AND NATIONAL DISABILITY MOVEMENTS

The way INGOs conduct their work has been challenged by the disability movement. However, the realm of the disability movement has also provided an opportunity for a new dimension of development work: providing support to local national disability organisations in order to strengthen the respective disability movements. This section will look at the debates surrounding the support to disabled persons organisations and how that affects the issues an INGO needs to consider in its decision-making.

Many INGOs state that they seek to help minority groups attain their rights. Disabled people have been established as a justifiable target group, and a group which has traditionally been sidelined from development endeavours. The international disability movement has been providing the momentum for change, and INGOs see they have a role in this campaign by providing assistance and capacity building to DPOs.

If disabled people are to be able to participate in development activities in their communities, there is a strong need for societal attitudes to be addressed. This requires a national based and prolonged campaign to change attitudes and gain recognition of disability as a human rights issue. No minority group has ever gained recognition of their rights without fighting for them,¹⁵¹ and it is well

¹⁵⁰ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 35.

¹⁵¹ ILO (2002) *Disability and Poverty Reduction Strategies* p. 8.

acknowledged that disabled people are their own best advocates.¹⁵² As organisations are more effective at influencing decision-makers and changing society's perception than individuals alone,¹⁵³ if an INGO wishes to include disabled people in its development work, providing support to a DPO provides a solid base for future mainstreaming into its wider work.

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Supporting advocacy campaigns is an option in the decision-making terrains of INGOs. With the criticisms of previous medical model based interventions focusing on the individual or charitable handouts¹⁵⁴ there has been a move away from INGOs supporting organisations focusing on service provision in favour of advocacy and strengthening DPOs.¹⁵⁵ In the West, the disability movement's role is defined as providing unity for support and providing a platform for campaigning;¹⁵⁶ in the developing world where there is not the same infrastructure to provide welfare the emphases are different.

c) Service Provision

The social model's focus on defining what 'disables' seems a luxury debate when facing extreme poverty, as Ghai illustrates:

"While the discourses in the developed world have progressed from the issue of service delivery and rehabilitation to an engagement with the multiple nuances/meanings of disabled existence, the developing world continues to agonize over the very basic of survival needs."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² Hossain, ASM Mosharrif (2001) 'the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations' p. 29; Manombe-Ncube, Jabu (2001) *Advocacy Lessons from the Disability Movement* p. 83.

¹⁵³ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 23.

¹⁵⁴ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 20.

¹⁵⁵ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 19.

¹⁵⁶ Barton, Len (2004) 'The Disability Movement: Some Observations' p. 285.

¹⁵⁷ Ghai, Anita (2002) 'Disability in the Indian Context: Post-Colonial Perspectives' in Corker, Mairian and Shakespeare, Tom (Eds.) *Disability/Postmodernity: Embodying Disability Theory* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group) p. 88.

When there is a struggle to meet basic human needs such as food and shelter, engagement in the political emancipatory elements of the disability movement is less likely. In countries where issues of survival are at the forefront, the national disability movements have to juggle local survival needs and international discourses. This research involves a case study which was faced with such a dilemma. NUDIPU grew from a strong indigenous base, and cultivated a strong political and advocacy voice. However, many of its members faced extreme hardship. It had to make the choice between campaigning and service provision, and with the influence of finance, donor ideas, national and international discourses, it decided to place its primary focus on advocacy, and only act as a service provision organisation in a limited capacity.¹⁵⁸

For INGOs, the acknowledgement that most disabled people cannot participate in society or development work until certain basic needs have been met has resulted in the formulation of the 'twin-track approach' which was outlined in DFID's popular document *Disability, Poverty and Development*.¹⁵⁹ This approach draws on previous lessons learnt through initiatives to promote gender issues in development¹⁶⁰ and states that if disabled people are to be meaningfully included in development work, specific needs such as mobility aids need to be provided first.¹⁶¹ Disability activists have highlighted that INGOs such as Save the Children and Oxfam have made statements implying they "aim" to use the twin-track approach in their work with disabled people.¹⁶² How this approach has actually been used by INGOs will be discussed in section 3.4.4: what is being established here are the theories and influences which provide the options available in the decision-making terrain.

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¹⁵⁸ McCloskey, Tony (1999) *The Norwegian Association of the Disabled* p.4.

¹⁵⁹ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development*.

¹⁶⁰ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development* p. 11.

¹⁶¹ Miller, Ursula and Ziegler, Stefanie (2006) *Making PRSP Inclusive* p. 65.

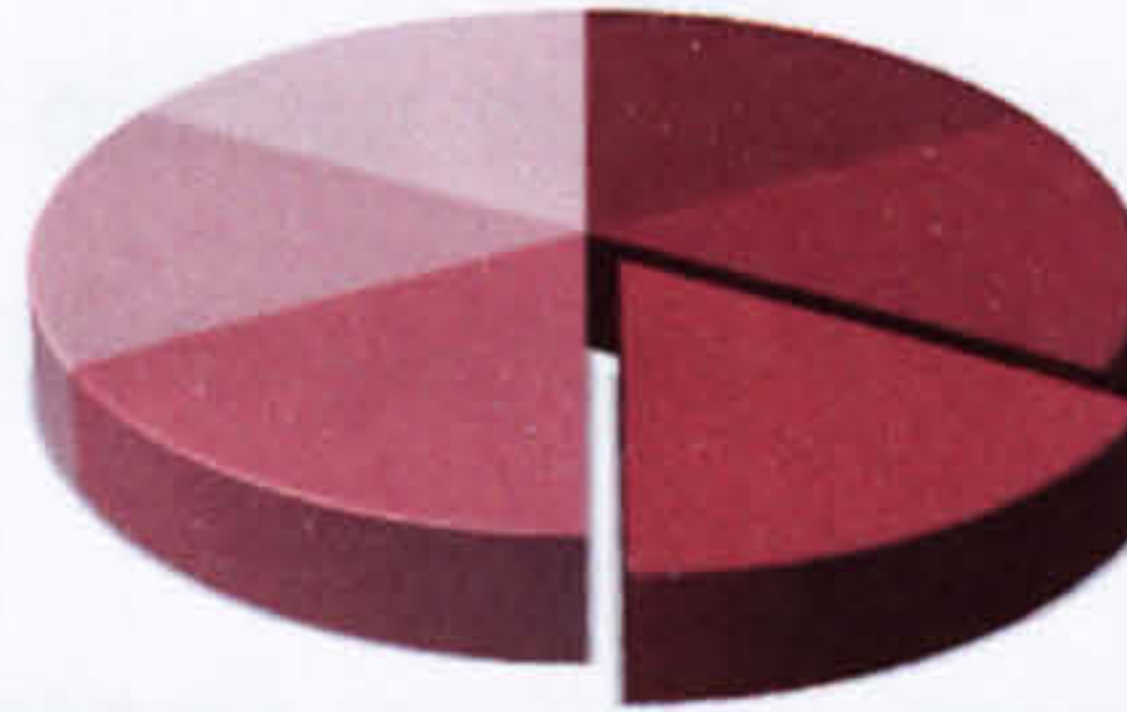
¹⁶² Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 21

All of the above issues have set the background for looking at the nature of disability issues in the decision-making terrain of the INGO. Whether it is external pressures to include disabled people in development work, the opportunity to pursue a new programme which provides support to a DPO, or the decision to terminate funding to a partner who works in this area, there have been changes to the issues at the decision-making table.

The following section takes these discourses and theories and applies them to the internal workings of the INGO. Looking at disability issues as a weak behavioural chain within the INGO, situated in the wider context of the organisational characteristics discussed in chapter two, the rest of this chapter will be looking at how INGOs have reacted to these influences and the obstacles which prevent disability issues thriving in policy formation and activity. The final part of this section will look at how disability issues could be bolstered in the INGO's decision-making terrain by outlining the 'mainstreaming cycle'.

MANIFESTATIONS AND MAINSTREAMING: DISABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT

From Alice in Wonderland to blue-prints that work



4 Mainstreaming

3.4.1 DISABLED PEOPLE, DISABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATIONS

Disability issues have made it into the concept-blocks of many INGOs. However it has been shown that these statements often do not lead to any concrete blue-prints to actually implement the 'policy'.¹⁶³ In fact, research by Thomas¹⁶⁴ and Albert, Dube and Riis-Hansen has revealed the ambiguous way 'policy documents' and 'discussion papers' are presented, enabling them to languish "for years behind a convincing façade,"¹⁶⁵ giving the impression an INGO has seriously taken an issue on board and made plans for its fundamental integration, but without costing the INGO the time, money and effort required to actually incorporate the issue.

For example, Albert, Dube and Riis-Hansen provide a thorough analysis of USAID and a "policy-document" which outlines a comprehensive disability policy:

"reading the 1997 USAID document, which is entitled "A policy document' it is extremely difficult on the face of it to fathom how this can be anything but a policy within the commonly accepted meaning of the

¹⁶³ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 28; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* pp. 11-12; Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 17.

¹⁶⁴ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals*.

¹⁶⁵ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 35.

word. That is a set of principles or agreed objectives that staff need to be put into practice.”¹⁶⁶

However, internal definitions on the exact status of that “policy document” did not regard “policy” as a binding strategy, a plan of action, or even approximate guidelines.¹⁶⁷ Thomas found a similar situation occurring within DFID and found the explanation boiled down to divergences over the meaning of ‘policy’:

“Policy’ is usually understood by other government departments and NGOs to mean principles or actions that are to be followed, but within DFID, ‘policy’ is more like work that contributes to the understanding of an issue and ways in which DFID does now, or in the future will approach it”.¹⁶⁸

Policy can, therefore, be an ideological statement of how an organisation would like things to be done, but on the surface present the INGO as being a champion of an issue, deflecting criticism and earning praise. As Albert, Dube and Riis-Hansen point out: “just indicating that something is policy may have little meaning or authority in guiding practice.”¹⁶⁹

The OLOC Model is interested in concept-blocks, which include stated aims and objectives, policy documents, declarations and so forth, but does not take these as policy. This is because of what Albert, Dube and Riis-Hansen call “Alice in Wonderland problems of interpreting what is or is not policy”.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 17.

¹⁶⁸ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* pp. 11-12.

¹⁶⁹ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 17.

¹⁷⁰ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 17.

"'When I use a word,' Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more or less.' 'The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean different things.' 'The question is,' said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be master — that's all.'"

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The reason policy documents often fail to correspond with organisation blue-prints (concrete, practical measures to implement an issue) is related to the marketing imperatives discussed in the previous chapter, the cost of including every issue campaigners champion, and the many other behavioural chains directing decisions and activity in alternate directions. Policy documents are a useful declaration of 'in an ideal world we would be doing this' and reveal what image the INGO feels it should present to the outside world, but only by picking apart the organisation, looking at what issues are influencing decisions and evaluating what blue-prints are really implemented can an INGO's approach to a minority issue be accurately assessed.

For disability issues, despite the strides that have been made in putting disability on the agenda, there appear to be a sector wide evaporation of these policies before the implementation of programmes.¹⁷² The rest of the chapter will compare the fate of gender policies with disability policies, discussing mainstreaming in practice and how blue-prints could be designed to actually bring disability issues to the decision-making table in a meaningful way.

¹⁷¹ Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass* quoted in Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 17.

¹⁷² Albert, Bill (2004) *Is disability really on the development agenda?* p. 3; and SAFOD, FEDOMA and ODG (2006) *Report on International Disability Knowledge and Research* p. 6.

3.4.2 INGOs AND THE EXPERIENCE OF DISABILITY ISSUES

"If the experiences of disabled people are missing from the general culture this means that non-disabled people have few points of reference with which to make sense of our reality. Furthermore, the tools which we *do* have to interpret our experiences are those fashioned by non-disabled people. This can have significant consequences for our lives, particularly because we so rarely have the power to insist on the validity of our experience. It can mean that we are denied the basic human rights that non-disabled people take for granted; it can also mean that our experience is denied and this can have devastating consequences."¹⁷³

The INGO's previous activities, employees' experience, awareness of relevant issues, policy declarations, and blue-prints, all culminate to shape INGO behaviour. The flip side is that an absence of dominant supporters within the INGO, lack of previous experience, prejudicial attitudes and vague or nonexistent policy focal points will not force an issue through the myriad of organisational characteristics to affect decision-making at any level of the organisation. Historically, disabled voices have been absent from the policy making fora of development organisations¹⁷⁴ and INGOs have little experience of working with disabled people in an inclusive 'development' capacity.¹⁷⁵ This has significant repercussions for the potential success of the disability movement's campaign to mainstream disabled people throughout development work.

Ideas and perceptions of disabled people held by staff are not an intrinsic part of the planned policy of INGOs, but these attitudes are, nevertheless, present as behavioural influences in decision-making terrains. Images and concepts taken from wider society and the development arena affect the approach (or lack of approach) to disability issues within the INGO's work. The individuals who work for the organisation, decide policy, enact policy and review policy cannot be

¹⁷³ Morris, Jenny (1991) *Pride against prejudice: a personal politics of disability* (London: Women's Press) pp. 88-89.

¹⁷⁴ Betts, Jane and Flower, Jonathan (August 2001) 'towards a level playing field' p. 8; and Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p.9.

¹⁷⁵ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 21.

separated from their experience of disability or their prejudices, and this affects how disability is portrayed when assessing options and making decisions. This representation of disability issues in decision-making arenas are a source of concern for many activists, such as Barton who highlights:

“One of the emerging concerns in relation to disabled people is that of representation and the expression of their voice. This interest in the perspectives of disabled people is motivated by a recognition that both as individuals and groups they have been excluded from decision-making over a range of issues relating to the quality of their lives.”¹⁷⁶

Some INGOs are now making an effort to recruit more disabled employees in their UK offices.¹⁷⁷ However this move is influenced by UK discrimination legislation, and just because someone is disabled does not mean they will actively campaign for disability issues to be included in a comprehensive way throughout the organisation.

Disabled people are over-represented amongst those living in poverty,¹⁷⁸ and although INGOs target those suffering from poverty, disabled people and disability experiences are noticeably absent from development planning. Historically disabled people have been ‘invisible’:¹⁷⁹ invisible in the West because of the history of individualisation and medicalisation of research; and invisible in the target communities because they were kept out of view, hidden from wider society. Disabled people are rarely present in development planning meetings or in community liaison meetings; the meetings may be held in an inaccessible venue,¹⁸⁰ the choice of communication methods may be

¹⁷⁶ Barton, Len (2004) ‘The Disability Movement: Some Observations’ p. 285.

¹⁷⁷ Ojelay-Surtees, Bimla (2003) ‘Oxfam’s Policy on Disability’ in Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue *Disability, Equality and Human Rights: A Training Manual for Development and Humanitarian Organisations* (Oxford: Oxfam GB) pp. 329-330.

¹⁷⁸ Hurst, Rachel (2003) ‘Conclusion’ p. 166; ILO (2002) *Disability and Poverty Reduction Strategies* p. 4; and Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ Albert, Bill, Dube, A.k.; Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 30; and Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue (2003) *Disability, Equality and Human Rights* p. 29.

¹⁸⁰ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) ‘Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work’ p. 577.

inaccessible to visually or aurally impaired people,¹⁸¹ their existence may be denied by family to avoid the stigma of association,¹⁸² or disabled people may assume they would not be welcome.¹⁸³ Planning at a local level is, therefore, often carried out in ignorance of the disabled people in the communities.¹⁸⁴

Development requires a shift in the beneficiaries' status, so they can become independent and improve their life chances without needing to return for further handouts. Charity is not development; Coleridge makes clear the implications of charity, claiming it "does nothing to change the status quo; indeed, it perpetuates it."¹⁸⁵ Development work which has targeted disabled people has historically been based in the medical model, aimed at addressing their personal, medical needs, but rarely challenging the social and political forces which placed most disabled people in extreme poverty in the first place.¹⁸⁶

The cost to the wider community which comes from the exclusion of disabled people from development programmes is important here. Disabled people are highly dependent on their families, and the cost can be seen as catastrophic;¹⁸⁷ the extra burden of care is almost entirely the domain of women,¹⁸⁸ which affects programmes aimed at empowering women; exclusion just widens the gulf between disabled people's resource and skill base vis-à-vis their peers;¹⁸⁹ and finally it runs the risk of making the segregation and continued poverty of disabled people an acceptable phenomenon.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸¹ Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 10; Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 7.

¹⁸² Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 16.

¹⁸³ Nalusiba, Cissy (2006) Information Officer for NUWODU, Interview.

¹⁸⁴ Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue (2003) *Disability, Equality and Human Rights* p. 26.

¹⁸⁵ Coleridge, Peter (1993) *Disability, Liberation and Development* p. 3.

¹⁸⁶ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 14; and Coleridge, Peter (1993) *Disability, Liberation and Development* p. 3.

¹⁸⁷ ILO (2002) *Disability and Poverty Reduction Strategies* p. 4; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 5.

¹⁸⁸ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development* p. 5; Lwanga-Ntale, Charles (2003) *Chronic Poverty and Disability in Uganda* p. 13; Mackinlay, Liz (2004) *World Vision Cambodia: Disability Research* p. 93.

¹⁸⁹ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 15; and Jones, Hazel (1999) 'Integrating a Disability Perspective into Mainstream Development Programmes' pp. 59-60.

¹⁹⁰ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 6

However, should disabled people be able to participate in development activities, instead of draining community resources and remaining dependent, they will be able to contribute to society, both financially and socially.¹⁹¹ Evidence has shown that engaging the entire community's "spectrum of creative talent"¹⁹² is more likely to lead to positive and sustainable change.¹⁹³ Finally, the inclusion of disabled people would also contribute to the campaign to change society's perceptions of their capabilities and potential and therefore help redress attitudinal barriers.¹⁹⁴

For these reasons, the disability movement has been campaigning for the increased visibility of disabled people in development programmes and their genuine participation in all aspects of development work.¹⁹⁵ However, the barriers to inclusion they are fighting do not stem from development worker hostility or a specific clause stating work with disabled people will not be undertaken: they are tackling a whole range of organisational characteristics from tight budgets to a heavy emphasis on gender mainstreaming diverting attention away from other mainstreaming concerns.¹⁹⁶

People choose to work for development organisations to help people and make a difference in an unjust world, but as Stocking describes:

"Many people working in development agencies are, often unwittingly, guilty of discriminating against people with physical or mental impairments, and disabled people are therefore less likely than others to

¹⁹¹ Betts, Jane and Flower, Jonathan (2001) 'towards a level playing field' p. 8; and Hossain, ASM Mosharraf (2001) 'the participation of people with disabilities through self-help organisations' p. 32.

¹⁹² Betts, Jane and Flower, Jonathan (August 2001) 'towards a level playing field' p. 8.

¹⁹³ Foakes, Helen and Ryman, Helen (2001) 'Introduction' p. 4.

¹⁹⁴ Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) 'Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work' p. 577.

¹⁹⁵ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development*.

¹⁹⁶ Jones, Hazel (1999) 'Integrating a Disability Perspective into Mainstream Development Programmes'.

benefit from development interventions – for the very same reasons that explain why they are poor in the first place.”¹⁹⁷

With the pressure of limited budgets, the complex task of fighting the multi-faced and multi-faceted nature of poverty, the need to focus on fulfilling the different roles of the INGO and multiple ‘specialist target groups’, there are a lot of issues already present in the decision-making terrain. It is easy to ignore the influence of one set of issues, especially when prejudices infiltrate the decision-making process of the INGO by removing certain options from the agenda.

If disabled people are not at community meetings; if provisions are not put in place to make meetings accessible or ensure that communications are in suitable media; if disabled people are seen as a medical problem, not a development problem; and if there is an absence of individuals to lead the cause and make disability issues into organisational issues, backed up with checking mechanisms and implementation guidelines; the absence of a decision to make the effort to include them is all but guaranteed. When facing a multitude of institutional imperatives and behavioural influences, decisions will be made bearing in mind issues at the forefront of INGO policy; vague declarations of disability inclusion located somewhere in a document most staff will not be aware of, will have no impact.¹⁹⁸

This is not to say there has been no success in the campaign to push through ideas pertaining to disability inclusion in INGO development work.¹⁹⁹ During the 1980s, with the International Decade of the Disabled Person in full swing and the ideas being generated by the disability movement still fresh, exciting and new, a number of programmes to support national disability organisations and

¹⁹⁷ Stocking, Barbara (2003) ‘Preface’ Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue *Disability, Equality and Human Rights: A Training Manual for Development and Humanitarian Organisations* (Oxford: Oxfam GB) p. viii.

¹⁹⁸ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 35; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 17.

¹⁹⁹ Kabzems, Venta and Chimedza, Robert (2002) ‘Development Assistance’ p. 149; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 5.

movements were set up.²⁰⁰ The international disability movement campaigned for the awareness of disabled people's plight within the development sphere, and disability awareness had its moment as the fashionable marginalised issue.²⁰¹

A handful of INGO sponsored publications dealing with disability in development were generated and funding for disability programmes was provided.²⁰² However, Hurst has observed that this trend soon passed; what INGOs will now fund in the disability arena has declined in volume and narrowed to projects fitting in with INGOs' specific preconceived agendas.²⁰³ DPOs which once enjoyed support from mainstream INGOs are now finding it harder and harder to attract funding and increasingly their issues only fit in with the agenda of specialist disability organisations.²⁰⁴ The aftermath has left a plethora of documents and rhetorical declarations, but very few tangible improvements in INGOs approach to inclusive development for disabled people.²⁰⁵ The funding of disability focused projects has not been replaced by widespread or meaningful mainstreaming of disability issues throughout the programmes run by INGOs.

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The next section will explore the suggestions which have been put forward by academics, campaigners and practitioners to translate rhetoric into actual effect, in order to ascertain the reasons for shortcomings and failures of INGOs to meaningful inclusion.

²⁰⁰ Hurst, Rachel (1999) 'Disabled People's Organisations and Development: Strategies for Change' in Stone, Emma (Ed.) *Disability and Development: Learning from Action and Research on Disability in the Majority World* (Leeds: The Disability Press) p. 31.

²⁰¹ Hurst, Rachel (1999) 'Disabled People's Organisations and Development' p. 31; and Yeo, Rebecca (2003) *To what extent are disabled people included in international development work? How can barriers to inclusion be overcome?* p.10.

²⁰² Hurst, Rachel (1999) 'Disabled People's Organisations and Development' p. 31.

²⁰³ Hurst, Rachel (1999) 'Disabled People's Organisations and Development. p. 31.

²⁰⁴ NUDIPU (2005) *Annual Progress Report on Advocacy and Lobbying May 2004 – April 2005: Submitted to Oxfam GB in Uganda* (Unpublished Report) p. 13.

²⁰⁵ Albert, Bill (2004) *Is disability really on the development agenda?* p. 3; Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* pp. 26-7; and Yeo, Rebecca (2007) *I don't have a problem, the problem is theirs: Qualitative research into the needs and priorities of disabled people* p. 19.

3.4.3 FROM CONCEPT-BLOCKS TO BLUE-PRINTS

Many INGOs now claim to include disabled people in their work.²⁰⁶ Oxfam states in its diversity strategy that: “In carrying out our work we will seek to positively include... disabled as well as able bodied”.²⁰⁷ This is despite the fact that the explicit “strategic choice” was made at head office “that disability would not be an area Oxfam was going to add value on”²⁰⁸ and there were no concrete blue-prints designed or put into practice to include disabled people. DFID’s influential *Disability, Poverty and Development*,²⁰⁹ in which it outlines a comprehensive approach to including disabled people and disability issues in development, is widely perceived to be a policy document. However, this is also misleading as it was not used to guide disability inclusion within the organisation.²¹⁰ Both of these organisations have been recognised by campaigners as having taken comprehensive steps to mainstream disability issues within their organisations,²¹¹ yet what really happened was inclusive statements were used as a “substitute for meaningful action”.²¹² Disabled people had been, in effect, written out of the development picture with the death knell of rhetoric.

To make one issue stand out and be noticed by all employees within an INGO requires a concerted effort. From a rhetorical policy declaration through to affecting actual actions, if an issue is to be mainstreamed through the INGOs’ work, a thorough and pervasive approach needs to be implemented. This requires a large investment of financial resources, time and personnel.²¹³ To influence a complex organisation like an INGO, a policy needs a more concrete and omnipresent authority. As Yeo explains:

²⁰⁶Yeo, Rebecca and Moore, Karen (2003) ‘Including Disabled People in Poverty Reduction Work’ p. 580.

²⁰⁷ Oxfam GB (2000) *The Difference Starts with You: Oxfam’s Diversity Strategy* p. 2.

²⁰⁸ Whitbread, Jasmine (2006) Interview

²⁰⁹ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development*.

²¹⁰ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* pp. 11-12.

²¹¹ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 21.

²¹² Albert, Bill (2004) *Is disability really on the development agenda?* p. 9.

²¹³ Osman, Abdal Monium Khidir (2002) ‘Challenges for integrating gender into poverty alleviation programmes: lessons from Sudan’ *Gender and Development* Vol. 10, Issue 3, p. 29.

“What is often not realised is that including disabled people in any meaningful way requires fundamental organisational changes. Unless the statements are turned into real strategies for organisational reform, practical results for disabled people cannot be expected.”²¹⁴

INGOs are currently concentrating on such ‘real strategies’ to ensure the mainstreaming of gender issues throughout their activities.²¹⁵ By putting in place requirements such as insisting that all plans and proposals have to explicitly detail how gender issues will be accommodated, following this up with checks on the implementation, and supplementing these strategies with regular training sessions and awareness raising activities, the issues of gender equality has made an impact on policy, decision-making and activity. Despite these successes, gender equality is still far from having been actualised, either within the INGOs or in their target communities.²¹⁶

Mainstreaming is a long term endeavour which requires a long term commitment. Gender issues have secured the status, resources and attention necessary to start affecting decision-making and activities, disability issues have not.²¹⁷ Without a strong support base within the institution, without measures included in the operating system of the organisation to ensure the necessary actions are taken to avoid discrimination, without critical implementation and monitoring, what begins as rhetoric, ends as rhetoric. There are too many other institutional imperatives to be considered and too many behavioural influences which will direct activities away from inclusive decisions.

As discussed in chapter two, section 2.3.2, the head office of an INGO needs to adapt development discourses into a form which is useful to the organisation. The result of this is a series of concept-blocks. These form the basis of how the INGO wishes to portray its operations, some of which relate to what the INGO currently does, some to how it would like to pursue its operations in the

²¹⁴ Yeo, Rebecca (2005) *Disability Poverty and the ‘New’ Development Agenda* p. 14.

²¹⁵; Hurst, Rachel, ‘Conclusion’ p. 165.

²¹⁶ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 35.

²¹⁷ Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue (2003) *Disability, Equality and Human Rights* p. 1.

(undefined) future.²¹⁸ The roles of these concept-blocks are numerous: maintenance of the INGO's brand,²¹⁹ showing pressure groups an issue such as disability has been taken on board,²²⁰ to focus strategically on what the organisation believes are its strengths,²²¹ as a tool to orientate lower levels around organisational policy in a decentralised managerial hierarchy,²²² and so forth. These concept-blocks are not guidelines for action, they are the sales pitch: the façade of the building. Practical guidelines exist in the form of internal (implemented) strategies for comprehensive inclusion of chosen issues. These 'blue-prints' are where an INGO's policy for inclusion is written out, or provided with the support to succeed, and where the INGO should be judged on its inclusiveness.

Whilst these blue-prints define what options are given preference amongst the different organisational characteristics, it is here that the gaps between policy statements and implementation first become evident, where prejudices against minority groups are first institutionalised as holes for policy rhetoric to slip through, and disappear before policy becomes activity. Employees throughout the organisation are working to deadlines and targets in a job which is known for its heavy workload.²²³ The blue-prints provide strong guidelines to ensure certain issues dominate their daily activities: through the setting of targets which need to be met, through budget allocation and through the need to produce reports focusing on set criteria, issues are brought into the centre of the

²¹⁸ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* pp. 11-12.

²¹⁹ Pratt, Brian and Gibbs, Sarah (2000) 'Introduction' in Sarah Gibbs with Smillie, Ian; Pratt, Brian; and Fowler, Alan (2000) 'Decentralised NGO Management' *INTRAC Occasional Papers Series* 18 p. 3; and Ritchie, Robin J.B.; Swami, Sanjeev; and Weinberg, Charles B. (1999) 'A Brand New World for Nonprofits' *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* Vol. 4, No. 1.

²²⁰ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 21.

²²¹ Whitbread, Jasmine (2006) Interview.

²²² Fisher, William F. (1997) 'Doing Good? The Politics and Antipolitics of NGO Practices' *Annual Review of Anthropology* Vol. 26, p. 458.

²²³ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* pp. 10-11; and Vincent, Robin and Byrne, Ailish (2006) 'Enhancing learning in development partnerships' *Development and Practice* Vol. 16, No. 5, p. 394.

employees activities and come to dominate decision-making terrains.²²⁴ This leaves little time, money or energy for employees to invest in other minority issues, and as there are no monitoring mechanisms aimed at the missing issues because the issues are absent from the blue-print, their removal between policy and activity is barely perceptible.²²⁵

This does not mean disabled people are categorically *excluded*, but claims that INGOs are starting to include disabled people in their work²²⁶ rest on the absence of policies barring their inclusion and not on efforts taken to include them. Individual disabled people may find themselves included in programmes and some local offices may even take extra efforts to include disabled people, working with disabled groups or providing the facilities to make their programmes accessible to more groups. This relies on local circumstances and individual employee experience, preference and leadership pushing the issue onto the agenda.²²⁷ As organisational regulation has increased, the opportunity and energy available to pursue personal causes has diminished.²²⁸ An increasingly demanding blue-print has moved strategic plans and targets onto the agenda and personal preferences and crusades onto the back seat.

For example, targets such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) increasingly dominate the development scene. The MDGs consist of eight goals, the first of which sets the aim of reducing by half the proportion of people living under the poverty line. Such targets place the emphasis squarely on quantifiable results. Albert, Dube and Riis-Hansen have the following concerns over the setting of such targets:

²²⁴ Barnett, Michael N. and Finnemore, Martha (1999) 'The Politics, and Pathologies of International Organizations' *International Organizations* Vol. 53 No. 4, p. 719.

²²⁵ Corner, Lorraine (1999) *Capacity Building for Gender Mainstreaming in Development* p. 16; Witter, Sophie and Bukokhe, Jenifer (2004) 'Children's perceptions of poverty, participation, and local governance in Uganda' *Development in Practice* Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 657.

²²⁶ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 16.

²²⁷ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 19.

²²⁸ Coleridge, Peter (1993) *Disability, Liberation and Development* p. 51.

“there was a general perception that it would be easier to move people out of poverty who were closer to the [poverty] line than disabled people, who tend to be the poorest of the poor. This in turn was linked to the political imperative for the organisation of finding ‘big hits’ and quick results, neither of which it was felt could be achieved by focusing on disability issues.”²²⁹

As the DFID report *Disability, Poverty and Development* makes clear, “[d]isability is both a cause and consequence of poverty.”²³⁰ Should efforts to tackle world poverty fail to take into account disabled people, they will not succeed in reducing by half the proportion of people living under the poverty line.²³¹ The MDGs cannot be met without involving disabled people, and this point has been echoed by many others.²³² However, the introduction of targets, especially targets of a quantifiable nature, bring with them the need to show results, and this need to show tangible impact refocuses efforts on programmes which will bring the quickest results.²³³ This reorientation of efforts has led to an emphasis on blue-prints designed for output generating activities, geared at ‘delivering’ impact. This is becoming more common in the development world,²³⁴ and has had a profound impact on attempts to mainstream issues within development work. The rest of this chapter will look at mainstreaming and what is needed for successful mainstreaming to be implemented.

²²⁹ Albert, Bill, Dube, A.k.; Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation* p 30; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 11 and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* pp. 5-6.

²³⁰ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development* p. 1.

²³¹ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development* p. 1.

²³² Horton, , Richard (2004) ‘Disability and Human Rights’ *Lancet* No. 363, p. 2115; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* p. 7; and Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* pp. 5-6.

²³³ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 30; and Hulme, David and Shepherd, Andrew (2003) ‘Conceptualizing Chronic Poverty’ *World Development* Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 403-404.

²³⁴ Townsend, Janet G.; Porter, Gina; and Mawdsley, Emma (2002) ‘The Role of the Transnational Community of Non-Governmental Organizations’ p. 835.

3.4.4 THE MAINSTREAMING CYCLE

Mainstreaming has been defined in two ways: incorporating a target group (such as women or disabled people) into developmental activities; or mainstreaming the issues relevant to that target group throughout all elements of policy design, implementation and monitoring.²³⁵ These two approaches have evolved around issues of mainstreaming women and gender issues. In the 1970s, the Women in Development (WID) approach was developed to encourage the inclusion of women in development programmes.²³⁶ However, the targeted inclusion of individual women was leaving wider issues of inequality unaddressed,²³⁷ and the Gender and Development (GAD) approach was created to address power inequalities within development work.²³⁸ Although the theoretical basis for mainstreaming minority issues had been laid, in practice, INGO definitions regarding which approach to gender mainstreaming they were adopting often remained unclear.²³⁹

Those campaigning for the mainstreaming of disability issues in development work have a precedent on which to draw lessons from, but as Miller and Albert note:

“Those lobbying for mainstreaming disability in development can both take comfort from and be distressed by the history of gender mainstreaming. The distress comes from realising that despite the immense political weight applied to make gender a cross-cutting issue and the apparent acceptance of this by almost every development agency, the outcomes have not lived up to expectations. What chance, then, for disability, which has not been awarded cross-cutting status and where there is no agreement even on how to define it?”²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Corner, Lorraine (1999) *Capacity Building for Gender Mainstreaming in Development* p. 6.

²³⁶ de Waal, Maretha (2006) 'Evaluating gender mainstreaming in development projects' *Development in Practice* Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 210.

²³⁷ Razavi, Shahrashoub, and Miller, Carol (1995) *From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse* Occasional Paper No. 1, Fourth World Conference on Women, UNRISD, Geneva p. 12.

²³⁸ Reeves, Hazel and Baden, Sally (2000) *Gender and development: concepts and definitions* Bridge Report No 55, (Brighton: Institute for Development Studies) p. 33.

²³⁹ Dawson, Elsa (2005) 'Strategic gender mainstreaming in Oxfam GB' *Gender and Development* Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 81.

²⁴⁰ Miller, Carol, and Albert, Bill (2005) *Mainstreaming Disability in Development: Lessons from gender mainstreaming* p. 49

The issue of mainstreaming exposes the interplay of institutional imperatives and behavioural influences jostling for influence over all aspects of INGO work. The mechanisms which deliver the INGO's blue-prints throughout each level of the organisation rely on management techniques; ideological discourses; awareness raising; training; and, of course, setting targets.²⁴¹ Drawing on the experiences of the widespread gender mainstreaming and the less successful mainstreaming of disability issues, this section will trace the changes which need to occur, from policy through to monitoring, if an issue is to be mainstreamed effectively.

The main barrier to mainstreaming issues within INGOs is the complexity of the different organisational characteristics and the dispersed nature of the administrative parts. INGOs are extremely large and international; they also often have regional and country offices with semi-autonomous decision-making powers. They employ many individuals from different backgrounds, working in different areas; in different offices; towards related, but differing goals. Miller and Albert highlight that mainstreaming in such complicated structures is not a simple matter of policy decisions at head office followed by a repetition of that rhetoric throughout the different levels of the organisation. What is needed is "an intricate process that takes place across a number of distinct but interlinked realms of activity."²⁴²

Miller and Albert describe this comprehensive process as occurring at three stages of INGO activity. The first takes place at the policy formation stage; this includes the ideas inherent in the organisations' culture, aims, objectives and target areas. The second stage is the practical execution of the organisation's policy; here it becomes apparent if inclusion is actualised in practice. Finally, the

²⁴¹ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 30; Monium, Abdul and Osman, Khidir (2002) 'Challenges for integrating gender into poverty alleviation programmes: lessons from Sudan' *Gender and Development* Vol. 10, Issue 3, p. 22.; Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals: Relevance, Challenges and Opportunities for DFID* p. 11

²⁴² Miller, Carol, and Albert, Bill (2005) *Mainstreaming Disability in Development* p.14.

third stage involves taking responsibility for the outcome, making sure that the results show that equality has been achieved. This calls for monitoring, longitudinal commitment, organisational learning and the requirement that the experience of the target group is recorded as a separate category in the evaluations of programme performance.²⁴³ The following analysis of mainstreaming breaks this three stage process into seven subsections, as is illustrated in figure six.

- **Stage One: Policy Formation**
 - 1) Raise (new) issues
 - 2) Inclusion of issue in plans and proposals

- **Stage Two: Execution of Policy**
 - 3) Facilitate inclusion with necessary provisions
 - 4) Repetition of need to include this issue
 - 5) Issue included in activities

- **Stage Three: Taking Responsibility of the Outcomes**
 - 6) Inclusion monitored in evaluations
 - 7) Evaluations monitored and learning occurs

²⁴³ Miller, Carol, and Albert, Bill (2005) *Mainstreaming Disability in Development* p.14.

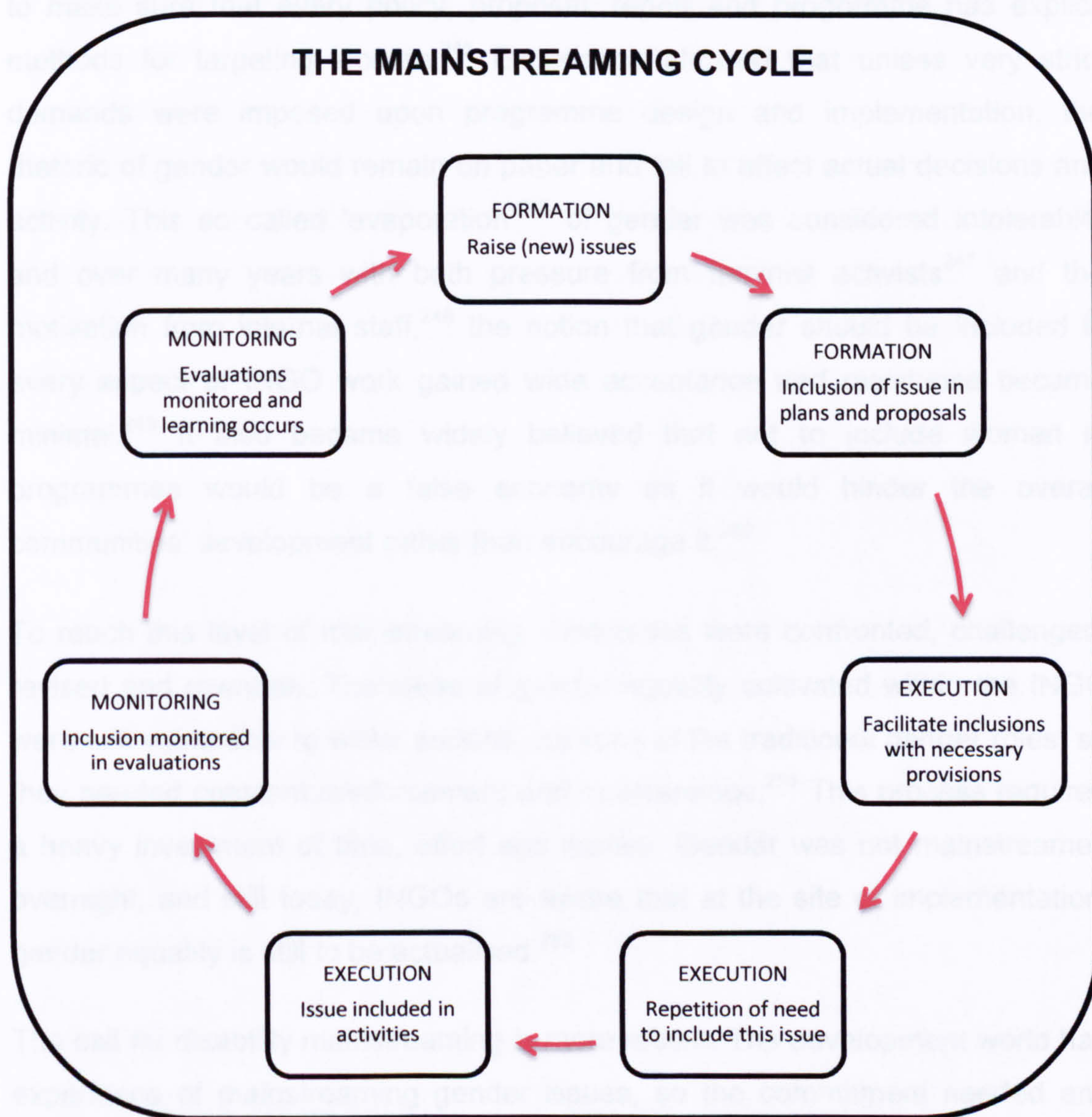


Fig. 6: The Mainstreaming Cycle

a) THE FIRST STAGE: POLICY FORMATION
 Raising issues and writing them into plans and proposals

Hastie argues that if a development agency wishes to mainstream an issue within its work, it first needs to “look hard at its own practices, structures, staffing, and policy, to see what factors may block disabled people from

participating.”²⁴⁴ For ‘gender’, most INGOs have turned their policies inside out to make sure that every policy, proposal, report and programme has explicit methods for targeting women.²⁴⁵ Experience showed that unless very strict demands were imposed upon programme design and implementation, the rhetoric of gender would remain on paper and fail to affect actual decisions and activity. This so called ‘evaporation’²⁴⁶ of gender was considered intolerable, and over many years with both pressure from feminist activists²⁴⁷ and the motivation from internal staff,²⁴⁸ the notion that gender should be included in every aspect of INGO work gained wide acceptance and resistance became minimal.²⁴⁹ It also became widely believed that not to include women in programmes would be a false economy as it would hinder the overall communities’ development rather than encourage it.²⁵⁰

To reach this level of mainstreaming, discourses were confronted, challenged, revised and rewritten. The ideas of gender equality cultivated within the INGO were still vulnerable to wider societal opinions of the traditional gender roles, so they needed constant reinforcement and maintenance.²⁵¹ This process required a heavy investment of time, effort and money. Gender was not mainstreamed overnight, and still today, INGOs are aware that at the site of implementation, gender equality is still to be actualised.²⁵²

The call for disability mainstreaming is more recent. The development world had experience of mainstreaming gender issues, so the commitment needed and

²⁴⁴ Hastie, Rachel, (1997) *Disabled Children in a Society at War* p. 128.

²⁴⁵ Hurst, Rachel, ‘Conclusion’ p. 165; Oxfam GB (2003) *Oxfam GB Strategic Plan 2003-2006* p. 10; Oxfam GB in Uganda (January 2005) *The Rwenzori Livelihoods Improvement and Good Governance Project Unpublished Project Proposal* (unpublished report) p. 25.

²⁴⁶ Longwe, Sara Hlupekile (1997) ‘The evaporation of gender policies in the patriarchal cooking pot’ *Development in Practice* Vol. 7, No. 2.

²⁴⁷ True, Jacqui and Michael, Mintrom (2001) ‘Transnational Networks and Policy Diffusion: The Case of Gender Mainstreaming’ *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 45, No. 1, p. 51.

²⁴⁸ Corner, Lorraine (1999) *Capacity Building for Gender Mainstreaming in Development* p. 11.

²⁴⁹ Harris, Alison with Enfield, Sue (2003) *Disability, Equality and Human Rights* p. 1.

²⁵⁰ Corner, Lorraine (1999) *Capacity Building for Gender Mainstreaming in Development* p. 9.

²⁵¹ Osman, Abdal Monium Khidir (2002) ‘Challenges for integrating gender into poverty alleviation programmes’ p. 26.

²⁵² Warren, Hannah (2006) ‘Drowning in the Mainstream’ *ONTRAC* 32 p. 1-2.

policies which would need to be implemented were not unknown. Theories of how to mainstream minority issues already existed, and the challenges were understood.²⁵³ However, disability issues were not embraced enthusiastically because the attention was still firmly on mainstreaming gender,²⁵⁴ nor was disability regarded as having the same status as gender, partially due to aversive disablist attitudes.²⁵⁵ Within the INGO there were personal expressions of opinion, and statements in policy proclaiming awareness of disability issues,²⁵⁶ but there were no major organisational efforts for disability mainstreaming. Hastie describes the disparity in reception between gender and disability as follows:

“Disability... did not have the same status as [gender] for a number of reasons: the deep rooted prejudice in most societies and cultures about disability; the segregation of people with disabilities, which meant that many staff had no direct contact with disabled people; the perception of disability as a medical/clinical issue rather than a human-rights concern; and the significant lack of disabled staff members within development organisations.”²⁵⁷

b) THE SECOND STAGE: EXECUTION OF POLICY Facilitation. Repetition. Inclusion.

Partial mainstreaming causes problems. If rhetoric of mainstreaming is adopted without actual concrete mechanisms for inclusion, targeted programmes, for example support to disability movements, are likely to be dropped because disabled people are assumed to be incorporated in all programmes. The result can be further marginalisation and exclusion. If staff are not trained how to include disabled people in their work,²⁵⁸ an internal publicity campaign fails to

²⁵³ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 18.

²⁵⁴ Hastie, Rachel (1997) *Disabled Children in a Society at War* p. 27.

²⁵⁵ Albert, Bill (2004) *Is disability really on the development agenda?* p. 12; and Hastie, Rachel (1997) *Disabled Children in a Society at War* p. 27.

²⁵⁶ Traboulsi, Omar (2000) *Oxfam GB in Uganda: Report on Review of Disability Programme* p. 19; and Oxfam GB Head Office Employee (2006) Interview.

²⁵⁷ Hastie, Rachel (1997) *Disabled Children in a Society at War* p. 27.

²⁵⁸ Yeo Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 17.

constantly highlight the issue,²⁵⁹ and if targets and explicit measures for inclusion are not provided at every stage,²⁶⁰ saying the organisation wants to include disabled people does not, in practice, include them.²⁶¹ When this happens, disabled people are worse off than before, with the targeted programmes having been dropped, but the disabled people not subsequently absorbed into other programmes.

In its work to mainstream women in development work, DFID found a twin-track approach necessary. The twin-track approach involved firstly addressing issues pertaining to women's empowerment to try to overcome the power inequalities in the target population. Only when women were confident enough and equipped with the skills necessary to stand up for themselves in a joint development forum, were they integrated into the other programmes.²⁶² DFID recommends (but does not adopt)²⁶³ this twin-track approach for the mainstreaming of disability issues.

This approach advises that at the start of the mainstreaming endeavour, development organisations should aim to support "specific initiatives to enhance the empowerment of people with disabilities."²⁶⁴ This may be through supporting a local or national disabled persons' organisation, or through provision of a ramp or sign language interpreter so disabled people can attend and benefit from community meetings. Concurrently with programmes to level the playing field of participation in development work, development organisations should be

²⁵⁹ Hadjipateras, Angela (1997) 'Implementing a gender policy in ACORD: Strategies, constraints and challenges' *Gender and Development* Vol. 5, Issue 1, p. 31.

²⁶⁰ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 30; and Witter, Sophie and Bukokhe, Jenifer (2004) 'Children's perceptions of poverty, participation, and local governance in Uganda' p. 657.

²⁶¹ Albert, Bill; Dube, A.K.; and Riis-Hansen, Trine Cecilie (2005) *Has Disability Been Mainstreamed into Development Cooperation?* p. 35.

²⁶² DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development* p. 11.

²⁶³ Thomas, Philippa (2005) *Disability, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* pp. 11-12.

²⁶⁴ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development* p. 11.

“[a]ddressing inequalities between disabled and non-disabled persons in all strategic areas of work”.²⁶⁵

At this second stage of the mainstreaming process, the success of the first stage becomes apparent. If employees have had the appropriate quality and quantity of training, are aware of the special needs for inclusion, and thought has been given regarding levelling the playing field for disabled people before their widespread inclusion, then inclusion in programmes is more likely to be successful. If these measures aren't taken in the early stages of mainstreaming, the results can be detrimental when disabled people are included in mainstream work, as Yeo describes:

“Disabled people may become involved in an organisation without being able to fully participate. This can then lead to confirmation of preconceptions about disabled people's lack of abilities. Such token involvement does little to reduce the marginalisation experienced by disabled people.”²⁶⁶

c) THIRD STAGE: TAKING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OUTCOME Monitoring and Learning

The third stage of mainstreaming involves taking responsibility for the outcome of the programmes and the experience the disabled people have of working with the INGO. If an issue such as disability is to be mainstreamed throughout the organisation, it needs to be a focus area in the monitoring and reports which are filed to show impact has been made in this area.²⁶⁷ Such focus encourages staff to foster disability equality during the course of the programme. It also contributes to the learning experience of the individuals, and to the learning of the organisation itself.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ DFID (2000) *Disability, Poverty and Development* p. 11.

²⁶⁶ Yeo, Rebecca (2002) *Chronic Poverty and Disability* p. 17.

²⁶⁷ de Waal, Maretha (2006) 'Evaluating gender mainstreaming in development projects' p. 209.

²⁶⁸ Frost, Barbara (2000) *Disability and Development* p. 18.

Successful organisational change which addresses problems in the definition of policy or seeks to confront organisational characteristics which impede mainstreaming is the result of profound organisational learning.²⁶⁹ For disability mainstreaming to occur and affect long term changes in attitudes, there needs to be a focus on the experience of working with disabled people, gathering information about this work, and questioning the organisation's policies, aims and objectives, should they hamper genuine inclusion of disabled people. None of this will happen overnight, which is why Miller and Albert stress the need for development organisations to accept a longitudinal commitment to the issue.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ Takahashi, Chie (2006) 'Partnerships, learning and development: a case study from Ghana' *Development in Practice* Vol. 16, No 1, pp. 39-50.

²⁷⁰ Miller, Carol, and Albert, Bill (2005) *Mainstreaming Disability in Development* p.14.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter two provided the fundamental basis for understanding the OLOC model. This chapter has explored the issues related to disability which cross through the INGO's decision-making terrain to form a behavioural chain. However, disability issues are not a prominent force in the decision-making terrain, and the discussion of these issues has highlighted the complex and unreceptive terrain faced by this set of organisational characteristics. This has prepared the background for the analysis of the decisions regarding Oxfam GB's former partner, NUDIPU, which will be analysed in the following chapters.

The elements discussed here have justified the inclusion of disability issues in the analysis of INGO behaviour by looking at the relationship between disability and chronic poverty and showing how disabled people have been excluded not only from society in both the West and South, but also in the work of INGOs. There is a link between disability and poverty,²⁷¹ and yet the issue of disability has been historically defined in such a way that it has become a medical issue,²⁷² resulting in its depoliticisation.²⁷³ These two insights into the nature of disability reveal why disabled people should be included in development work, and yet are often omitted.

The next section built on this basis by introducing the arguments which were used to confront INGOs and wider society in order to redress the barriers which prevented disabled people participating in society and development work. These arguments involved the social model and its incorporation of the argument that disabled people's rights are human rights.²⁷⁴ However, these theories and ideas alone were not enough to make INGOs sit up and take notice of disabled people and disability issues: they needed to be interpreted, transmitted and emphasised by the disability movement in order to gain enough prominence to

²⁷¹ Miller, Ursula and Ziegler, Stefanie (2006) *Making PRSP Inclusive* p. 66.

²⁷² Brisendon, Simon (1998) 'Independent Living and the Medical Model of Disability' p. 20.

²⁷³ Tregaskis, Claire (2002) 'Social Model Theory: the story so far ...' p. 460.

²⁷⁴ Lindqvist, Bengt in Albert, Bill (2004) *Briefing Note* p. 5.

make it into the decision-making terrains of INGOs. The introduction of the disability movement in this chapter looked at how it has acted as a platform to challenge barriers to disabled people's participation in all areas of society, including development work. However, the global spread of the ideas of the movement was also tied up with development organisations and the projects they choose to support.

The final section in this chapter looked at how INGOs reacted to the pressures to include disabled people and disability issues in their work. Based on the models and discourses of the disability movement, the development world began to formulate its own ideas on how to include disabled people in development work, drawing heavily on the experiences of gender mainstreaming. However, despite forming theories and policies, disabled people remained marginalised in most development work, and this section provided some reasons for this.

Of special interest was the gap between the INGOs rhetoric and blue-prints, and how this could be interpreted in the lower levels of the organisation. For example, in one interview with an Oxfam GB employee in Uganda, it was stated that they no longer worked with DPOs because it was out of Oxfam's strategic focus to work with disabled people, but disability was now mainstreamed throughout all of Oxfam's work. When asked what training and measures were in place, the reply was the only training focuses around gender and people with HIV/AIDS, but all staff have an 'awareness' of the need to include disabled people.²⁷⁵ As will be shown in chapter five, this awareness did not lead to any sort of mainstreaming success.²⁷⁶

What can be seen from the above discussion is that when analysing a minority issue within the INGO setting, justifying why it is an important issue for INGO analysis, and showing the main influences forcing the issue into the INGO's

²⁷⁵ Oxfam GB in Uganda Employee (2005) Interview.

²⁷⁶ Morton, John (2006) *A Review of Oxfam GB's Horn/East Africa Regional Pastoral Programme* p. 12.

decision-making terrain, enable a more comprehensive analysis of how the INGO reacts to that issue. How these issues manifest within the INGO is dependent on the nature of the decision-making terrain. Chapter two introduced some of the influential forces in these terrains, including the effect of the New Public Management, the use of aims and objectives, and marketing imperatives. There are many behavioural chains within any decision-making hub within the INGO; disability is just one, and a weak one at that. By looking at disability issues as a chain, anchored in the social model and the disability movement, and passing through the crowded decision-making terrains within the INGO, it becomes easier to understand and analyse the difficulties in translating disability issues from an influence present in decision-making to changing what activities are run by the INGO and how it runs these activities.

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The next chapter takes the theories outlined in chapters two and three and begins to analyse the case study in detail, looking at what measures Oxfam GB was taking at head office to implement its vision throughout the other levels, and where disability issues fitted in with its agenda.

