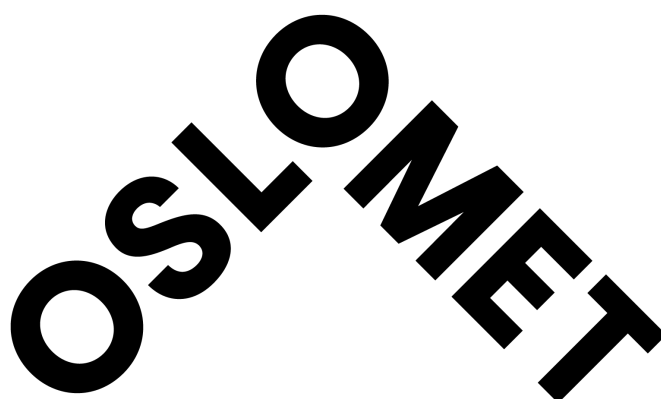


# **Power structures and their persistence in international development**

*A case study of Response Network and how the organisation  
manoeuvres the difficulties of the development industry*

Håkon Rotvold



Master's Thesis in International Education & Development -  
Power, Inequality and Change  
Faculty of Education and International Studies

Candidate 411

OSLO METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY

Summer 2021

Word count: 37 017



# **Power structures and their persistence in international development**

A case study of Response Network and how the organisation manoeuvres the difficulties of the development industry

Håkon Rotvold

## Abstract

This thesis examines the dynamic created by opposing mechanisms in international development. It is expected that both funders and facilitating organisations in development approach it with a participatory mindset. By including recipients of development in decision-making processes, the international community believes this will lead to sustainable development. At the same time, we can see increasing demands for reporting and accountability for facilitating organisations. Funders want to know their money is going to the right cause and not being used for undesired activities. Then, how can organisations continue to do participatory development while funders continue to press for upward accountability? Without accountability to recipients, no one wants to make choices based on their recipients' opinions. It is instead the need for funds that drive international development in this case.

This thesis focuses on the organisation Response Network and its funders. The organisation is unique because of its impressive record of providing participatory development to recipients in southern Zambia. They call their program "self-help facilitation." The organisation rests upon good relationships with both recipients and funders. It was founded in 2004 and has remained focused on self-help. The task for this thesis is, then, how does Response Network's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme? Can these organisations escape the contrasting mechanisms persistent in international development?.

This research shows that while the programme Response Network fronts are participatory, they cannot implement a radical self-help programme without adhering to the power structures at play. A difference appears when analysing power structures in partnerships with private companies and development institutions. Response Network has been able to influence its programme when cooperating with a private company. Response Network cannot function properly as a development organisation without the support of development institutions. Primarily because of the funds they provide and the knowledge and agency cooperating with partners provide for Response Network.

**Keywords:** Development, Power, Organisational aid, Participation, Conditionality

## Acknowledgements

This thesis is the culmination of my studies at Oslo Metropolitan University. Without the many people who have helped me throughout the project, it would not have been a great experience.

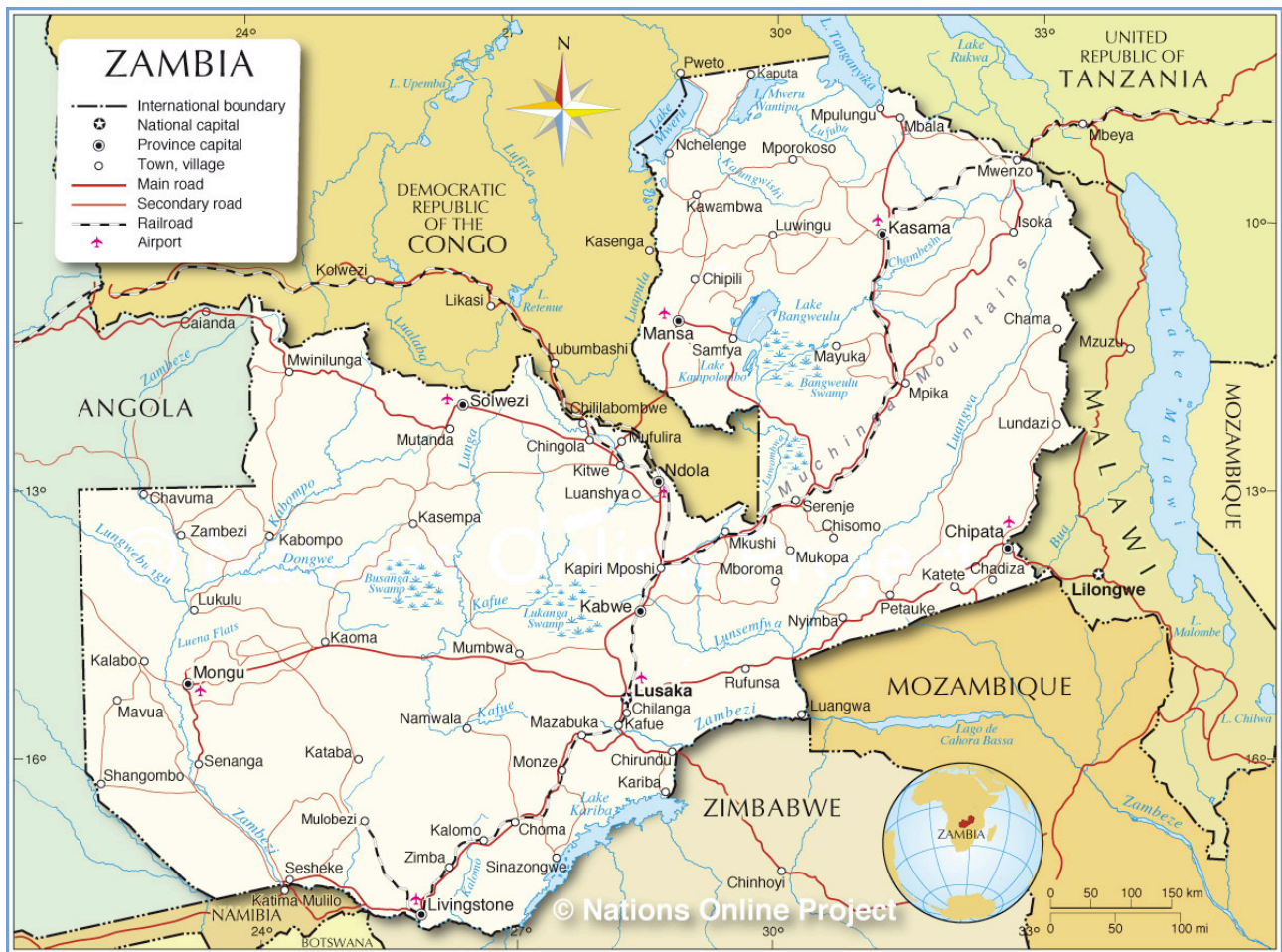
First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Axel Borchgrevink, Professor at the Oslo Metropolitan University's Department of International Studies. Thank you for your honesty and valuable pieces of advice throughout the project.

Thank you, Response Network, for letting me into your story. Without your cooperation, this project would never have been possible to pursue. By allowing me your time, you have made this thesis what it is. Even though I couldn't visit you in Zambia, I have gotten to know your organisation, and I am excited to follow your progress in the future.

I am grateful to all my interviewees for giving so generously of your time. Special thanks go to Håkon Spigseth who's immense knowledge about Response Network caught my interest and gave me the spark that initiated this project.

Lastly, thank you to all the people who have supported me with feedback and encouragement. Thank you Lars Aage, Gunn-Hilde, and Ingunn.

# Map of Zambia



Retrieved from: <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/map/zambia-political-map.htm> - Accessed 31.05.2021

# Abbreviations

AW - Academic work

BLA - Beneficiary Led Aid

CBO - Community Based Organisation

DFID - Department for International Development

GA - General Agreement

IMF - International Monetary Fund

JCP - Joint Country Program

MMD - Movement for Multi-Party Democracy

MoU - Memorandum of Understanding

NAD - Norwegian Association for Disabled

NCA - Norwegian Church Aid

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

NIF - The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports

NOK - Norwegian Krone

NORAD - Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

NOREC - Norwegian Agency for Exchange Cooperation

NRC - Norwegian Refugee Council

NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data

PRA - Participatory Rural Appraisal

PWD - People with Disabilities

RBA - Rights Based Approach

RN - Response Network

SAP - Structural Adjustment Program

SDG - Sustainable Development Goals

SEK - Swedish Krona

SMISO - Support-centre against Incest and Sexual Assault

PRSP - Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

PWD - Persons with Disabilities

UIT - University of Tromsø

UK - United Kingdom

UN - United Nations

UNIP - United National Independence Party

US - United States

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

USD - United States Dollar

WB - World Bank

<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>2</b>
1.1. Research questions	2
1.2. About the case	3
1.3. Significance of study	4
1.4. Delimitations	5
1.5. Structure of thesis	5
<b>2. Background</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1. How I found Response Network	7
2.2. Why RN as a case	8
2.3. The beginnings of Response Network	9
2.4. Self-help manuals	12
2.5. A connection with the locals	13
2.6. Rights-based approach	13
2.7. Connecting with funders	14
2.8. Zambia	18
2.9. Norwegian aid	19
2.10. Chapter summary	20
<b>3. Methods &amp; Methodologies</b>	<b>21</b>
3.1. Approach	21
3.1.1. Stating the issue	22
3.2. Case study	23
3.2.1. Defining the case	23
3.2.2. Why are case studies useful	24
3.3. Data collection	26
3.3.1. Sampling	27
3.3.1.1. Video & Sound Recording	30
3.3.2. Document analysis	31
3.4. Ethics	32
3.4.1. Trustworthiness	33
3.5. Limitations and Delimitations	34
3.6. Chapter summary	35
<b>4. Literature review</b>	<b>37</b>
4.1. The beginnings of development	37
4.2. What do we mean by development?	38
4.3. Aid chain	39
4.4. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)	40
4.5. Post-development	41
4.6. Metacode	42
4.7. Participation	43
4.8. Conditionality	44
4.9. Partnership	46
4.10. Partnership & Conditionality	47
4.11. Accountability	47



4.12.Presenting power	48
4.12.1.Opposing mechanisms	49
4.13.Chapter summary	52
<b>5. Self-help facilitated in a donor driven industry</b>	<b>53</b>
5.1. Communication within international development	54
5.1.1.Self-Presentation	54
5.1.2.Funder perception	57
5.1.3.Agreements	58
5.1.4.Email correspondence	61
5.1.5.Contractual communication	62
5.1.6.Trusted consultants	63
5.2. Funding within international development	64
5.2.1.Contracting conditionality	65
5.3. Reporting within international development	71
5.3.1.Changes over time	73
5.3.2.Third-party reporting	77
5.4. Chapter summary	79
<b>6. Modern partnerships in a conditional world - Final discussion</b>	<b>81</b>
6.1. How are power structures present in the interaction between Response Network and their funders?	81
6.2. Are aid funders conscious of how structures of power are exercised and do they respect RNs principles of self-help and participation?"	83
6.3. How can RN retain flexibility in implementing its programme within the constraints of the development industry?	85
6.4. The possibility of a radical approach to development	86
6.5. Chapter summary	88
<b>7. Summary and Conclusion</b>	<b>90</b>
7.1. Ex-post conditionality - A new trend?	92
7.2. Further research	93
<b>8. Appendices</b>	<b>94</b>
Appendix 1 - Disability Program	94
Appendix 2 - JCP Annual Narrative Report from NCA Partner (About participation)	95
Appendix 3 - List of informants	96
Appendix 4 - Interview guide	97
Appendix 5 - Informed Consent Form	99
<b>9. References</b>	<b>101</b>



*"And so. A dead white man grows bearded and lost in the blinding heart of Africa. With his rooting and roving, his stops and stars, he becomes our father unwitting, our inadvertent pater muzungu. This is the story of a nation - not a kingdom or a people - so it begins, of course, with a white man"*

*(Serpell, 2019, p. 1).*

# 1. Introduction

"...so it begins, of course, with a white man". This introductory line fits well with how modern development writings view previous attempts to develop the world's poorer countries, often referred to as "the global south". In contrast, the world's more prosperous 'developed' part is often called "the global north". The quote by Serpell (2019, p. 1) refers to the colonisation of Zambia and, specifically, the city of Livingstone. While this thesis does not explore issues of segregation between skin colours, the feeling of alienation of a local people by foreign explorers shown in this quote sets the stage for a discussion on foreign powers and how a developing society, consisting of local communities, is analysed, reported and funded by western 'experts' while still being perceived as the 'facilitator of their development'.

This thesis investigates the relationship between the non-governmental organisation (NGO) Response Network (RN) and its funders. This relationship encompasses power dynamics which are part of a typical interaction in the development industry today. Conditionality, partnership, and participation are all key concepts that are important when investigating this interaction. RN is a Zambian organisation that several European organisations fund. They describe themselves as an organisation different from other development actors. By implementing a *radical self-help facilitation programme*, RN believes that their beneficiaries can *help themselves* through a sustainable development programme. According to the founder of RN, this is a method utilised because of previous bad experiences with unsustainable development programmes in Zambia.

## 1.1. Research questions

To structure research into this topic, I have devised research questions in order to pinpoint what I am trying to find out through this study:

1. *"How does Response Network's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?"*

I have found that descriptions of power structures within aid chains are few. By using Response Network as a case study, I can investigate the extremities of how an NGO working with several funders can function within a predominantly western led development industry. Their focus on a

radical approach to development by utilising self-help is interesting because it challenges the orientalist notion of the 'north' developing the 'south'.

This question is quite large and, thus, cannot be answered by itself. Three sub-questions have been constructed in order to investigate the different aspects of the leading research question.

1.a. "How are power structures present in the interaction between RN and their funders?"

1.b. "Are aid funders conscious of how structures of power are exercised and do they respect RNs principles of self-help and participation?"

1.c. "How can RN retain flexibility in implementing its programme within the constraints of the development industry?"

There are three main topics taken into consideration in sub-questions:

a - the presence of power.

b - the consciousness about the presence of power.

c - the flexibility of RN within these power structures.

This thesis will discuss each of these questions and ultimately give an answer to the main research questions as well.

## **1.2. About the case**

This study focuses on the organisation Response Network and how their relationship to funders manages to help the organisation stay rooted to their core principles of doing participatory aid.

Response Network is an organisation based in southern Zambia. It works as a local NGO, facilitating what they call "self-help facilitation" in these areas. The organisation was started by two Norwegian but is now run by all Zambian nationals and a supporting board situated in Norway. It is of utmost importance for the organisation that the recipients of aid and their recipients are part of the development process. Through village meetings and a firm root in Zambian culture, Response Network argues that they include their recipients in their work.

Like many other organisations, RN is funded by northern NGOs and private companies. By 'northern', I refer to the notion of 'western' or 'developed' areas of the world rather than 'southern', 'underdeveloped' areas. Funders of RN include The Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports" (NIF), The Norwegian Agency for Exchange Cooperation (NOREC), Support-centre against Incest and Sexual Assault (SMISO),

Norwegian Association for Disabled (NAD), and Academic Work (AW). The amount and type of funders have changed over the years RN has existed, but these are the current funders of the organisation. They play a crucial role in how the development agenda of RN is shaped. Through this study, we will learn about the interaction between RN and its funders.

### **1.3. Significance of study**

This study focuses on the organisation Response Network and how their relationship to funders manages to help the organisation stay rooted in their core principles of doing participatory aid. Response Network is an organisation based in southern Zambia. It works as a local NGO, facilitating what they call "self-help facilitation" in these areas. The organisation was started by two Norwegian but is now run by all Zambian nationals and a supporting board situated in Norway. It is of utmost importance for the organisation that the recipients of aid and their recipients are part of the development process. Through village meetings and a firm root in Zambian culture, Response Network argues that they include their recipients in their work.

Response Network is a particular case. It was founded on the basis of the founders' experiences with other organisations and how they worked with development. Often the two founders of RN did not experience that development programmes, and their activities were sustained after funding ceased to exist. For example, cash programmes, in essence, hand out money or loans to people in need with some expectations regarding the spending of this money. While people might be able to spend this money sustainably, programmes such as this do have an expiry date. When there are no more loans or hand-outs, the way of living created by the investment put forth by these programmes cannot be continued. Thus, it is not a sustainable way of doing development. RN focuses on teaching or 'facilitating' the ability of recipients to 'help themselves. By providing information and facilitating the utilisation of rights, RN does not provide something impossible to achieve. Through dialogue and cooperation with villages in Zambia, RN claims to have the ability to help people help themselves.

Literature on organisational development has, over time, started to focus more on participatory development and partnership. Writers such as Cooke & Kothari (2001) and Ferguson (1990) has critiqued this development, calling it only a new form of conditionality. RN claims to deviate from the homogenous notion that participatory aid is in many ways flawed. By staying rooted in the society they work in, RN upholds their image as a participatory organisation that puts their

recipients first. This claim may be challenging to maintain. Lie (2015) discusses the notion of 'developmentality', which presents how a participatory development-programme, may suffer from outside pressures from funding organisations to work in a specific way because of the requirements placed upon them by northern funders. This study can provide in-depth information about how a development organisation that focuses on sustainability can manoeuvre the aid chain of the prominently western world while at the same time attempting to achieve participatory cooperation with recipients of aid.

#### **1.4. Delimitations**

I have restricted the scope of this study to the organisational relationships of power found within the development industry. Response Network serves as a single case study of these interactions. This study does not investigate the recipients of aid, only the funders and organisations that receive funds. Thus, it is not a study of how power in development agendas function for the better or worse for the recipients, but rather how organisations handle issues of power and expectations confined within modern notions of participatory development.

#### **1.5. Structure of thesis**

Chapter 2 will go through the background for this case study, its history, political context, and how Response Network works as an organisation. Chapter 3 will give you, the reader, an understanding of how this research was conducted and discussions around the methodological justification of the choices made throughout this research. Chapter 4 reviews the literature of relevance for the case study. It describes how other academics have understood the topics discussed in this thesis and how I will utilise this literature. Chapter 5 is the start of the main discussion in this research. It mainly presents the findings of the fieldwork and how we can understand them in the literary context we find ourselves in. In chapter 5, I distinguish between *communication, funding, and reporting*. These are mechanisms that are together important to analyse in the development industry. I arrived at these mechanisms through literature review and findings made throughout this research. These categories can show how RN interacts with their funders because mechanisms such as these often occur in the creation and facilitation of a partnership. Chapter 6 delves further into the concept of *power* and how power structures can be analysed within the findings presented in chapter 5. Chapter 7 will summarise and conclude the remarks made through this thesis. Hopefully, it will provide some answers to the questions posed in this introduction.

And so, we begin with the origins of a peculiar case in the southern part of Africa; Response Network.



## **2. Background**

I have undertaken a study on the organisation Response Network to understand how power structures and seemingly 'unequal' power structures and dynamics play out through international aid chains. The case concerns the specific aid chain of Response Network and its funders. The funders are the Norwegian Church Aid, Norwegian Association for Disabled & The Atlas Alliance, Academic Work, SMISO Tromsø, NOREC and the Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports. The following chapter serves as a background to the case study presented and discussed in this thesis. It consists of historic information tied to Response Network, Zambia and the Norwegian development tradition. There is very little information available about the history of RN online or in other written sources. Therefore, is this chapter based on interviews with one of the founders of RN (Håkon Spigseth) and the current director of RN.

### **2.1. How I found Response Network**

I became familiar with Response Network when I had decided to investigate power related to international development. I am from the Norwegian city of Tromsø. RN is, to a large extent, affiliated with the city's university. I discussed my plans for research at dinner when visiting family. As someone in my family works at the university, they mentioned RN as a case. I became interested and decided to contact Mr Spigseth to gain more information about the RN. I was told about an organisation that believed in the participation and inclusion of its recipients in the villages of southern Zambia. RN has become a persisting entity in these communities through community meetings, close dialogue, and profound knowledge of Zambian culture. It became clear that this was an interesting case due to the heavy focus on development through what RN calls "self-help". I had previously learned about participatory development theories and how it has spread throughout development agendas in recent years. I have experienced how large aid organisations such as the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), Red Cross and Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) aims to utilise participatory agendas to further their status as modern development organisations through a work engagement at NRC last year. My experience was that large organisations try to listen to the voices of developing communities and act in a way that benefits the desires of these communities. It is clear that while this desire is present and entirely logical, different forces related to power and the movement of funds can push for specific actions based on the desire of the international 'northern' community rather than developing communities themselves. Representatives from NCA stated that

while they may want to fund RN without conditions, private funders also put forth conditions to NCA that they must include in partnerships with RN.

RN is a small organisation which states that they have from experience sustained a clear vision that their work should not be about giving developmental aid, but rather facilitating communities 'self development'—thereof managing to sustain development in Zambian communities rather than risking RN being the sole proprietor of means, either economic or social. By facilitating and giving information, communities themselves become their proprietor of means, which should essentially leave them independent of the economic power inequalities of aid. However, as mentioned earlier, things are not as simple. With the international community focusing on partnerships while also structuring international development into goals such as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) fronted by the United Nations (UN), RN could be forced to work within specific categories such as gender, education or health. These are essential topics, but while categorising issues raise awareness, it can also limit small local organisations such as RN in doing their work. I will discuss this in more detail in the discussion that follows in this thesis, but for now, this introduction to RN should help you, the reader, understand the context of this study. The information provided in the following sections is based on interviews with Håkon Spigseth, previous Director of Response Network and the current director.

## **2.2. Why RN as a case**

I early decided to use RN as a case for my study on power relations in development.

While completing a bachelor's in development studies and during the start of this masters study, I learned the intricacies of the development industry. While interning at the Norwegian Refugee Council, I experienced how much funding can shape how development workers conduct their profession. In my experience, along with literary sources, I argue that it is a fact that the need for funding and money itself does have a significant impact on the argumentations concerning decisions the industry takes along the way. As described in chapter 2, I found my way to RN through a discussion at a family dinner. One participant had connections with the founder of RN. The participant works at the University of Tromsø, is closely connected with RN and has worked several years in Zambia. While discussing my interests in power structures, Southern Africa, and developmental aid, I was encouraged to look into RN and its work. I promptly contacted the organisation to learn more about them. Through my course of studying a bachelor and now a master degree in development, I have learned about participatory approaches from authors such as

Chambers (1986, 1992), Cooke & Kothari (2001), Mosse (2005) and Tvedt (1998, 2003). A common argument in this discourse is that 'participation' (Chambers, 1992), although a well thought of strategy, not necessarily provided recipients of aid the self-governance they were promised. Contrary to many other organisations, RN is built on the principle that every person they 'help' should be listened to, and their opinions should matter. One of the founders demonstrated this through his timely work of driving around in southern Zambia, talking to people in the villages, getting to know them, and living with them. Through previous experience with developmental aid and its difficulties in acting as a partner rather than a donor, RN was founded on principles that would, in theory, alleviate this.

### **2.3. The beginnings of Response Network**

RN was created in 2004 by the two Norwegians Arnfinn Solli and Håkon Spigseth. They had experiences of developmental work through different projects in Zambia, working for the Norwegian organisation "Fredskorpset" (now NOREC). Both of them had experienced how developmental aid proved unsustainable in specific cases. Spigseth especially mentions projects in northern Zambia where development agencies enter a community and provide funds to sustain activities, schools, trade. To Spigseth's frustration, these activities, having proved useful, ceased in existence as soon as projects ended and development agencies left the area. By relying on competence and funds from funders, communities could not sustain their own, now crucial activities any longer. Out of this frustration, Solli & Spigseth conceptualised RN. In the words of Mr Spigseth:

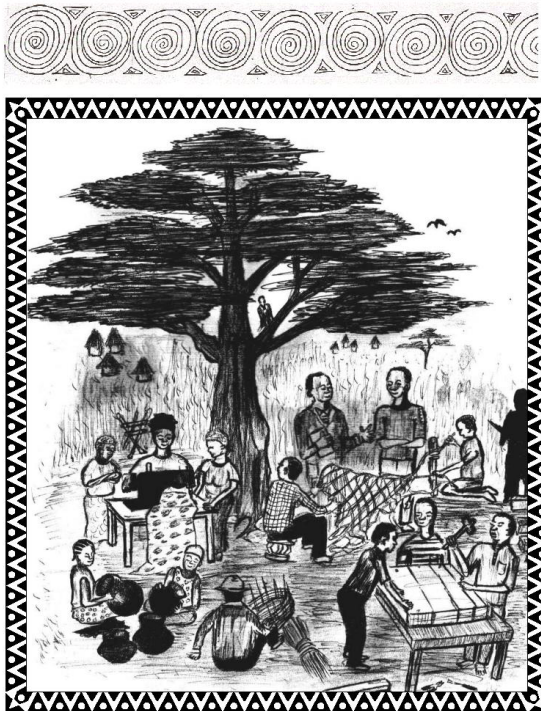
*"Donations create dependency rather than creativity".*

In my interview with Mr Spigseth he stressed precisely the point that this quote points to. Development projects created by development agencies often serve as an emergency option, not a sustainable one. When funding to those projects ceases, there is often no plan for how the development projects can be sustained after funds run out. For example, school, health or activity programs facilitated by agencies require funding. This funding does, according to Spigseth, cease at some point due to priorities among other projects that need funding. How can development agencies make sure these funds are not mandatory for the continuation of these projects. This is where Response Network has conceptualised its place in the development world. By implementing

development projects that seek to empower the communities' ability to engage in the existing society and create projects started by the communities themselves, Response Network only serves as the empowering factor, not the funder. We need to note that Response Network works explicitly in Zambia, where government regulations clearly state the rights of their citizens, which can be helpful if the citizens know their rights. For example, it is required that every citizen of Zambia should have access to a school within a radius of 5 kilometres. RN helps the citizens demand their rights and exercise that right. So, rather than managing programs that eventually end, RN facilitates the 'self-help' of selected communities in southern Zambia. Hence, '*self-help facilitation*'.

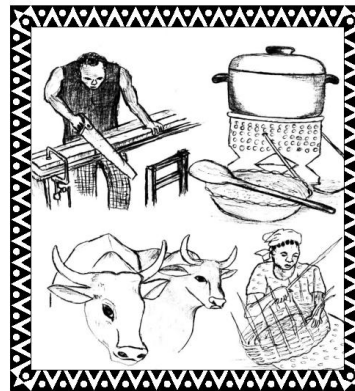
Spigseth and Solli began their work with RN by hiring one local facilitator, which could help them organise meetings, arrange transport and communicate appropriately with local communities. Their first task was to travel around southwest Zambia, visiting villages and arranging village meetings. They typically did this through a village chief who helped them arrange meetings in their respective village. In addition, volunteers were recruited in the villages. They were supposed to represent RN in the field by utilising manuals provided by Spigseth and Solli on their rights, self-help manuals and communication. It is important to note that the Norwegian organisation NCA funded the preliminary project concerning self-help manuals which RN set out to do. According to Spigseth, they provided RN with approximately 400 000 NOK in the first year of 2004. This amount was spent on transportation and the facilitation of their activities. The amount includes the salary of their four workers Spigseth, Solli and two locals. They only paid a salary to three people in practice since Solli was working voluntarily alongside his Norwegian pension payments. This is essential information because it shows the idealistic method RN pushes for. They know that by themselves, they cannot compete with other organisations or be a high paying employer in Zambia. According to the current director and Spigseth, the current staff are offered a salary that is not immensely high by Zambian standards. RN might not be able to get the best people in one instance, but the organisations make sure that the employed worker's attitude is focused on the purpose that RN serves. It is not structured to appear as a high-paying workplace in Zambia, and they rather offer good working conditions alongside a meaningful cause.

After visiting around 40 villages in the preliminary round, RN went for a second time to the same villages to follow up on the projects. The communities had initiated 350 self-help activities



Community Self-Help Education Series no 4

## Let's start our own Community Skills Training



### Resources Manual

'Everyone has the right to education'. (26.1)  
From United Nations Declaration of Human Rights

By  
Arnfinn Solli

A Response Network publication  
5th Edition June 2011



PICTURE 2.1

way your community skills school will grow slowly and your community will understand and support the skills class under the way as it grows at the pace your community is capable of supporting. Do not feel bad when problems seem to be lining up. Remember, to any problem there are at least two solutions, - just seek advice to look for the solutions when the community skills school is in hardship! For example if nobody comes forward and show interest, - may be you have asked the wrong people or failed to mobilise the community! Or rather than involving politicians, look for the generally respected soft spoken leaders and people that feel community responsibility. Stay away from people that come to the community skills school for economic gain, the skills class only needs volunteer instructors that are willing to work and contribute because they want to see education develop to make a better community.

#### Ask for support

The committee may request for the following help to the school, however you have to be vigilant and ask now and again, as you will not get anything unless you are persistent and keep pushing!



- Ask the **Provincial Youth Development Officer (PYDO)** to invite your volunteer instructor for free courses in subjects such as skills training, entrepreneurship and "start your own business" that they can connect your community skills school to. The Ministry sometimes have support in form of funds, materials or tools to offer new youth skills projects, - ask what they have to offer this year. Ask for the National Youth Policy Guidelines that capture the role of the Department of Youth Development to know more about what the PYDO can offer the skills school.
- On the district level visit the **District Education Board Secretary** and ask for **training material**, advice, text-book and courses for the community skills instructor.
- Do not forget to ask the **Agricultural Extension Officer** for advice, courses, field day's and teaching materials. That office is there to support your skills training in fish farming, orchard, gardening, husbandry, tree planting and agriculture. All over the country there are forestry and agricultural extension services from the provincial level to the district to the camp level.  
The officers are there for you. Ask them for advice about soils, crops,

8

#### Skills training support in South Africa

Project Literacy is a South African organisation that provides books from it's bookshop on the internet. They have English language textbooks for adults in a number of useful skills that naturally connects to literacy training. Get help from the staff at the internet café and look at their website:  
[www.projectliteracy.co.za](http://www.projectliteracy.co.za)

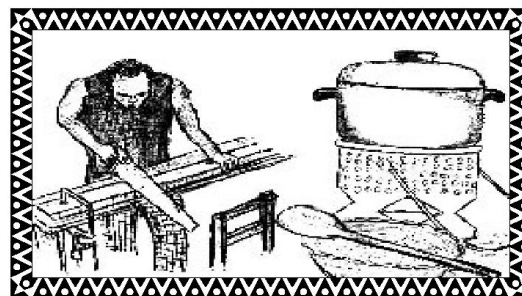
If you wish to buy books from this supplier and need funds, look for donors in the entries below where you can send your application. However some of the donors below might be able to assist the skills school with books and other learning materials.

#### Land

Before you start the application process for funds to build the skills classroom, you must have ownership to the land where the school will be constructed. Speak to the Chief, the District Council or the farmer that own the land and get their consent to the skills project and secure a title deed. Get enough land so the school can expand in the future. In the beginning you need for the first building and production unit.

#### Production unit

It is useful for the youth to learn gardening. Make sure you also get some land for the production unit at the school when you decide on the place for the workshop. Especially organic gardening cost only the buying of seeds and will give the youth both a good learning opportunity and produce food for consumption at the skills workshop and for sale. District Agricultural Office and the extension officer will give you advice and support to do the right things considering the quality of the soils etc. You may also start a Young Farmers Club to enhance these practical skills.



13

PICTURE 2.2

altogether. RN was then strengthened in their belief that if you trust people and show them the possibilities that lie before them, development can not only be about providing means for development but creating the opportunity for it.

## **2.4. Self-help manuals**

The key to RN's method of doing development is the so-called "*self-help manuals*" created by one of the founders, Arnfinn Solli. He developed fourteen manuals with twenty pages, each informative pamphlet aimed at community leaders who wanted to develop their community. The pamphlets include information relevant to each topic, for example, literacy classes (picture 2.2), skills training, health & nutrition group, inclusive sports group or governance club. These are only some of the mentioned fourteen manuals still available for Zambian villages.

The following excerpt is from the manual on creating a literacy class in your community:

### **The First Steps**

*"A community effort first of all gets your community interested in your idea of starting a literacy class in the community. There are many ways of doing this, call a meeting, go door to door and inform, brief the teachers in the nearby Government school to tell their pupils, make announcement in the Churches or put up posters. A literacy class can never be a "one woman or man show". You need help to identify people with interest whom you can ask to assist. If the community leaders understand your intentions, then the community support will be there from the beginning".*

Getting started on a project anywhere and on any topic can be challenging without a guide to focus on. The excerpt mentioned above shows how the start of the manuals describes the first steps towards a sustainable project. RN started using these manuals when first travelling to 40 Zambian villages, as mentioned above. Manuals were handed out and resulted then in the start of 350 activities by the communities themselves.

The engagement from the villages without active action from RN arguably stands as a testament to what Spigseth and Solli tried to initiate at the time. These activities could be largely credited to the layout of RNs manuals and how they view themselves. RN is supposed to be a facilitator, not a provider. An excellent example of facilitation can be found in the last pages of these manuals (see picture 2.2). In every manual, the last pages are dedicated to external sources of support. I.e where

your project could go to find help or support. As illustrated in picture 2.2, the pages describe different offices and people you can address depending on what you want to achieve. This is only two of several pages with this kind of information.

## **2.5. A connection with the locals**

For RN it is essential to be conscious of their role in local communities. In all of the interviews I conducted, people highlighted the humane approach RN utilises. The current Director at RN explained how they still have an excellent connection with cooperating villages, and they regularly try to travel around and hold their traditional village meetings. A report done by Randi Jakobsen (2008) from Oslo Metropolitan University on commission for RN also describes this focus on local connections. She describes her visits to the villages where she and the workers of RN were met with a cooperative spirit. Jakobsen describes how RN works to accomplish this: "When visiting villages, they not only talk to people but live with them in the village, eat and laugh with them." (Jakobsen, 2008). Spigseth also confirms this was a specific method they utilised when first spending time in the field. RN wanted to get to know the villages they visited, the village heads, and women, men, and children. Spigseth points out that getting to know people is core to implementing self-help as a developmental program. This process can lead to trust between the parties, which justifies preserving presence in the region legitimate. RN can then argue that they operate on behalf of the villages they are present in. Trust in itself is built up over time, but as Spigseth states, getting to know people makes it easier for an organisation such as an RN to justify their work. For Spigseth it is vital to show mutual respect and provide equality among the parties working together.

## **2.6. Rights-based approach**

Adapting to a rights-based approach (RBA) has become increasingly popular among international NGOs (Eyben, Guijt, Roche, & Shutt, 2015, p. 9). RN has done the same. Rather than looking at 'what' they are trying to develop, they spend much time thinking about 'how' and 'why' they should 'do' development (Eyben et al., 2015, p. 12). The RBA is according to Uvin (Uvin, 2007, p. 602) "*...the rights-based approach to development encourages a redefinition of the nature of the problem and the aims of the development enterprise into claims, duties, and mechanisms that can promote respect and adjudicate the violation of rights*". Rights itself is here based on the right of a person in the society they live in. Rights are rooted in laws and declarations. UN's Human rights declaration is the widest known declaration which the *rights* of an individual are clearly stated. A rights-based approach takes these rights and assumes them as the way society ought to be (Uvin, 2007, pp.

600-602). It is essential to understand that the development work RN does, is rooted in a rights-based approach. For example, Spigseth underscores the importance of this approach by referring to the legislation on schools in Zambia. Every citizen of Zambia has the right to a school within a certain proximity to their home. In RN's experience, not many people in the villages that visit know of this right. RN provides information about this and helps people demand that the government uphold their rights. This is part of RN's self-help facilitation. In addition to their focus on rights, Spigseth stresses RN's effort to *empower* their recipients' ability to act on their rights.

## **2.7. Connecting with funders**

A lot of RN's funders has, according to my interviewees, been accomplished through personal relationships. Currently, RN is cooperating with NCA, NOREC, NIF, AW, SMISO and several schools and universities in Norway. Through my interviews, I asked all about how they first got in touch with RN. A common thread was that integral people in each organisation had heard of or worked with RN through NOREC (previously Fredskorpset). They all state that their relationship with RN based itself on trust in how RN works rather than demanding that RN works in a specific way. We know from the literature on the 'aid industry' that partnerships and development in general often comes with certain conditions to the transfer of either knowledge or financial means (De Haan, 2009). Even though RN's partnerships are rooted in familiarities and trust, it seems conditions also apply to them. The leader of SMISO-Tromsø, who are cooperating with RN through an exchange program for social workers, explained to me how the leader was old friends with one of the board members of RN. They were hanging out and discussed RNs work. It eventually turned into an official partnership agreement between the two parties. These initial informal talks can be recalled in other partnerships RN is engaged in. Although the partnerships are now handled officially, they were not initiated out of a desire for money but a shared understanding and interest in a social topic.

In order to understand the partnerships RN has with other organisations, we need more information on the funders themselves. The following is information on each partner.

### **Norwegian Church Aid**

The Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) is a vast development organisation with its main office in Oslo, Norway. From the name, we understand that this organisation is rooted in religious initiatives. The NCA is part of an organisation called ACT Alliance which consists of "*a coalition of Protestant and*



*Orthodox churches and church-related organisations engaged in humanitarian, development and advocacy work.*" (ACT Alliance, 2021). It is not relevant to discuss the religious aspects of this organisation in this project. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to learn about the implications of religion in religiously rooted development organisations. The NCA was founded in 1947 from the desire of rebuilding communities in the aftermath of the second world war. The organisation received its breakthrough in the 1960s when the organisations work play a big part in the aid work to Biafra in western Africa. The early beginnings of the NCA consisted mainly of emergency work. It was not until the 1990s one could see some of the organisations' current structure.

Along with many in the development world, 'partnership' became a significant focus point for the NCA. Shifting their focus away from emergency aid and focusing on development through partnership, RN became a 'partner' in 2004 when the NCA was the first funder of RN. They had remained a donor since 2004 with a three-year exception when RN was directly funded from NORAD. RN was given a choice as to whether they wanted funding from NORAD directly or NCA because both could not fund them at the same time. This is due to the fact that both funds derive from NORAD. According to Spigseth RN were excited by the proposal from NORAD and thus accepted the funding directly from NORAD. RN is quite proud that they were able to get funding directly from NORAD. It is not common for small organisations such as RN to receive this. They entered a 3-year contract with NORAD, which continued as a project with the Norwegian Association of Disabled (NAD) and The Atlas Alliance, which also aims their work towards helping disabled people around the world. The current cooperation between NCA and RN focuses on schools in southern Zambia. NCA's offices in Norway works to collect money from schools in Norway which aid in the development of schools in southern Zambia through the work of RN. The cooperation is facilitated through NCA's office in Lusaka, Zambia. My communication with NCA has been through a representative in Norway along with the country director in Zambia.

## **Norwegian Association for Disabled and The Atlas Alliance**

The only organisations which have not been interviewed are the Norwegian Association for Disabled (NAD) and The Atlas Alliance. These are organisations that focus on the needs of disabled people. The Atlas Alliance is an international organisation that represents NAD when cooperating with RN. These organisations took over the funding NORAD was providing RN when their three year period ended. This funding lasted for five years. It is worth mentioning these organisations because they replaced NORAD and the previous funding from NCA.

## **Academic Work**

In contrast to the other actors on this list, Academic Work (AW) is a private company assisting when companies staff their positions. It is located in Sweden, and its main focus is education. They have been in the staffing market for about 20 years. Through their initiative "One Percent Movement", they donate 1 % of their yearly surplus and 1 % of each staff member's wage (voluntary) to Response network as part of their solidarity work. Their cooperation with RN started as early as 2004 with AW funding material for local schools in the region RN operates in. Their cooperation started through personal contacts, the same as many of the other funders of RN. Now AW still provides around 600.000 SEK in yearly donations earmarked for work on the topic of education. In return for this contribution, AW receives reports of the project and the opportunity to present the cooperation between AW and RN on their public media channels. AW also sends rotating staff on field visits to Zambia, where RN acts as the facilitator of the trips. According to AW themselves, this helps the company build a feeling of togetherness for the staff and gives them a common humanitarian goal.

## **SMISO Tromsø**

Located in the city of Tromsø, SMISO Tromsø is a regional branch of the national "Support-centre against incest and sexual assault". It is a relatively small organisation funded by the Norwegian state. The office in Tromsø was founded in 1999. Their mandate is to educate people, especially young people, about the issues concerning sexual violence. In addition, SMISO assists the victims of such cases. Their cooperation with RN started in 2015 when they initiated a pilot project to an entire project concerning the exchange of educational workers for psychological health. Volunteers from SMISO in Norway and educational workers in RN's program area are selected for the exchange program. The program is funded through NOREC, presented in the following section, on a 4,8 million NOK budget dispersed over three years. Talks between SMISO and RN formed from a friendship between the director of SMISO and one of the board members of RN. They had worked together in the "Norwegian Peace Corps" (Fredskorpset) later transformed to NOREC. Along with increasing the competence of Zambian educational workers, Norwegian workers could experience their profession in another quite different cultural setting. The project has, of course, been halted by the current travel restrictions. For this thesis, it is interesting to note that the cooperation between SMISO and RN is not based on a donor/recipient supply chain but a

cooperative agreement where they both apply to NOREC for funding of the agreed-upon project. This could imply a more symmetrical and less hierarchical relation. However, the fact that SMISO and Norec are both Norwegian organisations may put SMISO in a "broker" or intermediary position, where access to funding for RN is only available through SMISO, and therefore mean that the relation remains asymmetrical.

## **NOREC**

*"The Norwegian Agency for Exchange Cooperation (NOREC) is an executive body under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Our aim is to help achieve the overarching goals of Norwegian development policy, which form part of Norway's integrated approach to implementing the 2030 agenda"* (NOREC, 2021). NOREC was originally formed as Fredskorpset (Norwegian Peace Corps) in 1963. Its goal was to send qualified Norwegians to developing communities and regions to work and create relationships between Norway and the communities. In 2001, the organisation changed its focus from expert aid to partnership and trending international development notions. It also wanted to change to a partnership model that not perceived north-south relations as the most critical development action. Instead, south-south partnerships became far more enjoyable for the organisation to fund. It changed to focus on exchange programs which SMISO Tromsø are part of. In 2018 the change from Fredskorpset to the new name NOREC was established. I will refer to the organisation as NOREC for the rest of the thesis, no matter the timeline. RN and SMISO have, as I have established, turned to NOREC for funding in 2015. Funding from NOREC is dependant on a 3- year plan which includes how, when and where the funds will be utilised along with the different responsibilities the parties hold. Both parties report to NOREC since there is work being done at both ends of the exchange. Funding from NOREC also depends on the parties' agreement to the terms put forth by NOREC themselves. These terms are closely linked to the Norwegian MFA. As such, the terms are coloured by the wishes of the Norwegian state itself.

## **Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports**

The "Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports" (NIF) represents every athlete in sports in Norway. The organisations' purpose is to work for everyone to exercise sports from their wishes, without discrimination. It was founded in 1861 and remained the

top national organisation for sports in Norway. In addition to being the representative of athletes in Norway, the organisation funds development projects in the global south focused on sports. This work is rooted in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. In accordance with article 31 in the convention, "*States Parties recognise the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts*" (OHCHR, 1989). RN and NIF cooperate on a donor/recipient basis where NIF funds RN on the mandate that RN facilitates a sports-related program. This includes "Sport in Action", which helps especially girls in Zambian communities attend sports activities. NIF acts on funding from the Norwegian state and so may hold Norwegian interests close to their mandate. NORAD funds the development program itself and so must also follow the mandate NORAD holds from the Norwegian state.

## **2.8. Zambia**

Zambia's history is filled with colonial struggle and desires to break out of the restrictions of limited economies. It is a country riddled with the legacy of missionary Livingstone, who settled in central southern Africa and ruled as a British envoy in the mid-1800s. Zambia has projected a bright future at independence from the British in 1964 because of the country's vast copper deposits. The newfound rule of Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) party brought social policies to Zambia. Inequality remained high in the country due to corruption and combats for power. UNIP's agreed to the Structural Adjustment Program's (SAP's) incentivised by the UN and western states in the 1980s. SAPs were implemented in the country in the early 90s, relatively late than other Southern African nations such as Botswana and Malawi. Contrary to these other African nations, Zambia was in a reasonably good economic position due to its booming copper industry.

The turn towards liberalisation came because of a fall in copper prices in the past decade, which resulted in a lack of essential goods such as food and other resources. Mismanagement of the SAP's led the IMF to cease payouts to Zambia. The IMF even declared Zambia in-eligible for state loans in 1987. This led to the end of one-party rule in 1991. After years under Kaunda, the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) and Frederick Chiluba entered power with much enthusiasm from the international community. That administration proved as corrupt as the last one and was overthrown in 2001. This seems like a tumultuous history scattered with tales of corruption and

inequality, but Zambia has surfaced as a promising nation economically speaking in the later years. Still managing large copper deposits presents Zambia with consistent income, albeit dependent on one single commodity price (Macola, 2008). The commodity price of copper in the world varies from period to period. Zambia is thus especially prone to economic crises such as the 1980s and most recently in 2008. This has left Zambia in a position where they often receive international aid funds to combat poverty and realise their goals of development. Like many other sub-Saharan nations, the country has become reliant on steady streams of developmental aid. The country has been dependent on aid, and conditionality-loaded aid has increased in numbers throughout their struggle for economic balance (Rakner, 2012). Fraser (2008) reaffirms this by showing how democratic decision-making in Zambia during early 2000s were often dependent on PRSPs (Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers), which in fact provides the Zambian government with aid conditions to their state budget. PRSP programs are in according to the IMF, a participatory process where the member country prepares documents that states how the country structures its macroeconomic and social policies. Some would argue that PRSPs are a modernisation of SAPs and that PRSPs also come with specific conditions for member countries in which they cannot follow up. (Alastair, 2005). Privatisation has led to a lack of trust in the government by poor people in Zambia. funders have taken their place as spokesmen of the poor in Zambia (Fraser, 2008). Response Network does not rely on funds from the state of Zambia but on the willingness of international NGOs to support the development of Zambia. According to RN themselves, they have maintained a steady and, to some extent, an increasing amount of funding from the start in 2004 because they have a position as a trustworthy NGO in Zambia. Their accountability is better than many other NGOs, and therefore, partnerships have persisted (Macola, 2008).

## **2.9. Norwegian aid**

RN has strong roots in Norway as both of the founders are born and raised there. In addition, the board of the organisation is also based in Norway. It is essential to acknowledge this when analysing the work of RN since the Norwegian tradition for aid and developmental work is quite strong. Norway as a state has, since the publication of the Brundtland Report in 1984, been a prolific figure within the development industry. Some would argue that Norway has tried to gain power in the international climate by achieving a high moralistic status (Tvedt, 1998). Terje Tvedt is a critic of the Norwegian state's depictions in international development. Tvedt argues that Norway as a state has run their political interference based on the sole purpose of gaining moralistic capital (Tvedt, 2003). In the Norwegian state's own white paper (NMFA, 2003-2004), concerning their

development agenda in 2004, there was no mention of their position in the international community. Tvedt criticises this because there has been an obvious spending capital on development programs to strengthen Norway's position in the international community with a basis in moralistic capital. It is only in later years that the Norwegian state has formally acknowledged its desire to strengthen its position as a nation (NMFA, 2017).

How then does RN fit into this context? I would not imply that RN is part of the agenda of the Norwegian state, but knowing about the Norwegian context allows us to understand the background and developmental traditions the founders of RN derive from. In an interview, Spigseth further revealed that he believes that Norwegian traditions such as being open, low key and relaxed have helped them gain access to many communities.

## **2.10. Chapter summary**

I have now presented the historical and thematically context for this case. We have learned the history of RN and how the case was presented to me. The two main characters in this story are Håkon Spigseth and Arnfinn Solli, both long time Zambia residents who wanted to start a sustainable development organisation. They did so in 2004. RN's development of their self-help manuals reflects the goals and ambitions set out in 2004. RN themselves depicts their work as rights-based while focusing on the *equality* of their recipients. Travelling around to over 40 villages, eating, laughing, and living with local people in southern Zambia has led to a connection with the locals that emphasises the egalitarian relationships created. By grounding their work in an ideology of equality, RN has created a relationship that reflects trust and cooperation according to their funders. The global development industry comprises many willing organisations but also increasing demands for evaluation and reporting. The case of RN seems reflective of a trust that does not demand such rigid reporting as the industry is prone to. Is this true? Does RN retain more trust and can run their work without intervention from power holders in the global north?

### 3. Methods & Methodologies

In the following chapter, I will discuss the methodological approach and methods used in this research. I will cover the nature of case studies and their existence in a study of power in development. Then, the methods used in this research and why they have been utilised will be discussed. The chapter is finalised through a discussion on the ethics of the research and the considerations taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the concluding remarks in this thesis.

A research design is according to Cohen et al. (2017, p. 173) "...a plan or strategy that is drawn up for organising the research and making it practicable so that the research questions can be answered...". They highlight the need for planning in order to execute a successful research. The chapter also states that "There is no single blueprint for planning research" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 173). The researcher is free to do what they think is best for the research as long as they justify it. This chapter will investigate what choices I have made throughout this research and the reasoning behind these choices.

#### 3.1. Approach

The research itself is a search for knowledge and understanding of the researched subject. While general knowledge also implies an understanding of a particular subject, research is structured, and it is a conscious choice to do research (Cohen et al., 2017). There are different ways of conducting research. These are called *methods*. One's method is according to Jacobsen (2005) based on your concept of reality which, in turn, defines your research questions. I would point out that although the theory of Jacobsen makes sense, I believe that the research questions are based on more than your concept of reality. It is also based on what you as an individual have experienced throughout your life. This discussion surrounds what we know as deductive or inductive reasoning. I.e. the choices you make and for what reason you make them. Deductive reasoning is rooted in natural science. The researcher starts with a theory, which leads to a hypothesis. This hypothesis can then be used to create empiricism. Inductive reasoning, on the other hand, starts with empiricism and creates a hypothesis, which in turn forms a theory (Jacobsen, 2005). These are widely contradictory approaches which, in anthropological research, is impossible to follow to the letter. Different researchers have presented the third type of reasoning. Cohen et al. (2017) presents *inductive-deductive* reasoning as a middle way to the otherwise polarising different *inductive* and *deductive* types. Rather than choosing one or the other, inductive-deductive

reasoning acknowledges that research may be a process of thought. You can often start with an idea, learn something new that changes the idea altogether. Another interpretation of the third type is *abductive* reasoning. Moving on from inductive-deductive, abductive acknowledges that the conclusion you arrive at maybe one of many. Abductive reasoning starts with a set of observations, and you so draw the *most straightforward* conclusion from these observations (Jacobsen, 2005). Same as inductive-deductive reasoning, abductive reasoning states that research is compiled of many processes of thought and reasoning cannot be constrained to inductive or deductive. An individual does have their own opinions and subconscious presumptions to the research. Hypotheses are therefore made along the way and altered as the researcher learn more about the subject. I turn to an abductive reasoning methodology where there is a possibility to make hypotheses, investigate and alter research questions as the learning progresses.

### **3.1.1. Stating the issue**

I have stated that my research questions are:

1. *"How does Response Network's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?"*
  - 1.a. "How are power structures present in the interaction between RN and their funders?"
  - 1.b. "Are aid funders conscious of how structures of power are exercised and do they respect RNs principles of self-help and participation?"
  - 1.c. "How can RN retain flexibility in implementing its programme within the constraints of the development industry?"

Arriving at these question consisted of a back and forth process. Jacobsen (2005) argues that research questions often stems from the researchers desires to investigate a distinct subject. It often starts with a simple question such as *"Are power structures present in the work of Response Network?"*. I started with questions such as this due to my interest in power, development and the organisation itself. Jacobsen (2005) argues that research questions are pathways to hypothesis (p. 71). This does not correlate with the case study research I have completed. I started with a set of questions which were aimed at my interests and questions which I wanted to investigate. While, conducting field work, I quickly found out that my questions were too simple and wide. I 'tested'



my research questions to make sure the final questions were answerable and contributed to the research itself (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 169).

### **3.2. Case study**

This project focuses on the organisation Response Network and its interaction with funders. This is considered as a specific *case* within the discourse of power in development. Following, I discuss the pros and cons by conducting a case study and what we mean by a case study.

A case study is a contested term. Cohen et al. (2017) introduces their chapter on case studies with a discussion on the different definitions of a case study. For example it could be "*a specific instance that is frequently designed to illustrate a more general principle*" (Nisbet & Watt, cited in Cohen et al., 2017, p. 375), "*the study of an instance in action*" (Adelman et al, cited in Cohen et al., 2017, p. 375), "*the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances*" (Stake, cited in Cohen et al., 2017, p. 375), a "*detailed examination of a small sample*" (Tight, cited in Cohen et al., 2017, p. 375), or "*an in-depth investigation of a specific, real-life 'project, policy, institution, program or system' from multiple perspectives in order to catch its 'complexity and uniqueness'*" (Simons, cited in Cohen et al., 2017, p. 375). I want to highlight Simons' definition and his emphasis on 'uniqueness'. I have indeed chosen a case that is supposed to be unique in a large system. At the same time, a master degree challenges the student to do an in-depth analysis of a specific topic. Given the time frame of one year, an in-depth analysis of such a large and global field as development requires some delimitations. I will return to how I have made such delimitations within this study. I only want to point out that a specific case delimits the study to manageable data. This could make the study better as a whole and prove that a short research time could prove helpful in the academic community (Desai & Potter, 2006).

#### **3.2.1. Defining the case**

The case for this research is the organisation Response Network and how they work with funders. The case is often *one* investigative unit, not several. There is a difference between *absolute units* and *collective units*. Absolute units in case studies focus on a single individual as a case for the research. Collective units are understood as a group, village, community, or the collective I am investigating; an organisation (Jacobsen, 2005, p. 97) This research focuses on collective units. Some would say that a case study is not "*rigorously planned*" (Fidel, 1984, p. 273). The researcher

instead allows the *case* to lead the research as in an inductive method. I would argue that I was not allowed to do this to the same degree in my case. As discussed later in section 3.5, COVID-19 halted my plan to travel to Zambia and conduct fieldwork physically. Although this forced me to alter my plans, I do not argue that it impeded the data I have gathered. But, in the context of letting the case itself lead the research, I instead had to plan, to a much larger extent, how I was to conduct digital fieldwork.

There are different types of case studies. Different academics have presented *their* 'types' of case studies. I want to emphasise three types of case studies which I think are useful for explaining how this case study is conducted. As stated, this is a *collective* case study since it is concerning an organisation and its funders. It is an *interpretive* case study since it tries to develop "*conceptual categories inductively in order to examine initial assumptions*" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 377). Lastly, it is a *longitudinal* case study because it tries to understand changes in structures of power and discourses over time (Cohen et al., 2017, pp. 377-378) .

Since my case concerns a specific organisation, it was evident that I had to interview the heads of that organisation. In addition, I had to interview funders because I wanted to look at RN's interactions with their funders. I, therefore, used my initial time to interview the director, founder and board member of RN first. From this, I received information about their funders. I then contacted the funders and got hold of people who have had contact with RN over time.

### **3.2.2. Why are case studies useful**

Case studies are used to gain in-depth knowledge about a subject. Partly deductive, case studies can be used to eliminate aspects in a certain discourse (Desai & Potter, 2006, pp. 200-201). When asking questions such as 'why' and 'how', case studies are useful (Yin, 2017). Also, when researching something where the researcher has no control over the events, a case study is useful (Yin, 2017). This specific case study can be used to investigate 'how' power inequalities impacts the strategies, work and goals of RN as a development organisation in the global south. The results of this research can indicate a trend which should be further researched. RN could be an anomaly, but with a case study at least we know that this anomaly exists.

Case studies have their advantages and disadvantages. They can be true to 'reality', as to gain an insightful study on how the real world actually functions rather than analysing the generality of

several studies and second-hand sources (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 378). Case studies can also lead to the research lacking a degree of comparability. This is because a case study does not analyse similar discourses or discuss the intricacies of a social field<sup>1</sup>. By limiting the 'search for knowledge' through selecting a case, a research can evidently end up accounting for the possible reasons findings are the way they are. Subjectivity in the search for knowledge is channeled through this selection of facts (Jacobsen, 2005). The perfect research should be objective, but a research could realistically not be carried out without someone's ability to research. By acknowledging the subjectivity of the research, one should see a case study for what it actually is; 'researching a case which interests the researcher'. By doing this, answers to the case itself could trigger other questions. This is the nature of research. Subjectivity is part of it and should be acknowledged as so (Cohen et al., 2017). The subjectivity concerning the selection of this case is important to note. As we already know, I gained affiliation with this case through personal contacts, learning about how ideal and well-run the organisation is. This case was selected due to the uniqueness of the case when it was presented to me. Approaching the case with an open mind and not assuming that it is an ideal model for development, but rather an interesting case that needs investigation contrary to confirmation will be crucial for the reliability of this research.

Generalisation is a common danger for case studies (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 379). With a single case study such as this, it is unrealistic to generalise trends that seem evident by answering the aforementioned research questions. While case studies are strong in reality, they can be victim of portraying an image of a discourse, which is not reflected in similar cases (Cohen et al., 2017). Although this is a finding in itself, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of a single-case study. By acknowledging this, we can rather use other case-study literature to compare findings and create a discussion of whether something could be changed. This case study is built up on the notion that Response Network is an anomaly in a development industry (Whitfield, 2008). By presenting this case study, it is possible I can show that the aid industry has examples of organisations who try to consider the opinions and wishes of recipients.

Flyvbjerg (2006) presents a new method of utilising case studies. Case studies are according to Flyvbjerg (p. 221) being questioned regarding its basis in theory, reliability and validity. A large

---

<sup>1</sup> A social field is described by Bourdieu as "...a relatively autonomous domain of activity that responds to rules of functioning and institutions that are specific to it and which define the relations among the agents" (Hilgers & Mangez, 2015, p. 5)

portion of Flyvbjerg's argument concerns the misunderstanding that case studies are not able to produce a generalising argument through research. He draws on Popper's theory of 'falsification' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 227) and argues that case studies can be used to generalise as they falsify an hypothesis made in a larger discourse on a certain subject. The case of Response Network is presented as an anomaly. This study is used to determine whether that anomaly (or falsifier) is true, and to what extent. Contrary to other arguments on the nature of case studies, Flyvbjerg (2006) depicts the "Five misunderstanding about case studies". There are pros, and cons concerning case studies. Most notably, case studies are criticised for not being reliable and too narrow for serving as 'truth'. Flyvbjerg (2006) discusses how Popper's theory on 'falsification' can help us understand the positive impact a case study can have on academia. Flyvbjerg (2006) expands on Popper's theory to exemplify what he titles 'black swans'. They are described as anomalies such as RN, but Flyvbjerg extends his argument to not only concern the result of a research (thereby falsifying it), but also how one plans a case study. "*...it is incorrect to conclude that one cannot generalise from a single case. It depends on the case one is speaking of and how it is chosen*" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 225). Response Network was chosen exactly because of its exempt-ness from other development-organisations. Therefore, there already exists a pertaining bias that this organisation can serve as an anomaly to how power structures exist within international development. The misunderstanding's presented by Flyvbjerg (2006) might very well be true. But, I argue that this case study does not try to falsify common power structures in international development, rather to examine to what extent it might be true that RN has managed to exempt their method for development from persisting power structure.

### **3.3. Data collection**

Collecting data is one of the most important parts of any research (Cohen et al., 2017). I have chosen a qualitative approach to the fieldwork. Contrary to collecting quantitative data, which gathers data translatable in numerical facts, qualitative data gathering focuses on the stories the data tells you (Jacobsen, 2005, pp. 125-145). Qualitative and quantitative data collection differ in what type of questions they answer. A qualitative method requires the questions to be framed as to '*how someone does something*'. Hence, looking at the societal elements that play a part in the study. A quantitative method would ask '*how much someone does something*' (Jacobsen, 2005, p. 125). In this study, I utilise *methodological triangulation*. Through qualitative interviews, document analysis, a thorough research can be conducted. This study does not consist of observatory methods,

since I did not travel to the locations of the case I was not able to observe the actual work that Response Network does.

Triangulation is a term that means "*...to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint and, in so doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data. Triangulation is a powerful way of demonstrating concurrent validity*" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 265). While I can not argue that I am utilising quantitative methods to any extent, I argue that I utilise triangulation. More specifically, *methodological triangulation* and *time triangulation*. Methodological triangulation "*...uses either (a) the same methodology on different occasions or (b) different methods on the same object of study*" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 265) In this study I use the same methodology on different occasions. I have conducted several interviews with different people, organisations, and different levels of the development industry along with document analysis. By remaining true to the same methodology I ensure a "*...check on reliability and theory confirmation*" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 266). Time triangulation helps the study gain knowledge about changes over time. By collecting data from different moments in time, this study can possibly see a change in conditions, reporting requirements, or the intricacies of contracts. (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 266). This research utilises time triangulation through analysing contracts, reports and emails from different years. Most notably is the difference found from the foundation of Response Network in 2004, and the most recent five years. While triangulation with solely qualitative data has been critiqued for their misleading ability to generalise and draw conclusions (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 266), I argue that as long as the researcher is aware of their limitations, a case study with qualitative triangulation can serve as a falsification of 'truth' (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 226).

### **3.3.1. Sampling**

In this research, I have collected data from interviews, organisational documents and email correspondence. I interviewed in total eight people. I choose to place these interviewees in two categories; *key informants* and *informants*. Key informants are experts in their field. The field is in this study Response Network (Marshall, 1996). A key informant is essential and central to the research and serves as a starting point for other data collection. One of them can be referred to as key informants while the other seven as informants. When initiating contact with informants, I started with these two key informants. The key informant agreed to be presented with his full name in this thesis. He is Håkon Spigseth (co-founder and previous long-time director of the

organisation). When interviewing, I intentionally started interviewing Spigseth because it would give me an overview of the organisation, thus providing me with crucial information for interviewing funders and analysing organisational documents. In my planning, I started by interviewing a specific group of people. Who the funders would be was not clear, but it was clear that I wanted to interview that specific group. Cohen et al. (2017, p. 218) describes this as *purposive sampling*. Some would argue that starting at the key informants and working from their recommendations resembles snowball-sampling (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 220; Jacobsen, 2005, p. 182). I agree more with Cohen et al. (2017, p. 219) use of *reputational case sampling*. Reputational sampling states that key informants help the researcher select samples based on the reputation of samples. This research uses a reputational case sampling by seeking out interviewees by their reputation as associates of Response Network along recommendations from other interviewees. Since this research is not topic-driven, but rather driven by the extremities of the case it is not correct to say that this research utilises *snowball-sampling*, but rather *reputational case sampling*.

I chose Response Network because of the uniqueness of the case itself. The organisation was presented to me through familiarities and personal contacts. Cohen et al. (2017, p. 386) describes sampling in a case study as a "*...decision about purposive sampling: whether to choose a typical case, a representative case, a critical case, an extreme case, a deviant case, an outlier...*" (Cohen et al., 2017, p. 386). I argue that RN is an extreme, deviant case because the organisation is based on doing development different than other organisations. But I do not choose this case because of its extreme nature as Cohen suggests. It rather became apparent to me that this case needed investigation through the presentation given to me. By investigating the interaction between RN and its funders, I might be able to understand whether RN has managed to stay true to their initial goals of helping people help themselves, and if so; *how* they do it.

Through good contact with RN, I facilitated interviews with three persons working with the organisation. (1) Håkon Spigseth, the co-founder and previous long-time director of the organisation, (2) the current director of RN, and (3) one board member of RN situated in Norway. RN was also kind enough to provide contact info to all of their cooperating funders. In total, I interviewed 5; (1) SMISO Tromsø, (2) NOREC, (3) Academic Work, (4) NIF, and (5) NCA. Due to restrictions imposed on society because of Covid-19, I could not conduct every interview physically. I only met physically with the board member of RN and SMISO Tromsø. The rest was conducted using video interviews. I chose to interview these people mainly because of their

affiliation with RN. In the first phase of the fieldwork, I talked to Spigseth, who gave me contacts within RN and some of the corresponding people in partner/donor organisations.

I utilised the method "semi-structured interview" in all of the conducted interviews. A semi-structured interview is one of several types of interview. 'Semi-structured differs from 'structured' and 'unstructured' in the way that the interviewer has a set of questions prepared but at the same time allows the interviewee to digress, and talk freely (Desai & Potter, 2006). I chose to do semi-structured interviews because the concept of power is important and relevant in every part of an organisations work. It would therefore be beneficial for me to listen while the interviewee spoke freely about their work and how they conducted it. Beforehand, I had decided on a few categories which I would use as a basis for questions. This was done to create some kind of comparability in the data sample.

These categories were:

*General info,*

*History,*

*Development strategy,*

*Participatory aid,*

*Relationship,*

*Funding,*

*Communication and*

*Power.*

An excerpt of the interview guide can be found in appendix 4. To retain control over the main topics and continuity for all interviews, I had several questions under each category presented to each interviewee. While letting my interviewee speak freely, this method of doing interviews is still open for the possibility of being influenced by my own bias.

When conducting interviews, the interviewer's role and integrity are important elements. Kvale & Brinkmann (2015, p. 108) emphasises the researchers independence, and how it can affect both from "*above*" and "*below*". By this, Kvale & Brinkmann refers to the project sponsors (*above*) and its participants or samples (*below*). Here, the university could be referred to as *above* and the

samples as below. I find that it is not so black and white in practice. The interviewers role when interviewing is affected by the researchers integrity and morality. These are all very broad statements, but they bear some facts. If an interviewer does not reflect proffesionality and a sense of dressing the traits of moral and integrity, data collected through interviews may be affected.

Kvale & Brinkmann (Brinkmann, 2015, p. 108) discusses the issue of professionalism vs friendship within research. Research is a personal journey for a researcher where their experiences will colour every trait of the research. What each individual believes to be accurate and how one perceives the world will be part of how people address issues and questions posed to them. This goes for the researcher and samples. Personal opinions are especially prone to exposure through an informal interview such as the ones I have facilitated. While this is a question about objectivity that I will return to in a later section when discussing ethics, I find it essential to address how I have been aware of how I act when interviewing. Doing interviews has been essential for the integrity of this project to at least be aware of the opinions I, as a researcher, brings to the discussion. I always started an interview, explaining the project without mentioning the problem of the issue at hand. Issues such as the economy of development, theoretical discussions, and histories from other samples were brought up, but always at the later stages of an interview. Starting, I only wanted their description of their organisation and how their relationship to development has developed. For the funders of RN, I asked for a description of the time they had been cooperating. I was aware of not interrupting their train of thought even if they derailed a bit from my topic. It is not my place to interrupt and lead the conversation in a direction that benefits my research, especially at the start. Summing up, I argue that it is essential to acknowledge the role one takes when interviewing samples. Be aware of the questions you pose, along with how you react to answers. Most important is the respect and interest are shown in the samples themselves (Brinkmann, 2015, p. 109).

### **3.3.1.1.Video & Sound Recording**

In a difficult situation, including changing methods according to social restrictions, it became necessary for me to utilise video conferences to conduct interviews. In many ways, the possibility of doing video conferences while not being allowed to meet face to face is a blessing. It allows the interviewer to not only gather the information that they need but also see their facial expressions (Nehls, Smith, & Schneider, 2015, p. 146). The alternative would have been phone calls or email. It is evident that video calls prove an interview method with a higher degree of 'physical presence'. Video conferences also made it possible for me to interview a wide variety of key informants. I



interviewed people in various cities in Norway, Sweden, and Zambia. I would not have focused on this if physical fieldwork had been carried out at a specific location.

Doing interviews, I opted for using a recording device to sort the data collected. Using this meant I needed to be very aware of the restrictions regarding mismanagement of personal information. I will return to the ethical issues of this at a later stage. The practical implications of recording were that I needed approval from all participants whom I interviewed that I was allowed to record their voice. I also needed approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) to make sure the project did not intend to utilise the possible personal information being recorded. NSD also needed information about how I was going to store the recordings. All recordings were recorded using the University of Oslo's "Nettskjema Diktafon" App. This app secures the recordings from hacking and other mismanagement. By ensuring the security of the recording, I can, in good faith, analyse them and be confident that no personal information is shared with others unwillingly. The researcher transcribed the interviews in NVivo. All transcriptions were kept on an encrypted separate storage device to secure the handling of personal information. In addition, transcriptions do not include the interviewees' names nor personal information that was not needed for the research.

By creating a contract such as the informed consent, as a researcher, I agree to make sure all information gathered is confidential and does not put the participants in danger of uncovering data that should not have been public. By recording the interviews, the researcher needs to be sure all information is confidential. It is almost impossible to refrain from speaking about personal information such as names, occupations and references in an interview. An interview is about getting to know the participant and their thoughts on the researched topic. Other than Håkon Spigseth and Arnfinn Solli, who are public figures for RN, no personal information is mentioned in this paper. I do not state the names of the funders because I do not want their agenda to be prone to the discussion and findings of this paper.

### **3.3.2.Document analysis**

Findlay (2006, p. 262) states: "*...secondary data sources are also useful to development studies researchers wishing to provide a context for their own in-depth field studies and have been used by some to make wider generalisations from ... focused interview research*". In his chapter in Desai & Potter (2006), Findlay makes it clear that interviews and observation is not sufficient for a study on development to be of good quality. A case study such as this, is prone to arguments that generalising

is difficult. But, as Flyvbjerg (2006) and Findlay (2006) both point out, generalisation from a case study can be made through proper preparation and thorough implementation of secondary sources. While one often views experiences as primary data, documents such as contracts and reports are primary sources of information. They derive directly from the researched case and is raw in their form. If my focus was on the recipients, I argue that data such as contracts and reports could not serve as primary data because it is not the recipients that write them. But, since I focus on RN as an organisation and how it interacts with power dynamics in the development industry, these documents can serve as primary data.

In this research, I have focused on analysing documents on reports and contracts made available to me by representatives for the analysed organisations. By analysing documents from different periods, it is possible to analyse whether or not there is a difference in the dynamic of power in the communication between Response Network and its funders. To best analyse these often complicated documents, I have used the computer tool NVivo. This allows me to apply different codes to the findings within the documents. I, the researcher, have selected these codes based on common trends found in development literature. This has been done to determine if these documents are any different from other contracts, reports and other forms of communication in the general development industry.

I have also gained access to email correspondence between RN and some of their funders. This was done through an inquiry to the director of RN, who facilitated the acquisition of this documentation. A contract was drawn up to confirm the utilisation of this documentation in this research. Because I need to protect the people's personal information in these emails, they will not be presented in full. They will, however, be discussed and exemplified in the discussion.

### **3.4. Ethics**

This section will address ethical considerations take in this research. I will explore the concept of ethics as an academic concept, followed by the considerations taken in this research. This includes confidentiality, subjectivity, and consent.

Ethics is an integral part of any research (Brinkmann, 2015; Cohen et al., 2017). It is partially connected to whether the research is valid or not. Unethical research could discover some knowledge, but it might not be reliable because it shows that the researcher has not taken sufficient

considerations. In order to conduct this research, I was obliged to apply to the NSD for the processing of the data gathered to be ethical and trustworthy. This process helps ensure that personal information is not mishandled and that the researcher goes forth ethically—the NSD focus on topics such as sampling, consent, and the electronic treatment of data. When discussing the ethics of a project, treatment of personal information and the steps taken to inform the subjects about the project itself is crucial. Gathering data from participants requires the researcher to provide sufficient information about the research they are contributing towards. In this research, an informed consent form has been used. An informed consent form is a written information sheet created by the researcher that describes the research aim in short terms. It also provides the participants with information about who is responsible for the research and its data. The data is also affected by informed consent. If a researcher were not to provide such information, the data might be based on an assumption of the wrong research. Hence, the participant was not informed of the true aim of the research. All in all, informed consent provides a visible certificate of the steps made to ensure the validity and reliability of the research while also providing the participant with important information on how their information is handled and how they can contact the data collector if necessary (Brinkmann, 2015, p. 104). The form was handed out to everyone who participated in the research, both through interviews and those who provided documents to the research.

Since I am not participating or imposing an identity on a community by not travelling to the field, there are few dangers of creating an unethical presence through this study. However, it is helpful to this thesis to ensure that the information collected is collected in an ethical manner. One method to do so is through informed consent.

### **3.4.1. Trustworthiness**

In case studies, it is vital to make the data you gather trustworthy and reliable. I choose to use the term 'trustworthiness' instead of 'validity'. While data validity is necessary, the term favours a quantitative study rather than a qualitative one. In this study, several steps have been made to ensure this. First of all, research is prone to subjectivity from all corners. The interviewer, interviewees, document creators, and the literature itself was all created by people. People have their own opinions, and it is nearly impossible to rid people of their own opinions. We can strive to remain objective, but if we do not acknowledge our subjectivity, the intended work is hard to react to (Jacobsen, 2005, p. 273).

### **3.5. Limitations and Delimitations**

Like many other research projects this past year, I have been affected by the effect of Covid-19. I am not able to shy away from the implications this has had on my research. I do not want to dwell on this issue. Therefore this paragraph serves as an acknowledgement of the pandemic, not an excuse.

This research was initially supposed to be focused on fieldwork done in and around Livingstone, Zambia, from August until October 2020. Covid-19 put a halt to that process. I initially started planning for the fieldwork, but soon enough, I figured there was little chance of carrying out the fieldwork. My presumptive focus on the grassroots level of RN and how power structures affect them in organisational development had to be shifted to a focus on the interaction between RN and its funders. This was due to an inability to interview locals in Zambia. I explored the idea of facilitating video calls with locals in Zambia, but my contacts explained how that would be extremely difficult. Lack of internet connection and long distances would create an unnecessary amount of work for RN, and I have not yet been able to create a relationship with the organisation due to the lack of my presence.

I do not argue that this research would have been better if the pandemic had not occurred. To be honest, it is not comparable since the research questions have been altered to fit in with the methods being used.

Even though the pandemic has affected me, it is likewise important to notice its implications on the actual case at hand. When I was collecting data, more often than not, interviewees told me the facts concerning the time before the pandemic. This research focuses on power structures within international development. These power structures are affected by such a large scale event as the pandemic. Development spending is not a priority when states look to close borders and isolate themselves. Power structures within development can change because of such a protectionist trail of thought. In tough times it may also be even easier to point out the structures at hand because people have to choose between priorities in economic downturns. Due to these implications, I need to simply state that this research contains some limitations regarding the validity of the data as it is in danger of being outdated.

Along with restrictions concerning a global pandemic, this study bears some limitations. As I have mentioned earlier, this study only focuses on the interaction between Response Network and its funders. By making this choice, I am eliminating the factors which may come into play from other levels of the 'aid chain' (Wallace, Bornstein, & Chapman, 2007). Participatory approaches and a study on power relations surrounding a participatory organisation may seem odd without focusing on those who are supposed to be empowered through this method, namely the grassroots in southern Zambia. This is true, but I believe a study specifically on the interaction between NGOs and donor/partner could still be valuable.

Also, the fact that I could not meet with people, only call, email, text or video, does restrict me from researching through observation. This is a case study that dives into the in-depth knowledge of the mentioned interaction. Case studies often take time because the researcher should spend time getting to know the case to gain access to actual knowledge (Cohen et al., 2017). I need to be aware that all gathered material has been presented to me in a way that is connected with me (the researcher) as data gatherer, not a familiar face (Waldrop & Egden, 2018). Still, I want to present a quote from Desai & Potter (2006, p. 104): *"Doing research 'at home' is no better or worse than doing research overseas. It is simply different, and to do it well one needs to be aware of the relative advantages and disadvantages that such work can confer"*.

I have delimited this study to the organisation Response Network and its funders. I focus on the power structures between funders and RN. The reason this study focuses on RN is because of its uniqueness within international development. My choice was to research in the development field at an organisational level. There are several different reasons for this choice. For research to be reliable (Cohen et al., 2017), the data material needs to be manageable. With a time frame of 1 year, it is important to delimit the size of samples. A sole researcher cannot do reliable research on both institutional level, organisational, in addition to grassroots. The data gathered through focusing on all these levels could have lead to an insufficient sample of data.

### **3.6. Chapter summary**

In this chapter, I have presented the methods and methodologies behind the practical fulfilment of this thesis. I have presented the challenging and valuable aspects of the case study as a methodological approach, and I have described and discussed why RN became the case for this thesis. By utilising video interviews, I argue that interviews conducted in a time of social distancing

hold few negative aspects, and the data collected remain trustworthy. There are some limitations to this study. The lack of physical presence in the field can enhance a presumptive opinion from the researchers perspective. I do not argue that I truly know the intricacies of RNs daily routine in the field, but I do hold knowledge about the administrative work they conduct in cooperation with their funders. This chapter helps us understand how the data has been collected and the background of the researcher. The next chapter will also help you, the reader, understand some of the information needed to conduct a trustworthy analysis of this case. We will learn how the academic community has previously understood development, participation, conditionality, and developmentality. Moreover, maybe, more importantly, I understand these topics and why I have chosen to highlight these exact terms and topics.

## 4. Literature review

This chapter presents what is called a 'literature review'. It helps the reader understand the contextual discussions the writer is discussing their topic within. This chapter also presents an analytical framework used to understand the findings presented in chapter 5 in the sense of a discourse surrounding development and power. The content presented in this chapter will allow us to discuss and understand how this research can add something to this discourse. An examination and analysis of Response Network and the power dynamics between the organisation and their funders require an understanding of some terms familiar to development discourse. This thesis focuses on the development industry and terms related to that. Structural adjustment, conditionality, ownership, participation, and partnership are essential terms to remember for the following chapter. This chapter will address how the academic discourse of power and development have discussed this problem and how these discussions can contribute to my study.

I chose the case of Response Network due to the organisations specific way of doing aid. As I have discussed previously, the organisations relied heavily on good relations to recipients of aid and proper research into what the recipients needed and wanted. In contrast to many other aid projects, RN seems to be more interested in the ability of the recipients to help themselves get better lives. Through my studies, I have not yet come across literature that addresses a case like this. Even so, there is plenty of literature that can help shed light on the same issues that RN faces in meeting power issues. I start this chapter by explaining how 'development' has developed as an academic discussion. Lastly, power and the way power exists within development will finalise this literature review, giving way to a discussion on RN and their place in the modern development chain.

### 4.1. The beginnings of development

International developmental aid was formalised when President Truman held his famous inaugural speech in 1949. He stated: *"We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."* In the same speech, Truman pointed to the backing of the UN as an international institution to allow the growth of free, self-governing nations. The President and the US wanted the UN to be a governing authority in an ever-growing world, and developmental aid would be the pathway to self-governing nations. Developmental work has, of course, occurred previously. Colonial powers often provided aid to their proxies in order to maintain control.

(Nustad, 2001). The difference from colonial control towards what Truman addressed was the will to allow the growth of free, *self-governing* nations. This statement indicates a goal of letting nations be free to choose and decide their fate. However, as we witnessed at later stages, solely having your borders and elected officials to govern does not mean you have sole power over the development of your nation (Said, 1995). This problem concerning autonomy or 'political' autonomy often surfaces when discussing development issues. As Said (1995) argues through his book on orientalism, developing states are not autonomous because of the ideas and practices being imposed on them based on the historical context we currently live in. A parallel can be drawn to organisational development. There exists several examples of how aid is politically governed through institutions such as the UN, WB, and IMF (Rottenburg, 2009). Although these institutions are international and very much democratic in structure, different practices such as the right to veto and the UN members' security council can contribute to an unbalanced power structure between developing and 'developed' countries. Likewise, these power structures can be just as prevalent in between organisations in development. As I will describe in this literature review, power is inevitable in a system like development, where the need to 'do good' remains as an argument to help the less privileged in the global south (Whitfield, 2008). Like any other organisation, NGOs in the global south are dependent on money to fund their initiatives. Often, money derives from the ones with a significant amount of it to those with less.

## **4.2. What do we mean by development?**

This thesis is a discussion on power in development. It is hardly possible to discuss development without first making clear how we can understand development itself.

We often relate development studies with poverty and the development of 'underdeveloped' countries. While this may have been a big focal point in early development studies, we now associate development with societal 'change'. The term 'change' is problematic. Focusing on humanitarian aid and the development industry, we often talk of 'good change' rather than just 'change' which is also development in some form. Since this thesis talks about development as an industry, I will refer to development as a 'good change' goal. I will discuss the various implications of 'good change' later when discussing the issues of power in development. It is not to say that development will lead to sound change, but when idealising the term, this is an apparent goal (Haynes, 2008, pp. 1-20).



### 4.3. Aid chain

The current structure of development as an industry is rooted in a colonial process of thought. Funders from the west finance development projects in the so-called 'developing-nations'. This structure confirms Escobar's idea that colonial structures has laid the groundwork for modern development. The rationale for aid and development can be argued to be based on a notion of 'doing good'. Rottenburg's (2009) term 'metacode' exemplifies, how power is exercised through structures within aid, governed by the power-holders. Wallace, Bornstein & Chapman (2007) present the logistics and structure of what they call "*The Aid Chain*". It makes sense to talk of it as a chain when we understand and utilise Rottenburg's 'metacode'. This thesis will discuss three primary levels within this *chain*: Funders, facilitators, and recipients. The aid chain conceptualises the interaction and supply chain of these levels. Funders are, as the name implies, the financial contributors to development projects. They are, as a common rule, also funded by other institutions or private contributors. Facilitators are the organisations who work in the field. In this case, Response Network is a facilitator who helps communities in Zambia. Recipients live in these communities and are the people these funds are supposed to help.

Wallace, Bornstein & Chapman (2007, pp. 110-128) explains how facilitators of development, such as RN, become dependent on the funding organisations that they have already engaged in. "*for example, [...] participatory and gender methodologies, these all too often become tamed and institutionalised to fit into the current bureaucratic forms of thinking and procedures*" (Wallace et al., 2007, p. 110). Within an aid chain, relationships between funder and facilitating organisations become rooted in an unequal power dynamic. Like conditional aid, facilitators are pressured to follow how funders construct frameworks for spending on activities. As Wallace et al. (2007, pp. 110-128) notes, these relationships can often be framed as participatory, but they are only participatory because the funder wishes to focus on participatory aid. Their desire to focus on participatory aid often stems from pressure from international development communities, including academic such as myself. Chambers (1986), most notably, has presented the benefits of participatory approaches. With international recognition for participation, funders are eager to follow these incentives. This cycle of how international communities construct ideas of how development should be approached, followed by incentivisation by funders to approach development in that way, and ultimately leaving the facilitator in a position where they have to follow these incentives and focus areas because the international communities believe so can be described as project cycles (Wallace et al., 2007).

Mosse expands on project cycles (2005, pp. 103-116). He describes this chain in the form of a 'project system'. He describes how the 'implementation phase' and the 'policy-centred' picture of how development agendas are shaped are wrong. It is, according to Mosse, not the creators of policy that shape the practices of development in the global south, rather the "*...exigencies of organisations and the need to maintain relationships*" (Mosse, 2005, p. 103) that shape development. Funding organisations such as the NCA, AW, NOREC, NAD, or NIF can be viewed as "*a bottleneck that limits the capacity for influence of policy directors and advisers over an operational core*" (Mosse, 2005, p. 103). This means that funders of RN can be perceived as the power holders within an aid chain. They serve bureaucratic international multinational institutions such as the UN and, for example, NORAD in Norway and cannot divert from the path chosen by these actors. The SDGs are an excellent example of how international agendas shape development funders. If education is essential to these institutions, education becomes vital to the funders of RN since it is internationally recognised to develop the world through education. RN might not have the ability to choose funders that are not part of this chain while at the same time containing many ideas for how development should work in their local area of expertise. RN is thus constrained by the information and priorities from the funder of development and could miss out on opportunities to contribute with their own opinions of prioritised areas, activities and topics of development.

Because RN cooperates with both mainstream funders and private companies, it is essential to acknowledge their difference. By 'mainstream', I refer to aid channelled through state apparatuses, often in the form of economic means followed by certain conditions. NORAD is an example of such a state apparatus. The conditions posed to facilitators such as RN are often referred to as 'conditionality', which will be discussed in section 4.8. Conditions are also used by private companies such as AW. Mainstream development actors are poised to view development in the same way other international development actors do. With a significant focus on the SDGs, there might be concerns when introducing a radical approach to development. Even turning to participatory approaches, which have been hailed as positive changes in development, can be difficult because of several persisting mechanisms in the development community.

#### **4.4. Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)**

As I am investigating a case of participatory aid, it is crucial to recognise the works of Robert Chambers. He criticised international aid programs for being primarily focused on a 'top-down'

approach to development. Chambers suggestion was to approach development using a 'bottom-up' approach. Listening to the wishes of the actual recipients of aid could help shape a more sustainable aid program. This way of thinking stems very much from Edward Said's theory on Orientalism (1995) and Paolo Freire's notion that "*poor and exploited people can and should be enabled to analyze their own reality*" (Chambers, 1997, p. 106). Chambers (1992) presented us with an ideal method of approaching aid and development work: PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) approaches development with the idea that local societies should be included in the process of development. Chambers arguably provided post-development academics with a stepping stone towards developmental reasoning. For example, a village in Zambia being approached by aid/development organisations should be included in making decisions concerning the development of their village. Avoiding western hegemony and self-rule were driving factors for addressing this approach to international development actors.

#### **4.5. Post-development**

The discussion on participatory development very much stems from a notion to 'get development right' (Crewe & Harrison, 1998). In order to understand and be able to discuss how these paradigms of development are presented in the case of RN, we also need an understanding of the starting point of post-development studies. Post-development is here understood as a specific field of study and thinking. Post-development articulates a shift in development thinking explicitly. It views aid as a western hegemonic concept in which the west 'aids' the less fortunate parts of the world. Thus, western ideas and concepts are forced upon those 'less fortunate through the goal to 'do good'. (Crewe & Harrison, 1998). Development is viewed here in a manner of the post-development school. I follow Foucault in viewing development as a discourse, not a practice. (Nustad, 2001) There are different ways of viewing this discourse. Escobar's *Encountering Development* (2011) is a fairly obvious starting point. Escobar is coined as a post-structuralist and this is particularly prominent in this book. He draws on Foucault's discursive power theory and exemplifies how modern development strategies are shaped by colonial structures in the world. The general rationale to 'do good', as claimed by many authors (Chambers, 1994; Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Mattsson, 2008; Rottenburg, 2009), in itself suggests that the already developed nations should 'help' underdeveloped nations get to the developed in terms of economic and social terms. This implies that the already 'developed' western nations suggest that their way of organising society is suitable for every nation. Development work can often be perceived as 'aid'. While it may be true that a lot of development work is funnelled through aid programs, 'aid' in itself only reaffirms Escobar's

point; that the idea of one world (the developed north) is to help the other (the underdeveloped south). This is reaffirmed in several post-developmental writing (Crewe & Harrison, 1998; Long & Long, 1992; Rottenburg, 2009). It is evident that Escobar viewed the past 40 years of development as a fortification of the colonial heritage (Nustad, 2001). I am not to disagree with Escobar, but I argue that there is more to it. Michael Mann (2008) argues that American imperialism also drove the expansion of aid. President Truman was clear that 'development' was a method of combatting communism (Nustad, 2001). In the background chapter, we learned about the Norwegian development agenda that was put forth to improve the standing of the Norwegian state in international communities. This proves an excellent example of how political development agendas suffer from colonial heritage and the battle for power within international relations.

#### **4.6. Metacode**

A good example of how the post-development school views development can be drawn from Richard Rottenburg's book "*Far fetched facts*" (2009). The book depicts a fictional aid project in the made-up country of *Ruritania*. We learn about how different sections of the development industry work along with the issues they face. Ruritania is depicted as a south African country, so it relates to Zambia in many ways. The author also draws on his own experiences from the development industry throughout many years. Rottenburg makes several points, but I want to highlight his notion of 'metacode'. This term describes how the power holders in the industry structure information, communication, implementation and facilitation. According to Rottenburg, a chain of command exists in the industry that draws on an accountability and dependency structure. In essence, money talks. Funders are the power holders of this structure, even though the envisioned structure puts local organisations in the centre. These organisations are also dependent on funding, and funding often derives from organisations in the global north. 'Metacode' also draws on Foucault as it depicts how what is seen as neutral knowledge is set in a system of relations. I.e. the relations between developmental organisations. Due to this action, a set of rules can be transmitted as 'neutral knowledge' and put in the system through hegemonic discursive power relations because the knowledge is not being questioned (Nustad, 2001).

Rottenburg (2009) describes fictional cases of development programmes in the fictional country of Ruritania in sub-Saharan Africa. In this book, he does not discuss the recipients of aid and their struggles. However, he manages to present how local development workers, while having authority over their project in the local country, still are influenced by the 'metacode' of International aid.

Metacode is described as the way the culture of the practice is transferred through development projects. Universal languages set by power-holders often turn out to be the funders who often reside in the global north. A metacode in Rottenburg's terms proves how ideas, structures, and conditions are pressed upon seemingly participating southern community-based organisations (CBOs) or NGOs. They need to adhere to the metacode due to their reliance on funding. One of the key factors that lead to this method is how aid is reported and measured. Indicators and targets are often set by the funder or northern partner because of the hierarchical management structure of international aid chains (Jerven & Jerven, 2013; Rottenburg, 2009).

#### **4.7. Participation**

The idea of participatory development was included in most agendas for actors in the field by the 2000s. But as Cooke & Kothari (2001, p. 1) states "*...tales were told of participatory processes undertaken ritualistically, which had turned out to be manipulative, or which had in fact harmed those who were supposed to be empowered*". As a critique towards Chambers' PRA, this quote points to the irregular power dynamics of participatory aid. While the aim persists as implementing the recipients' desires, there are several issues when uncovering these wishes. Power dynamics not only exist in the relationship between North and South but also in South and South. This entails carefully considering who one should consult within the localities of development to gain insight into recipients' wishes. David Mosse (2001) describes how development actors often consult chiefs in the different localities. This turns problematic when chiefs use this powerful position to gain advantages for themselves. The ways in which development is talked about and measured is predominantly created by northern organisations. This 'metacode' (Rottenburg, 2009), is consequentially a northern language that forces southern funders and recipients to work in the same way. Knowledge and language themselves cannot be underestimated when it comes to power over others. Local communities and areas arguably develop their own set of rules and norms for society. A 'tyranny' of participation, as described in Cooke & Kothari (2001), could possibly be imposed on such developing communities because of the northern 'metacode' conveyed to them. Arce & Long (1992) describes how each individual's knowledge is based on their own "*here and now*" (Arce & Long, 1992, p. 212). Knowledge is thus produced by the reality each individual experiences. Participatory development aims to tap into that reality and deduce how development should be carried out from the information gathered from individual's "*here and now*" (Arce & Long, 1992, p. 212). Therefore, knowledge and an individual's ability to convey it is based on its own reality and ideas. An individual is according to Arce & Long limited to their own social reality and the locality

they reside within. A person's *cognitive map* is different in the different realities they reside in. By adhering to this theory, a metacode which functions properly is impossible to introduce. Rather, these cognitive maps and different *life-worlds* (Arce & Long, 1992) lead to social *interfaces*. Interfaces are presented by Arce & Long as the interconnections, disagreements, agreements, discussions or in other worlds; meetings of different *life-worlds*. Cooke & Kothari's (2001) book shows how these different *life-worlds* can end up having a negative impact on how participatory aid approaches are carried out. Different *life-worlds* leads to different expectations and different ways of doing aid. With participatory aid being based on interfaces between these different ways of doing aid, it should not include a universal language or metacode. But, as knowledge is subjective and the universal language is what drives aid forwards (taking the form of money (Rottenburg, 2009)). A power relationship could be formed in the transfer of money. My aim here is to investigate if that also happens to RN even though they adhere to a non-economic aid scheme.

#### **4.8. Conditionality**

Conditionality is explained as aid in the form of loans and rewards schemes conditional of policy reform supplied by the aider (Stokke, 2013). Although conditional could be argued to be outdated, modern aid (participatory aid included) still include conditional traits to its actions. Either through social or economic actions, the way funders and NGOs prioritise their actions provides development with a 'narrative' that puts forth conditions about how to acquire developmental aid.

Conditional aid serves to facilitate a societal change in receiving countries by conditioning aid funds. Structural adjustment programs (SAP) is an example of this. Especially African countries were subject to SAPs in the 80s and 90s, conditioning aid by demanding societal change in the liberalisation of markets and previous state institutions. Conditionality has changed from being a macro-entity focusing on state to state development and cooperation, to what Eyben et al (2015) calls 'ex-post conditionality'. This form of conditionality focuses on sector-oriented development in, for example, education or health. These technically focused partnerships conditions funds following for example demand for higher attendance in schooling for girls or birth rates in specified communities (Eyben et al., 2015). Participatory aid is significantly affected by ex-post conditionality because it provides us with a paradox. Participatory approaches are supposed to listen to the desires of recipient communities, but conditions from technical sectors might undermine the participatory actions taken in development projects.

Conditional aid often relies on the evaluation and measurement of aid (De Haan, 2009). In recent decades, this evaluation has become more and more important for NGOs to facilitate. Not necessarily because of their will to evaluate their work, but because of the requirements the north expects from their projects. With ex-post conditionality, evaluation and reporting between south-south and north-south partnerships are prevalent because of the funder's (often from the north) desire to show its funders what work they are doing and how they are doing. (Eyben et al., 2015).

Having now presented SAPs, conditionality and ex-post conditionality, I turn to 'ownership'. The term 'ownership' stems from previous discussions on how modern conditionality has developed into a platform for unconscious power transfers due to the trending methods used in modern development. Flint et. Al (2014) explains how ownership is in contrast to the previous 'top-down' approach to development, rooted in a beneficiary led aid (BLA). Creating ownership is, in this instance, regarded as a way recipients gain control over their development activities, programs and plans as a whole. Lie (2015) explains ownership in a different way. He focuses on how ownership can be understood as a way funders of development focuses on participatory development. Participatory development entails a more significant focus on encouraging recipients to participate in the decisions regarding their development. This can lead to a false image of the power they hold as actors in this dynamic. "*Ownership exists when they do what we want them to do but they do so voluntarily*" (2015, p. 724). As discussed earlier, issues of participation and partnership have created an expectation that aid projects nowadays should be done in a participatory manner even though many might not adhere to participatory principles (Eyben et al., 2015). This can be dangerous as it creates a narrative that cannot be contested. Some have argued that this fact creates a 'goodness-regime.' (Tvedt, 1998), or a 'development-elite' (Mattsson, 2008).

Recipients of aid do not appear to hold power supposedly encouraged to utilise as recipients in a participatory aid chain. The mere physical distance from the power holders and funders leave recipients of aid in countries of the south unable to influence their development-agendas considerably. (Eyben et al., 2015). Rather than being part of a system to aid development, 'intervention' becomes a joint action through which aid and development are funnelled. SAP's are examples of such 'interventions'. They are sudden, short time-framed and focusing on altering towards a structure that often resembles that of the west (Eyben et al., 2015). Although less apparent on the surface, conditional aid is also one form of 'intervention'. By allowing a project its funding

only when it fulfils the conditions set by the funder, can in many cases, lead to an unwanted 'indirect intervention'.

Conditionality is essential to discuss when analysing the interaction between RN and its funders. Conditionality is, as we understand it above, a requirement put on the facilitator of development programmes because of their need to be funded. RN is dependent on funding from organisations that can provide it. These organisations need to condition the funds they give out to secure the ethical use of these funds. Without conditioning, funds could be used for unethical development or even spent on other things than the planned development activities. Conditionality is thus not a mechanism used to exert power over facilitating organisations and secure the ethical use of their funds.

#### **4.9. Partnership**

Another model for conceptualising aid is Partnership. Partnership in developmental aid is based on the idea of a reciprocal aid relationship between parties. Often, partnerships are made up of NGOs or companies working together to facilitate development within a common field. That may be engineering, health, education or other fields. It can be seen as an incredibly "*...harmonious view of how donors and recipients relate...*" (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013, p. 31). The Pearson report (Judge, 1970) conceptualised partnership between states. States went from being a passive party whom provided funds for development along with attached conditions to an active partner who takes part in the decision-making in developmental organisations. This is however contested (Lie, 2015). Now, models of partnership are prominent in almost every aspect of aid (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013). The method of 'partnership' emerged from northern development funders who saw 'aid conditionality' as problematic because of its unequal distribution of power. Funders would instead turn away from conditionality towards working for 'good governance'. Paradoxically, the idea was to create an equal set of power dynamism. Instead, early partnership methods in the 1980s and 90s presupposed that northern governance ideals were right. Hence, still relying on conditional aid. Power dynamics thus remained unchanged (Crewe & Harrison, 1998). Partnership is related to participatory approaches due to the common ideal of a true partnership. Equal parties are working together for development. In the case of this thesis, RN partners up with actors from the global north. The unknown factor, in this case, is to what extent power relations stay equal or are unequal to the disadvantage of the recipients.



#### **4.10. Partnership & Conditionality**

Metacode, partnership and conditionality do relate to each other. Even though participatory approaches came after a period of conditionality within international development, it is not true that a shift towards participatory development cancels out conditionality (Lie, 2015). The same can be said about aid partnerships. Metacode is such an example of how conditionality is conveyed through modern partnerships. As we now understand, metacode is how procedures, ideas, and knowledge are transferred through different stages of the aid chain. Often-most from funders and funders in the north to governments, NGOs and CBOs in the south. One might view this transferral of knowledge as a form of power dynamic. Partnership is a common form of international aid in today's development agenda where funders in the north and recipients in the south can take advantage of the knowledge each party can provide us. However, partnerships come with agreements and contracts where conditions are applied (Wallace et al., 2007). Modern aid structures highlight the need for participatory partnerships in a previously capitalistic structure. Conditions made in partnerships grounded in equal gains can create some tendencies towards mistrust. This tendency is further strengthened when we notice how most conditions are directed towards the recipient in the south (Wallace et al., 2007, pp. 20-24).

#### **4.11. Accountability**

Development work has increasingly moved from providing seemingly immeasurable aid projects such as social developmental projects like empowerment and consular guidance through projects such as RN themselves to measurable aid projects that implement indicators in society and measure development from point A to B. That may be economic advancement, gender equalisation, mortality rates etc. This focus on measurability stems mainly from a desire to prove how funds are spent on funders. In Norway and the case of RN, funders are the public and some private companies. Firstly, public taxpayers are have become more interested in what their money is being spent on. Governments wish to communicate this because it could be an issue when it comes down to elections and reelections (Eyben et al., 2015, pp. 1-5).

As I have described above, the basis for measuring, monitoring and reporting on aid activities could be the accountability chain following funds being spent, either public or private. It could also entail the transparency of the infrastructure of aid. Partnerships that RN participate in are, as we will learn, part of an accountability chain where RN reports on the money they spend to the funders. Jensen & Winthereik (2013, pp. 39-41) describes how 'partnership' can often be perceived as

equality among 'funders' but could instead be seen as a way of 'gatekeeping' one self-interests. As the term implies, it creates two parties with evident interest contrary to a clear leader in the project instead of cooperating. RN and its funders cooperate, but RN is its organisation. The term 'partnership' contributes to agenda-setting and a relational power dynamic where each partner should demand the same. "...partnership creates situations in which everyone is dependent on the gatekeeping activities of others" (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013, p. 41). How are RN supposed to participate in decision-making whilst being dependent on the partnership of such gatekeepers?

Jensen & Winthereik (2013, p. 1) describes the aid industry as consisting of an *infrastructure of accountability*. Much like networks of road, infrastructures of aid are intricate systems. They consist of multilateral communication, whereas there is no clear way of examining it. Not here, nor ever, will it be an easy task to analyse these infrastructures, but it is essential to start somewhere. Reporting, auditing, and communicating are all roads within this infrastructure that shape the power dynamic at play. In modern developmental 'partnerships', there is no straightforward 'top-down' approach to take. Supposedly, all parties are equal. Still, as we will learn from the data in this thesis and which Jensen & Winthereik (2013, pp. 31-33), 'partnership', while a great conceptualisation of development work, continues to put the funders in the drivers seat.

#### **4.12. Presenting power**

Power is understood in different ways by many theorists. This thesis utilises Lukes (2004) understanding of power. According to Lukes, power can be visible, hidden, invisible or a combination of the three (Hunjan & Keophilavong, 2010; Lukes, 2004). Visible power refers to the observable interactions in society. Political decision-making in Congress, for example, is an excellent example of this. Politicians make collective decisions based on how much power each political party has. This power is chosen by someone (the public or by force), and everyone knows the deciding factor in this power dynamic. Hidden power concerns how an agenda is set. Remaining in political examples, a government or a minister can put forward a case because of their powerful position. Invisible power, however means the shaping of meanings. The use of culture, ideology or symbols can influence an individual's perception of the world and thereby adhering to the power holders principles (Lukes, 2004). In the case of Response Network, power resides in making decisions and how those decisions are made. Visible and hidden power structures are in place when analysing the interaction between RN and its funders. As we will learn in chapter 5, the funders hold visible power. They hold RN accountable and can make decisions because of their funding. Or

they can withdraw the funding. This thesis tries to answer the question: "*How does RN's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?*". RN claims to be able to decide their activities based on their recipients' wishes. Post-development literature state that these desires or RN's perception of what is right may be shaped by how societal structures exist around them. In this case, societal structures are the development industry, and the expectations are made to all organisations. Lukes notion of 'invisible' power can be helpful to understand this dynamic. If we assume that Response Network acts in a certain way and decides to pursue activities because it is what the recipients and RN themselves believe to be good, we can ask questions about where these conceptions of 'good' come from. Are the structures of the development industry so imprinted in the day to day activities of NGOs that specific actions are taken for granted as being 'good'?

RN also hold a power over their recipients. According to the organisation itself they focus on the empowerment of their recipients. Robert Chambers presented in a video for Plan International (2013) a type of power that resembles the approach used by RN in its development activities. The '*power to empower*' draws on the 'power to'. '*Power to*' concerns an individuals ability to act on something. *Power to empower* utilises agency in a way that it also includes a collective power view. The power to empower stands in line with RN's motto "self-help facilitation"; the ability to help people help themselves urges an empowerment perspective on the organisation. RN is basing its approach on *rights* while empowering people in Zambian communities to use these rights. Thus, providing people with the power to empower themselves. It is also important to note other types of power RN holds that may not be stated officially. Drawing on Lukes (2004), RN clearly hold a visible power over their recipients. They can chose or not choose to help them. Also, due to their close relationship with the villages, it can be argued that RN have the ability to influence the agendas set by the villages. RN aims to inform the villagers about their right. The power to restrain or present information is a clear example of agenda-setting such as described in Lukes' second dimension about invisible power.

#### **4.12.1. Opposing mechanisms**

I have previously explored the intricacies of conditionality and how the industry has increasingly conditioned its funding methods. At the same time, participatory methods to include recipients part in their development has become increasingly popular in the international development scene.

These two contrasting developments seem counterproductive as conditions place the funding party

in the driving seat of power. While increased enthusiasm for participatory development desires recipients to hold power to 'choose' their development agenda, scholars of development have posed several critiques of this paradoxical development. Harrison (2001) discusses 'post-conditionality' and how the terms explain the development of increased conditioning in international development. A form of dependence is created by the external powers put on nations (or organisations) which forces actors to act in a specific way in order to be granted conditioned funds or reforms.

A further development of conditionality is coined by Lie (2015) as 'Developmentality'.

'Developmentality' draws on Michel Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' (Akram, Emerson, & Marsh, 2015). Foucault (2013) explains 'governmentality' as the way in which *"governments administer citizens to act in accordance with government priorities"* (Svarstad, Benjaminsen, & Overå, 2018, p. 356). Governmentality is a further development of Foucault's description of the *panopticon*; a prison developed by Jeremy Bentham in the late 1700s. Foucault adapts the prison design of the panopticon to the concept of power. This design is unique because it presents a prison with an all-seeing tower but an invisible tower from the viewpoint of the prisoners. The prisoners are thus being surveilled without their knowledge. Hence power is exerted in an unconscious way (Elmer, 2012). Governmentality develops this concept to apply the structures of the state to a concept of hidden power. Society moves on without questioning their own actions, but the actors in power shape the actions of society through certain "apparatuses of security" (The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon, 2014, pp. 175-181). Foucault main focus was on the development of society as we know it today and how we often take for granted the democratic systems of state many countries possess. *"First, by governmentality I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technological instrument"* (Foucault in The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon, 2014, p. 175). To understand governmentality I should mention these three topics discussed by Foucault.

In his **first** description of governmentality he states that governmentality is not only based on the acts that governments appear to be doing, but also the formation of governments and rather states as entities.

**Secondly**, Foucault believes that governmentality (or the power of governments) has gained a stronger position, constantly, over other forms of power. The form of power Foucault calls

'government', has given room for the development of "*specific governmental apparatuses (appareils) on the one hand, [and, on the other] to the development of a series of knowledges (savoirs)*" (The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon, 2014, p. 175). Foucault explains 'apparatuses' the lines that of different nature which together creates a "*multilinear whole*" (The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon, 2014, p. 126). It is a complex terms, but the world is also a complex place with these lines being complex aspects such as "...the object, the subject, language, and so on" (The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon, 2014, p. 126). For governmentality, the apparatuses of *security* are the techniques or instruments used to create a sense of normativity for the governed.

**Third**, he describes the historical development of the power that states and governments possess. Governmentality is a concept developed through time which stems from societal development from the formation of governments in the middle-ages and has developed through history. "*It is not a unified entity but instead a way power has come to be practiced in the West that emerges through an intersection of distinct practices*" (The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon, 2014, p. 175).

Developmentality builds on many of the same aspects as governmentality. The concept deals with how the development industry increasingly focuses on the 'ownership' of recipients to development projects. Developmentality portrays a simultaneous exercise of power from donor to recipient through 'ownership' while at the same time applying new forms of governance that enable surveillance of the development process. In Foucauldian terms, 'ownership' is understood as an intertwined apparatus of knowledge by attaining a combination of 'connaissance' and 'savoir' through the act of developmentality by the powerholders in the development industry.

Lie (2015) talks about how 'developmentality' functions in a donor-recipient relationship where "*...asymmetrical power relations (...) are being reproduced in profound ways, although the rhetorical claims integral to the new aid architecture suggest the opposite*" (p. 734). *The opposite* refers to how creating 'ownership' at recipient level has been increasingly put forth as an ideal way for NGOs and funders to 'do' development. Referring back to Foucault, Lie (2015, p. 735) argues that actors in the current aid architecture are involved in a knowledge production that is often taken for granted. This continuous reproduction of standardised notions within development does, according to Lie, create the same type of power imbalance that we see in Foucauldian theory. By using 'Developmentality' as a lens for understanding the dynamics of RN's communication, obligations, and funder relationships as a whole, we can analyse the true nature of a supposedly successful participatory development organisation.

In this thesis, Lukes dimensions of power and developmentality will be used together to analyse how power is exercised in the interaction between RN and its funders. Developmentality does draw on Lukes third dimension when noting the unconscious exerting of power. Since we are speaking of a 'mentality', it is not relevant to include the first dimension as presented by Lukes. The second dimension, which speaks of agenda-setting power, is relevant to how the aid chain's developmentality is ingrained. A second dimension is thought to reside with the actor, which inhibits the de-facto power. In the following chapters we will learn more about how developmentality, including how Lukes dimensions can be applied to it, is present in the case of RN.

#### **4.13. Chapter summary**

Reviewing literature related to the topic researched in this study makes it easier to analyse the data supplied. With the presented theories and discussions, the next step is to utilise this knowledge and include the findings related to RN and their funders. In this chapter, we learned about the beginnings of development and how it has developed into a political tool started by President Truman after WWII. An explanation of the *aid chain* helps us understand the supply chain RN finds themselves within and what mechanisms they need to follow to operate in the development industry. Post-development, PRA, Metacode, Conditionality, Participation, and Partnership helps us understand the reasoning behind RN's method of self-help facilitation. Also, We have learned that these terms show some of the mechanisms found in the development industry and how they can sustain a prevalent metacode in the same industry. Power theories are the basis for understanding the theoretical societal elements that drive the continuation of the exact mechanisms. Lukes' (2004) serve as a backdrop for this thesis' understanding of power, while 'developmentality' is used here as a way of showing how the dynamics that preserve these mechanisms are not unfamiliar to the theoretical discussion on development.

## **5. Self-help facilitated in a donor driven industry**

Power structures within an international development chain consists of many aspects. Outsiders (Chambers, 1986) such as myself have a tendency to know what is best for the less fortunate population of the world. Our need to 'do good' (Crewe & Harrison, 1998) is often underscored by the *will* to do good (Chambers, 1986, p. 167). Robert Chambers (1986) writes: "*...still today what might be unpleasant or personally demanding, but is not actually seen, is often ignored*" (p. 1). These words from 1986 resonate well with the current world. While progress is being made by agreeing on common development goals for the world, some would argue these goals are reflecting the past development of western countries (Said, 1995). Participatory approaches aim to shift the power of self-governance towards the powerless people of the global south while conditions regarding aid is ever still increasing (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013).

During the autumn of 2020 I conducted eight interviews. These interviews both reaffirmed and challenged my aspect of the modern development industry.

The chapter is divided into 3 sections in which a specific topic will be discussed in detail:

- 1. Communication**
- 2. Funding**
- 3. Reporting**

I have chosen these categories because they are three main mechanisms around which the development industry functions. Through interviews and document analysis, these three categories stood out as essential aspects to further examine in this study. These categories are intertwined and will, as such, be discussed with one another. Interviews and analysed documents have helped me understand these mechanisms and proven their importance.

First, I will discuss communication findings between RN and its funders and how this communication leads to contracts and agreements. Second, I will discuss findings related to the funding RN receives and how contracts for this funding can, in some cases, condition the actions of RN, along with their possibility to maintain their profile as a radical self-help facilitation programme. Third, I will discuss RN reporting required to maintain a consistent structure of

accountability towards their funders. To put all this in a perspective of development, power, inequality, and change, I will draw on the literature presented in chapter 4.

To discuss the finding in this project, there is a need to recap the data source that led to the data collection presented in this chapter. We learned in chapter 2 how Response Network had developed an array of funders over the last 17 years. This project evaluates the power relations between 5 of these; NIF, NCA, SMISO Tromsø, AW and NOREC. RN refers to these as partners. They are in this thesis referred to as funders. There is a distinct difference between the funders that should be noted. While NCA, AW and NIF cooperate with RN through the provision of funds along with an agreed-upon project, SMISO does not provide funds. The cooperation with SMISO is a project where RN and SMISO together have applied for funds from NOREC in order to facilitate exchange programs between the organisations. In this cooperation, power through money cannot be counted as a factor. NOREC, however, could be inflicted by this problem. This will be revisited in section 5.2. Also, while SMISO, NOREC, NIF and NCA are all majorly public-funded, AW is not. The funds provided by AW is part of their project, "the 1 % movement," where 1% of the willing employees' salary goes to a selected project in the global south corresponding with AW core values. For the following discussion to provide a thorough discussion, there needs to be a clear understanding of each funder included in the discussion.

## **5.1. Communication within international development**

Communication as an action concerns how actors communicate with each other. RN communicates with its funders to attract funding by appearing as an NGO with all the characteristics and good development programmes of the type that funders wish to support. In the following section, I will explore how RN presents themselves through their communications arenas and how the funders present RN.

### **5.1.1. Self-Presentation**

RN is an organisation that clearly states its role within the development. According to Spigseth, RN is built on good relationships between them and people. This includes their funders and their recipients. This relationship is argued to derive from the communication strategy first initiated by Spigseth and Solli. Can this strategy help RN work in a participatory manner? Through this section, I will explore RN communication strategy, how the funders depict their communication, and how this can be compared to other cases in international development. To understand aspects of



communication, I first need to explore how RN depicts themselves and how RN are perceived and should be perceived.

In chapter 2, I discussed RN and how the organisation was developed. As we understand that RN was conceived after unsustainability in other Zambian development programmes, we learn through the statements of Spigseth that RN's goal is to *"help people help themselves"*. This is in contrast to Spigseth's explanation of other experiences with development actors in Zambia: Hence, RN was established. Development programmes would often cease when funding ran out, leaving previous recipients with little to no knowledge of how to continue the work previously done by western organisations that did not implement participatory approaches. The money went into the programme area to keep, for example, education programmes going while eventually, programmes cease, educators don't get paid, facilities are no longer hired, and material is not available. RN tried and still tries to implement programmes that determine the recipients' needs while also training them to facilitate the programmes by themselves. This is partly through building facilities (education programme) and doing informative work to the rural Zambians about their rights as citizens. By examining interviews, project proposals, webpages, and reports, it is clear that all of them presents RN as an organisation that wants to aid the self-development of rural people in Zambia. This correlates with what participatory literature on development aims to achieve. Chambers (1986) argues for a 'reversal' strategy within development. This addresses the issues of knowledge, infrastructure and wealth generally being moved from peripheries to the cores of society. As this book was published in 1986, we can only assume that processes of globalisation and centralisation as has been noted in many societies around the world, has driven these factors farther into the core rather than staying or increasing in the peripheries of society. Although outdated, Chambers (1986, pp. 168-189) makes a valid point that is still relevant: As centralisation happens, it is important to address this issue through what Chambers calls 'reversal'. Giving the periphery a voice by listening and adhering to the principals made by the periphery itself. According to RN themselves, this is the goal. And, they are doing so through self-help programmes. During the interviews RN representatives was asked about the method they use to listen to the locals and how to get hold of their true opinions. In chapter 2 we learned about the 'village meetings' that is held in each village. This is the way RN communicates with villages. Women and men, old and young are invited by RN through the village head chief. Through the finding we can not find out whether a power discrepancy occurs within the relationship between the chiefs and the villagers. Mosse (2001) describes the possible problems such power discrepancies might introduce: Chiefs have a cultural

hierarchical power over villagers which can lead to villagers feeling a responsibility to the chief, resulting in the opinions of the chief being heard rather than all of the villagers when trying to achieve participation from all recipients. RN acknowledges this problematic, but argue that it is not possible for them to facilitate village meeting without the approval of the villages chiefs. At each village meeting RN also facilitates a meal for the people attending. This is also argued by Mosse (2005) to undermine the willingness to participate. Villagers may only attend due to the fact that they receive food. In a project proposal from RN in 2006 they address this issue:

*"Response Network is there to provide sustainable Self-Help Education activities. We must eliminate factors which may create dependency on Response Network. One such factor the provision on lunch during the village meetings. Lunch was provided during the village meetings in the targeted 35 villages in 2005. This is due to the fact that it is normal to have lunch during a long day`s work, and especially since there is hunger in villages in Southern Province." (Project Proposal, 2006, p. 6)*

In the quote presented above, RN acknowledges this issue. In one of the interviews, Spigseth elaborated on this statement by saying that food may create dependency. However, it is impossible to make people attend without providing a meal. This is not only because of hunger but also because by attending, and many people need to walk quite a distance. The organisation can not expect people to spend their energy attending the meeting without having the energy to return to their homes. Also, it is a matter of showing respect to the attendees, according to Spigseth. As the quote from 2006 also states, it is a normal cultural practice to provide a meal during a "long day of working". In essence, RN distinguishes other aid/most aid/mainstream aid and themselves. All the others represent the problematic side to aid: the transfer of funding to villagers, thereby creating dependency and unsustainable interventions.

We now know that Response Network presents itself as the answer to unsustainable development practices which doesn't prove participatory. Through self-help, they aim to provide developmental aid that allows the recipients to be empowered from increased knowledge, facilities, and rights. They acknowledge some of the issues that face the organisation. How can they facilitate self-help when common development practice sets the donor as the power-holder and decision-maker? All three representatives of RN stated that RN, while in need of funding, often or almost every time approach funders to gain funds from them. Not the other way around. RN acknowledges their need

to adapt their applications to gain funding from specific funders but believes that they have managed to remain true to their principles of self-help.

### **5.1.2. Funder perception**

Funders, or as RN and the funders term themselves 'partners', also portray their relationship with RN in a specific way. Notably, partners function in a joint partnership which is correct for RN and the organisations and people they cooperate with. However, it would be unwise to leave out the fact that the primary cooperation that functions within these partnerships is money transactions. Except for SMISO, whom RN cooperates with on an exchange program with funding from NOREC, all other partnerships remains a classic donor-facilitator relationship. RN being the facilitator of the project. All interviewed partners are clear that they are a partner with RN and not 'solely' a donor. Wallace & Bornstein (2007, p. 38) denotes that the power of funders often goes unrecognised. In their study on UK organisational funders and independent organisations they find that funders do have more power to decide approaches and whether to change the goals and evaluative factors. This power dynamic is according to Wallace & Bornstein (2007, p. 38) hidden in watered down dialogue where *"Inequalities are recognised, then brushed aside or hidden through the use of language: the terms 'partner' and 'partnership' replace the concepts of donor-recipient or subcontractor"* (Wallace et al., 2007, p. 38). In the cooperative agreement between RN and AW from September 2019, both actors are referred to as "parties", not donor-recipient. Throughout the agreement, it is clear that RN is supposed to receive funds from AW and facilitate programs on behalf of the donor. Still, this is referred to as 'co-operation'. In an MoU between RN and NCA in 2017, RN is referred to as the implementing partner and spends several pages describing the framework of the partnership. In the latest three year agreement between NIF and RN from 2019, RN is also referred to as 'the partner'. Similar to all other agreements, RN is supposed to implement the program that the donor chooses. According to Spigseth and the RN director, RN often applies for partnerships. It is not the donor who approaches RN. Does this fact actually confirm the assumption of Wallace & Bornstein (2007, p. 38) that power resides with the donor (funder) even though it is described as a partnership? Even though every agreement acknowledges the roles of the different parties, there is no turning away from the fact that there is a clear donor-recipient relationship occurring. NCA, does note in their Memorandum of Understanding (MoU, 2017) that the NCA are to respect the autonomy of RN. While this suggests work being done to respect the parties as such, RN still has to report, evaluate and facilitate on behalf of the NCA.

It is challenging to attain written descriptions of RN by funders. This is due to the fact that most reports and agreements are either co-written or written by RN. The representatives of the funders interviewed for this thesis did have some interesting opinions of RN: They noted that RN has always seemed a community organisation that is well connected with the society they work within. For private companies who chose to fund development, such as AW, their funds must benefit the people the funds are directed towards. They believe RN provides this factor. By facilitating evaluative visits to Zambia for each funder every year, RN provides private companies with assurance and physical proof of the outcome of the funds provided.

### **5.1.3. Agreements**

We need to understand how RN communicates with their funders and within their organisations. RN is, as described, a small organisation started by two Norwegians who had worked in Zambia for a long time. They utilised the relationships they created by travelling southern Zambia to build an organisation with many local employees. The organisation RN is, according to themselves, directed and run by the local office in Livingstone Zambia. Their employees consist almost exclusively of local people. Although the governing board is held in Norway, daily operations are led by the Zambian director. Up until 2018, Spigseth held the position of director. The current director inherited this position after Spigseth retired. Since Spigseth held the position as a founder and a western man, some stated that one could see a different communication with funders. According to the funders, the transition of directors posed no apparent problems due to the experience of both Spigseth and the new director. Even though this is stated, some issues might arise when RN has based many of its professional cooperations on personal relationships. Just as this thesis questions the dynamic of power at play in this interaction between NGO and funder, a different dynamic will arise when a person from the locality of development enters the role of director and person of contact for funders. Although this person might not carry out the job differently from a person from the locality of the funder, different accountability methods could arise. From interviews with RN we can learn that conditions of reporting and measurement have increased throughout the latest decade.

Spigseth states: "With stricter reporting from NORAD, NIF and NCA also applies stricter reporting routines on the funding RN receives". This is also found in the literature surrounding measurement and reporting within development. Jerven (2013) discusses the measurability in number and the problems that arise with an increasing demand for reporting. Through high demands and a low amount of quality assurance, measurement can also provide false ideas of how well development

project are functioning. At the same time there has been an increase in the desire for locally rooted NGOs from funders in the international development community. Partnership is now a 'buzzword'. NORAD latest outlook for the development agenda towards 2030 concerns "Partnership with civil society". Is this increasing demand for accountability related to an increase in a funding of NGOs located in the 'developing world'?

By looking closer at agreements between RN and its funders, we can note the direction of speaking and demanding within the text. As RN is the sole receiver of funds in most cases (only excluding partnership with NOREC and SMISO), the demands for reporting and evaluation is directed towards RN. RN is then responsible for the conduct of the project. A problematic aspect of this is whether this power dynamic inhibits RN in doing what they want to do. Moreover, most importantly, how does this help the recipients at the grassroots develop. RN's funders we now know 'monitor' (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013, p. 148), in essence, how their money is being spent. Monitoring is a form of supervision and so implies the certain power dynamics which could be in play. Monitoring and increasing accountability of RN towards the funders is arguably an example of the power dynamics Lie (2015) describes as 'developmentality'. Although RN is recognised as an independent organisation, the accountability 'chain' which puts RN at the bottom reiterates the wishes of the funders. Bornstein (2007) argues that 'true development' is according to literature on participation, constructed locally. While aspects of monitoring is important in agreements between RN and its funders, thus endangering the participatory aspect of the organisations work. Participation is still claimed to be exercised by RN themselves. By acknowledging the conflicts, constraints and issues of local recipients, development is according to Chambers (1992) participatory, because it includes the recipients in the development of projects.

Examples of RN's approach towards participatory development can be seen in several reports and project proposals from 2005 to 2020. In a proposal from 2006 they present their 'core business'. It clearly describes how RN approaches a village development project. *"The beginning is the community sensitisation meeting; a dialogue with the local community members that assesses both the felt needs for education and establishes the opportunities to satisfy the needs"* (Project Proposal, 2006, p. 4). This quote help us understand how RN goes about starting their projects. This approach is also translated to the funders whom all believe this to be one of the core reasons RN has gained their trust. In the cooperative agreement from 2019 between RN and one of the funders (AW) they state that they strongly support RN's self-help programmes. Also, in the paragraph describing RN's

work, self-help and an emphasis of people's "*own human- and environmental resources*" (Cooperative Agreement, 2019) for the project. There is no specific mentioning of participation specifically, but the strong emphasis on the role of the recipients suggest a strong commitment to RN's self-help programme. This partnership aims to do self-help through a focus on education. Focusing on self-help does support the notion of participation. Demands posed to RN on the topical aspect of what self-help should be, does not exemplify participatory development as providing the poor a voice in the development of aid programmes (Chambers, 1986; Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Mosse, 2005). Instead, this exemplifies conditionality in the development industry. Could RN have done their work differently if the partner funded the organisation instead of funding topical development through the organisation? By 'topical development', I refer to setting development agendas according to topics. Most notably, this is being done through the sustainable development goals (SDGs). For example, education, gender, poverty, health, and governance. Restricting this form of dynamic suggests that Eyben et al. (2015) is correct in saying that conditionality not only derives from funders seeking change in a specific manner, but rather as topical conditions for programmes such as the term 'ex-post conditionality'. NCA demands that RN follows the NCA accountability framework, formally committing to RNs work to the aid chain NCA is committed to.

In an interview with NCA representatives, issues with modern funding were raised in our conversation. They expressed that as funding from the Norwegian state and other state-run initiatives had decreased, the need for private funding had increased. According to Wallace & Bornstein (2007), the development industry has long suffered from a significant focus on neoliberal capitalisation by consequentially conditioning developing states to adhere to neoliberal policies along with being given funds to develop their state. The same authors argue that development has seemingly shifted its focus from this neoliberal approach towards a participatory approach and partnership later, as we see in recent agendas. This has led to many local NGOs being utilised and contracted in the south rather than spending large amounts of money on bureaucratic costs in the donor organisations of the north. This leads to less competence at the funders because of less spending along with outsourcing to other NGOs (Wallace et al., 2007, pp. 19-25). In RNs case, this can be seen in how the NCA operates. The NCA funds organisations whom they trust with tasks in the interest of NCA. According to the data, one must not assume this is done solely to alleviate the tasks of the NCA itself, but also because local NGOs inhibit a more comprehensive set of knowledge about the local discourse. Knowledge is, according to the funders, *key* to the trust shown

to RN. Spigseth and the current director has managed to remain in a position which positions RN as head of operations for development work in rural villages in southern Zambia because of their affiliation with those villages, the trust they have achieved within the communities, and because of the knowledge they have shown to have about the region.

#### **5.1.4. Email correspondence**

Communication between RN and their funders is conducted not only through important official documents. Equally important is the informal communication happening through oral and written communication on platforms other than written contracts and reports is essential. Through the data collection, I gathered some amount of email correspondence between RN and its funders. Through this, we can understand more about how RNs focus on personal communication functions in practice.

While actions and obligations are facilitated through official documents, informal email correspondence between RN and its funders appears to consider intentions and appeals towards the relationships created between the actors. The data set that has been acquired shows frequent communication between RN and its funders. While the text is informal, polite while on a first-name basis, the topic of the emails is often about official documents, reports or meetings. These documents are mostly sent from RN to the funder, either if RN has revised budgets or RN sends reports of their work to the funders. RN holds accountability towards their funders. It is not the funders task to facilitate or write reports. In seven of the part of the thirty-one email of the dataset, reports were sent from RN to the funders. There is one case of a possible assessment of RN. In this case, RN was to be assessed by the funder. RN also uses emails to communicate their profile and their 'self-presentation' to funders by presenting themselves in the form of PowerPoint or self-evaluation. This shows a prominent supply chain in the works. RN need funding, and funding is conditional to terms set by the funder. While RN might be selective in which funder they want to be associated with, they still need to meet these terms. The email correspondence confirms the direction of accountability in this aid chain. While emails are ways of communicating, I suggest that they are not the method that RN utilises to make agreements or create partnerships. According to Spigseth, RN remains in contact with their funders through many forms of communication, but mostly email. The first contact is, however, in all cases initiated through oral communication. I argue that while these emails are helpful to register the chain in which accountability can be found, they do not provide enough information to the detail in which an agreement is made between RN

and its funders. This collection of data only show the informal communication between RN and NCA. This fact is important because the NCA is a long-time funder, and the communication between RN and other funders might be different.

How do we then know whether power is exercised in the construction of agreements? We need to look at contracts and the drafts of contracts.

### **5.1.5. Contractual communication**

We now understand that most communication through informal channels shows a power balance where RN is the party being held accountable to a large extent. Much of the communication I referred to in the previous section contains drafts and signed versions of contracts and reports. This section will learn how contracts communicate the intentions of the parties involved in the contracts. It is hard to examine how contracted are negotiated because I do not possess the different modes of negotiations. I only possess the emails from RN to NCA and the interviews of RN and the selective parties.

In this section, I look at contractual communication. Contracts are often not about how the parties are supposed to communicate, but what the parties agreed to work together on. However, contracts do state how changes and reports are to be communicated between the parties. It is helpful to look into how this is stated in contracts regarding cooperation with RN. For example; point 2.4 in a partnership agreement between NIF and RN (2019-2021) states: "*NIF will keep the partner informed about major changes in the GA (General Agreement) and other changes deemed relevant for the partner*". Here we see that RN is in the receiving end of crucial decision-making. Even though the parties have agreed to have an open discussion and cooperate through a method of 'partnership', the contract clearly states that NIF is the decision-maker when it comes to "*major changes*". Communication may be disguised as a mutual discussion while creating 'ownership' of the project for RN, but in effect NIF is the governing part. This is one example of 'developmentality' in practice. The same contract also states: "*NIF will inform relevant International Sport Federations of any irregularities that NIF finds necessary*" (NIF & RN, 2019-2021). RN is according to this quote, dependent on the approval of the donor / partner. This example shows how not only 'hidden' power can be exerted on the NGOs of the south through communicative methods, but also through communications with other institutions with the ability to communicate 'bad' or 'good' information to other potential stakeholders for RN. One could say this type of power relates to Lukes' (2004) second dimension of power; the power of setting the agenda. The funder, here NIF,



are in the position to communicate information they possess, or not. Other examples of agenda-setting power can be found in other contracts in the dataset. A contract between SMISO & RN and NOREC states that reporting of the project should be made from RN to SMISO who again reports to NOREC. This does not correlate with the information provided in interviews with all parties where they state that all reporting and communication should be equal between the project parties (SMISO and RN). Even though SMISO and RN are supposed to be equal partners who report to the funder (NOREC), the chain of reporting still puts SMISO in a position where they hold the power of agenda-setting. In the contract they state that the reason for this is that "*SMISO are accustomed to report about the activity to the municipal and to the government in Norway*" (RN, SMISO & NOREC, 2018). We learn then that the reason is competence. SMISO has more competence when it comes to reporting to NOREC. This might also be because of logistical time-management, but I can only guess at that. I acknowledge the fact that it could be logistically correct to manage priorities and delegation of tasks in this manner, but this chain of reporting can contribute to a persisting structure in the aid chain where the NGOs of the south are left out of the communication when important decisions are made.

### **5.1.6. Trusted consultants**

Throughout the history of RN, communication between parties has been initiated mainly through people from the global north. It is only just recently that the new Zambian director of RN has overtaken that responsibility. The interests of recipients in Zambia were represented by external 'experts' who gained immense trust with the recipients at the time RN was started. The founders, Spigseth and Solli, started their work in Zambia as experts through development projects. Due to Solli's tireless travelling in rural Zambia, they met people and created a relationship that RN has benefitted from since its inception. These relationships allow a closer connection with recipients, which can integrate RN as part of the communities rather than another external NGO trying to help people they don't know too much about. Mosse (2005, pp. 132-135) presents this as 'consultant knowledge'. Instead of following normal participatory chains of communication, participatory projects can fall while planning a project before rationalising its purpose. Consultants does, in Mosse's view, suffer from a "*cultural distance and ignorance of the local[s] in order to establish a privileged 'universal' point of view*" (Grammig in Mosse, 2005, p. 133). By this statement, Mosse refers to the inability of (foreign) consultants to truly be familiar with the culture they operate in. Not because of lack of effort or desire, but because of short visits to different communities or even the country as a whole along with distant communication over online platforms rather than frequent

in-person meetings. The creation of policies and frameworks for projects could be affected by the power consultants hold. With the supposed cultural distance shown by consultants, recipients of development are in danger of being left out of the 'project cycles' described by Mosse (2005, pp. 132-133). Solli and Spigseth should, however, not be referred to as 'consultants'. 'Western experts' is a better term since they have become familiar with the Zambian culture. The trust which has been developed through years of interactions between consultants of RN and recipients, can be argued to have created a false sense of ownership from the side of the recipients. While the recipients are part of the discussion, consultants are, as we have previously learned, the decision-maker in this transaction of knowledge.

Another point Mosse (2005, pp. 132-135) makes, is that of the 'western experts' legitimacy upwards in the aid chain. Simply by being western, communication with an initiating contact with funders are easier to maintain. With a Zambian, initiating contact may not be as easy as it was with 'western' connections. Spigseth and Solli who were Norwegians development 'experts' living and working in Zambia. The decisions they have made over the years may be biased from their positions as Norwegians in Zambia, but they have not suffered from the factors that Mosse (2005) mentions. Such as short-term stays and distant communication. Funders do, however, retain a distanced role in the project cycle between RN and themselves. A change in directors from a Norwegian with close connections to the development industry and already established relationships with funders, to a Zambian national without these connections posed a worry for some funders. It was a big worry for AW who the next director would be after Spigseth quit as director. But they have gained the trust of the new director, and it is not a big problem anymore. Still, the fact that the director does not have the exact prerequisites for communication worried AW. Even though this new director is described as a great director, his connection with the Nordic countries will still be lesser than that of Spigseth, a Norwegian. Both AW and SMISO feared that communication with RN would falter with a new director. A good relationship with Spigseth did not necessarily assume a good relationship with the new director. Spigseth spent a few years assimilating the new director to the processes that the position entailed. AW and SMISO believe this assimilation has worked in RN's favour. With a Zambian leading the organisation, the strong connection with recipients can continue friendly.

## **5.2. Funding within international development**

To carry out the programmes mandated to RN funding is crucial. Even though RN does not fund its recipients, the work they do needs funding to hire people, rent transport, build schools and other

administrative work. In this section I will explore the funding structure of RN, how it has developed through time and the criteria for attaining funds through funders.

Interviews with the founder and director of RN can shed some light on how RN works to attain funds. According to the founder Spigseth, funds have been attained gradually through both applications made by RN and through personal connections. The first funder of the organisation was the NCA in 2004-2005. Generally the NCA has provided funds throughout the years RN has been active. Agreements have been restricted to three year intervals followed by contract renewal. The only time RN has not been funded by NCA is a period when RN was funded directly by NORAD. NORAD and, eventually, NAD and The Atlas Alliance took over the project previously funded by NCA. Following this, RN and the NCA entered a new cooperation. This new project concerned the recruitment of schools in Norway who desired to aid schools in Zambia. NCA maintained collection and facilitation of the funding from schools in Norway while RN administered the utilisation of these funds. Through personal relationships between RNs founders and the NCA it was, according to Spigseth, only natural to keep working with NCA. Other funders have been attained through RN reaching out to them. Often, personal relations also played a key role in these cooperations. Partnership with SMISO, NIF, UIT, AW, and NAD were all conceived through personal communication rather than an official offer. After initial contact was attained, an official request for partnership was sent. Spigseth notes that although RN is a small organisation in constant search of funding from different places, they have been lucky enough to not wrongly concede their core values in order to attain funds.

### **5.2.1. Contracted conditionality**

Power and conditionality is closely linked. Conditionality and more specific, conditions, are an action of power which constructs a relationship of power between the parties included in agreements where conditions are put forth. Among the data sample provided in this study, are several contracts between RN and its funders. I have briefly mentioned some aspects of these contracts regarding the aspect of responsibilities and communicational resources embedded within them. Now I will uncover whether or not these contracts include conditions that RN or the funders has to follow. I will use findings from three reports that was presented to me:

- "NIF and Response Network Agreement - 2019 - 2021"
- "Cooperative Agreement between Academic Work Solutions AB and Response Network Zambia Ltd"

- "Community Schools Project with Joint Country Programme Overview 2017"

Even though RN's cooperative agreements are the result of personal relationships, the contracts are a result of negotiation between two actors within the development industry. According to NIF<sup>2</sup> and the NCA<sup>3</sup>, contracts used for the cooperation with RN are general contracts used for many cooperations between NGOs. These contracts are thus in line with the framework of the funding organisation such as NIF or NCA. Contracts are altered and discussed concerning the specific cooperation with RN, but by using a general framework for contracts derived from the funding organisation does imply that RN is not the dominating power actor in the cooperation or 'partnership'. An example of conditions for disbursement of funds to RN can be found in the "NIF and Response Network Agreement - 2019 - 2021": *"The first disbursement for the following years of 2020 and 2021, amounting to 20% of the year's budget, will be made in February at that year upon written request from the Partner and when satisfactory annual plans and budgets for the year are received and approved by NIF"* (NIF & RN, 2019). This example shows a clear condition regarding the disbursement of funds. The "partner" (RN) are required to request the funds along with supplement information such as annual plans and budgets which are in line with NIF's requirements outline. RN follows these requirements willingly. They are though not negotiable because of the aid chain in place in this partnership.

While RN has to follow the requirements of NIF, NIF has the same dynamic in their relationship with NORAD. The funds required to initiate projects and cooperations such as NIF and RN also stem from an institution. As an organisation NIF is state funded. This leads to an accountability chain which puts NIF in a position as facilitator of funds from the Norwegian state. We can then talk about how the accountability chain leads to the exercise of power through the chain. Does the Norwegian state have any power over how RN eventually conducts its development work in southern Zambia? The grant which NIF procured from NORAD included projects like Response Networks sports programme. The grant given to NIF amounted to 27.010.000 NOK which were intended to go to the topic of *"Sustainable, safe and equitable sport"* in the region of *"Zambia, Zimbabwe and through the African Union Sports Council Region 5 (AISC Region 5)"*. The goals of the grant are: *"1) To build and strengthen partnerships and networks amongst sport organisations, 2) To strengthen sport governance accountable, rights based and inclusive practices, 3) To*

<sup>2</sup> Interview with NIF 28th August 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with NCA 22nd September 2020.

*strengthen the capacity of sport organisations to implement safe sport programs and 4) To make sport more accessible to everyone".* Response Network would be included in goal 2 under their focus on *rights based ... practices*. RN is not mentioned in the contract between NORAD and NIF, so NIF is free to choose their cooperative partners in the development work. They are not however, free to decide the goals and factors for measurement. These are decided in coalition with NORAD. NIF are charged with reporting to NORAD and are under obligatory audits by NORAD to ensure the accountability of the grant. The parties agree to hold annual meeting where submitted reports and if necessary, audits, are discussed. While the contract states that the grant is only valid for the use of funds to achieve the goals of the project, NORAD acknowledges the need for indirect funds to secure other necessary actions in order to facilitate the project. Maximum 7% of NORAD's share in the project can be used as indirect funds<sup>4</sup>.

We can see similarities between the NORAD & NIF contract and NIF & RN. Both contracts state the common goals, reporting structure and accountability. It is clear that both state a clear topical condition to how the funds are to be spent in the project area. In this case, development through sport is the funded topic. This is natural for NIF since they are a sports organisation and have applied to NORAD for funds to help their development work. RN is a different case. According to the current director and Spigseth, RN applies for funding with organisations such as NIF and shapes their project according to the desires of NIF. While RN has used sport action as a part of their self-help manual before, NIF desired a focus on girls in sport rather than just sport in communities. It is not common in Zambia for girls to attend sports in the same way as boys do. In RN's experience from this project, the project worked well for integration of girls in sport, but they noticed that boys felt excluded. RN wanted to include boys in the project as well, but the initial funding did not allow this. This is an example of how the development work of RN is shaped by the conditions of the contracts they sign and it can be difficult to shape the project from the 'in the field' experiences RN most definitely attain when being so closely linked with the local communities in southern Zambia. Especially the integration of topical conditions suggest a form of ex-post conditionality as presented by Eyben et al.(2015). This form of conditionality leads RN to adapt their own programmes in order to fit into the conditions set by funders. With a need for continuous funding, RN might be unable to break free from this form of power. Following the method RN claims to use, letting the

---

4 From "Grant agreement between The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation and The Norwegian Olympic and Paralympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF) - NIF 2019-2021 SUSTAINABLE, SAFE AND EQUITABLE SPORT"

communities themselves decide what they need or want to improve, it seems highly unlikely that they would come up with sports as their highest priority, and even more unlikely that sports for girls would top the list. Thus, another example of how being part of the development industry forces RN to deviate somewhat from their ideal way of working (and which they insist that they are following in their self presentation).

We can find similarities in RN's contract with Academic Work. In this example, the focus is on education. AW is an educational staffing agency, this topic is rooted in their developmental work. AW supports RN's educational program in three ways: (1) through self-help programs in the villages and construction of community schools through self-help, (2) the AW "Sponsorship program" where some of AW's staff donates 1% of their income to the education of orphaned children, and (3) skills-training to increase the economical ability of children in Kubala<sup>5</sup>.

There is a difference between AW and NIF. NIF reports to NORAD because their funds for their development work derives from another development actor, reporting and accountability challenges the manoeuvrability in where, how and when the funds should and can be utilised. AW does not report to any funding organisation, thereof their manoeuvrability is greater. This could lead to more room for change in discussions between RN and AW since those two are the only actors in that specific aid chain. Instead of an aid chain consisting of RN, NIF and NORAD, RN and AW could as cooperative partners more easily communicate with each other rather than RN and NIF who also must follow the contractual agreements between NIF and NORAD. However, we must not fail to acknowledge the relationship in the cooperation between RN and AW. While it could be easier to facilitate participatory development, RN still has to rely on funds from an organisation whom clearly states their intention and limitations within the development industry. Education as framework and condition for the disbursement of funds does restrict RN in the development work. While RN might desire an approach consisting of an educational focus, the accountability of RN's work while spending these specific funds leads to AW. RN still follows deadlines for reporting, auditing and other communication with AW, to show them the development being made through the funded projects.

---

<sup>5</sup> From "Cooperative Agreement between Academic Work Solutions AB and Response Network Zambia Ltd"

Contracts with the NCA can be divided in two parts; NORAD supported and the Joint Country Program (JCP). In the starting years of RN, NCA was the prime funder of the organisation through funds that derived from NORAD, just as NIF. We have previously learned about how RN gained direct funding from NORAD and therefore could not be funded by NCA at the same time. When RN was funded by the NCA on NORAD grants, we can see much of the same power dynamic as with NIF; topical contracts which are dependent on reporting to both NCA and NORAD. From the documents I have analysed, it seems goals and reporting criteria has become more specific through the last 10 years. The project proposal forwarded by RN in 2010 to the NCA describes RN's previous work with 'gender' and 'good governance'. While the topic of the project is determined it is clear that much of the planned actions in the project concerns the listening and discussion with villages in seminars and other group activities.

The NCA never returned as a main funder, but rather returned as a 'partner' in Norway. The JCP is a joint venture by RN and NCA where the NCA facilitates the collection of funds from schools around Norway, while RN facilitates the allocation of funds in Zambia. Schools in Norway get the chance to directly support schools in Zambia. These funds go to school equipment, activity support, and the construction and maintenance of schools. In the contract concerning this project, I find that there is a clear understanding of how and where funds are to be disbursed.

The contracts also state how schools and needs are chosen. In true RN tradition, village meetings under a large tree in the community is the place for seminars concerning the project in the community. The JCP project uses the self-help methods incorporated into RN's method from 2004 to encourage communities to start schools. In the project overview they state:

*"In this project Response Network will [use] our usual method of encouraging and supporting hardworking communities that start up community Schools on Self help basis. This means communities will be expected to supply upfront material in form of building sand, stones and bricks while Response Network through this project will supply building materials"<sup>6</sup>.*

---

<sup>6</sup> From "Community Schools Project with Joint Country Programme Overview 2017"

RN bases this project on past experiences, acknowledging that they have gained knowledge about the needs of the Zambian communities. RN do not suppose they know everything there is about Zambian people and their needs. This can be seen in the requirements regarding reporting on this project, which will be discussed in section 5.3. What is notable here is that RN's cooperation with NCA changed when NORAD was eliminated from the aid chain. Without grants from NORAD, the NCA and RN remain free to exercise a power dynamic more closely linked with 'partnership'. While reporting to the NCA is still quite rigorous, the NCA allows RN to frame the project with past experiences rather than the NCA themselves stating the issue and choosing the needs of recipients.

The last contractual aspect I will mention is that of SMISO & RN with NOREC. Since this is the only contact where two parties apply for funding together, It is important to notice the strong ties NOREC has with NORAD. NOREC receives its funding from NORAD which again is granted to partnerships NOREC deem fit to receive them. We have already learned that the grants provided by NORAD comes with demanding conditions for the actuation and reporting of those grants. Is this also true for NOREC? In my interview with SMISO, they were proud of their exchange programme with RN. The programme spends its funds on the facilitation of the exchange of community workers, often related to psychological health and the constrains sexual violence can have on humans. RN & SMISO applied together for funds from NOREC. The initial requirements from NOREC are equal for every applying organisation and RN & SMISO were no exception.

I base this information on a formal agreement document which SMISO and RN created together in order to apply for a grant with NOREC. The document is standard for every applicant and is very concerned with how both 'partners' are going to contribute to the project. I have previously mentioned that SMISO is the party with the responsibility of communicating with NOREC since SMISO is based in Norway and are used to the method used in such applications. The contract states: *"Response Network shall submit mid-term and annual reports to SMISO....SMISO are accustomed to report about the activity to the municipal and to the government in Norway. We are accustomed to document the different activities at SMISO, and the FK participants will get training in how to follow our routines regarding documentation and reporting"*<sup>7</sup>. From this quote we can see that while the overall focus of the application concerns how the parties are going to work together, there still persists a clear 'north - south' power dynamic. SMISO are meant to report to government officials, such as NOREC, because they have experience with it from before. RN are supposed to

---

<sup>7</sup> From "Overall Project Description Fredskorpset (NOREC) - SMISO & RN 2016"



report to SMISO. In this case it is difficult to understand why RN does not report directly to NOREC when NOREC are so focused on equal partnerships.

### **5.3. Reporting within international development**

By providing funding, funders of Response Network do demand that RN provides information about the development provided by RN and how the funds are making a difference. Reporting is, in the development industry, a crucial part of the aid chain (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013; Rottenburg, 2009; Wallace et al., 2007). In this section I will investigate how reporting procedures are shaped and how they compare between different cooperations with funders.

Reporting is explained in Wallace & Bornstein (2007, pp. 109-111) as *accountability systems*. Accountability is the reason for reporting. Often, participatory approaches such as RN's, are attempted to be placed in already bureaucratic systems, where funding of an organisation requires thorough and time consuming reporting (Wallace et al., 2007, p. 109).

We have learned that there exists a difference regarding requirements between partnerships with two parties and partnerships with three parties. In this case we learn that in partnerships such as RN and SMISO & NOREC, RN and NIF & NORAD it can be harder to discuss changes and do 'participatory' development work. In these partnerships, RN has to follow requirements ultimately set by NORAD or NOREC, since they are the funding party in this partnership. NIF might be the contractual partner to RN, but NIF has to follow conditions set by NORAD. It could therefore be difficult for RN to influence decisions regarding reporting, funding and future conditions for funding. RN's partnerships with AW and NCA does allow some leeway in their participatory actions. We have seen in the previously discussed contracts that both funders acknowledge the participation of RN and mentions their role in the partnership. The most prominent example of this can be found in RN's report to NCA about the Joint Country Programme (JCP) from 2017. It is a general report template, sent to many NGO funded by NCA. The report asks questions concerning participation under the categories of "*Participation in project planning and reporting*" and "*Coordination with and participation in networks and alliances*"<sup>8</sup>. One question state: "*Were the Rights Holders and/or other stakeholders (such as local authorities, community leaders, etc) involved in project planning? If yes, in what ways?*" (Response Network, 2017, p. 12). RN answers: "*Yes they were involved. The DEBS office was involved during consultations and authorisation process to put up community Schools in the target communities. The community leaders were also*

---

<sup>8</sup> See appendix 2 for all questions and RN's answers.

*involved during the headmen's sensitisation meeting in which it was agreed how the project was going to be implemented through Self-help approach*" (Response Network, 2017, p. 12). Here we see a funding organisation interested in the development of how RN facilitates participation of their recipients. RN has a lot of experience from doing participatory work. The organisations role in this dynamic is to convey whether the recipients of RN has been consulted. They do not, however, transmit what these sensitisation-meetings have gathered of information. If we only look at this reporting structure, RN stands accountable for the participation of recipients while the NCA does not. One could expect that this reporting structure is reflected in the reporting NCA does to their own funders.

Funding organisations have their required reporting routines which mostly analyses the development work achieved on their specific project. RN does, however, provide funders with an annual report written and produced by RN themselves. This report shows funders all outcomes RN has achieved over the year along with the development of the organisation itself. Response Network's annual report (2019) tells the reader about the change of directors and how drought made 2019 a challenging year. It tells a story about the organisation and allows the reader to acquaint themselves with the people of RN, not only the organisation as an entity. It presents factual result from their different programmes. They are "*Self-help facilitation (disability program)*", "*Sports for development*", "*Community Schools construction program*", "*Sponsorship, Tertiary & Skills training program*", "*Women Empowerment through Self-Help Groups*", "*Youth Sport Exchange Program*", and "*Students Placement Program*".<sup>9</sup> The fact that these programmes are presented to all funders complement RN's role as a participant when making decisions. It makes funders aware of RN's overarching results and how they work outside of the funder's own focus area. Talking with funders themselves, they are very positive to the way RN includes them in their communication. Especially AW enjoys the inclusion and ownership they feel through their cooperation with RN. The point of this argument is that while it seems that partnerships between RN and one other partner is conducted in a more participatory manner than a partnership with several parties, RN still proves to be attempting to show their desires and their view of development to all parties.

It is evident when analysing different reports that while there exists many reports and other sources of information about RN's development work, one can easily get confused in the intricacies of these

---

<sup>9</sup> See appendix 1 for outcomes and objectives reached.

reports. For example, RN are supposed to submit reports to each of the funding organisations and in all cases there are several reports requirements. To NIF, RN is supposed to submit one progress report every 6 months, a budget report once a year and a financial statement once a year, and a final report on the previous year. AW requires 6 progress report on the two programmes they support along with budget reports twice a year. With 3 other funders, reporting requires many hours of the staff at RN in order to fulfil these reporting requirements. This is costly, time-consuming, and requires generally a much larger workforce to continuously do.

### 5.3.1.Changes over time

According to Spigseth, reporting requirements have increased from the organisations start in 2004 to 2020. Is this because of an increased desire to hold parties accountable for their actions, turning away from traditional aid and moving towards a norm of reciprocating accountability demands? To investigate this claim by Spigseth, I have looked at RN's annual reports from 2008 and the most recent one from 2019. The most notable difference between these reports is a chapter on RN informal experience from the year that passed. The 2008 report is structured into categories often used in the development industry. We find these categories in reports from the NCA especially. The 2019 report uses programmes to structure the report. Rather than discuss the entire fleet of programmes as a whole, the report delves into more detail on each programme.

*"2019 was an exciting year and we would want to thank all our cooperating partners and funders who made this work achievable as well as management, staff and volunteers. The board also played a pivotal supportive role as well as continuous wise counsel"*

- RN Annual Report 2019.

The quote show how RN addresses the funders in a way we do not find in the report from 2008. The reporting structure has been changed somewhat. We can look at the table of contents from the report from 2008 and note the different sections in the report. It is fairly formal and deals with many of the subject expected to cover in a report.

RESPONSE NETWORK ANNUAL REPORT 2008 - TABLE OF CONTENTS	
1	NAME OF PROJECT
2	SUMMARY AND COMMENTS ON RESULTS SO FAR
3	IMPROVEMENT OF LIVELIHOOD FOR THE PEOPLE BECAUSE OF THE PROGRAM.
4	PROJECT VISION
5	MISSION
6	OVERALL GOAL

7	PROJECT PURPOSE
8	PROGRESS OF ACTIVITIES AND RESULTS SO FAR, AS COMPARED WITH EXPECTED RESULTS
9	WORKSHOPS, SEMINARS AND OTHER PROGRAMS
10	OUTREACH PROGRAMME
11	REGISTRATION OF ACTIVITIES
12	COOPERATION AND NETWORKING – SUPPORT TO THE TARGET GROUPS BY DONORS
13	SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMME (KUBALA GIRLS)
14	REVIEW AND EVALUATION
15.	SOME VISITORS TO THE PROGRAM
16.	CHALLENGES
17	ACTIVITIES AND EXPENDITURES
18	HIV/AIDS AWARENESS AND SPORT AND SPORTS CLUBS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH IN A HOLISTIC PERSPECTIVE

Table 5.1

It is interesting to see the difference between this report from 2008 and the report from 2019. The 2008 report does, as we see, structure its report in categories that are similar to the ones found in reports submitted to each organisation by RN in the recent years. The annual report from 2019 has no such categories. It draws on many of the same aspects, but is sectioned in programmes. This could be due to the fact that RN has increased the amount of funders in the years between 2008 and 2019. In 2008 the only 'main' funder was the NCA. NIF also funded a sports programme at the time. AW, a secondary school in Norway and the Mental Health Association in Norway were among the 10 'funders' who gave physical items to RN aimed to help the development work of RN. In 2019, RN is funded by an increased amount of organisations; NAD, NCA, AW, NOREC / SMISO, and NIF. All to a larger extent than they did before. We also see that all these organisations have their own reporting routines. From what I have gained access to, specific report to each organisation are more common in the dataset in recent years than from 2008. Spigseth stressed that there had been an increased requirement for reporting and specifically the amount of indicators as well. The report from 2008 tells us how many people participated in their self-help activities (See Table 5.2). The report consists of no other quantitative data. The annual report from 2019 is, as we already know, structured differently. It is categorised into the different programmes and deals with goals and outcomes in each of the texts following the programmes. This report does not, however, rely heavily on counting. There are some sentences that states how many people have benefitted from the specific programme. For example: *"So far, 253 Sports Administrators and Village Headmen attended meetings, which resulted into acquisition of exclusive communal sports facilities set aside for sports by the headmen"* (2019). We have to analyse reports to the different funders in order to find indicators of development. If we look at table 5.3 we can understand how indicators are being used in the NIF funded programme "Sport for development". The table states quantitative data on how many female, male, and persons with disabilities (PWD) have been included in their activities. We find the same type of forms in reports to the NCA as well.

This leads me to the conclusion that RN does not choose to present quantitative achievements to their funders on their own initiative. They would rather provide contextual knowledge to the development being made in order to present a story, not a number. The funders wants, as Spigseth confirms, more and more indicators of change.

<b>S E L F - H E L P EDUCATION ACTIVITY</b>	<b>NO OF ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>NO OF STUDENTS*</b>
Know Your Rights Club	30	385
Literacy classes	49	1102
Community schools	48	3190
Skills training	149	1774
Women's groups	95	1512
Skills training in women's groups	107	1623
Organic vegetable groups	93	1341
HIV/AIDS support groups	64	796
Sports clubs	81	1922
Special Needs support groups	15	207
Governance	1	9
Nutrition clubs	26	313
Mental Health	8	44
	766	11680

Table 5.2

Activities	Outputs	Total # of Participants (if applicable)				Outcomes (changes as a result of the outputs – for example behavior, policy etc.) This section requires that you provide an overview of your indicators to demonstrate the change indicated using the next column.	Indicators of the changes
		F	M	PWD	TOTAL		
Conduct recruitment exercise of YSEP Sports Volunteers	15 youths were given an opportunity to showcase their capability in active coaching and interviewed to identify 2 potential YSEP Volunteers	6	9	0	15	So far, 253 Sports Administrators and Village Headmen attended meetings, which resulted into acquisition of exclusive communal sports facilities set aside for sports by the headmen.	Career development and created a network of friends who have influenced the mindset of youths in a positive way. Some after the exchange programs have gone back to school in pursuits of their identified careers.
Identification of YSEP Host families	3 YSEP Host families identified and their profiles written and submitted to responsible offices.	3	0	1	3	Family members share knowledge and skills on how to adapt and adjust to situation of life as they interact with a foreign Volunteer hosted in their family. This helps to understand different culture and learning to appreciate each other.	Families have created a strong bond of relationship and shared gifts. Some Volunteers managed to come back to visit their host families after placements.
Baseline study conducted in Kalomo and Zimba Districts.	219 participants took part in answering the questionnaire	35	184	3	462	Sports activities are now being implemented in specific areas resulting from baseline survey recommendations	Community sports leaders taking a positive role while 1398 youths are keen and participating in sports activities
Recruitment of Sports Volunteers	9 Sports Volunteers were identified to mobilize the community members for capacity building programme and follow-up of sporting activities.	2	7	0	9	Community sports activities have an independent person to check on the progress and offer motivation, encouragement to community members on how they can develop using locally available resources.	Many of these Volunteers have been empowered by the organization by being sponsored to attend a training skill of their choice as a way of improving their living standards.
15 Sports Village sensitization meetings conducted.	687 People sensitized on safe sports principles and sports for development using self-help approach.	316	371	21	687	Community members are now aware of the hidden benefits of using the local available resources to develop themselves through sports.	Through these meetings, the communities have been empowered with knowledge on how to start up their own self-help activities that has helped them improve their livelihood (generating income for their families)
6 Meetings with Sports Administrators and Village Headmen conducted.	253 Sports Administrators and Village Headmen attended the meetings, which resulted to discuss on the importance of acquiring safe sports facilities that have documentation.	60	193	5	253	Establish, on self-help basis, basic accessible communal sporting activities, which are safe and conducive for sporting activities. Discussing issues of how to secure land that by signing documentation to act as a proof of owning the sports facilities.	Through these meetings, the Headmen are aware on the importance of creating more safe space for sports activities. 7 new sports spaces have been created among which 3 have documentations.
Mobilised the International Day of Sports for Development and Peace (IDSDP) Siamwamvwa which was organized by the community members	251 youths participated in sports for development. (12 football & 8 netball teams participated)	96	155	7	251	Enhanced social cohesion among youths and realization that sports is a tool for development where youths and children were motivated to participate in sports activities.	Enhanced social cohesion and increase in the number of youths and children participating in sports activities
Mobilised two Independence Sports Cup Tournament in Luyaba and Mafumba.	Facilitated two independence sports tournaments in Mafumba and Luyaba where 458 youths directly participated with 1786 people witnessed the tournament.	178	280	5	458	Enhanced social cohesion among youths and realization that sports is a tool for development in building life skills, cooperation, joy of sports and self-confidence.	Enhanced social cohesion and increase in the number of youths and children participating in sports activities
1 Networking meeting for selected sports administrators	38 Community sports administrators, volunteers, local leaders and other representatives	17	21	3	38	Community coaches and referees now informed on the importance of understanding the laws of the game and seem to have identified the gaps between a players and referee.	To create a link between FAZ and RAZ accredited levels and community sports leaders on how to improve the standards of playing/officiating and improve safe sports.
6 Safe Sports Workshop conducted	179 Community coaches & teachers trained in safe sports	57	122	12	179	Community coaches and teachers are now aware of developing safe sports policies and have undergone basic First Aid Training.	46 community sports teams and schools are now developing safe sports policies, which are being implemented.
3 Kids Athletics Workshop conducted	113 Community volunteers trained in kids athletics	56	57	6	113	Community volunteers and sports teachers are empowered with kids athletics techniques and facilitation skills and have started implementing	Children being trained in kids athletics by community volunteers and sports teachers and number of children participating in sports activities
1 KAO Peer Leaders trainings conducted	58 Coaches, Peer Leaders trained on how to implement KAO activities.	8	50	0	58	Peer leaders have increased awareness on how to use sports as a tool to combat HIV and other health related issues facing youths.	All the 58 youths are applying their acquired skills through AIDS to sensitize others on how to prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS.
1 KAO Leader Level 1 training conducted	58 Trainers of trainees were identified to train more peer leaders in KAO to expand the awareness network on HIV/AIDS	8	50	0	58	Trainers of KAO coaches are motivated and certified to increase awareness network on HIV/AIDS and other health related issues, which includes life and sports skills.	249 more peer leaders were trained in various topics, which resulted in more youths, change their mindset on how they see things.
6 Sports Administration workshops conducted	191 teachers and community sports administrators trained in sports administration.	71	120	6	191	Enhanced leadership skills and organized sports administration at clubs and Community Sports Association.	Through these trainings 137 women are now taking up various leadership roles in sports and are able to run their club affairs efficiently promoting gender equity and equality.
Sports Volunteers training	9 sports volunteers oriented in policies.	2	7	0	9	Volunteers are aware of policies established for community sports clubs and associations	Community volunteers applying knowledge and skills to deliver safe and respectful sports activities
Participate in the National Inclusive Sports Festival in Lusaka	11 Kids participated into kid's athletics events and life skills sessions.	5	6	3	11	Kids learned many life skills that helped them build self-confidence to face everyday life situations. They learned how importance it is to promote inclusive development at all level of development.	Sharing new skills acquired at National level thereby creating more new friends, well-known by almost everyone at their respective schools as they act as positive role-models.
Conducted two staged Inter-School HIV/AIDS quiz competition in Njabalombe.	22 Youths (pupils- 14 boys, 8 girls) directly participated in the quiz competition. While 214 youths were, present and sensitized on HIV/AIDS.	8	14	0	22	Youths shared constructive information about HIV/AIDS in an interactive manner.	214 spectators were sensitized in the basic facts about HIV/AIDS during the quiz competition.

Table 5.3

### 5.3.2. Third-party reporting

Previously, I differed between funding of RN by one party and funding of RN by two parties. NIF funds RN through their own funding from NORAD. AW funds RN directly. The same does the NCA, NIF, and NAD in some way. Next, I will expand on how these funders also are restricted in their own development agenda.

The NCA stated that to maintain a continuous cooperation-partnership with RN, they had to train RN in "*result-based evaluation*" (Interview with NCA representative). This training came quite early in their partnership. Result-based approaches are common methods for counting change in the development programs RN works on. For example, the NCA counts how many girls have joined in their educational programme. We learned in chapter 5.3 about reporting to the different funders. A common trend is that counting is standard procedure for all reporting routines RN deals with. Reporting requirements to NIF, NAD, NOREC, and NCA are standard. They use this for all their other development programmes. AW, on the other hand, had to develop their reporting routines in cooperation with RN. Still, we see no difference in how they report to AW and other funders. This raises the question of whether early training or formalisation of development reporting routines made RN adapt a mentality where these methods are as stated: *standard procedure*?

*"With stricter reporting from NORAD, NIF and NCA also applies stricter reporting routines on the funding RN receives". - Spigseth*

NIF requires RN to provide a progress, financial, and final report. This structure seems quite standard since this is the same requirements NORAD demands of NIF. Still, one would assume that if a project is participatory, the reporting to the funder would be structured to fit the reported on project. Table 5.4 shows what the progress report to NIF from RN should include.

a)	an account of the results achieved so far by the Project, using the format, indicators and targets of the approved results framework. The overview must: show delivered outputs compared to planned outputs; show the Project's progress towards achieving the Outcome; if possible, describe the likelihood of the Impact being achieved.
b)	an account and assessment of deviations from the latest approved implementation plan and Application;
c)	an assessment of how efficiently Project resources have been turned into Outputs;
d)	a brief account of materialised risk factors to the Project, including how these have been handled in the reporting period and/or will be handled in the future. Identified risks related to the climate and environment, gender equality, corruption and other financial mismanagement and human rights shall always be accounted for.

Table 5.4

These are the exact same requirements posed to NIF from NORAD. The same is true for the financial and final report. They are in effect copied from the contract with NORAD. Even though RN does not cooperate with NORAD directly, they still have to follow their requirements for reporting. This dynamic does not only apply to NIF. The NCA also states that what they call 'back donors' has increased their conditioning and reporting requirements.

*"The last 10, maybe 15 years there has been a change of culture in our sector where a lot of the back donors are very detailed about what they want. They have a lot of conditions and demands on how their money should be used and reported back to them".*

- NCA representative

Third-party reporting does seem to apply to many of the state-funded organisations such as NCA, NIF, NOREC, SMISO and NAD. Only AW seem to make their own choices when it comes to deciding focus areas in development work. This also has implications on the power dynamic in these 'partnerships'.

*"We seem to dictate a lot to them [Response Network] because we need to satisfy our back-donors" - NCA representative*

Here we see that neither RN or the NCA have full control over how reporting should be conducted. It is governed by a system that leads to the governing bodies in the world. Such as NORAD, DFID, USAID.



## 5.4. Chapter summary

This chapter has described the findings of this research project. They have been discussed with some of the literature presented in chapter 4 and put into context with one another.

Analysing communication has shown us how RN depicts themselves, how funders depict RN, and how RN and funders communicate. We have seen how agreements are created by these parties. Lastly, I discussed the way 'experts' or 'consultants' are perceived in a developing society. For RN, they are an organisation that aims to believe in the self-realisation of recipients' own rights. Through self-help, they want to make certain the independence of their recipients. RN believes they could be an answer to other unsustainable development programmes. Still, they realise that they sometimes have to compromise. In order to secure funding, the organisation has to adhere to the conditions set by funding organisations. Funders have the same perception of RN. They believe RN is a sustainable development organisation that has an exceptional connection with their recipients in Zambia. The funders and RN seem to maintain a good relationship. Many of the cooperations started through personal relationships which may have led to increased trust between the parties. When communication, RN and the funders are not described as *funder* and *recipient*, but the *partners*. However, it is clear that the contracts describe a relationship where RN is the receiver of funds from a organisation. RN has to follow the conditions of the contract and adhere to the requirements set by the funding organisation. This dynamic is also described in email correspondence between the parties. Although on a light-hearted tone, it is clear that RN still reports 'upward' and not to an equal partner. The good relationships described in this section might derive from the personal relationships created by the founders of RN, funders, and recipients. It is in both actors' interest to maintain the appearance of an equal partnership. The funder likes to understand the relationship this way, and may not be fully or even partially aware that this is perceived differently by the recipient, and the recipient, being dependent on the funding, will not wish to upset the funder by drawing attention to the power inequality. Thus, a tacit agreement to downplay these differences is the result. Now that RN has contracted a new director which was not part of the same personal relationship, the same good communication might not be there. As has been understood from interviews, RN still manages to communicate well with their funders.

By analysing contracts, many aspects surfaced. It is clear that RN is restricted by a way of *topical conditioning*. All organisations fund RN on the basis that they facilitate development related to the specific funders' focus area. AW focuses on education along with the NCA, NIF on sports, SMISO

on psychic health, and NAD on disabilities. While there are clear focus areas, RN are still able to persistently maintain a focus on self-help. RN believes their persistent focus has led to continuous well-kept relationships with both funders and recipients. Most of the funders sets conditions for RN based on requirements they set themselves. NIF and SMISO are a bit different. NIF are dependent on funding from NORAD and thus RN also follows conditions set by NORAD. SMISO and RN are *partners* much more than SMISO are funders. Through NOREC they applied for funding together. This has according to both parties, led to them holding each other accountable. NOREC also stresses this dynamic as important. Still, SMISO acts as the intermediary in official communication with NOREC because they simply enough have the staff to do so. This may be well meant, but could all the same mean that RN becomes the facilitating organisation in this relationship as well.

An analysis of RN's reporting has shown how reporting requirements have increased over the time RN has worked in Zambia as a development organisation. RN reports to its funding organisations in a manner that is described in agreed upon contracts with each funder. The annual reports of RN from 2008 and 2019 show how RN's focus have changed over time. Although amount of indicators has increased, RN chooses to report to their funder based on each programme. This could be argued to create a commonality across all funders as the report shows every programme RN is involved in. In contrary, the 2008 report describes RN's programmes as a whole and how they all aim to achieve specific outcomes set by the different funders. Lastly, we learned that RN is not only conditioned by its own funders, but also the funder of the NIF. NORAD plays a key role in how NIF conditions their own contracts with RN. Reporting requirements are based on the requirements NORAD sets for NIF. This is an interesting form of reporting since it creates a chain of reporting. Through this it is easy to see that RN is truly part of a *chain* of organisations.

## **6. Modern partnerships in a conditional world - Final discussion**

The findings presented in chapter 5 has shown us that RN is no exemption to the 'difficulties of mainstream aid'. This tells us that it is even hard for an organisation such as RN to implement radical programmes. In this chapter I turn to the question this thesis attempts at answering: "*How does RN's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?*". This chapter will help us understand to what extent this is true. Three sub-questions have been posed to help answer this question. I will go through each of them and in the end, come to a conclusion regarding the extent of RN's participatory development structure.

### **6.1. How are power structures present in the interaction between Response Network and their funders?**

The backdrop for RNs development agenda is a self-awareness of the position they hold in the development industry. Spigseth specified that the reason for creating RN was the unsustainability he and Solli saw in other NGOs operating within Zambia in the 1990s. The funders has along with RN, reiterated their intentions to keep pursuing participatory partnership with RN. When we look at the contracts we see no mention of how the funder is supposed to consider the issues faced by RN. Activities are often decided by the source of the funds, such as the topical conditions we see in the contracts with AW, NIF, NCA, and SMISO. The only funder which provides funds to a project initiated by RN themselves is NAD. They continue to support the self-help facilitation program first initiated by RN as the priority program at the founding point of RN. Spigseth noted that there is a constant struggle for RN to achieve enough funding to continue the different programs run by the organisation. We can already see a form of power dynamic happening at this stage. RN are forced to apply for funds at different organisations while at the same time follow their conditions to be able to receive these funds. This is a form of ex-post conditionality which Eyben et al (2015) discusses in their book as topical conditionality. Funding is here conditioned by the funder in order to make the facilitating organisation (RN) initiate programs concerning the topics important to the funder, not the facilitating organisation or the recipients. The fact that Spigseth is, and has been for a while, aware of this, show that this is not some form of hidden or invisible power that Lukes (2004) presents. Rather, it is a quite visible power which RN has to accept. Regardless of the ideal principles the original organisation was built on.

The power dynamic Lie (2015) describes as developmentality can also be discovered in the case of RN. If we look at the funding structure in place for RN's partnership with NIF, NORAD is the 'de-facto' funder of the project. RN does not have any say in how the agreement between NIF and NORAD is drawn up or how it will be in the future. The contract between RN and NIF does not mention NIF's contract with NORAD but we still see the same requirements in both contracts. This is a clear example of how NORAD shapes the contract on RN's behalf without any interaction between the two parties. However, Lie's (2015) description of developmentality suggests that the oppressed party assimilates 'ownership' to the methods and structures used in the asymmetrical power dynamic at play. Much like Lukes (2004) third dimension of power, 'developmentality' suggests that by taking ownership to the way the aid chain functions, RN are part of a system that oppresses and exerts power while RN is oblivious to this. From the data analysed in this research, I can not argue that RN has taken ownership to this dynamic. Ownership suggests the willing continuation of an activity no matter to what extent this continuation leaves the recipient with less power over the activities themselves. Spigseth states in the interviews with him that RN is very much aware of this asymmetrical power dynamic. It is rather that the organisation has no other choice but to follow the structures of the development industry to continue to function as an organisation with some amount of economic freedom. Without funding, the organisation would not be able to provide the same programmes as they are now.

We can see a clear difference in the power dynamic between RN & NCA, and RN & AW. The relationship between RN and NCA is similar to RN's relationship with other funders within the development industry. This includes NOREC (SMISO) and NORAD through NIF and NAD. These funders within the development industry know their position in this aid chain. They are funders that are in position to fund the projects or organisations that they find to fit within their *portfolio*. RN has periodically had different funders. The reason for this is the change in focus by international development funders. This focus is arguably changed by trends within development. For example, the Sustainable Development Goals impact where funders focus their efforts. RN is affected by this dynamic. Like the 'developmentality' described by Lie (2015), RN faces a *mentality* focused on pleasing the funders so that they can get further funding. By altering their efforts to what the funders believe to be important fields of development, RN enhances the effect of 'developmentality'.

In the interaction between RN and their funders we see a power imbalance at play. Contracts, communication and reporting routines all suggest that RN is held accountable for the funds they

utilise on behalf of their funders. Lukes (2004) second dimension of power can be applied here. The funders hold the power to set the agenda and decide the topics that should be funded. The same applies to the relationships the funders has to their 'back-donors'. They are also submitted to a power dynamic which holds them accountable to for example NORAD. 'Developmentality' can be applied in both these interactions, but not in an unconscious manner. All parties seem to accept the status quo of the development industry. Albeit a unsymmetrical power dynamic, they just need to work around it.

## **6.2. Are aid funders conscious of how structures of power are exercised and do they respect RNs principles of self-help and participation?"**

Response Network are aware of their own position and ability to manoeuvre within the development industry, but do we know whether the funders are aware of their own power in their interaction with RN? According to the interviewees representing the funders in this research, they are aware of how participatory development is supposed to function. Especially NGOs such as the NCA were conscious about this. They stated: "*If the communities want more food, RN will not hand out food to them. They will try to help them mobilise themselves, ask the communities to make a contribution and provide knowledge to facilitate this process. They will help them gain knowledge of how to grow their land or take care of their chickens*" (Interview with NCA representative). In the reporting structure for NCA funded projects, RN needs to report on the participatory aspects of the project, but only to show whether RN has taken any action to ensure the participatory nature the project. The NCA and NOREC were the only interviewed organisations to bring up participation by themselves. In other interviews I needed to ask specifically whether they were conscious of the participation an inclusion of the desires of recipients.

For the NCA, it was important that RN would fit into their 'vision' for development. RN has, as we know, been funded by NCA periodically from 2004. Part of the reason that NCA did not fund RN was because RN did not fit into their overarching program of *women in governance*. In recent years, RN has increased their effort to focus on women. Not in governance, but in communities while focusing on their rights. This shows how RN shapes their agenda after what the funding party requires. Now the NCA has returned as a funder because RN does fit into their vision for development of education. "*RN fits within our portfolio (vision)*" (Interview with NCA representative). This is also true for the private donor AW. Their focus on education and RNs interest in the development of educational infrastructure and policies in Zambia goes well together

with AW's company focus. They do not believe in utilising *their* 'power' over organisations such as RN. There are many reasons for this. Most notably, AW does not have any experience doing development work. Response Network are thus allowed a more free role to act within this aid chain. For AW, this connection and common vision was important in order to work with RN. The NCA revealed that their main concern about participatory aid was that too often, the main instinct for a 'giver' is to provide help in the form of emergency aid. Problems in societies such as Zambia often present themselves as urgent. Hungry children, poor communities, a lack of schools, and a lack of water supply are all urgent problems, but one cannot expect to change the outcome of these problems by providing a sole water tank for example. The NCA notes that their main goal is to provide sustainable development. Rather than handing out a water tank when needed, the NCA contracts RN to do information work through their *self-help facilitation programme*. By teaching the communities about sustainable ways to maintain a water supply by digging wells, or exerting their rights as a community in a nation.

*"We do not only teach them how to eat the fish, but how to fish it"*

(Interview with NCA representative).

It is evident that contrary to organisations rooted in the development industry, AW puts a larger extent of trust at the basis for their cooperation with RN. Being a private company who does not specialise in development or aid work, leaves RN being the 'expert' on the field. For example, RN decided that girls needed to be prioritised in education when they first started their school program with RN. After some time, this opinion changed. Now, boys and girls are included in the project. This is according to AW, entirely up to RN. The power relation between RN and AW is affected by this fact. By being allowed to decide how the partnership should function, RN does retain power to a larger extent. Starting their partnership in 2004, the cooperation was not as structured as a project funded by NORAD would be. AW has thus, used this experience of developing a structure to shape how the partnership functions today. At the same time, RN has been able to take part and maybe lead the formation of this partnership. With contracts lasting only a year, one could assume that RN needs to satisfy the wishes of the funder, just like we see in their cooperation with NIF and NCA. It seems, however, that while AW wants flexibility and ability to withdraw from the cooperation, one year contracts increases RN's ability to influence the project every year. AW does not appear to be considerably concerned with their position as a power holder in this setting.

Development industry-funders and AW are quite different in their approach to the funding of development organisations, but they do remain similar in their approach to 'owning' the project. The NCA states: "*We evaluate the performance of **our** program*" (Interview with NCA representative). They view the programs initiated by Response Network as *theirs* as well. AW and the NCA both demand quarterly reports and do often visit the program area in Zambia. This can lead to both positive and negative effects. By taking ownership to the program they can show that they are, as funders, committed to the program. By not acknowledging the effort Response Network makes to this program and not taking the position as 'consultant', funders yet again show us how power differences allow funders to present these programs as their own while not stating who is the facilitating party.

Funders do appear to be conscious of the power they have over RN in the aid chain. This is not stated in contracts or report. Only during interviews, the funders mentioned the issues of conditioning in international development. This includes both AW and the NCA. Most notably, the NCA mentions that they themselves are restricted by the conditions of their own funders. Therefore, they can often communicate with RN by directing them to facilitate according to their own funders. They openly discussed the problems this causes for RN, since the original idea is for RN to be a 'partner', not a facilitator dependant on directions from funders.

### **6.3. How can RN retain flexibility in implementing its programme within the constraints of the development industry?**

We have learned that Response Network consistently needs to develop their program topics to accommodate a change in international development. This suggests, that there is quite a small amount of flexibility available for RN to decide their own activities. Conditions presented in contracts with NIF, NCA, NAD, and SMISO are quite rigid. There are few opportunities to allocate funds to places where they are needed in a short amount of time. While cooperating with a private company such as AW has allowed RN more flexibility concerning shaping the structures of their programmes. AW still retains the condition that their program should be about education, but the allocation of funds within that topic is quite free.

By looking at the funders all together we can start to sense some sort of overlap when it comes to different activities that are mandated by different organisations. In the current partnership between RN and NCA, the joint country programme (JCP) facilitates the hiring of teachers in communities

in rural Zambia. At the same time, AW funds building of schools. Many communities find that it is hard to hire teachers due to a lack of facilities for the sustainable upkeep of education in these communities. It is easy to see that these programs overlap and complement each other. Is this a way in which RN has manoeuvred the harsh reality of the development industry? By attaining funds from funders whom can help in different ways, RN's flexibility can according to this fact increase.

AW and RN does have an entire different method of cooperating contrary to RN and their typical development industry funders. While cooperating with AW, RN has been able to take part in decision-making of their own activities to much larger extent than with development institutions such as NCA, NIF, or NORAD. In the chapter 6 I described the reasons for this. Here, I note the manoeuvrability-options RN have when dealing with these funders. Even though they have a positive cooperation with AW, they still have to continuously focus on education which is AW's focus. This focus is decided by the funding organisation and not the facilitating organisation which is RN. This example of Eyben et al. (2015) description of ex-post conditionality is not only limited to RN and AW. We can note the same trend with the other partnerships RN are engaged in. SMISO focuses on mental health and sexual assault, NCA focuses on education, NIF on sports, and NAD on disabilities. RN has to manoeuvre these topics and shape their programmes according to the conditions framed by the focus of these funders. RN's flexibility is dependent on the availability of funders focusing on specific topics that suit RN. Spigseth notes that RN cannot pick and mix through different funders. They much rather have to thoroughly search for funders that support their vision for a radical approach to development.

The funders accept their difficult role in this aid chain. While funders such as NCA, NAD, SMISO, NOREC, and NIF are eager to pursue participatory development, their ability is restrained by the development industry. We learned in chapter 5 that the NCA feel they dictate a lot to facilitators because they need to satisfy their own funders. RN's flexibility within this aid chain is thus restricted by the power structures of the system. They are aware of it, thus Lukes (2004) third dimension does not apply, but they are restrained and unable to alter it.

#### **6.4. The possibility of a radical approach to development**

Now, is it possible to answer the main question posed in this research: *How does RN's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?*



Response Network is placed in the latter part of the aid chain. We have learned that funders in the north are sometimes not even deciding their own agenda. NIF, for example, are obliged to follow the conditions set by NORAD because the funds derive from the Norwegian state.

Developmentality exists in the aid chain of RN. The organisations needs to adhere to the principles of the development industry in order to survive financially. The power to decide topical development resides with the funders as the means to 'do' development resides with them in the form of funds. Organisations that does not supply monetary development to communities still needs funds to function in a capitalistic society. To attract good workers, RN has to provide income for these people that would otherwise work for other employers in a generally poor society that is Zambia. RN notes that these workers are very dedicated to their cause, but as all humans, they need to make a living. Without funding, RN would not be able to keep hold of these dedicated workers. Following this, recipients would not get the same good follow-up from RN that they are currently getting. RN is rooted in good relationships with their recipients. This relationship is based on these qualified dedicated workers. Losing these relationships could lead to an even less participatory development programme than that we can see now.

With not only the organisation RN being dependant on funds form the development industry, but also Zambia as a whole (Fraser, 2008), it is probable that the development industry possesses much more power then they express in the interviews presented in chapter 5. Just as RN, the state of Zambia might be aware of this power imbalance but they just need to accept it. Using power dimensions as presented by Lukes (2004), the state of *and* RN are trapped in the second dimension of power. They cannot decide the agenda that is set for developing their own society. It all depends on the western hegemony, and how the funders of development perceive development along with what they feel is the best form of development. Institutions such as the UN, IMF, WB, and others have through multilateral partnerships decided on goals that would help the world become sustainable. The SDGs has lead to a specific focus which often does not seem to deviate.

Throughout the aid chain, these goals are part of how ex-post conditionality is shaped. If NORAD chooses to focus on one of these goals, their partners also need to focus on them. Or NORAD chooses partners that are able to help facilitate development according to the SDGs. Although the SDGs lead to a narrow-minded approach to development, it is still an approach to development. I cannot argue that these goals are bad, they are a way of setting goals. In order to move forward, it is natural to set out some goals for how we are going to move forward.

We see a commonality in power structures regarding Response Network and the organisations funders. Funders are the deciding party in the aid chain. RN aims to implement their *radical self-help facilitation programme* and searches for funders that are willing to let them do so. By being a *facilitating* organisation with little to no means of fundraising themselves, they become dependent on the funders of development which sits further up in the aid chain. Because of RN position, they are not able to implement their vision for development to its full potential. While funders are excited by RN's vision, they still condition their funds in a way that does not provide RN with the flexibility required to provide their vision of self-help. Still, through a good flow of communication with their funders, RN are able to facilitate some of their vision. So long as the conditions make it possible, RN works closely with funders to push for an approach similar to that of RN's original vision. The funders are eager to aid in implementing this radical approach, but them too are constrained by the focuses of the international development agenda. It is only the private companies like AW that allow RN the room to form the development programmes in their desired way. AW is still persistent in their focus on education, which limits RN in some way. We see a trend of increasing conditionality while at the same time a larger focus on the participation of recipients. This is a clear example of developmentality in RN's case. The funders are, as described, eager to listen to recipients, but still conditions their funds heavily. RN needs to accept this dynamic in order to survive as an organisation. As far as developmentality goes in this example, it is not possible to see the unconscious acceptance of power structure, as described by Lie (2015). There exists a clear element of developmentality, but this element is much rather construed by RN's *ability* to act on these elements of power.

## **6.5. Chapter summary**

This chapter has presented the commonalities between the findings presented in chapter 5 and how this helps answer the questions posed in the beginning of this thesis. The main question was: *How does RN's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?* The fact of the matter is that RN's position in the aid chain restricts their possibility of implementing their idea of a *radical self-help programme*. RN is an organisation that emphasises their strong effort towards a participatory method of 'doing' development. Even though the funders are willing to accept working for such an approach, they still restrict their funds either they are themselves restricted by their own funders or because they cannot deviate from their own mandate. At the same time as RN attempts to conduct participatory development activities,

structures in the development industry commits RN to a 'apply and serve' dynamic when applying for funding at different funding organisations. RN applies for funding from organisations and is then conditioned by the funders to report and structure their activities in ways the funder requires.

The interaction between RN and its funders pertain some structures of power. Most notably, the principle of developmentality applies to this interaction. There are certain mechanisms that continues the dynamic of developmentality. A 'metacode' and ex-post conditionality both aid in persisting the aid chain as it has functioned for many years. The odd thing is that both RN and funders are aware of this asymmetry of power. Thus, Lukes' (2004) second dimension of agenda-setting power is applied here. RNs flexibility is constrained by the dynamic described here. By conditions and the constant search for funds, RN cannot escape this project-cycle. Ex-post conditionality pressures RN to change their own agenda to fit the agendas of the funders. This, in turn, leads to the revelation that RNs position within the aid chain affects their possibility of implementing a radical self-help programme in a significant manner. RNs *position* is the key aspect that makes it difficult to make their own choices. Being dependent on other organisations for funding forces RN to make sacrifices for their recipients to receive some developmental aid. I do not say that RN are not able to implement some of their desired goals, but a wholesome *radical* approach seem unlikely with several conditions leading to sacrifices and altercations in their main development programme.

## 7. Summary and Conclusion

This thesis has examined the interaction between Response Network and its funders. Response Network has since its inception aimed to implement a *radical self-help programme* for their programme area in southern Zambia. As two Norwegian development workers started the organisation, it has strong connections with the Norwegian development tradition. According to their funders, RN has become an organisation with an impressive familiarity with the local community in Zambia and still maintains this vital connection. Village meetings are an extensive part of RN work and how they communicate with recipients. Their approach proves genuinely 'hands-on'. Getting to know people, listening to their stories, and feeling their joy and sorrow proves a straight in their continued work. I cannot honestly tell you how this communication works in detail because I could not travel to Zambia. I can only relay the stories my informants have told me in person. They tell a story to me where the workers in RN, and its recipients have become their friends. By travelling to the field, living, eating, laughing, and crying together with the people who live there. Their stories prove to be a testament to the work RN aims to carry out and, maybe more important, how they aim to do it.

This research utilised the RN case study to help shed some light on the difficulties when approaching participatory development. Through qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews and document analysis, I argue that this case contributes to a discussion on power structures in international development. To contribute to this discussion, this thesis asked the question: "*How does RN's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?*" This is a broad question that needs examining to properly answer. Three subquestions were devised for this:

- 1.a. "How are power structures present in the interaction between RN and their funders?"
- 1.b. "Are aid funders conscious of how structures of power are exercised and do they respect RNs principles of self-help and participation?"
- 1.c. "How can RN retain flexibility in implementing its programme within the constraints of the development industry?"

**1.a** was answered by examining contracts, reports and interviews. Power is present in this interaction through the accountability in the aid chain. RN is held accountable for the actions the organisation takes with the funds they are trusted with. The dependency creates this accountability by RN of the funders. The need for funds drives the reproduction of this power dynamic. The developmentality in this dynamic also drives this reproduction. Because the development industry is structured to facilitate development through massive reporting routines and advanced requirements by the facilitating organisations, increased funding is required to maintain trust with the funders themselves. Expensive workers are tasked with reporting and facilitating development for the recipients. Thus, a metacode or developmentality is created.

**1.b** was answered by examining the communication between the parties in addition to interviews. Many funders are aware that RN is required to frame their development programmes according to the funders topical conditioning. This is a form of ex-post developmentality as described by Eyben et al. (2015). Interestingly, funders themselves feel restrained by the conditions of their own funders.

**1.c** was answered by investigating the power structures surrounding RN and how the organisation maintains its role as a participatory development organisation. RNs flexibility is limited. The conditions and metacode maintain the fact that RN is a facilitating organisation, not a funder. Even in their partnership with SMISO, they have to report to SMISO about the work they do. With AW, it has proven to be easier to choose directions themselves. However, AW adds conditions regarding the topic that RN can work with, which was education.

Through these subquestions, I answered the question: "*How does RN's position within aid chains affect its possibilities for implementing a radical self-help facilitation programme?*" RNs position does limit their ability to implement such a radical programme. Even though the funders are fully committed to RN and development work, there is still a developmentality that hinders that from happening. The funders are limited by the ability their 'back donors' provide to condition the contracts. NIF, for example, apply for funds from NORAD to fund development work in the south. These funds are then conditioned by NORAD, which again is conditioned to RN. Working with private companies such as AW gives RN the possibility of having a more significant say in how the programme is shaped. They still need to follow the topical condition set by the funder.

RN states themselves that to attain enough funding, they have to find funders that fit their profile. So far, they have managed to do so. RN still satisfactorily runs their self-help programme. All of their cooperations with funders have been initiated together as 'partners'. However, what happens when the organisation is in dire need of funding? Will RN deviate from the original mandate? There are no clear answers to this, but I argue that because of the developmentality seen in this research, it might be hard for RN to continue on the same path as before without sacrificing some of their radical approach.

Contrary to these restrictions that modern development trends pose for RN, it is evident that RN has managed to create a niche with their radical approach to development that excites and attracts funders. All interviewed funders describe RN as a unique organisation that they would like to continue their cooperation with. Often, it is the mandate of each organisation that restricts this willingness to cooperate. One could then argue that funders are more flexible with RN in comparison with other facilitating organisations.

## **7.2. Ex-post conditionality - A new trend?**

The current state of international development poses some questions. Both RN and its funders note a turn towards more and more private investment. RNs cooperation with AW is likely to continue as both parties are eager to do so. RN is also eager to engage in new cooperations with other private companies. Is this proof of tendencies towards a larger focus on ex-post conditionality or topical partnerships. RN accepts the fact that they need to find funders in order to continue as an organisation. This means that they apply for funding that fits within their mandate. They have done so with AW and the topic of education. They have also done this with NIF on sports, NCA on education, SMISO on psychological health, and NAD on people with disabilities. Funders also face an increasing amount of conditions. Therefore, development programmes can become narrower and more distinct in the type of communities they choose to develop. This is expressively a turn away from participation and the inclusion of the recipients of development.

### **7.3. Further research**

This thesis has dealt with the interaction between funders and facilitating organisations. It would be interesting to investigate how recipients are affected by the power structures in this interaction of the aid chain. Participatory development is, after all, meant to benefit the recipients themselves. There have been several critiques of how organisations deal with participatory facilitation in recipients' communities (Mosse, 2005). This thesis has only investigated the power dynamics RN are subjected to. RN maintains a power dynamic with its recipients similar to how funders hold power over RN.

Funders are as well prone to power asymmetries from their 'back donors'. It would be interesting to investigate power asymmetries within multilateral development. The UN, WB, IMF, and states themselves hold much power, which affects development in many ways. This thesis has touched upon third-party reporting and how NORAD holds power over its recipient organisations like NIF and the NCA. RN is also affected by this. This thesis can help answer some of these discussions, but complete research on power dynamics in international aid would require more. This is a small part of an extensive discussion of international development.

## 8. Appendices

### Appendix 1 - Disability Program

#### Self-Help Facilitation, Disability program (Funder: NAD)

*Self-help facilitation with emphasis on mainstreaming of persons with disabilities in the day to day activities through 10 outcomes.*

**Outcome 1** encouraged the enrolment of children inclusive of those with disabilities in their own local environment

**Outcome 2** targeted increased awareness among rural target communities to establish and participate in inclusive sporting activities (women, children and persons with disabilities).

**Outcome 3** focused on literacy of adults including those with disabilities.

**Outcome 5** encouraged women including those with disabilities to participate in Save and borrow/Self-help groups to earn an income.

**Outcome 6 and 7**, focused on improvement of health and nutrition standards for house-holds inclusive of those with disabilities.

**Outcome 8**, promoted awareness of people's rights with emphasis on the rights of persons with disabilities, children and women.

**Outcome 9** emphasised on awareness of communities against alcohol and drug abuse and the dangers thereof.

**Outcome 10** focus on raising awareness on disability inclusion, with a specific focus on access to local justice and representation in the day-to-day activities.



## Appendix 2 - JCP Annual Narrative Report from NCA Partner (About participation)

### 16.1. Participation in project planning and reporting

- a) *Were the Rights Holders and/or other stakeholders (such as local authorities, community leaders, etc) involved in project planning? If yes, in what ways?*

**Yes they were involved. The DEBS office was involved during consultations and authorization process to put up community Schools in the target communities. The community leaders were also involved during the headmen's sensitization meeting in which it was agreed how the project was going to be implemented through Self-help approach**

- b) *Were the Rights Holders and/or other stakeholders (such as local authorities, community leaders, etc) involved in decision making on budget and project planning? If yes, in what ways?*

**The stakeholders were involved during the planning but were not involved in the budgeting stage because the schools plans are standardized from the DEBS' office.**

- c) *Do you have examples of meetings/consultation with Rights Holders to gather information on results?*

**During assessment of community Schools the community school teachers were consulted on results.**

### 16.2. Coordination with and participation in networks and alliances

- a) *Were there any linkages with other peer organizations in the area?*

**Response Network linked with AKROS and Caritas Zambia on how they organisation could collaborate. Both Caritas and AKROS are involved in a sanitation program and put up toilets in communities. In Simusunge AKROS put 4 x VIP toilets at the School while discussions are underway with Caritas on how best future collaboration could be enhanced.**

- b) *Did you participate in any multi-stakeholder forums, for example with authorities on different levels, bilateral and multilateral donors, etc?*

**No**

## **Appendix 3 - List of informants**

- Founder of Response Network - Håkon Spigseth
- Current Director of Response Network
- Member of the board at Response Network
- Representative 1 for the Norwegian Church Aid
- Representative 2 for the Norwegian Church Aid
- Representative for Academic Work
- Representative for SMISO Tromsø
- Representative for Norges Idrettsforbund
- Representative for NOREC

## Appendix 4 - Interview guide

# Interview-Guide

### Statement of information

This interview guide is based on using semi-structured qualitative interviews as a structure for conducting interviews. This allows the respondent to freely express what is important to them in accordance with the question the researcher asks them. To avoid the revelation of unnecessary personal data through this free-speaking method, the respondent will, before the interview, be urged to not reveal any of this information.

Even though the audio recorder stores encrypted data which only the researcher have access to, it is important to not reveal any personal information about the respondent which is not relevant for the study itself.

*Questions are divided in seven categories. This is to create a correspondence between the answers given.*

*Hence, semi-structured.*

#### General Info

- What position do you hold at this NGO?
  - What are your tasks/responsibilities?
- Have you worked here for long?
- Can you tell me about your background in development?
- How did you first get started with RN?

#### History of RN (Spigseth)

- You were a part of the foundation of RN. Can you tell me about the start of the organisation?
- Which partners did you first seek out to work with?
- Why Zambia (Livingstone)?
  - How does RNs method of going aid fit in with the Zambian context?
- How did you communicate your ideas to partners?
- Documents?

#### Development strategy

- Can you explain how Response Network works with development?
  - What I the process of proposing, implementing and maintaining projects?
- Tell me about what you mean by "self-help facilitation"?
  - How did this method surface?
- How does this method influence how you work with recipients of aid?
- Would you say this leads to 'better' development?

### **Participatory aid**

- Can you tell me about your perception of participatory aid?
- In what way do the wishes and desires of recipients of aid translate in your work?
- Can you explain if you face any problems when cooperating with recipients of aid?
- Are there any planned or ongoing initiatives to further the participation of recipients of aid?
  - If so, could you explain what they entail?
- Do you have any suggestions to how this method of giving aid could be improved?

### **Relationship**

- How did you initiate the cooperation with your funders?
- Why did you choose to cooperate with the specific funders?
  - How do you choose funders?
- Do you encounter any difficulties when initiating contact with funders?

### **Funding**

- Can you tell me about the funding Response Network receives?
  - Which NGOs?
- Are you posed with any requirements to get this funding?
  - Did you sit down and discuss these requirements?
    - Were you in agreement straight away?
- Do you need to report back to the funder in any way?
- Has the funding changed over the years?
  - If so, how?

### **Communication**

- Could you explain how you communicate with funders/partners?
- How often do you communicate?
- Do you feel that your/Response Networks needs are met?
- Do you feel that the recipients needs are met?
- Do you meet with your funders often?

### **Power**

- According to previous research, power structures continue to persist even through participatory aid is said to disrupt said structures. How do you view power and its effects within participatory aid?

## Appendix 5 - Informed Consent Form

### Do you want to participate in the project *"Power Structures in International Aid"*?

This is a question about whether you are willing to participate in a research project where the purpose is to investigate power inequalities within aid. The following segments contains information about the goals of the project and what your participation will entail.

#### **Purpose**

By looking at; *"To what extent does Response Network's method of 'self-help facilitation' help the organisation avoid the difficulties of mainstream aid, as described in post-development literature"*, this research aims to focus on power relations in the micro- and meso-levels of international aid and how participatory methods of aid really work. This research is will eventually lead to a master thesis on the subject.

#### **Who is responsible for this research?**

This master project is supported by Oslo Metropolitan University. It will be carried out by Håkon Rotvold (master student), under the supervision of Axel Borchgrevink (Professor, Development Studies).

#### **Why are you asked to participate?**

You have been selected to participate due to your, or your organisation's affiliation to the organisation Response Network and their work on participatory development.

#### **What does your participation entail?**

You will be asked to take part in an interview session with the researcher. Through this, the researcher aims to gather information on how aid organisations work together and how aid organisations cooperate with its recipients.

Your answers will be recorded on an encrypted sound-recording to ensure the protection of your personal information. The researcher will gather information on your organisation and affiliated programmes, but not you as a person.

#### **Participation is voluntary**

Participation in this project is voluntary. Should you choose to participate, you have full freedom to withdraw your consent without providing a reason. All information about you will in then be deleted. There will not be any negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or withdraw at a later time.

#### **Your privacy – how we store and use your information**

Information about you will only be used to the purposes stated in this script. We treat your information confidentially and in correspondence with privacy regulations.

- *Only the student (researcher) and the affiliated supervisor will have access to your information*
- *To ensure the protection of your information, precautionary steps will be made. No names will be recorded. If a name is mentioned in a recording, it will not be mentioned in other data or the thesis itself. Sound-recordings will be stored in the encoded audio application "Nettskjema".*

No informant will be recognisable in the published thesis. Only organisations (if agreed upon) will be mentioned.

#### **What happens to your information when the project is finalised?**

All information is anonymised when the project is finished, which should be before the 30. of June 2021. When finished, all personal information will be deleted.

#### **Your rights**

As long as you are identifiable in the data material, you have the right to:

- *Insight into which personal information we have registered about you, and receive a copy of the information,*
- *to have your personal information corrected,*
- *to delete personal information about you, and,*
- *to submit a complaint to the Data inspectorate regarding the processing of your personal data.*

### **What gives us the right to process personal information about you?**

We process personal information about you based on your consent.

On behalf of OsloMet, NSD - Norwegian Center for Research Data AS has considered that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with privacy regulations.

### **Where can I find out more?**

If you have questions about the study, or wish to exercise your rights, please contact:

- *Researcher/Student - Håkon Rotvold by email to [hakon.rotvold@me.com](mailto:hakon.rotvold@me.com), or*
- *Supervisor Axel Borchgrevink by email to [axel@oslomet.no](mailto:axel@oslomet.no)*
- *Our data protection officer: Ingrid Jacobsen, [ingrid.jacobsen@oslomet.no](mailto:ingrid.jacobsen@oslomet.no)*

If you have questions related to NSD's assessment of the project, please contact:

- *NSD – Norwegian Center for Research Data AS by email to ([personverntjenester@nsd.no](mailto:personverntjenester@nsd.no)) or by phone to: 55 58 21 17.*

Best regards

*Axel Borchgrevink*  
(Supervisor)

*Håkon Rotvold*  
(Student)

## **Form of consent**

I have received and understood the information provided about project *Power structures in International Aid*, and had the opportunity to ask questions. I consent to:

- participate in a personal interview
- allow sound-recording of my voice and the information I provide

I agree that my information is processed until the completion of the project.

-----  
(Signed by participant, date)

## 9. References

- 
- ACT Alliance. (2021). About. Retrieved from <https://actalliance.org/about/>
- 
- Akram, S., Emerson, G., & Marsh, D. (2015). (Re)Conceptualising the third face of power: insights from Bourdieu and Foucault. *Journal of Political Power*, 8(3), 345-362.
- 
- Alastair, F. (2005). Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: Now Who Calls the Shots? *Review of African Political Economy*, 32(104/105), 317-340. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.oslomet.no/stable/4007077>
- 
- Arce, A., & Long, N. (1992). The dynamics of knowledge. In *Battlefields of knowledge* (pp. 211-260): Routledge.
- 
- Brinkmann, S. (2015). *InterViews : learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing* (3rd ed. ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- 
- The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon*. (2014). (L. Lawlor & J. Nale Eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 
- Chambers, R. (1986). Putting the last first. In: Routledge.
- 
- Chambers, R. (1992). *Rural appraisal: rapid, relaxed and participatory*: Institute of Development Studies (UK).
- 
- Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose reality counts*.
- 
- Chambers, R. (2013, 07.07.2021). Power - The elephant in the room. Retrieved from <https://vimeo.com/user13958607/review/70933318/691547376b>
- 
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2017). *Research methods in education*: routledge.
- 
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?* : Zed books.
- 
- Cooperative Agreement*. (2019). Academic Work & Response Network.
- 
- Crewe, E., & Harrison, E. (1998). *Whose development*. London: Zed Books.
- 
- De Haan, A. (2009). *How the aid industry works: an introduction to international development*: Kumarian Press.
- 
- Dembour, M. B., & Dembour, M. B. (2006). Who Believes in Human Rights?: Reflections on the European Convention. In (pp. 232-271): Cambridge University Press.
- 
- Desai, V., & Potter, R. (2006). *Doing development research*. London: Sage.
- 
- Elmer, G. (2012). Panopticon-discipline-control. In *Routledge handbook of surveillance studies* (Vol. 21, pp. 29). London: Routledge.
- 
- Eyben, R., Guijt, I., Roche, C., & Shutt, C. (2015). *The politics of evidence and results in international development: Playing the game to change the rules?* : Practical Action Publishing Rugby.

- 
- Ferguson, J. (1990). *The anti-politics machine: 'development', depoliticization and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- 
- Fidel, R. (1984). The case study method: a case study. *Library and Information Science Research*, 6(3), 273-288.
- 
- Findlay, A. M. (2006). The Importance of Census and Other Secondary Data in Development Studies. In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (Eds.), *Doing development research* (Vol. 1, pp. 262-272). London: Sage.
- 
- Flint, A., & Natrup, C. M. z. (2014). Ownership and Participation: Toward a Development Paradigm based on Beneficiary-led Aid. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 30(3), 273-295.
- 
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245.
- 
- Foucault, M. (2013). *Archaeology of knowledge*: Routledge.
- 
- Fraser, A. (2008). Zambia: Back to the future. The politics of aid: African strategies for dealing with donors, 299-328.
- 
- Harrison, G. (2001). Post-Conditionality Politics and Administrative Reform: Reflections on the Cases of Uganda and Tanzania. *Development and Change*, 32(4), 657-679. Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-7660.00221>
- 
- Haynes, J. (2008). *Development studies: Polity*.
- 
- Hilgers, M., & Mangez, É. (2015). Introduction to Pierre Bourdieu's social fields. In (pp. 1-36).
- 
- Hunjan, R., & Keophilavong, S. (2010). *Power and making change happen*: Carnegie UK Trust.
- 
- Jacobsen, D. I. (2005). *Hvordan gjennomføre undersøkelser?: innføring i samfunnsvitenskapelig metode* (Vol. 2): Høyskoleforlaget Kristiansand, Norway.
- 
- Jakobsen, R. (2008). *En rapport om Response Network og utvikling i seks landsbyer i sørlige Zambia*. Oslo Metropolitan University.
- 
- Jensen, C. B., & Winthereik, B. R. (2013). *Monitoring movements in development aid: recursive partnerships and infrastructures*: MIT Press.
- 
- Jerven, M., & Jerven, M. (2013). Poor numbers : how we are misled by African development statistics and what to do about it. In (pp. XX, 187). Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- 
- Judge, A. (1970). *International Organizations and the Generation of the Will to Change*.
- 
- Lie, J. H. S. (2015). *Developmentality: an ethnography of the World Bank-Uganda partnership*: Berghahn Books.
- 
- Lukes, S. (2004). *Power: A radical view*: Macmillan International Higher Education.
- 
- Macola, G. (2008). *One Zambia, many histories: towards a history of post-colonial Zambia*: Brill.



- 
- Mann, M. (2008). American empires: Past and present. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 45(1), 7-50.
- 
- Marshall, M. N. (1996). The key informant technique. *Family practice*, 13, 92-97.
- 
- Mattsson, A. (2008). The power to do good: Post-revolution, NGO society, and the emergence of NGO-elites in contemporary Nicaragua. Lund University,
- 
- Mosse, D. (2001). Participation : the new tyranny? In U. Kothari & B. Cooke (Eds.), (pp. XII, 207 s.). London: Zed Books.
- 
- Mosse, D. (2005). Cultivating development: An ethnography of aid policy and practice (edition). In: London.
- 
- Nehls, K., Smith, B. D., & Schneider, H. A. (2015). Video-conferencing interviews in qualitative research. In *Enhancing qualitative and mixed methods research with technology* (pp. 140-157): IGI Global.
- 
- Network, R. (2017). Annual Narrative Report from NCA Partner.
- 
- Network, R. (2019). Annual Report.
- 
- NMFA. (2003-2004). *Fighting Poverty Together*. (Report No. 35 to the Storting). Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- 
- NOREC. (2021). About NOREC. Retrieved from <https://www.norec.no/en/about-norec/what-norec-does/>
- 
- Nustad, K. G. (2001). Development: The devil we know? *Third World Quarterly*, 22(4), 479-489. doi:10.1080/01436590120071731
- 
- OHCHR. (1989). Convention of the Rights of the Child. Retrieved from <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>
- 
- Project Proposal*. (2006). Response Network.
- 
- Rottenburg, R. (2009). Far-fetched facts: A parable of development aid: MIT Press.
- 
- Said, E. W. (1995). *Orientalism* (Repr. with a new afterword ed.). London: Penguin Books.
- 
- Serpell, N. (2019). *The Old Drift*: Random House.
- 
- Stokke, O. (2013). Aid and political conditionality: Routledge.
- 
- Tvedt, T. (1998). Angels of mercy or development diplomats? NGOs & foreign aid: James Currey Ltd. & Africa World Press, Inc.
- 
- Tvedt, T. (2003). Utviklingshjelp, utenrikspolitikk og makt: den norske modellen. Oslo: Gyldendal.
- 
- Uvin, P. (2007). From the right to development to the rights-based approach: how 'human rights' entered development. *Development in Practice*, 17(4-5), 597-606.

---

Waldrop, A., & Egden, S. (2018). Getting Behind the Walls and Fences: Methodological Considerations of Gaining Access to Middle-class Women in Urban India. *Forum for Development Studies*, 45(2), 239-260.

---

Wallace, T., Bornstein, L., & Chapman, J. (2007). *The aid chain*. Rugby: ITP.

---

Whitfield, L. (2008). *The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors*: OUP Oxford.

---

Yin, R. K. (2017). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods*: Sage publications.

---