

CONSULTANTS FOR DEVELOPMENT

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Rural Development
Agriculture
Land & Water Management
Water supply & Sanitation
Institutional Development

WORKSHOP

Transfer, Self-reliance, Privatisation.

June 26th 1991

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Final Report

SAWA, Utrecht

REPORT OF SAWA WORKSHOP ON

TRANSFER, SELF-RELIANCE AND PRIVATIZATION

OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

JUNE 26th 1991

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CONTENTS

Programme of the workshop			
Organization of this report			
1. "The Card Game"			
Results of different Groups			3
Points of interest following from the card game			5
2. Summary of presentations			7
3. Themes in the discussion on transfer, self-reliance and privatization			8
4. Concluding remarks			
Summary	y of work	shop discussions; points of attention	13
Appendic	ces:		
W	orkshop p	papers	
	1.	Tony Kofi;	
		Experiences, Development Programmes in Ghana	
	2.	Akosua Adomako;	
		Socio-Cultural Preconditions for effective transfer of	
		Development projects	
	3.	Sjef Gussenhoven;	
		Sustainability of Projects, Institutional and Economical Aspects	
	4.	Ko ter Hofstede;	
	-	Institutional Development Processes	
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List of participants

PROGRAMME OF THE WORKSHOP

Morning

- Video on the SAWA/Tamadevs/Cebemo rural water supply project in Ghana
- "Card game" with regards to transfer and privatization
- Introductions by:

Tony Kofi (STAND)
Akosua Adomako (DAWS)
Ko ter Hofstede (SAWA)
Sjef Gussenhoven (ETC)

Evening

- Discussion on the basis of propositions

ORGANIZATION OF THIS REPORT

This report is organized as follows. Each part of the morning session is summarized briefly starting with the "card game" which took place in three sub-groups. As the four introductions were included in the reader issued prior to the workshop, they are dealt with summarily in this report, focusing on the points which were new. The evening session was devoted almost wholly to discussion on the issues of transfer, self-reliance and privatization of development projects. The basis of the discussion was formed by a number of propositions which were formulated during the lunch break. Instead of following the chronology of the discussion, the report groups the various remarks and points of view according to a number of themes.

1. "THE CARD GAME"

Set up: The card game was intended to bring the participants in the mood by stimulating them to deliberate on the subject of the workshop: transfer, self-reliance and privatization. Those present were divided into three groups each receiving a bundle of cards and slightly different assignments. The cards each mentioned possible steps in the transfer/privatization process, and the groups were asked to place them in an order they felt was right. If a group felt there were steps missing, new cards could be made; cards could also be excluded. The assignments varied in two ways: the subject from whose point of view it was to be made, and the exercise itself. Group A was asked to deliberate on the transfer of a project from the point of view of a senior local staff member participating in the project; Group C also discussed the transfer of a project, but from the point of view of a SAWA (expatriate) consultant in the project; Group B looked into the privatization of the project from the viewpoint of an external consultant.

Following the sub-group meetings in which a transfer/privatization procedure was established, the groups presented their results. The points which ensued formed a stepping-stone for the rest of the discussion.

Results of Group A:

The steps to be followed in transfer according to a senior local staffmember:

Determination of objectives

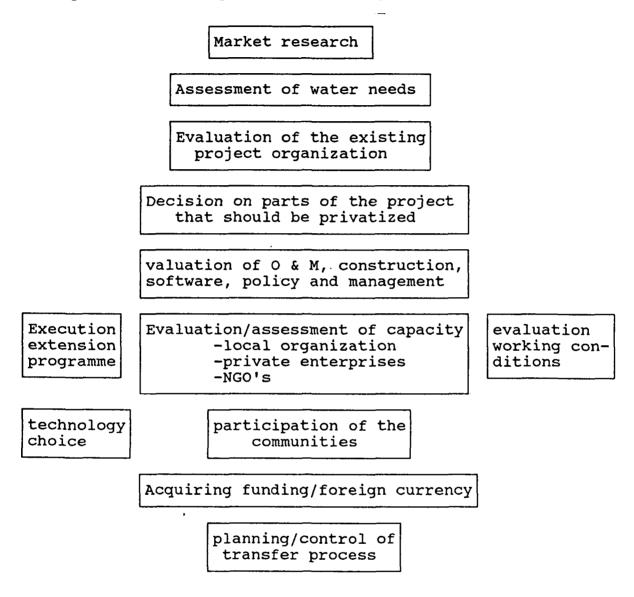
Funding/Foreign Evaluation of the Assessment of water needs currency project organization (techn. & social) Evaluation of the Market research local NGO Evaluation of the Participation of the communities working conditions of personnel Organizational Transfer/maintenance of water structuring (determination of responsibilisupplies ties project/NGO Planning/control of the transfer process Training of project staff Phasing out of expatriates

Explanation and points of debate:

- The motives of a senior local staff officer in a development project who is confronted with the issue of transfer are twofold: he/she will try to maintain job security, and he/she will try to have/gain influence over future policy. Funding is an important issue with regard to job security. Various possibilities can be looked into in this regard.
- The fact that the project now becomes "local" changes the position of the project staff vis-a-vis the target-group. One has to keep this in mind.
- If the project continues to use foreign funds, "business goes on as usual", and the project remains dependent on external donors.

Results of Group B:

The steps to be followed in privatization, according to an external consultant:

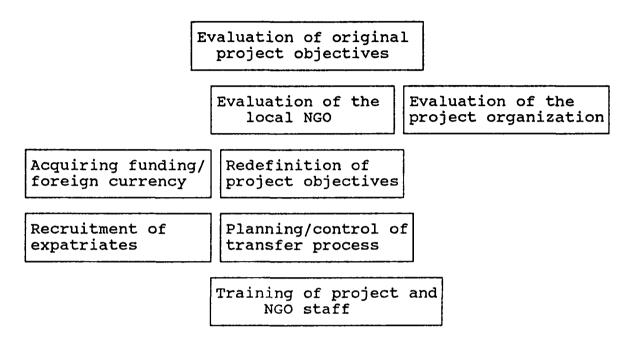


Explanation and points of debate:

- Question: who is to carry out the various steps in this set-up? Answer: the consultant could carry out only the evaluatory tasks.
- Question: what happens to the project parts which cannot be privatized? Answer: look for funding. In other words, these components are not to be discontinued.

Results of Group C:

The steps to be followed in the transfer of a project from the viewpoint of a SAWA project officer:



The group didn't discuss the need for market research nor the evaluation of working conditions of personnel.

Points of interest following from the card game

- the fact that the position of the observer determines his/her viewpoints on the manner in which transfer is to be carried out is interesting. The local staff officer represented by group A is most concerned about job security and his/her say in policy-making, while the consultant in group B starts the transfer process with an assessment of the market.
- one aspect which was not considered in the game is who is involved and consulted in the various phases of the transfer process. Does one involve only the senior local staff of the project, the whole staff, the NGO personnel, the donor?

- if privatization is the objective, an important issue is which parts are privatized and which are not and what does one do with components which one does not wish or consider able to be privatized? As was suggested by group B, such components could be continued through funding; another option would be to stop them altogether.
- should transfer of a project or its privatization be linked to the discontinuation of funding, or could funding be continued for a certain period or for certain project components?

2. Summary of presentations

Tony Kofi. In starting up a programme, one should take into consideration the carrying capacity of the people; a goal should also be to minimize foreign funding. Privatization of a project cannot be realized unless the social, physical and economic situation of the country is looked into. Transfer is the final stage of a project and should be anticipated upon from the beginning. Transfer can be facilitated by involving the target group from an early stage. If the project is to be transferred to the government, government institutions/officials must be involved in project decision-making.

Akosua Adomako. It is essential that socio-cultural characteristics of the people involved in the project as staff or as target group are taken into consideration before the project is initiated. If this isn't done, transfer of the project at a later stage becomes difficult. Why is this so? A development project with a large foreign input involves large differences in culture: dissimilar values are attributed to objects and to ways of doing things, different patterns of organization may be used, and policies may receive a different content. An example is the value which is attributed to hierarchy and authority in Ghanaian society, this can be contradicted by the way a project is organized.

Ko ter Hofstede. Talking about the transfer of a project generally commences too late as it should have been incorporated from the beginning. The main issue is to build up development capacity in the country itself, and to support local organizations to improve their planning/monitoring capacities. Transfer is the final result of this effort. A major problem is the fact that donors don't have time to help organizations build up their capacities as they are under pressure to spend money, this limits the possibilities for growth. What donors should do more is lean back, withdraw, and consider the question what they should <u>refrain</u> from doing.

Sjef Gussenhoven. What is to be transferred to whom? This is an important question. The issue of transfer is made concrete if one thinks in terms of functions and tasks to be transferred and staff to whom responsibilities are delegated. Opposes the trend to consider privatization as the answer to management of development projects. The market is often not transparent, private capital may be scarce (inflation may discourage private investors), and political processes may influence the economy negatively. Under such circumstances it may not be possible or desirable to privatize a project. Would like to talk more about sustainability than about transfer, as sustainability means that capacities to manage are developed.

3. Themes in the discussion on transfer, self-reliance and privatization.

How does one prepare for the transfer of a project from its inception?

A certain amount of consensus emerged with regard to several necessary elements:

- projects should derive from the people themselves, with whom one should sit down, analyze problems and possible solutions. If projects are not taken away from the people, they need not be given back. [But: there are various categories of people in any project area; who do you listen and talk to? How much time does one take to discuss a project initially]
- the initiative should come from Third World organizations themselves. [But: donors often influence the conditions and forms of a project in practice]
- time should be given for a project and project management to develop; perhaps as much as ten or twenty years. Current practice is for funding to stop after a much shorter period.
- donors should be prepared to pay for institutional costs, and invest in the development of management and planning capacities.

Other remarks:

- local people should be represented within donor organizations to ensure that their voices are heard in policy-making;
- the viewpoint that the starting point of projects should be the ideas, wishes and culture of the local inhabitants is contradictory to the fact that development also means social change and innovation.

Should project aims be adapted to the capacity of the local NGO, or the NGO be encouraged to develop to realize the project aims?

The discussion with regard to this question starts with the remark that in the Ghana project, it appears that SAWA and the local N.G.O. decided to use large-scale non-indigenous methods early in the project period (...) this choice has impeded transfer to the local NGO. One of the SAWA staff answers that this choice was in fact inspired by the high expectations of the population and the local NGO. A more general discussion ensues, with two contrasting viewpoints. One standpoint is that a project should not be made bigger than the capacity of the NGO at the moment. Why? (...) because this increases the sustainability of a project. The needs are always enormous and one should not take it upon oneself to try to meet them. Sustainability is a more important objective.

The other position is that the felt needs of the target-group are (often) larger than the handling capacity of an NGO. Reducing the scale of a project increases the problem of the people. Moreover, a project need not always be transferred, sometimes it just ends after a task is completed. In this case, carrying capacity of a local partner is not important.

Although the first viewpoint has the most adherents, the dilemma between needs of the target population and the capacities of local organizations is clearly recognized.

Other remarks:

- <u>if</u> the choice is made for a large-scale non-indigenous solution, donors should provide support for a longer period of time to facilitate transfer.

Proposition: the fact that in most cases the donor decides time and manner impedes the sustainable transfer of projects.

The discussion focuses primarily on the SAWA Ghana project, which is funded by Cebemo. An argument arises about the extent to which Cebemo pressurizes the local counterpart (the Archdiocese of Tamale) to proceed in a certain direction. According to the Cebemo desk-officer to the meeting, pressure is negligible, the only thing Cebemo does is ask the Archdiocese about its ideas for the future and stimulate it to listen more to its constituency. This should give it and the project a broader base.

The debate moves to a more general level when it is remarked that donor organizations often express the wish to terminate a project after a certain period of time as a result of changing priorities. Fashions change, and this is a major problem for Third World organizations.

A participant states sometimes it is beneficial if donors put pressure on local organizations. The tension between donor and counterpart organizations can be a fruitful one.

Difficulties related to the transfer of management of projects initiated with a substantial non-indigenous input (like the Ghana project).

The opinion is expressed that social pressures in countries like Ghana will lower the productivity of projects following transfer.

Several reactions:

- -whether this happens depends on the organization of the project and the quality of the controlling body.
- -social relations and pressures have positive sides as well, which offset the negative ones. For example, social relations make it possible to get things done with government officials.
- -the transfer of responsibilities to counterparts should be gradual, and the counterpart must be allowed to make mistakes. If this is done, transfer need not have negative effects.

Another remark:

-projects are often started by 'outsiders', of whom it is known that they will leave after a few years. The local population in this case is hesitant to attach itself to a project (...) this impedes transfer.

What should donors/consultants refrain from doing to facilitate transfer?

One point was: to start with, donors should not develop models of transfer, as this should be done by the counterparts themselves. The role of a donor should be to help people think out things themselves and animate discussion, and not to bring in fixed ideas. The learning process is important, perhaps more so than the product [But: how far do you go in focusing on the process and not on the product?]. A second point: donors should refrain from implementing large-scale projects. The smaller a project and the more it is adapted to the capacities of the local NGO, the more easily it can be transferred.

A question: should donors also refrain from getting involved in the implementation of projects? One reaction: no, technical assistance in implementation can be important, especially in the beginning stages of a project.

Another point: donors should refrain from posting technicians who are not interested in social aspects of their work in projects, as this often results in their products not being used. Recruitment should focus on taking on broad-minded professionals. Finally: long-term expatriate involvement often impedes indigenization and should be avoided. Animation in particular should include local staff as well.

How does one increase the planning, monitoring and evaluation capacity of local organizations?

One aspect mentioned by several participants is the importance of training. If local staff are felt to lack capacities to manage the project (existing capacities should be identified in an early stage), training should be a major objective. It can take place on the spot, but staff can also be sent to follow courses in other places or abroad. One participant disagrees with the latter option and feels it is better to do training on the spot.

Others remark on the need to train expatriates on working in other countries, and on how to convey knowledge to counterparts.

Following training, it was generally felt that counterparts should be allowed and encouraged to make their own decisions with regard to project activities and to monitor development. One learns through doing, and mistakes are part of the learning process. Expatriates should refrain from imposing their solution to problems too quickly, but should encourage discussion and brainstorming. Through an exchange of ideas, models and solutions can be developed.

4. Concluding remarks

The workshop had a broad focus, dealing as it did with issues of transfer, privatization and self-reliance of development projects. Although most of the discussion related to the transfer of project <u>management</u> in cases in which non-indigenous input is high (such as in the Ghana project), the sustainability of projects in general was also addressed. Other issues were: the role of donor organizations and the goal of development itself.

POINTS OF ATTENTION

Summary of workshop discussions.

- 1. Realize that the position of the different parties involved in the transfer process determines their motivations and interests regarding the manner in which transfer is to be carried out.
- 2. Try to determine the role external funding plays and needs to play in relation to (different stages in) the development process.
- 3. Who will carry out the various steps in the transfer process and who will monitor and evaluate it?
- 4. Privatization does not necessarily imply the whole project should be transferred; instead, only certain parts could be privatized. For different functions and tasks separate organizational and financial solutions could be found.
- 5. The social, physical and economic situation of the country, the region and the community should be looked into when transfer is considered.
- 6. Target groups and local NGO's need to be involved in an early stage of the process.
- 7. Which role do socio-cultural characteristics of the people involved play?
- 8. Does one adapt a project to the capacity of the local NGO or, on the other hand, adapt the local NGO to the project which is formulated in response to the urgent needs of the communities? How does one cope with this dilemma?
- 9. What does one doe with western 'time-limit approach' and on the other hand the need for local partners to have sufficient time to develop their institutional capacity?
- 10. What impact could the representation of local people within donor and consultancy organizations have on policy making and transfer processes?
- 11. An important and interesting role for donors and consultants is to animate discussions instead of presenting blueprints and methods.
- 12. The focus should be on the process instead of on the presentation of models.
- 13. The dilemma of limited time on the one hand and spending pressure on the other should be solved.
- 14. What kinds of training could contribute to the capacities needed to manage the project and to realize transfer?

What should donors/consultants refrain from doing to facilitate transfer?

- 1. Donors and consultants should not develop models of transfer.
- 2. The implementation of large-scale projects should be avoided if transfer is the final aim.
 - 3. Technicians who are not interested in social aspects of their work in projects should not be posted.
 - 4. Long term expatriate involvement should be avoided because it often impedes indigenization.

EXPERIENCES, DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN GHANA

PAPER PRESENTED TO THE SAWA WORKSHOP ON TRANSFER, SELF-RELIANCE, PRIVATIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Utrecht, 26th June, 1991

Tony Kofi Stichting Afrika Naast de Deur (STAND) Amsterdam

1. INTRODUCTION

For the purposes of this seminar on transfer, self-reliance and privatization of Development Programmes in Ghana, it is essential that the experiences of development programmes is seen through the backdrop of their history. It is by this means that the progressive changes, which have occurred from the precolonial concepts and practices of development programmes or community development, till the present day situations, can be understood. It is also this understanding that can help us appreciate the parameters with which Ghanaian communities have created what they have today, especially in many rural societies which have had the least outside intervention in their development. Furthermore, it is also this understanding which can help us find a better process in implementing development projects with the view to handing them over or transferring them when the foreign "ingredients" are withdrawn so that we can guarantee successful continuity.

I have taken the liberty of suggesting four identifiable stages in the development process in Ghana. My presentation is given in a skeleton form to encourage a better discussion and to discourage any idea of a pre-conceived conclusion or solution.

2. TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN PRE-COLONIAL GHANA.

The driving force of many Ghanaian communities for development was a shared interest and concern to sustain and secure the best they could get from their environment. The native institutions which made this possible were the chief with the elders and religious establishments; two inseparable and complementary bodies. Traditional democratic processes of decision-making involved the whole community in the planning stage through to the maintenance of the completed project.

- a. They decided the needs of the community, recommended the appropriate processes towards their implementation.
- b. They mobilized the resources needed, sometimes by taxation.
- c. The community used gender, class, and age-groups to divide the tasks involved, by means of direct participation, to realize the project.
- d. Individuals or groups, even new institutions, were given the task of supervising and maintaining the continuity of the project on behalf of the society.
- e. Sanctions and penalties were imposed to discourage any kind of dissent or any threat toward the project.

2.1 REFLECTIONS.

Many projects were able to come into being through community consciousness and actions; the following are some examples:

- The chief's palace which was also the townhall.
- Streets, marketplace and sacred grounds.
- Water supply resources, toilets and sewage systems.
- Roads, paths and bridges leading to important places.

Whatever the community did was within the context of their own sense of need and whatever they used for the project construction was from their own environment. There was a unity of purpose in whatever they did.

3. THE CHANGING CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FROM ABOUT 1800-1950.

After the arrival of Europeans in Ghana, especially during the scramble for Africa, their presence and activities fragmented the communities in which they settled. They undermined the power of the religious leaders who were the custodians of stability and development. They introduced new ethics and life-styles which were alien to those which the people had.

3.1 The Colonial Missionaries.

These were, in many cases, the path-finders of the European expansion in Ghana. Amongst themselves they were rivals in their Christian faith, and they also came from warring European countries. Effects of their presence and their practices created a new concept of life which influenced the development processes in Ghana:

- a. New religions divided the communities.
- b. The unity of purpose which made community development possible was distorted.
- c. Territories and enclaves were created within the societies setting the people apart.
- d. Parallel authorities were introduced which created a great deal of conflict within the communities.
- e. New concepts of beliefs, values and attitudes challenged the traditional ones.

3.2 The Traders, Miners, and Timber Contractors.

Alongside the missionaries came those who were attracted by commerce. They settled wherever their businesses were profitable. They introduced new codes of life and attitudes but also new types of construction. Indeed a new type of development which was far removed from the visions and the means of the people.

- a. They introduced Western-type structures such as houses, roads, railways, bridges and ferries, electricity and water supply, hospitals, recreational facilities and so forth.
- b. These were expanded to the other communities outside their immediate areas of operation. The people who benefitted from these supplies paid no user fees.
- c. These were done without the participation of the communities being viewed as a donation.

 Supervision and maintenance was carried out by the Europeans.
- d. For the first time people could earn a living without relying on the traditional co-operative system and the incomes gained were used to acquire new tastes and life-styles. People became "special" in that they had a new line to social mobility outside that of their customs and traditions.

3.3 REFLECTIONS.

The colonial administration encouraged these developments since it saw them as westernization of Ghana and this complemented their own efforts and development strategies.

- a. Many present-day Ghanaian communication patterns, urban centres and political administration centres were founded by these commercial interest groups and the missionaries.
- b. Places which they did not find profitable enough to operate, or with unfavourable climates for settlements were left out of these development efforts. Most of Northern Ghana was thus excluded from the new growth.
- c. The people of Ghana, through the social engineering mechanics of the colonial administration, were made to believe that to have the European alternative to living their traditional way was civilization. Therefore, all traditional initiatives were punitively discouraged except for the chieftaincies which were rather forcefully made partners in the colonial administration.
- d. A new group of elites was created who would become the "Black Europeans" with the tastes of the white people and with the power to make others follow the European thoughts and practices. The educational institutions were to become the breeding places for these new "Ghanaian-Europeans".

 Development concepts and practices would thence be European.

4. ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT ERA: 1957 - 1966.

When Ghana gained her independence from the British in 1957, the government embarked on massive development plans with the idea of making Ghana as good as any European country; "From now onwards Ghana would show the white man that the black man was capable of achieving what the white man was". That was the proclamation of Ghana's first prime minister on the eve of her independence. Development programmes were therefore intensified and spread all over the country, fashioned after inherited European models. Different strategies were used.

- a. Projects which were directly funded by the state and executed by foreign contractors and the local labour force.
- b. Projects which private interest groups were encouraged to fund and execute.
- c. Projects which the state and local authorities planned and which were funded and executed by the local authorities.
- d. The community development projects which were undertaken by several urban authorities with assistance from the state.
- e. Projects carried out under the rural development schemes known as 'Operation Self-help Projects". This became the catalyst for rural development. Under this programme, many rural areas became intense areas of competition to show which townships had the best new models for development.
- f. In the early 1960s, many foreign countries and UN agencies were invited to "come over to Macedonia".

 Many ODA experts came to Ghana, and many grants were given.

4.1 Reflections:

Through these initiatives, educational institutions, health facilities, communication networks, water and electricity supplies and other social services were increased, modernized and extended. In fact, education was made free and compulsory and at one time made up 60% of the national budget.

Community development became a full ministry and campaigned in the rural areas for development through self-help projects together with several other animation departments such as mass education and the ministry of information.

The wealthy in the rural areas embarked on intense competition amongst themselves to show who could donate the most towards the community's development. Several youth groups came into existence for the purpose of contributing to the development efforts in their home towns. Special harvests were conducted to raise money to support local development.

When the government which had initiated these development processes was overthrown in a military coup d'etat, the wind for such intense development was deflected elsewhere.

5. INCREASING ROLES OF EXTERNAL SUPPORT IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS.

The slowdown of Ghana's economy, and the lack of political will of subsequent governments after 1966 to continue the development processes of the former government created a vacuum which was gradually filled by foreign development assistance.

- a. Christian Missions Approach: Since these missions were spread in the rural areas, they were the first to see the deepening economic crisis and the effect this was having within their parishes. These missions had a knack for using their home countries to raise funds for "the poor". They were the first to know about the emerging development NGOs in Europe and America. Here again they became the path-finders for many western NGOs and subsequently became the conduits for the funds for development projects. In many cases in Ghana they have the best local NGO for development.
- b. UN Agencies: Almost all the service sector UN agencies have an office in Ghana. In many areas in Ghana they support a government or local development initiative. Since 1984, when the present government got approval for it's Economic Recovery Programme, the UN agencies have become prominent in the development process in Ghana.
- c. With the seal of approval of the IMF and the World Bank, many Western institutions for development assistance are now giving all kinds of support to Ghana's development needs.
- d. Western NGOs are also encouraged by this atmosphere to give development assistance to Ghana. They can be found in many parts of the rural areas in Ghana, especially in the North of Ghana which is comparatively poor and has seasonal shortfalls in water supply and is always threatened with food shortages due to acute rainfall patterns. They are a recipe for the Western concepts of "the poor in the third world" and therefore attract a bigger share of Northern NGO assistance to Ghana.

5.1 Reflections.

Many of the development initiatives from foreign sources were carried out without any serious participation by the end-users or beneficiaries. In many ways these projects are seen as donations and any shared involvement was either partial or negligible.

Most of the projects were in the service sector which, in Ghana, attracts very small fees or are absolutely free. This makes any attempt to make the project pay for itself very difficult.

In other instances, these projects, both cost-wise and technology-wise, are beyond the means of the beneficiaries or they don't even dream of embarking upon them. Their alternative to solving these problems, which these projects seem to offer, would be far less in scope and much more within their environmental resources. However, when these projects were politically expedient, local politicians made sure they received government support. When they have potential profitability the rich and powerful covet them. So for such projects, transfer or privatization is very easy.

6. CONCLUSION

It is now being debated in the corridors of western donors how best to transfer their projects after they have completed them. Certain factors must be taken into consideration:

- 1. How can the beneficiaries be made to pay for the sustenance of something they got as manna. More so, how can the poor be made to pay for something far above their means and visions?
- 2. In many cases, the technological transfer did not take place while the project was in the hands of the donors, so how can local expertise be required to sustain the project?
- 3. How can we continue to sustain the projects when the foreign inputs are withdrawn after the project is handed over, given the state of the economy of Ghana which was the reason for the project in the first place?
- 4. The idea or concept of "development" has been changing among donor countries and the poor from the third world are made to change their priorities in the development process accordingly; how then can they be made to take 'the other projects' seriously when they are no more 'development indicators'?
- 5. The Western NGOs themselves are not self-sustaining, it will therefore be difficult to ask Southern NGOs to be self-sustaining after the projects are handed over or transferred to them.

SOCIO-CULTURAL PRE-CONDITIONS FOR EFFECTIVE TRANSFER OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

PAPER PRESENTED AT THE SAWA WORKSHOP ON TRANSFER, SELF-RELIANCE, PRIVATISATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Utrecht, 26th June 1991

Josephine Akosua Adomako Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at discussing socio-cultural conditions which must be examined and taken into consideration for the effective transfer and sustenance of development projects. In order to place the discussion in the right context it is important to distinguish between three different categories of dependence which have usually resulted from the so called "underdeveloped" situation: trade dependence, financial dependence, and technological dependence. If the transfer of technology is seen as a "donation", this can create new forms of dependence, reinforcing subordinated development, which ultimately bodes ill for the sustained success of the project. It is because this is not SAWA's aim that we are here today.

Each of the following factors which are considered necessary for inclusion in the design of a development project can only be marginally successful, unless they are established in the light of the existing socio-cultural norms: an integrated project approach; low input of "western" technology; institutional building and training; and the participation of the beneficiaries, especially women, in the formulation and implementation of the project.

2. CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

An essential component of development is getting people sufficiently motivated to initiate, in one form or another, some kind of activity which they perceive as being beneficial to them. They may register real or imaginary fears of an "alien" domination, control by the local elite, or a loss of their own rights, privileges and powers through the introduction of a development project and this can cause the collapse of the project after the departure of the foreign consultant. If the transfer is to be successfully achieved, the project needs to anticipate the possible responses that may occur, in the light of existing sociocultural conditions, especially social structures and conflicts, before the design of the project.

Most individuals/groups of individuals are constantly trying to improve their situation, according to their ideas of what constitutes progress, and this may result in conflict if this is not in accordance with the rest of the society. However, the existing social structure is dynamic and a collection of individuals can transform the group situation if they have sufficient clout to affect the status quo. It is useful to identify the power relations and determine whether the introduction of a new project will change the existing power structure and socio-economic situation, and whether this will lead to social conflicts in future. If the most powerful group perceive that a project would result in the loss of some of their power then they are likely to resist change or cause opposition.

There are ethnic, kinship, gender, age and institutional hierarchies, and roles and taboos associated with all of these which can be a positive input for a project if considered, and a definite invitation for failure if ignored.

It would be impossible to examine here all the possible socio-cultural considerations which must be made, however, a few which I consider to be of greater significance are discussed below.

2.1 Kinship

A basic understanding of most African societies lies in realising the importance of kinship structures, which are generally articulated in corporate descent groups. A kinship group may be based on matrilineal or patrilineal lines with different implications for the autonomy/dependence of the different members of society, and hence different implications for generating change within the society. Among the Akan and some of the other southern peoples of Ghana descent is usually reckoned through the mother's line (matrilineal) creating considerable autonomy and decision-making power for women in several respects. Among most of the people of northern Ghana*, where the SAWA project is located, kin groups and residence are basically patrilineal. Governance is generally dual, i.e. there are both politicojudicial and ritual functions. Among the Dagomba and Sisala the supreme station in the hierarchy is occupied by the paramount chief heading a federation of divisional chieftaincies, which are made up of members of the ruling royal family. Within each lineage there is a council of elders and each family has its elder. The Tengdana is the religious head and trustee for the (ancestors') land. The structure of a central power over a entire ethnic group is absent among many of the other northern peoples, but the basic institution of the Tengdana is almost universal. These peoples are very community-minded; traditional social institutions are very important and decisions pronounced by the council of elders are generally observed.

In the light of the above it becomes clear that a project sanctioned, and more especially initiated by, the elders stands a high chance of surviving. It also means that by-passing them for some "modern" secular (including technical or political) authority may show indications of working in the short term but may collapse after the foreign consultant has left. For example, a French team installed a long-lasting solar water pump, requiring little maintenance, in a village in North Africa. After the team left, the village's wealthy members took control and sold water to the people. Such a situation could have been anticipated and worked into the project design, perhaps with this group as a possible private owner.

^{*}This includes the Dagomba, Kusasi, Kussena-Nankani, Sisala, Builsa, Talasie, Frafra.

2.2 Religion

Although related to kinship structures this is somewhat distinct in that the existence of "foreign" religions, viz. Christianity and Islam, does indeed have a significant role to play. In "traditional religion", ancestors play an important role; mishaps are often laid at their feet since they can cause these to indicate their displeasure. The perceptions and attitudes regarding the ancestors will also affect perceptions of disease and attitudes towards new approaches to sanitation and water supply. One needs to discern the place of divination and consulting of shrines, for it is possible to jeopardise a project by selecting a wrong site, time, or person to carry it out; however, ancestors can be appeased and convinced.

In the areas with strong Christian influence, especially Catholicism with its social approach, efforts at a change of attitude have been fairly successful (whether this change has always been in the interests of the people concerned can be debated). However, even the Catholics recognize the authority of the Tengdana and it would be wise not to exclude him from any discussion.

2.3 Festivals and Rituals

Celebrations surround important community activities at crucial periods in the community's or an individual's life: planting, harvesting, fishing, birth, puberty, marriage, death. Each of these is an occasion for kin groups to meet and join in song, dance and celebration to give expression to a sense of dependence on each other and to give thanks to God.

It is important to realise to which extent festivals and rituals pervade the social life of the cultural group. These occasions depict the group's interests and values, give a good indication of their views on morality, appropriate behaviour, taboos, and sanctions against departure from the acceptable norms. In general they can be seen as a statement of the essential qualities in the socio-cultural relations. Because festivals are religiously significant, they have great communication and motivation potential for a project: they form a useful platform for the introduction of a project, as well for the discussion and evaluation of an on-going project and to discuss possibilities for transfer. The actual realisation of a project and/or its transfer will hardly take place during a festival, however, since religion, custom, tradition, a sense of "we-feeling" and group solidarity, all of which are inherent during festivals, are important determinants of what is right and wrong, acceptable or unacceptable, agreements arrived at stand a high chance of being accepted. The joyful and usually relaxed nature of many of the celebrations also affords the different social groups freer expression of their feelings without fear of incurring the displeasure they might otherwise incur. Politicians have long used durbars as platforms to air their plans for a district, and local chiefs have been willing to co-operate with them when they have considered this to be in their/the people's interests.

It is useful to make a small remark regarding taboos. Most northern peoples (and indeed most Ghanaians) have strong feelings regarding hygiene and cleanliness. Bathing is considered an important function, even when there is scarcity of water, and the people wash frequently and carefully. Toilet and domestic functions are strictly separated. Some development workers have been known to incur the displeasure of the people simply by adopting a casual attitude to bathing and the wearing of clean

clothing for "important" functions. That water may be scarce or that the individual will be proceeding to a "dirty" work site are considered irrelevant. Likewise, an individual found washing clothes in a kitchen area would incur displeasure. The development worker has to find a happy medium: ostentatious dressing and lifestyle and infringement of acceptable norms might alienate the people, however, attempting too hard to be "like the people" would appear too unnatural and evoke suspicion.

2.4. Language

Oratorical skill is an art valued in most cultures. Among the people of Ghana translation (by a so-called linguist) is not seen as an interruption of the flow of the proceedings, but as a dignified, aesthetically-pleasing elaboration (Darnell, 1990). This may be interspersed with comment from the audience. A foreigner who sees all this as a waste of time and unnecessary exaggeration can seriously damage relations. If project personnel are to behave in a civilized way according to local terms this may mean patiently listening to elaborate discourses, often including seemingly irrelevant issues.

Usually expatriate personnel do not learn the local language because their stay is so short or interrupted, however, this would be an extremely useful way of gaining both entrance and real acceptance within a community. It would also open the door to a wealth of understanding of the existing socio-cultural conditions.

2.5. A sense of Time

In most Western cultures time seems to be thought of in general as a line extending equally into the past and future, marked off in units of hours, days, months, years, centuries and so on. People plan, work, and even struggle so that the future may be better than the past, and so that they may leave a fitting legacy for generations yet unborn. Among many African ethnic groups there is a much stronger sense of the past and the present than there is of the future. The primary orientation is still often towards the world of the ancestors. Time is seen in relation to social and economic events (therefore it cannot be wasted or saved) and therefore the future is often less real because it does not yet "contain" any events.

The dilemma for a development worker within schedules and with budgets becomes obvious; time, to him, is invariably money and can therefore be wasted. However, a crucial criterion for acceptance is to respect the people's view of time; to try to rush them or convince them of the importance of reaching decisions by deadlines is often a futile or even risky venture. Changes necessary for the good of the community are validated by changes that occurred in the ancestral experience. By calling upon the authority of past generations, present leaders may be able to make their innovations/recommendations acceptable to the rest of the society. This may take time because certain rituals may need to be performed, elders consulted, or acceptable circumstances waited for.

2.6 Gender Roles

Ghanaian society, especially among the more rural folk, has clearly defined gender roles, either explicitly or implicitly and anything more than very subtle change in these can cause serious conflict. A woman's autonomy and ability to initiate or participate in something new, or to own the means of production is usually determined by age, ethnicity, and marital status. Often older women past menopause who are either divorced or "retired" from active marriage have considerable sway in the community. Since it is generally acknowledged that the participation/contribution of women is so vital to the success of rural projects (especially water supply which is generally a woman's domain) it would be especially useful to involve older women. Some of the questions one might ask are whether the improvement in the water supply would cause a withdrawal of some of the help previously received from other members of the community; whether it would generate more work for women; or whether it would eliminate an important source of socialisation.

Researchers have noted that women are more inclined to be quicker to adopt new ideas which will bring better results and reduce the drudgery of their work. Women may have positive suggestions regarding the transfer of a project, and some of them may even be able to participate in the management of the water supply system. They will be more inclined to be responsible to such a task since the success of the project is directly advantageous to them. However, the gender norms cannot be ignored, which is why it may be useful to work through older women or established women's groups/societies (In different communities, to different degrees, the "31st December Women's Movement", a pseudo-political group, holds considerable sway and has both clout and financial backing).

3. New Options

Three options for the transfer of a project have been suggested, viz. handing over to an integrated body of NGO personnel, handing over to an independent enterprise established with the assistance of the NGO, or a combination of the first two. I am personally sceptical of the third approach unless there is a clear separation of financier and implementor/manager. I am of the opinion that a water supply system managed, at least partly, by the members of the group for whom the on-going success of the system is most important, is most likely to be sustained.

Finally, in conclusion, some issues for consideration:

- 1. Carrying out a pre-project trip to the area for all who will be involved in the project design, implementation, appraisal and transfer.
- 2. Learning the language and socio-cultural norms and taboos, and avoiding generalisations of the African situation.
- 3. Adopting an inter-disciplinary approach to the project and networking with research institutes in the country. It might also be useful to make use of National Service personnel*.
- 4. Examining the local design base to determine the possibility of incorporating some of these approaches.
- 5. To avoid conflict after the transfer, determining the spatial unity, which is also composed of a social unity, for the siting of the water supply system.
- 6. Seeking ways of linking the system to the national plan so as to ensure Government commitment. (Is it possible to involve the CDRs**?).
- 7. Ensuring that the benefits are clearly perceived by the community, and that these outweigh (social/financial) costs.
- 8. Involving traditional structures.
- 9. Viewing and treating local staff as equals (in terms of salary and responsibility) otherwise the hierarchical structure may be transferred by them after the transfer.

Appendix

MAIN FESTIVALS OF SOME OF THE ETHINIC GROUPS IN GHANA

Ethnic Group

Festival

Tallensi (Upper Region)

Damba, Boyaruama, Giggaun, Daa

Ashanti/Brongs (also other Akans) Adae, Odwira, Apo

Anlo Ewe

Hogbetsotso

Peki Ewe

Yam festival

Ga

Homowo

Effutu (Winneba)

Aboakyer

Fanti

Akwambo, Ahobaaa, Ayerye, Afehye

^{*} All graduates of secondary and higher education in Ghana are obliged to undergo 2 years of "service to the nation". They may be required to perform any tasks related to their training and are usually keen to learn as well. The Government pays them an allowance but in smaller communities the local people will often house and even feed them.

^{**} The CDRs (Cadres for the Defence of the Revolution) were established along Cuban principles to uphold Government ideology. In different communities they are sometimes, however, channels for the initiation/implementation of development projects.

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SUSTAINABILITY OF PROJECTS

INSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

PAPER PRESENTED TO THE SAWA WORKSHOP ON TRANSFER, SELF-RELIANCE, PRIVATIZATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

Utrecht, 26th June 1991

Sjef Gussenhoven ETC Consultants.

SUSTAINABILITY

 Surprisingly, water supply project proposals are generally not appraised on the question of whether sustainability of functioning of the wanted schemes will be assured. (at least not until recently).

One reason may be that in general improved WSS is intended to serve more embracing objectives of health and productivity. A second reason is the political importance of satisfying an essential basic need for the 'vote bank'.

 Sustainability of improved WS facilities depends on the priority it is given by the consumers and on the resources available: water, money, management, technical know-how.

The role of external and national agencies can only be instrumental.

- 3. Future sustainability of improved WS systems in rural areas will, to a large extent, depend on involvement of users in:
 - identification of development priorities and need for water supply
 - choice of technology
 - planning of implementation
 - location of facilities
 - financial arrangements for O & M (!)
 - organization (management) of O & M
- 4. In my view, the idea of 'transfer of projects' is objectionable.

It should be a point of departure that people and organizations in the country are the carriers, owners, and promoters of a project. Transfer of know-how, and responsibilities for planning and monitoring, must be built in as a precondition for sustainability.

CAPACITY TO MANAGE

- 5. External interventions aiming at improved WS facilities will imply the need for evolving management systems: changing technology (even from calabash to hand pump) requires social changes. Hence the need to include 'capacity building' in project objectives from the start, and the necessity to assess the feasibility of proposals with regard to this aspect.
- During the International Water Decade, the presumption that governments would be capable to manage and finance the newly constructed water supply schemes has been proven unrealistic. Hence the quest to look for alternative modes for sustenance and functioning of improved WS schemes, especially in rural areas.

The most viable option will be the one which succeeds in establishing a link with the prevailing social organization and its dynamics.

- 7. Non-governmental organizations are in a position to play a key role in processes of change, and enhance empowerment of user groups.
 - The tasks and specific functions of any NGO in a project implementation should however be carefully defined, and not become ambiguous.
 - E.g. NGO health educators, or animators of participation, should not assume responsibility for organizing cost recovery or proper functioning of operation and maintenance.
- 8. With increasing coverage and demand for services from unserved population groups, donors should be aware of limited implementation capacity of governmental bodies. In practice the latter tend to overestimate their possibilities and in absence of adequate monitoring and planning procedures, run into difficulties when confronted with the pressure to maintain the new systems.
 - This mechanism is stimulated by donor pressure for disbursements of annual aid funds.
- 9. The concept of institutional development is to be taken in a wide sense: not limited to organization-building, but also including any kind of community based institutions capable of performing certain operational tasks: training; establishment of extension instruments; education measures, etc.
 - Newly developed institutions should be sustainable!
- 10. Division of tasks may be considered, e.g.: production, treatment and transport of water may be kept as the competence of central public services that supply the water to local bodies responsible for distribution, collection of levies and small maintenance. The latter may as well be decentralized to any form of community organization.

MARKETING APPROACH

- 11. Making household water a market commodity, though having been practised in a lot of societies since ages, will not be a panacea everywhere for problems of how to manage and finance water resources and processing, transport and distribution systems.
 - Nevertheless, 'privatization' will open new possibilities to remove bottlenecks in parts of the supply chain, while approaches based on community management of systems may present viable options as well.
- 12. An important reason why implementation strategies for RWS projects should include a costrecovery objective, is that a contribution from the users will provide them with a bargaining
 power vis a vis the formal institutions responsible for proper functioning of the supply. To start
 with, cost recovery is important as a matter of principle. To strive for a maximum rate of
 recovery of running costs has proven to be counter-productive.

13. Looking at water as an increasingly scarce commodity and consequently losing its traditional status as a free ware, quality of water may well become a distinctive feature determining its market value. In that case it could be argued that different types of water will be valued differently: water for washing, drinking, for cattle, for gardening, for industrial uses.

Finally, we may refer to the frequently observed effect that people tend to select different qualities of water for different uses, e.g. where piped water is considered inferior due to chlorination, people restrict the use of it to non-consumptive purposes.

It could be interesting to examine to what extent this phenomenon could be used in strategies to improve sustainability (cost recovery).

Sjef Gussenhoven, 18-6-1991

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

PAPER PRESENTED TO THE SAWA WORKSHOP ON TRANSFER, SELF-RELIANCE AND PRIVATIZATION.

Utrecht 26th June 1991

Ko ter Hofstede SAWA Consultants.

1. Introduction

In the following paragraphs some reflections are presented on institutional development processes. This in order to prepare the SAWA workshop on transfer, self-reliance and privatization of development projects, June 26th, 1991.

The line of thought that I try to develop is as follows:

- is the concept of self-reliance, as used by many donor agencies a realistic one (chapter 2).
- should self-reliance not be seen in the first place as institutional development (chapter 3).
- should self-reliance of an institution not be defined in the first place as the capacity of self planning, monitoring and evaluation (chapter 4).
- how can a process of self planning, monitoring and evaluation be initiated, in other words what are the dynamics of institutional development (chapter 5).
- what could be the consequences for SAWA (chapter 6).

The objective of this paper is not to treat every subject exhaustively, but to touch on the above mentioned subjects in such a way that it facilitates discussion and the exchange of thoughts during the workshop.

2. Self-reliance

According to the invitation, the workshop intends to deal with subjects related to the transfer, self-reliance and privatization of development projects.

The way the invitation is put readily leads one to believe that the key problem to be discussed on this day should be conceived as follows:

Present situation:

a development project

Future situation:

self-reliance

Action:

transfer

Privatization, in this schematic approach, could be understood as an objective (i.c. desired future situation) as well as part of the action to reach the objective.

The schedule presented above is often used by donor agencies. It reflects the fact that, having supported a development project for a while, they are, for a variety of reasons, not prepared to continue this support anymore. Donor support essentially is constituted by (a combination of) the following elements: money, personnel.

Having reached this point, a discussion starts, between donor and counterpart organization on how to reach self-reliance.

"We have funded your project up till now, but you should start to raise your own funds" (transfer of fund raising capacity).

"We have provided for technical assistance, training, or consultancies but you should now start doing it by yourselves" (transfer of analytic and executive capacity).

Based on these discussions a last project proposal is made in order to phase out the donor intervention and to properly hand over (transfer) the project to the counterpart organization.

I have worked for some 6 years as a desk officer for Novib, a Dutch donor agency, and I have seldom seen it work like described above. Of course, the donor agency may phase out. But then, very often its place is taken by another donor agency. This does not only happen in the world of the non-governmental development aid, but in bilateral and multilateral aid as well.

From the point of view of the counterpart organization self-reliance has not been achieved. They have used the phasing out period to contact and contract other donor agencies, other funders, other sources for technical assistance, other suppliers of goods. Counterparts that don't succeed in carrying out this "donor shift" on time usually go through a very serious crisis and/or eventually collapse.

The fact that these things happen rather frequently may indicate that there is a serious problem "below the surface." This problem may have to do with the fact that donor support does not allow for sufficient time and space for counterpart organizations to grow and to develop. The counterpart, therefore, gets locked into the aid circle, never reaching self-reliance.

3. Institutional development

Probably the best method of development aid is to support an existing organization in upgrading its planning, monitoring and evaluation capacity. As a result of improved planning (through monitoring and evaluation) the organization will become more and more capable of defining its real needs of external support. If the definition of external support really stems from a process of self-planning this external support (whether it be funds, technical assistance, training or consultancies) also will be controlled by the organization itself.

A first problem is that many donor agencies have a rather instrumental view of counterpart organizations. They do not support an organization as such, but they use an organization to reach specific goals. Some want to reach specific target groups like urban poor, women, children and so on. Others are more interested in specific sectors, for example education, health care, pump irrigation etc. Every donor has its own specific criteria for support. Criteria, by the way, that very often shift due to changes in public opinion, or availability of funds. Very few are interested in structural support to develop the organization as such. They don't make room for it.

A second problem, hampering a proper institutional development has to do with timing. Donor agencies generally are used to control the timing of support themselves. This timing has its own dynamics, which is out of control of the counterpart. A sudden availability of funds could, for example, provoke the donor agency to carry out rapid transfers. Complicated decision-making procedures may, on the other hand, slow down the recruitment of a much wanted and needed technical assistant. Support based on planning by the counterpart itself should, however, be timely and available at the moment indicated by the counterpart. This in order not to interrupt the process of institutional development.

A third problem is that in some cases there is no counterpart organization at all. The donor agency has set up its own project organization. The setting up of an own organization is generally justified by donor agencies appointing to an emergency situation and/or to absence or weakness of local organizations. In these cases the problem of institutional development is put in terms of replacing the project organization by local organizations or in localizing the project organization. To be fair I have never seen a successful example of this kind of local institution-building.

Apart from problematic donor counterpart relations there are many other factors that may impede an institution to develop self-reliance. Bureaucratic or political factors, for example, may hamper the functioning of a local institution. Economic factors may make it impossible to create a sound financial basis, etc. All of these factors are external to the institution, but should be taken into account in institutional planning.

4. Planning

Roughly spoken one could distinguish two types of institutions, namely service institutions on the one hand and membership organizations on the other hand. Service institutions can be governmental, parastatal or non-governmental organizations, whereas membership organizations are generally non-governmental. A membership organization, however, could certainly have some service functions. Service institutions on the other hand, may have the objective of facilitating the creation of membership organizations.

A membership organization may be, but is not necessarily, a result of the following process: awareness-building, mobilization, organization. Because of these dynamics they are often viewed by donor agencies as a framework for empowerment of the poor.

Service institutes may offer subsidized services in order to make services available to low income target groups. Introduction of the self-reliance objective may result in the cutting off of services from the target groups. Introduction of privatization may even worsen this situation.

Whatever the historical background and the actual form of an institution, the capacity of self-planning, monitoring and evaluation in the end determines the degree of self control as well as control over external support. And that is what development is all about.

For planning purposes, the following working model may be used:

- a. Analysis situation
- b. Definition of objectives
- c. Formulation of activities to reach objective
- d. Means and organization to carry out the activities
- e. Monitoring and evaluation system
- f. Establish needs for external support
- g. Budget

Monitoring refers to (c) versus (d), in other words monitoring of who does what, when and how. It should be a regular routine, integrated in the organization.

Evaluation refers to (b) versus the real impact. This of course can only be done periodically.

The above mentioned planning schedule is rather well known and frequently used in the development world. Many donor agencies in fact require project proposals elaborated along the lines of this schedule. If the counterpart organization is not able to go into sufficient detail, the proposal is sent back for completion, the organization is visited by a desk officer or a consultancy mission is planned. Once this process has started the planning easily gets out of control of the counterpart organization and falls into the hands of external supporting bodies.

5. Process approach

My argument is that the planning model is valid, but should not be imposed rigidly on counterpart organizations. Instead, the organization should be given time and space to gradually develop and to learn to control planning, monitoring and evaluation methods adapted to their own situation.

I also think that planning, which is the basis for institutional development, should cover the organization in all its aspects and should be carried out not merely by the management or by staff members but by the personnel as a whole and, in the case of a membership organization, by the members themselves. Here we touch on a key issue: the "HOW" question. The way certain conclusions about planning are reached is, in my opinion, as important, if not more important then the exact outcome of planning." How " is more important then " what". The dynamics of the planning process determines the viability of planning itself.

Let's return now to the key issue of the workshop: self-reliance.

In discussions about how to reach self-reliance the focus of donor agencies generally is on transfer. Transfer of fund raising capacity. Transfer of analytic and executive capacity.

As became clear, I would like to focus the discussion on gradually building up institutional capacity. Once the institution becomes capable of planning, monitoring and evaluation, self-reliance has been achieved.

The starting point of building up self-reliance is of course the institution (contrary to the starting point of transfer, which is the donor agency). What are the conditions for building up self-reliance? Some external factors have been mentioned in paragraph 2. Some internal factors are the following:

- self developed methodology of planning
- clearness on methodology at all levels of the organization
- planning done in discussion sessions with the entire personnel, and/or members in case of membership organization
- the same holds true for monitoring and evaluation
- management of the organization to be open for discussion and criticism
- management prepared to create, internally, a climate in which ideas and know-how of personnel and members can be freely exchanged
- personnel and members prepared to put their ideas and know-how on the table freely

It is clear that, in the end, a lot of the internal factors have a psychological dimension and are, somehow or other, also related to group dynamics. It may be that the key to self-reliance must be sought in these factors. The "HOW" question posed above may find its answer in this.

6. Consequences

The line of thought laid down above may have consequences at various levels: donor agencies, service institutes, membership organizations, but also, of course, for consultancy agencies like SAWA. One may wonder what should be the role of SAWA in supporting an institution on its way to self-reliance. Does it imply, for example, that SAWA should concentrate more on planning, monitoring and evaluation and less on direct project implementation in the future? Should SAWA aim to link itself to the backstopping of a few institutions for a prolonged period of time? What kind of institutions should it include, service institutes or membership organizations, governmental, non-governmental or even private enterprises? What kind of know-how is internally available to play this changing role? On what points do we have to upgrade our know-how and how do we do that? A workshop like this is one method and creates a platform for reflection with other agencies and individuals. I think and expect that many more workshops will follow. I hope that the "tools of analyses " we arrive at at the end of this workshop will reflect some of the thoughts presented in this paper.

WORKSHOP

TRANSFER, SELF-RELIANCE, PRIVATISATION

Participants

24. Sonja Vlaar

1. Akosua Adomako	DAWS
2. Maarten Bavinck	private, <u>reporting</u>
3. Dick Bouman	SAWA Consultants
4. Henk van Dam	SAWA Consultants
5. Simon Dermijn	SAWA Consultants
6. Henk van Dijk	SAWA Consultants
7. Michiel van der Drift	private
8. Frans van Gemert	STENAKS
9. Lenie van Goor	SAWA Consultants
10. Sjef Gussenhoven	E.T.C. Consultants
11. Annet Hermans	SAWA Consultants
12. Ko ter Hofstede	SAWA Consultants
13. Maarten Honkoop	SAWA, project V.W.R., Ghana
14. Evelyne Kamminga	I.R.C., Den Haag
15. Nico Keijzer	СЕВЕМО
16. Guus de Klein	CIEPAC
17. Tony Kofi	STAND
18. Antoon Kuypers	private
19. Tineke Murre	SAWA, project V.W.R., Ghana
20. Hans Scheen	TOOL, Chairman
21. Janneke Smidt	private
22. Jan Stofkoper	private
23. Ton Thiecke	SAWA, project V.W.R., Ghana

SAWA Consultants