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## **NGOs IN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT : POLICY OPTIONS AND STRATEGIES**

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### **Introduction**

The role of NGOs in the economic development came to limelight in early 1970s when major donor countries, following the earlier examples set by Norway and Canada, started directly supporting NGOs developmental programmes. The shift of official funding toward the NGOs accelerated in the 1980s. According to OECD report, in the mid-1990s, 5% of all official aid was channeled to NGOs. For individual donors the ratio ranges from 1% for some donors to upto 30%. World Bank estimates that in the early 1970s, about 15% of total NGO income came from donor sources, by the mid 1990s this share had risen to about 30%.

In the 1950s and 1960s non-governmental organizations and official donors pursued different developmental agendas. Usually NGOs and official donors were disinterested in each other's activities although they cooperated with each other during emergencies. The principal reason of present enhanced interest in NGOs is that most donors have broadened their aid objectives. Most donors have now included poverty alleviation concern with environment and enhancing the status of women as major aid objectives. Even greater importance is placed on human right and democratic processes as a constituent

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part of donors development agenda. Moreover, some donors emphasized on strengthening of civil societies as an aid objective.

The poor performance of governments in reaching poor and implementing rural development projects in the late 1960s coupled with NGOs popularity for their works in the field of education, health and poverty alleviation led donors to turn to NGOs to help them achieve a greater poverty focus in their aid programmes. Besides, NGOs objective to empower poor people by strengthening the poor people's organization is seen by donors as complementary to donors objective of strengthening democratic process.

Presently when NGO is being increasingly recognized as vehicle of development, question also arises as to how far such enthusiasm can be justified. This is because various recent evaluations on NGO effectiveness suggest that although NGO has positive impact in helping poor the impact is not significant enough. But since NGO has proven superiority *vis-a-vis* governments in terms of reaching the poor, the NGO activists, researchers and donor agencies are now searching for ways to enhance its effectiveness. This paper will basically deal with the problem of how to make NGOs more effective in terms of poverty alleviation.

The paper will primarily use information from secondary sources such as OECD, World Bank Research reports. But for the analysis purpose the authors field level experience with the NGOs particularly empirical evaluation reports will also be utilized.

The paper is divided into 5 sections. Section 2 looks for the reason as to why donor countries are now putting more emphasis on NGOs. Basically this part will attempt to find the theoretical background of the comparative advantage that NGOs are enjoying in development field. Section 3 deals with the different evaluation studies on NGO activities. This section primarily uses the report from secondary sources. Section 4 discusses the various mechanism to enhance the developmental impact of NGOs. Section 5 is the concluding section.

## II. Analysis of NGO's Comparative Advantage in Development Field

From relative obscurity a decade ago, non-governmental organizations have suddenly found themselves catapulted into international respectability. Donor governments and multilateral organizations now routinely pay tribute to NGOs presumed capacity to reach the poor, to the qualities of innovations and flexibility which are supposed to be characteristics of NGOs. World Bank's Vittorio Masoni notes official donors have turned to NGOs out of 'pragmatic' considerations seeing them as 'more efficient' conduits for development inputs than often discredited official agencies.<sup>1</sup> The following Table-1 gives the contribution of donors toward NGOs that vividly reflects the importance attached by donors on NGO.

**Table -1: Table showing % of official aid channeled through NGOs**

Year	Country	Percentage
1993-94	Sweden	30
1994	Switzerland	29
1992	Norway	25
1992	Canada	14
1993	Netherlands	10
1992	USA	9
1992	Germany	7
1993	Finland	6
1993-94	Australia	6
1993-94	UK	4
1992	Japan	1

Source : OECD Report 1995.

1. Vittorio Masoni, 'Nongovernmental Organizations and Development' in *Finance and Development*, Vol. 22, No.3. 1985.



The traditional development theories hold that development is primarily a function of capital investment and that the greater the flow of capital investment from wealthy countries to poor countries, the more rapid development of the later.<sup>2</sup> This theory implies that the best indicator of a developed nation's concern for the poor of south is found in the percentage of GDP that it transfers as development assistance. Those who hold such theories are making persistence plea for a new Marshall plan for the third world through increase of ODA.

But international capital transfer does not automatically convert into productive investment in the receiving countries.<sup>3</sup> In many countries those who are in position to determine how capital will be used actually believe that the surest route to increased personal wealth, status, quality of life is through the exercise of power and privilege to expropriate existing wealth.<sup>4</sup> The instruments for expropriation include commissions on consumption, padded payrolls, defaulting on personal loan, diversion of loan funded for working capital to non-productive personal use and so on.

Capturing political power is the key to controlling expropriable resources at command of the state, including foreign assistance. Once captured these resources are readily used to fuel vast system of patronage to maintain that power. In most cases the military power emerge as major beneficiary. As the patronage system is gradually extended down toward the village level, local self help initiatives are systematically stifled. As villagers learn to wait for outsiders to bring

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2. D. Leonard, 'Choosing Among Forms of Decentralization and Linkage' in Leonard and Marshall (eds.) *Institutions of Rural Development for the Poor*, University of California, Berkley, USA. 1982.
  3. D. C. Korten, (Edited), *Community Management : Asian Experience and Perspectives*, West Hartford, CT Kumarian Press, 1987.
  4. D. C., Korten, "Community Organization and Rural Development : A Learning Process Approach" in *Public Administrative Review*, Vol. 40 No. 5, 1980.

them charity, their own resources go unutilized and as a consequences the total amount of resource mobilized for local development may actually decline.

In this way channeling official development assistance through central government predominantly contributes to strengthening the institutions of central governments over those of localities and private sector, reinforcing anti-developmental social values and concentrating control over national wealth in the hands of those who control government.

Changing of the situation calls for more people centred development practice which emphasizes the need to strengthen institutional and social capacity, support of greater local control, accountability, initiative and self reliance. The transfer of capital is seen as less central and high priority is placed on a process of democratization. The people will be encouraged to mobilize and manage their own local resource with government in an enabling role. Such a process generally results in more efficient and productive resource management, a reduction in dependence on external resources, increased equity, increased local initiative, accountability and a strengthening of economic discipline.

Though such kind of people centred development strategy is now a need of time, the governments lack capacity to address many issues involved. Under this circumstances the donor countries put emphasis on NGOs since NGOs are more interested in the process of democratization and they face fewer constraints in undertaking the actions needed for people oriented development.<sup>5</sup>

Central tenet of almost all NGOs is participation.<sup>6</sup> Governments of the developing countries as well as donor agencies view that participation is the feature that distinguishes NGOs from the 'top down' approach of governmental development programmes. NGO

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5. D. C., Korten, 1987.

6. UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1993.



supports peoples organization and encourages debate between people and project implementers on the method of development intervention. For example in Bangladesh, in the 1970s, Save The Children Fund (SCF) started working with the poorest women and children in the city slums. The SCF wanted to concentrate on immunization and family planning, but the peoples organization (Slum Committee) rejected the approach urging that most urgent need was curative health programme. The projects initial emphasis was then on curative health programme and two years later SCF's original preventive aspect was introduced.<sup>7</sup>

Because of the people centred approach adopted by the NGOs, the donor agencies emphasize the roles of NGOs in micro policy reform. A micro policy reform is defined as "A reform that by its nature depends on accomplishment of often complex and difficult to achieve institution changes as a condition of successful implementation. These may include development of significant new capacities and norms, a redefinition of institutional roles and relationship and even changes in deeply held social and professional values".<sup>8</sup> The introduction of credit programme for small farmers where none of such existed before may be an example of such micro policy reform. A bank that makes loan to commercial enterprises may be already in that place but making the service of this bank accessible to small clients will need new type of expertise on the part of manager, which is quite different from his previous ability. This is because the small farmers have different sorts of needs as well as abilities from the traditional large commercial borrowers.

Micro policy reform is a delicate matter where policy analyst has relatively little to offer. The field belongs to those from what Friedman calls 'the social learning school of planning' whose expertise is in

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7. *Ibid.*

8. D. C. Koretn, and R. Klauss (Edited), *People Centered Development : Contributions Toward Theory and Planning Frameworks*, West Hartford, Kumarian Press, 1984.

facilitating the process by which complex institutional changes are achieved.<sup>9</sup> Performance in this arena depends on the exercise of creative initiative by many individuals. A dictatorial regime or central government bureaucracy is most likely to inhibit the process. The organization that takes people as critical development resource can only facilitate the micro reform process. In this sense NGOs are the most likely candidates to be considered for the job since NGOs view development as people to people process.

### III. Evaluation of NGO Activities

The analysis of previous section demonstrates why the donor countries now prefer NGO over government sector. It is also observed in the previous section that donors are now channeling increased amount of resource through NGOs. Because of the enhanced commitment of the donors to NGO, they also find the need to evaluate NGO activities with empirical data. Recently, Overseas Development Institute (ODI) of London completed research project which set out to systematically evaluate NGO impact and effectiveness.<sup>10</sup>

The research project covered 16 projects in Bangladesh, India, Uganda and Zimbabwe. In all of the above cases the NGO projects were located in rural areas and centred on credit, income generation, skills training and technical assistance. From each of the four countries four projects were selected for investigation purpose. Various dimensions of NGO interventions such as types of benefit, distribution of benefits, cost effectiveness, sustainability were analyzed.

The evaluation observed that three quarters of 16 projects were successful in raising income of the poor significantly. But most projects failed to reach the poorest. In some cases the poorest were benefited but the benefit was not significant. NGOs are assumed to be

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9. J. Friedman, *From Knowledge to Action : The Dialectics of Planning*, Princeton University Press, 1995.
  10. Overseas Development Institute, *Working Papers No. 37, 49, 52 & 53*, London, UK.



more effective in their dealings with women. But the evaluations observed that the project did not have any significant impact on women's economic and social status. In only 6 projects out of 16 women obtained material benefits through participation.

There is pervasive assumption that NGO interventions are low-cost by virtue of their small size, low overheads and presumed effectiveness in terms of the benefits achieved. Although NGO project costs are low these often reflect their small size. Travel, subsistence and staff cost were certainly lower than for government and official aid agencies. But when comparing to government project the cost per beneficiary was either broadly equivalent or even higher in the case of NGO projects. The main reason for the higher cost is that NGO projects were more staff and resource intensive. This implies that targeting the poor is a costly exercise. Of the 16 projects evaluated it is observed that in 11 projects the cost outweigh benefit accrued through development efforts by NGOs.

The point of sustainability was also analyzed in the evaluations. Sustainability was considered from several points of view. The research evaluation looked into financial and environmental sustainability. Few of the 16 projects demonstrated the potential of financial sustainability over long term. Relatively few could be expected to carry on without continued donor support of some form of on-going subsidy. It is observed that few NGOs appeared to take full account of environmental constraints in limiting project potential.

Another two studies were conducted on NGOs in Bangladesh with financial assistance of Ford Foundation.<sup>11</sup> These two studies dealt

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11. Ehsan Latif, and Belayet Hosain, Effects of NGO Activities on the Participants : Field Level Evidence From CARITAS, in *Bangladesh Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. XII No. 2, Dhaka, 1995.  
Ehsan Latif and Modabber Ahmad, *Evaluation of Grameen Bank* -Research Report Prepared for Rural Economics Programme, University of Chittagong, Bangladesh, 1995.



with two largest NGOs of World, Grameen Bank and CARITAS. Grameen Bank is a local NGO of Bangladesh that reaches 1 million poor people. CARITAS is a UK based international NGO. The study on Grameen Bank attempted to see the long term impact of NGO intervention on the poor people. It is found that though the poor people received credit from NGO for about 14 years still they could not improve their economic position significantly. One of the reasons is that these poor live in remote villages where they cannot get supportive services of road, electricity, and transport to make some dramatic improvement in life. This result emphasizes the point that NGOs alone cannot do much. The evaluation of CARITAS activity shows that in this case also the standard of life of poor people did not improve significantly. Certainly the NGO had some positive impact because without NGOs the poor would have been in much worse position. But the NGO intervention failed to produce any dramatic improvement in the life of poor.

#### **IV. Analysis on the Methods of Enhancing NGO Impact**

One of the most important factors underlying the limited impact of NGO activities is the failure of NGOs to make the right linkages between their work at micro level and wider systems and structure of which they form a small part. For example, village level co-operatives are undermined by the deficiencies in national agriculture extension and marketing system, successful experiment in primary health care cannot be replicated because government structure lacks the ability or willingness to adopt new ideas. NGO analysts, development economists, donor agencies draw conclusion that NGO projects will never be enough to secure lasting improvement in the lives of the peoples in isolation from national and international political process and its constituent parts.<sup>12</sup> Three broad based strategies are widely discussed in NGO literature to increase the development impact of NGOs.

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12. J. Copestake, *The Scope of Collaboration Between Government and PVOs Over Agricultural Technology Development : The Case of Zambia*, Mimeo, Overseas Development Institute, London, 1990.

### **1. Additive strategy**

This strategy implies an increase in the size of programme of organization.

### **2. Multiplicative strategy**

This strategy does not imply growth but achieves impact through deliberate influence, networking, policy and legal reform.

### **3. Diffusive strategy**

In this case spread is informal and spontaneous.

Multiplicative and diffusive strategy contain policies

- 1. Working with the government**
- 2. Linking the grassroots with lobbying and advocacy**
- 3. Advocacy in the north**

Additive strategy contains the policy

#### **1. Increasing impact by organizational growth**

In the following parts three policies will be discussed in detail :

#### **Working with the Government**

Relationship between government and NGOs is often clouded with mutual suspicion.<sup>13</sup> This suspicion arises due to different structure of government and NGO. Government structure is often rigid, hierarchical and autocratic. All governments are encumbered with authoritarian relationship with their citizens for they are collectors of taxes, protectors of peace and enforcer of social order.<sup>14</sup> The governments have natural tendency for centralization, bureaucracy and control. NGOs on the other hand are distinguished by their flexibility, willingness and non hierarchical values.

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13. A. Fernandez, *NGOs and Government : A Love-Hate Relationship*, paper presented at the Asia Regional Workshop, Hyderabad, India.
  14. A. J. Bebbington, M. Prager, H. Reveros, and G Thiele, (eds), *Reluctant Partners? NGOs, the State and Rural Poor in Latin American Agricultural Change*, Routledge, London, 1993.



But there are sound reasons for NGOs to enter into a sound and creative relationship with the institutions of both central and local government. Government remains largely responsible for providing the health, education, agriculture and other services on which people rely. Currently there is trend of expanding role of private sector but still state remains ultimate arbiter and determinant of wider political changes on which sustainable development depends. Increasing number of NGOs are now recognizing that they cannot ignore the government any more and they are looking for ways to foster co-operative relationship with governments.

A direct approach is to work within the structure of government in an attempt to foster more appropriate and effective policies and practices which will eventually be of benefit to the poorer and less powerful peoples. The aim here is to ensure that government adopts policies which are genuinely developmental at national level. The policies include the ones which will ultimately enable the poor to achieve greater control over their lives in health, education, production and so on. Different case studies suggest that NGOs so far have attempted to do so by direct funding, high level policy advice, technical assistance and provision of volunteer or mixture of these.<sup>15</sup> The case studies elaborately discussed the problems of relationship between governments and NGOs.

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15. (i) J. Clark, *Democratising Development : The Role of Voluntary Organizations*, Eartscan, London, 1991.  
(ii) J. Copestake, *The Scope of Collaboration Between Government and PVOs Over Agricultural Technology Development : The Case of Zambia*, Mimeo, Overseas Development Institute, London, 1990.  
(iii) A. Fowler, "The Role of NGOs in Changing State-Society Relations : Perspectives from East and Southern Africa" in *Development Policy Review* 9(1), pp. 53-84.  
(iv) J. Farrington, and D. Lewis, (eds), *Reluctant Partners? NGOs, the State and Rural Poor in Asian Agricultural Change*, Routledge, London, 1993.  
(v) J. Friedman, *From Knowledge to Action : The Dialectics of Planning*, Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1995.



Firstly, the government system has many constraints and limitations. Unlike NGO programmes good staffs cannot be hand-picked and supported with higher salaries. Motivation is lacking since salaries are low in government sector and conditions are poor. The progress is slow because of rigidity in the sector and lack of initiative and innovativeness on the part of officials. NGO must realize these points and because of slow progress in government sector NGOs must be prepared to work with long term plan.

Secondly, the NGOs are actually 'small players' when it comes to influencing government compared to bilateral and multilateral donors.<sup>16</sup> It is the large organization such as IMF, World Bank that tend to determine the ideological context under which policies are formed. A complementary strategy to lobby with such big agencies should be considered by NGOs.

### **Linking Grassroots with Lobbying and Advocacy**

Grassroots organizations are managed by the members on behalf of the members.<sup>17</sup> These grassroots organizations can originate spontaneously from local initiative but the impact of such isolated emergence on local economy is now critically assessed. According to social scientist Uphoff, "While isolated instances of local institutional development can be impressive their cumulative effect is negligible, what counts are systems of networks of organizations both vertically and horizontally".<sup>18</sup> As a consequences of these many southern and northern NGOs have recognized and adopted an intermediary role to accelerate the creation of local organizations to provide assistance in strengthening and expanding such organizations and fostering linkages

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16. Niti Lok, "NGOs and International Development Cooperation", *Journal of Asian NGO Coalition*, Vol. 5(4).

17. UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1993.

18. N. Uphoff, *Local Institutional Development : An Analytical Sourcebook with Cases*, West Hartford, Kumarian Press.

between them. This, it is presumed, will lead to proliferation of grassroots organizations that can as a peoples movement have beneficial impact on development policies and political process. The main objectives that NGOs want to achieve through supporting such initiatives are awareness raising, conscientisation, group formation, leadership, training in management skills etc. Such strategies seek the empowerment of people - the process of assisting disadvantaged individuals and groups to gain control than they presently have over the local and national decision making and resources, and of their ability and right to define collective goals, make decisions and learn from experience.

The NGOs believe the notion that the disadvantaged individuals need to be stimulated into taking group action since the groups of disadvantaged can have discernible impact on local situation. The NGOs assume that the combined efforts of grassroots organizations can coalesce into movements that have potential to influence policies and politics at national level.

This approach has some problems. The opportunity for effective involvement in such work is very dependent on state sanctioning. Where such opportunities denied NGOs must carefully analyze their options for becoming apolitical or patrician. Moreover official aid agencies are sometimes unwilling to support such initiative to mobilize and empower disadvantaged group.

Different case studies analyzed the impact of such strategies of linking grassroots with lobbying and advocacy.<sup>19</sup> In terms of broader political change claims have been made that networks of local organizations significantly helped the push for democracy in the

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19. (i) A. Hirschmann, *Getting Ahead Collectively : Grassroot Experiences in Latin America*, Pergmon Press, Oxford, 1984.

(ii) D. C. Kortzen, "Community Organization and Rural Development : A Learning Process Approach" In *Public Administrative Review*, Vol. 40 No. 5, 1980.



Philippine and Bangladesh.<sup>20</sup> In Latin America the evidence for local organizations working together to promote political change is more clear. Tony's study provides examples of the way in which well established local initiatives has influenced national and multilateral development policies in Latin America.<sup>21</sup>

Clark views that NGOs role in catalyzing and federating local level organization makes positive contribution in reshaping policies, redefining and ultimately democratizing development.<sup>22</sup> Korten observes that future effectiveness of NGO is "to coalesce and energize self-managing networks over which NGO has no control whatever and . . . involve themselves in the broader movement of which they are a part of social and political activists".<sup>23</sup>

### Advocacy in the North

Rather than working directly within the structures they intend to influence, NGOs may choose to increase their effectiveness by lobbying government and other structure from outside. The rationale for this approach is : Many of the causes of underdevelopment lie in the political and economic structure of an unequal world in trade commodity prices, debt and macro economic policy, in the distribution of land and other productive assets among different social groups and misguided policies of government and multilateral agencies.<sup>24</sup> It is extremely difficult to address these issues in the

20. A., Fernandez, "NGOs and Government : A Love-Hate Relationship" paper presented at the Asia Regional Workshop, Hyderabad, India, 1991.

21. Hall Tonny, *From Victims to Victors : NGOs and Empowerment at Itaparica, in Making a Difference*, Earthscan Publication, London, 1992.

22. J. Clark, *Democratising Development : The Role of Voluntary Organizations*, Earthscan, London, 1991.

23. D. C. Korten, "Third Generation NGO Strategies : A Key to People Centered Development", *World Development*, Vol. 15.

24. (i) Lok Niti, "NGOs and International Development Cooperation", *Journal of Asian NGO Coalition*, Vol. 5(4).

(ii) M. Pardon, "NGOs From Development Aid to Development Cooperation", *World Development*, Vol. 15.



context of traditional NGO projects. Other forms of actions are needed, particularly on the international level where the biggest decisions are made. NGO strategies in the field range from directly lobbying of key individuals within bilateral and multilateral agencies through staff exchanges and working together in the field, participation in the joint committee. The approach has some problems about which NGOs should be aware. NGOs are peripheral to wider structure of bilateral and multilateral organizations. NGOs lack the leverage needed to maintain their influences when there are more powerful interests at work. Another problem is the lack of concerted effort to work together on common agenda. In addition the size of international organizations are very much overwhelming even to large NGOs like Save the Children Fund, OXFAM. Many NGOs do not understand how the international organizations work.

The most important point is to make strong linkage between NGOs development efforts at micro level and advocacy at meso and macro level. Lasting change can occur only when these activities are mutually supportive. The messages which are anchored in real experience have the power and legitimacy which is very difficult to ignore.

### **Increasing Impact by Organizational Growth**

The expansion of NGOs can take several forms :

Geographical: Implies moving into new areas or countries.

Horizontal Function : Adding additional sectoral programmes to existing programmes. Such as the addition of housing component to an income generation programme.

Vertical Function : Addition of upstream or down stream activities to existing programmes. Example, addition of agricultural processing project to agri production scheme.

Combination : Combination of different forms.

There are some sound arguments to pursue this type of strategy.<sup>25</sup> :

Firstly, it is often stated that any agency capable of alleviating poverty should have moral obligation to help as many poor as it can. It implies that the organization should expand its area of operation.. Secondly, In a scarce resource situation the need for efficient utilization of existing resource is very much pronounced. The capability of developed countries to provide assistance to LDCs has declined sharply. Since NGO has working experience in development field and many of them showed considerable success, the donors view that NGOs will be able to utilize the scarce resource more efficiently. To absorb the increased resources and also to use these the NGOs need to expand its size and scope of operation.

Thirdly, institutional theories suggest that organizational pluralism in service delivery creates choice and efficiency that makes poverty alleviation more probable.

Fourthly, for the NGO itself the large scale operational successes enhance their credibility for other scaling up strategy (such as lobbying domestic government or international organization is more effective for organizations that demonstrate a considerable operational capacity in the field). This expansion approach has also some difficulties. The crucial problem is how to manage the organizational change. The characteristics of NGOs that explain comparative advantage in local level poverty alleviation - relationship with beneficiary, flexible, experimental stance and small size—all will need modification when expansion takes place.<sup>26</sup> These modification

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25. (i) J. Tendlar, *Livelihood, Employment and Income Generating Activities*, Ford Foundation, New York, 1987.  
(ii) C. Roche, 'Its Not Size that Matters ; ACORDS Experience in Africa', *ODI Working Paper No. 52*, ODI, London, 1992.
26. A. Fowler, "The Role of NGOs in Changing State-Society Relations : Perspectives from East and Southern Africa" in *Development Policy Review* 9(1), 1991. pp. 53-84.



usually requires : increased functional specialization between parts of the organization, extension of hierarchy that separates those who manage the organization from those who manage field operation, increased capacity to raise resources both material and human. The impact of these changes may be : Shift of organizational culture from task oriented to role oriented, control from higher up the hierarchy grows in significance, professionalism subordinates commitment and mission related values.<sup>27</sup> These changes in culture, structure and accountability may change NGO from a voluntary organization to public service contractor oriented to servicing needs as defined by donors. So NGO should consider these problems before deciding to expand their organizations and more importantly they should calculate cost benefit as well as trade offs possibilities.

## V. Conclusion

The aim of the present paper was to review the different evaluation reports on the NGOs and suggesting some measures to improve the effectiveness of NGO activities. NGO sector got prominence in the development field very recently. As a result there are not many analyses on NGO activities.

As donors now become more conscious about accountability, they started to analyze the impact of NGO activities very recently. One of such recent evaluations is the report prepared by ODI. This paper dealt with this report and also used results obtained in the studies on Bangladesh. All studies suggest that NGO has positive impact on the income level of poor people but the impact is not much significant to make any dramatic improvement in their lives.

One of the most important reasons of such poor performance of NGOs is that their activities are not complemented by activities of government and international donors. NGO has comparative advantage in small scale activities but to incorporate such micro level

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27. T. W. Dichter, *NGOs and Replication Trap, Findings '89*, Technoserve. 1989.



impact into broader macro context the big player like government and multilateral donors should come forward with pro poor strategies. The expansion of particular NGO is also considered so that the NGO can spread its benefit to more people.

The paper suggested different measures to change the policies of government as well as the international donors. Especially emphasis was put about how to change the policies so that the poverty alleviation programme comes into limelight of all developmental activities. That is people centred development becomes real issue.

The suggestions about how to improve NGO performance are tentative and at theoretical level. Sufficient studies are not conducted yet to judge which strategies have more impact. Moreover, since NGO is a very diversified sector and works in diverse circumstances that is why no single strategy can fit all NGOs. It can be expected that in future more research on NGO will be done.

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