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"We are waiting to receive, to give"

A case study of the organizational sustainability of Local Non-Governmental Development Organizations in peri-urban Lusaka & Kitwe, Zambia.

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Abstract

This study explored the alternative visions and innovative strategies of Zambian local non-governmental development organizations (LNGDO) in their attempt to improve their organizational sustainability with the purpose to understand and analyze the organizational sustainability of LNGDOs in peri-urban Lusaka and Kitwe, Zambia. A case study approach was used to both delimit the scope of the study and acquire an in-depth, practical and context-specific understanding of the "why and how" of sustainability. Data was collected through interviews, documents, observations and a survey. Data was analyzed through a framework consisting of key findings from previous research and central concepts inherent in the partnership discourse, organizational sustainability theories, civic innovation approaches that emphasize local capabilities and civic action as well as the components of organizational capacity.

LNGDOs primarily understood organizational sustainability as financial sustainability, i.e as the process towards financial independence from donors, enabling LNGDOs to set their own development agenda and focus their accountability towards staff members and beneficiaries. Another common understanding was the ability to secure consistent and diverse externally mobilized resources. The continuation of benefits stemming from an LNGDO intervention was central to the understanding of organizational sustainability among Donors. The two most prominent strategies to improve organizational sustainability among LNGDOs are the use of volunteers and diversifying external resources. Given the primacy of financial autonomy, LNGDOs also focused on strategies that increased the self-generation of income. One of the fundamental challenges facing LNGDOs in their work towards organizational sustainability is that they employ a different definition and understanding of the concept than Donors. Perhaps the most prominent and difficult challenge to overcome is the mindset and pervading culture of reliance on external support among LNGDOs. This may limit innovative new strategies from being articulated, let alone implemented.

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Acronyms

CBO – Community Based Organization

CSO – Civil Society Organization

DED – Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst (German Development Service)

FBO – Faith Based Organization

IGA – Income Generating Activity

INGDO – International Non-Governmental Development Organization

LNGDO – Local Non-Governmental Development Organization

NGDO – Non-Governmental Development Organization

OVC – Orphans and Vulnerable Children

1. Introduction

Something you should carry with you is that time has come that our cooperating partners understand that we are tired of being dependent on them again and again. That an enabling environment should be created for CSOs to have some sort of sustainability /.../ I think civil society has to become more innovative and look at all ways and means of dealing with their situation.

Executive Director, LNGDO 211209

Like many other Local Non-Governmental Development Organizations (LNGDOs) working in the South, Zambian LNGDOs are highly donor dependent (Simon 2007:213). According to Fowler (1998:152), "95 percent of LNGDOs would disappear if aid stopped". Being dependent on the inconsistent flow of development support does not alleviate the insecurity that inhibits the 'enabling environment' called for in the quote above. Many LNGDOs express frustration with this insecurity and dependence. As a consequence, they are trying to create more sustainable organizations and increase their self-reliance.

1.1 Research Problem: Why is sustainability among LNGDOs an issue?

We established a good relationship with staff members at our host organization during the field semester, an LNGDO in a peri-urban compound of Lusaka. They were frank and honest about the challenges facing the organization. One such challenge that got our attention was the organization's total donor dependence.

Their primary donor had recently changed its priorities and, in order to secure continued funding, the organization changed its priorities and strategies; despite staff saying that the changes did not reflect changes in the needs of the community. Other donors had pulled out or decreased their funding earlier in the year, referring to the financial crisis. The organization wished to secure a more stable resource flow and increase their autonomy, especially in issues of resource allocation, goals and strategies.

The organization applied for funding to establish income-generating activities (IGAs) primarily focused on increasing and diversifying the organization's income sources. Many of the proposed IGAs would benefit both the organization and its beneficiaries. The proposals were framed as a way to increase organizational sustainability and showed their eagerness to take responsibility of their own development. However, the proposals were declined on the grounds that the donor did not fund capital projects, despite stating that sustainability and ownership were core goals in their partnerships with LNGDOs. This experience was not an exception; many other organizations told similar stories.

Organizational sustainability is a priority issue among Zambian LNGDOs. Their limited institutional capacities and weak organizational sustainability remain central constraints for the expansion of a Zambian grassroots civil society (JASZ 2007:7). Many LNGDOs survive from "paycheck to paycheck", i.e. from project to project, making long-term planning difficult. The recent financial crisis has exacerbated this situation and has resulted in considerably reduced aid flows, especially through donors that rely on private back-donors. According to Datta (2007:58), there exists "an accepted culture of reliance and dependency which hinders sustainability of grassroots organizations", a culture that might have to be challenged for the concept of organizational sustainability to take root among donors and LNGDOs in Zambia.

Solely critiquing donorship culture in relation to the aspirations and interests of Zambian LNGDOs will only get us so far. The challenges to sustainability are compelling many LNGDOs to find innovative and local solutions. This study intends to explore the alternative visions and innovative strategies of Zambian LNGDOs in their attempt to improve their organizational sustainability. This study does not explore LNGDOs' contribution to positive development outcomes. It may be safe to claim that some LNGDOs do contribute positively to the development of Zambia and as such, it is vital to understand and explore the issue organizational sustainability.

1.2 Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to understand and analyze the organizational sustainability of LNGDOs in Zambia. With this purpose in mind, the following primary research questions have guided this study:

- How is organizational sustainability understood in the LNGDO context of peri-urban Lusaka and Kitwe?
- What strategies are used by LNGDOs to improve organizational sustainability in the LNGDO context of peri-urban Lusaka and Kitwe?
- What are the fundamental challenges that LNGDOs face when applying these strategies?

This study examines organizational sustainability from the perspective of LNGDOs. We aim to explore their understanding of organizational sustainability and the strategies employed to improve said sustainability. LNGDOs' interaction with their environment affects both how

they define and work practically with organizational sustainability. It is therefore important to explore the understanding of sustainability among different development actors. In this study, these actors include LNGDOs, donor organizations (Donors), network and umbrella organizations (Networks), International Non-Governmental Development Organizations (INGDOs) and intermediary organizations.

1.3 Disposition

Section 1 above has introduced this study's purpose and research questions in relation to the fundamental problem it addresses. The following section presents the study's particular context and a definition of LNGDOs. Section 2 discusses how the study's purpose and question were approached methodologically. This is followed by an examination of previous research and concepts central to the analytical framework. This framework informs the analytical model which guides the analysis of this study's findings in Section 6. Returning to the research questions, the study closes with a summary of its main conclusions and the possible directions for future research on organizational sustainability among local development organizations in the South.

2. Background: Zambian Civil Society

While Zambian civil society has been limited to act within the boundaries of colonial rule, and subsequently a one-party state, trade unions and faith based organizations (FBOs) have been actively working for a more equitable development since the 1940s (Maitra 2009:2 and Sanz Corella et al 2006: 23). Civil society was a crucial driving force behind the return of multi-partyism in 1991 (Fraser 2009:306).

Since 1991, the civil society landscape has diversified and grown. By 2003¹, there were well over 10 000 organizations registered with the Registrar of Societies (Maitra 2009:4 & African Monitor 2007:23-4). In line with the Rome and Paris Declarations, civil society organizations (CSOs) have played a more significant role in setting the national development agenda in Zambia. CSOs are included in the development of the National Development Plans of Zambia through a broad consultative process.

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¹ This is the more recent count of organizations available at this time as the Registrar of Societies is undergoing a comprehensive reorganization.

With 35 percent of the population living in urban areas, Zambia is one of the most urbanized countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Central Statistical Office 2000:2). A majority of the urban population resides in low cost housing settlements, or compounds, in peri-urban areas surrounding Zambia's major cities. In terms of civil society, peri-urban areas are dominated by community-based organizations (CBOs) advocating for and providing services to their surrounding community. These organizations are often staffed by local community members and rely heavily on donor funding and volunteers.

2.1 What is a Local Non-Governmental Development Organization?

There are several different terms used to describe non-state actors that work with development; NGOs, CSOs, GROs, NGDOs, CBOs, among others². In an attempt to avoid the politics of nomenclature, we have chosen to use the term Local Non-Governmental Development Organization (LNGDO), a modification of Fowler's (2000a) term NGDO. This term reinforces what we set out to explore; the experience of local Zambian organizations explicitly working with development. Thus, an LNGDO is a locally based and run development organization and not a subsidiary of another organization. Their offices are situated within or close-by the communities which they serve.

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² NGO – Non-governmental Organization, CSO – Civil Society Organization, GRO – Grassroots Organization, NGDO – Non-governmental Development Organization, CBO – Community Based Organization.

3. Research Design

Striving to understand why and how LNGDOs experience and manage sustainability demanded an inductive approach and, given few studies have approached these issues, both explorative and explanatory methods. It was important to gain an in-depth understanding of each respondent's specific situation to identify possible constraints and possibilities as well as strategies that can improve organizational sustainability. It was equally important to actively engage respondents in defining the issues they felt were relevant to organizational sustainability, as the concept itself is vague and could be understood differently by actors in the development community. A case study approach was used to both delimit the scope of the study and acquire an in-depth, practical and context-specific understanding of the "why and how" of sustainability (Yin, 2003:5).

3.1 Defining the Case and the Importance of Context

We were interested in gauging the experiential knowledge of organizational sustainability among LNGDOs. Examining 'how organizational sustainability gets done', within LNGDOs is key but our prime referent is organizational sustainability and not the LNGDO itself. Organizational sustainability is the case and LNGDOs are "sub-cases" or "embedded units" within the case which are examined in order to explore relationships, challenges and strategies for improved sustainability. As such, this is a single case study with embedded units as shown in Figure 1 below (Yin 2003:38).

The case is geographically bound by focusing organizational sustainability on among LNGDOs in peri-urban areas of Lusaka and Kitwe, two of Zambia's largest cities (see Map 1). The case is also bound by focusing solely on organizational sustainability, not other types of sustainability. We narrowed the scope further by exploring organizational sustainability specifically among Zambian LNGDOs.



MAP 1: ZAMBIA (CARE INTERNATIONAL)

Understanding organizational sustainability involves exploring LNGDO interactions with its context. There are many actors, structures and processes that affect LNGDOs' sustainability,

making context especially important (see Figure 1). It can be difficult to identify the boundaries between organizational sustainability and these contextual conditions as it is specifically in the case's context where thought and action is developed (Baxter and Jack 2008:545). Thus, it was important to include these actors and processes in our case study sample.

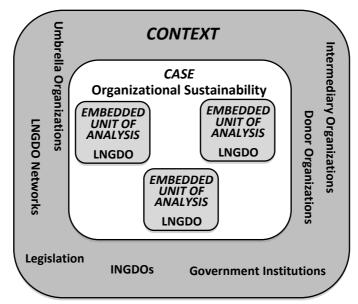


FIGURE 1: CASE STUDY

3.1.1 Case Study Process

Theoretical propositions were not deliberately avoided but we wanted to retain a large degree of theoretical flexibility. We had a "hypothetical story" about relationships and reasons why certain thoughts and events occurred (Yin 2003:29) but letting the case "tell its own story" was central (Stake 2005:456). The research process was reflective as data collection and analysis occurred concurrently. Personal study journals were kept to allow reflection and discussion after interviews (Baxter and Jack 2008:554). This allowed us to develop new questions and focus areas, building an in-depth grasp of commonalities and particularities between LNGDOs' experiences with sustainability. We recognize the defining power we have as researchers in recreating and presenting those parts of the cases "story" we feel are important.

3.2 Data collecting methods

3.2.1 Sampling

Respondents were purposively chosen based on two different strategies; intensity and chain sampling (Patton 2002:231). Without a vast network within civil society, chain sampling

became the most viable and efficient method. Intensity sampling prompted a focus on "information-rich" organizations, i.e. those with practical experience with organizational sustainability strategies (Patton 2002:234). These sampling strategies often converged; several independent respondents mentioned the same LNGDOs as "musts" in the sample.

Being based in Lusaka, the "chain" began with Networks in the area. With limited time and money, the sample was limited to actors in urban and peri-urban areas of Lusaka and Kitwe. Respondents at the Networks were important gatekeepers, providing information, contact details to interesting development actors and in some instances facilitating interviews. Each subsequent respondent became a link in the sampling chain to the next respondent they believed could make an interesting contribution to the study.

By identifying new actors on the recommendation of previous respondents, the sample could consist of organizations already part of informal networks. Interacting with several different development actors, working in varying development fields, mitigated this problem. However, we were specifically interested in engaging with actors who had experience with organizational sustainability strategies. Considering the location and narrow topic, relationships between respondents were difficult to avoid (Patton 2002:230-5; 237-8, Bryman 2008:184-7).

The sample size was not fixed; sampling and interviewing continued until few new perspectives and experiences of organizational sustainability strategies were being brought up (Silverman 2005:133-4, Bryman 2008:414-7). The number of organizations, interviews and respondents included in the final study sample can be seen in Table 1 below. As the table shows, some respondents were interviewed more than once in order to clarify earlier discussions and some interviews were conducted in groups. For a more detailed description of the different organizations included in the study please see Appendix I.

	Number of Organizations	Number of Interviews	Number of Respondents
LNGDOs	14	25	33
Networks	6	11	9
Donors	5	5	5
INGDOs	4	5	6
Intermediary Organizations	1	1	1
Government Institutions	1	1	2
Total	31	48	56

TABLE 1: ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDED IN THE STUDY

3.2.2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with the help of an interview guide with openended questions covering fundamental themes of organizational sustainability (see Appendix II). The interview guide aimed at stimulating a discussion and engendering in-depth answers, allowing the respondent to develop ideas and thoughts throughout the interview (Lantz 1993:17-21). This gave time for all involved to reflect on key concepts and contribute to the reflective process, creating a continual loop of redefinition and developing the understanding of organizational sustainability (Yin 2003:51).

The interviews, lasting 60-90 minutes, were conducted with both individual respondents and in groups. While the key respondents had been identified previous to the interview, other staff members with interest in or knowledge about the topic joined in. While not part of the interviewing strategy, these situations were a welcomed addition to the research. Additional staff members often positively affected the interview, making the initial respondent more comfortable and allowing more dynamic discussions.

To put respondents at ease, they chose the location of the interview (Bailey 2007:104-5). We were both present at all interviews. The quality and depth of the interviews improved, as it was less likely that follow-up questions and interesting findings were missed. The challenge was to make the respondents comfortable and avoid situations where they felt "outnumbered". This issue was dealt with by allowing one of us to take the lead while the other focused on note-taking and making sure interesting themes were not overlooked (Trost 1997:44-5, Lantz 108-18).

All interviews were recorded on a dictaphone and anonymity was guaranteed. While this was initially uncomfortable for some, all respondents eventually relaxed. Recording allowed us to actively listen to the respondent without worrying about missing information (Trost 1997:50-2). Listening to the recording after the interviews also allowed the development of the interview guide and necessary changes to be made in the interaction with future respondents.

3.2.3 Documents

Proposals, budgets, strategic plans, mission statements and other documents related to the organization's work were collected during each interview. Since the interviewee often had contributed to the creation of these documents, we gained a better insight in how the organization utilized each document (Bryman 2008: 387). Reviewing said documents helped to corroborate material from interviews and informal observations (Yin 2009: 103-4).

3.2.4 Surveys

We gained access to primary material from a 2009 study carried out by the German Development Service (DED³). This material consisted of completed questionnaires that had been included in a survey completed by 86 organizations in four of Zambia's nine provinces⁴. The survey aimed at mapping the capacity of LNGDOs in Zambia. Since organizational capacity has a bearing on how organizations work with organizational sustainability, accessing this information enriched and complemented our data by adding how LNGDOs perceived their capacities. Relevant questions were selected and answers coded, allowing simple statistical analysis. See Appendix III for survey questions.

3.3 Transcriptions and Data Analysis

As in most qualitative studies, data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously in an iterative process. Our openness to "empirical leads" meant that new findings guided and refined focal issues (Charmaz 2005: 512). Conceptual categories emerged, which were refined and checked in other interactions with respondents and in theoretical literature. However, once data collection was complete the process of analysis and interpretation was conducted in three main steps (Stake in Creswell 1998:153-154). All interviews were transcribed and notes taken during interviews were integrated into the transcriptions. The first step of the analysis involved extracting all of the different ways organizational sustainability was described and defined by respondents. These definitions were then coded and categorized according to their main focus. The second step focused on organizational sustainability strategies used or endorsed by different respondents. These strategies were categorized according to their main approach. The texts were then revisited to find patterns between the different understandings of organizational sustainability and the chosen or endorsed strategies. The third and final analytical step was to identify, through direct interpretation, the challenges associated with each strategy, what respondents believed were their cause and tactics applied to mitigate these challenges.

3.4 Research Quality Considerations

While case studies have been criticized for lacking methodological rigor and being inconducive to generalizations, the same criticism is directed at all qualitative methods

³ DED is the official abbreviation of The German Development Service – Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst in German.

⁴ The survey was conducted in the Southern, Eastern, North Western and Western Province.

(Gomm et al. 2000:5). This study's *credibility* has been improved by ensuring that several sources of information, interviews, documents, surveys, field notes, were used in order to give multiple accounts of issues related to organizational sustainability (Bryman 2008:377). The credibility of the findings is also improved by including the perceptions of many LNGDOs as well as other development actors. Single case studies are often criticized for having low *transferability* (Bryman 2008:376). However, it is not our intention to produce universally applicable generalizations. Instead we aim to produce "thick descriptions" of the case of organizational sustainability in the specific context and time of this study, allowing others to draw parallels in other environments (Bryman 2008:378).

While it is difficult to replicate qualitative studies, by clearly and honestly documenting and presenting the research design and process, we hope to improve the *dependability* of this study. Living in a peri-urban compound of Lusaka for six months meant we were exposed to the reality of the LNGDO context for a considerable amount of time. While one might think this would bias our perception in LNGDOs' favor, it actually gave us the opportunity to see beyond romantic descriptions often ascribed grassroots organizations. This, together with delving into the perspective of other development actors, helped improve the study's *confirmability*.

3.5 Limitations

Some of this study's limitations have been highlighted in the text above. However, this section focuses on three major limitations that have had implications on this study. *First*, the study is limited to the peri-urban settings of Lusaka and Kitwe. Thus, excluding rural organizations that could have enriched the data with different challenges to organizational sustainability tied to their distance from many of the development actors centralized to the larger cities in Zambia. *Second*, the research explores the applied and planned organizational sustainability strategies but we were unable to evaluate their implementation and actual impact. *Third*, an LNGDO's experience with organizational sustainability is also influenced by and influences its interaction with surrounding communities and beneficiaries. While their relationship with communities was discussed with LNGDOs, formally including community in the context involved interviewing beneficiaries and community members, something beyond the scope of this study.

These three limitations could all have been mitigated by more time and resources, allowing the inclusion of rural areas and extensive participatory observations to verify and explore the implementation of organizational sustainability strategies and the success and impact of said strategies on the LNGDOs' surrounding community.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

In order to enable respondents to speak freely, their anonymity was guaranteed. This has led us to code each organization by interview date and to not include the names or details that might compromise organizations or respondents, especially considering the sensitive nature of donor relationships and individual relationships within organizations. We worked according to the guidelines of informed consent by verbal contract. This was done mainly to avoid a formalization of the interaction during the interview and to get the interviewee to feel comfortable with the situation (Berg 2004:64-5).

Discussions during interviews often focused on funding, donor relations and ways to improve resource mobilization. This, together with the fact that we were young, white and privileged could have lead to the creation of expectations of change and help, over which we have no control. In order to manage expectations as much as possible, we clarified our role as students and the purpose and use of our research, often emphasizing that we were not tied to a funding agency. We made it clear that the benefit of participating in our research was that the organization would receive a copy of the final thesis.

4. Previous Research

Most studies parenthetically address organizational sustainability in an LNGDO context. Their primary focus is instead on problematizing donor-partner relationships (e.g. Fowler 1998, Bebbington 2005, Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff 2004), discussing LNGDO accountability, capacity and ownership issues (e.g. Ebrahim 2003, Boerning 2009 unpublished, Adam and Gunning 2002) or LNGDOs' roles in development (African Monitor 2007, Khachina Matanga 2010). Those studies dealing with sustainability primarily concentrate on the sustainability of LNGDO development projects (e.g. Kremer and Miguel 2007). It is difficult to find previous research addressing the sustainability of organizations in the South. This is even more true for the African context generally and Zambia specifically.

However, one previous study and the work of one central researcher have influenced the direction of this study and informed the analytical framework. *Teaching a Man to Fish: The Sustainability Doctrine and Its Social Consequences* (Swidler and Watkins 2009), addresses sustainability from a donor perspective in Malawi. An academic and practitioner, Alan Fowler (2002a & b, 2000a, b & c, 1998) is one of few that have specifically focused on the organizational sustainability of LNGDOs. The central findings of this study and Fowler's work are presented below.

Focusing on rural districts in Malawi, Swidler and Watkins (2008:1182) examined donor-funded projects aimed at CBOs solving "their own HIV/AIDS-related problems in a sustainable way". Donors were guided by what Swidler and Watkins (2008:1182-4) call the 'sustainability doctrine' which was applied to limit donor interventions, guarantee long-term organizational viability and curb dependency. The doctrine's ideals include: *local ownership*, *community mobilization* and *self-reliance*. Three donor strategies that aligned with these ideals were identified: training, using volunteers and IGAs (Swidler and Watkins 2008:1184-5). Despite the ideals inherent in the sustainability doctrine, Swidler and Watkins (2008:1188) found that the CBOs were not empowered to ask for they felt they needed, instead limited to asking only for resources that donors deemed sustainable, which in the end were not viable anyway. The study showed the considerable disconnect between the sustainability culture of donors and the aspirations and interests of CBOs in Malawi (Swidler and Watkins 2008:1191).

Fowler has produced both academic texts and practical handbooks in organizational sustainability and LNGDO management in the South. Given the difficulty in finding literature on organizational sustainability in the LNGDO context, we draw considerably on his work. However, his work sometimes creates questionable bridges between grand statements on the threats of donor dependence and declining international aid to practical management recommendations to LNGDOs in a disconnected way. His case examples of successful sustainability strategies often involve Southern LNGDOs that may not represent the conditions in which most LNGDOs operate. However, as a prominent and recognized contributor to the field of LNGDO management and sustainability, his examinations of organizational sustainability have provided a guide to analyzing and understanding these issues in this study's context.

5. Analytical Framework

The previous research outlined above provides central concepts that are important in understanding organizational sustainability in a Zambian LNGDO context. These concepts were also central in many of the discussions with respondents and in the sustainability discourse of LNGDOs themselves. The 'sustainability doctrine' in Swidler and Watkins (2008) work is part of a dominant development discourse focused on establishing donor-recipient relationships characterized by partnership. Understanding the partnership discourse and how it works in praxis will aid in analyzing the challenges and facilitating factors inherent in the organizational sustainability strategies used by LNGDOs. Exploring beyond aid scenarios⁵ where organizations reconceptualize their role and pursue alternative development practices past partnerships with donors will help guide the analysis of LNGDOs' organizational sustainability strategies. The capacities of the Zambian LNGDOs can affect the choice of strategy as well as affect the success of the strategy in improving organizational sustainability. It is therefore important to examine the theoretical understanding of organizational sustainability and the proposed capacities required to improve said sustainability.

This analytical framework will inform the analytical model used to analyze of this study's findings. First let us begin with a brief examination of LNGDOs as actors in development.

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⁵ Scenarios concerning development work without reliance on donor funding (Fowler 2000a).

5.1 LNGDOs and Development

LNGDOs were given increasing attention in academic and practitioner development circles from the early 1980s (Lewis 2005:202). As a result of the disillusionment with official aid and state-led development, LNGDOs were seen as possible private service delivering organizations and, in more progressive circles, were lauded for their advocacy and community mobilization potential (Lewis 2005:202). This recognition led to and was a result of the significant increase in the number of LNGDOs (Salaman et al. in Fisher 2003:19).

The 'supply side' of the equation also assisted this upsurge. The increased availability of funding and INGDO's need for in-country partners expanded the interface between LNGDOs and the international aid system (Fisher 2003:25, Fowler 2000c:640). 'Non-governmentalism' as the 'magic bullet' in development policy and practice was critically questioned by the mid-1990s. The original efficacy and mobilization potential was off-set by a growing dependency on official aid and a shift in the accountability and legitimacy of LNGDOs from communities to donors (Fowler 2000c:641). Some saw the growth in interest in LNGDOs lead them to act "essentially as members of a service industry, developing and carrying out their activities in response to requests from donors" (Vivian 1994:i).

5.2 The Partnership Discourse

The partnership discourse⁶ was the development community's response to this legitimacy and accountability crisis:

The most important implication is that by putting stress on the concept of partnership and by raising its importance, the unequal relationship between 'funder' and 'funded', between the Northern and Southern agencies is tempered and changed (Riddell 1993:35).

An OECD report (1996:14) emphasized that donor programs and activities "should operate within the framework" of locally owned strategies "in ways that respect and encourage strong local commitment, participation, capacity development and ownership". Partners' are to adopt greater responsibility and ownership for their own development (Ebrahim 2003:814-5). An organization cannot be accountable or even aspire to be accountable of a process that they do not own.

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⁶ When discussing this relationship in this study, the terms 'donor' and 'partner" are used. The term "recipient" denotes a passivity that this study does not wish to maintain and using the partnership terminology "partner and partner" is too confusing. Using partner and donor emphasizes the agency of 'recipients of aid' without masking the "power inequalities inherent in the aid relationship" (Eriksson Baaz 2005: 9).

The partnership relationship is often articulated through concepts like 'responsibility', 'ownership', 'accountability' and 'participation' (Eriksson Baaz 2005:6). These concepts are central in the discursive space between donors and partners. The concepts' definitions form specific structures through which meanings are constructed and practices are organized in the donor-partner relationship (Eriksson Baaz 2005:11). The meanings given to these "discursive objects" by different actors involved in the partnership are constituted in action (Laclau 1990:102). So the partnership discourse suggests not only changes in the way the donor-partner relationship is conceptualized but also a shift in the way aid is 'done', i.e. development aid between 'partners' and on the terms of the receiver of that aid. Partners are now supposed to control the design, implementation and monitoring of development interventions (Cramer et al. 2006:415).

5.3 Civic Innovation Discourse

Fowler (2000a:593) maintains that LNGDOs' vulnerability to aid trends, reduced autonomy and accountability to donors has whittled away their civic rootedness, which is what should provide LNGDOs with the legitimacy to act in development. Fowler (2000a:591) claims that these issues call into question the very nature, origins, roles and concepts LNGDOs employ.

Some see the partnership discourse as a tactic to "mask [the] continuity" of paternalist donor attitudes which is instituted through enduring aid practices (Eriksson Baaz 2005:6). At the heart of this critique is the argument that LNGDOs do prioritize ownership and sustainability but often trade off ownership and sustainability for funding and positive donor relationships, which are often of a more crucial nature for the organization (Hirschmann 2003:241-2). The partnership discourse is most likely not a result of a concerted and intentional attempt to legitimize continued paternalist attitudes. There is great variety in the types of partner and donor organizations and the way they operate (Crewe and Harrisson in Eriksson Baaz 2005:29). Donors also work within a framework of accountability to auditor, schedules and taxpayer funding sources (Holmén 2010:215).

The emphasis on ownership and participation shows how the partnership discourse is closely entwined with sustainability. The supposed lack of sustainability in development is often "attributed to partners' organizational and institutional capacity and aid dependence" (Eriksson Baaz 2005:7). As Swidler and Watkin's study exemplifies, the donor community's prescription for decreasing dependence and improving sustainability is to foster partners' self-reliance through developing their organizational capacity (Eriksson Baaz 2005:7-8). This can

be seen as an expression of a perceived *lack* of agency, "reproducing images of the passive" partner (Eriksson Baaz 2005:168). The notion of passivity in the partnership discourse is especially detrimental to donor-partner collaborations as it conceals the resistance and innovation among partners (Eriksson Baaz 2002:171).

Both Edwards (2004) and Fowler (2000c) stress the importance of the civic agency of LNGDOs. Fowler (2000c:637) maintains that the near total reliance on donor funding has not only made LNGDOs vulnerable but it has also eroded and shifted their legitimacy and accountability from the civic to the public domain. Further, taking on the role as subcontractors, i.e. implementing partners, LNGDOs are consumed with providing services for "clients with needs" instead of communities with interests (Fowler 2000c:643). As a result, many LNGDOs find it difficult to experiment and articulate alternatives to prevailing development orthodoxy (Fowler 2000c:643). LNGDOs' ability to develop alternatives to mainstream development practices was what attracted international development attention in the first place.

Fowler (2000c:639) considers the current development role of LNGDOs as a "moment in history". Fowler (2000a:595, 2000c:645) calls for an alternative development framework which engenders civic agency and legitimacy; one which provides LNGDOs the enabling environment to develop their "niche competency", i.e. mobilizing grassroots support, experimentation and innovation, developing alternatives to prevailing development models, including resource mobilization. Two ways in which LNGDOs can explore this niche is through social entrepreneurship and civic innovation.

5.3.1 Social Entrepreneurship

The economic focus of a social entrepreneur is the creation of surplus, rather than profit, to certify the viability of development interventions, i.e. the organization uses "commercial undertakings to cross-subsidize social interventions" (Fowler 2000c:645). Depending on the level of integration between surplus-generating activities and development interventions, social entrepreneurship can be divided into two categories: integrated and complementary. *Integrated social entrepreneurship* means introducing economic elements in an LNGDO's development activities, creating additional social benefits as well as a surplus (Fowler 2000c:645). *Complementary social entrepreneurship* entails adding an enterprise that generates a surplus but not necessarily social benefit, resulting in a 'non-profit-for-profit' hybrid organization (Fowler 2000c:647).

5.3.2 Civic Innovation

Civic innovation approaches emphasize local capabilities and civic action, i.e. how communities "understand and finance initiatives to address their problems" (Fowler 2000c:651). Its roots lie in the economics of citizen engagement, mobilization and action for problem solving, generating social goods without relying on the redistribution of surplus or aid (Fowler 2000c:649-650). Civic agency is at the core of this approach and involves the "capacities of communities to work collaboratively and collectively across differences" in order to "address common challenges, solve problems and create common goods" (Boyte and Mehaffy 2008:1). It is precisely the civic agency of LNGDOs that Fowler (2000c:651) claims is undermined when development activities are pursued because they are likely candidates for external funding. Instead of serving as "civic meeting grounds", LNGDOs house service delivery operations (Boyte and Mehaffy 2008:3). In this sense, aid dependency may be causing a weakened sense of agency.

While civic innovation and agency is guided by norms of mutuality and reciprocity, it does not mean that innovative LNGDOs are "unconcerned with economic viability" (Fowler 2000c:648). Interaction with donors is not completely cast off. But donors should see their financial and technical contributions as "investments in social problem solving" (Fowler 2000c:651).

5.4 Organizational Sustainability

Given the plethora of definitions of sustainability, it is difficult to define what sustainability *is* beyond the very basic reference to maintaining something over time. What this 'something' is and how one should go about its maintenance depends on the perspectives and priorities of those involved.

Organizational sustainability essentially means that the organization is "able to continue to do its work" (CIVICUS 2003:6). For the organization to 'continue to do its work', it should have a "clear strategic direction", "adequate administrative and financial infrastructures", and the capacities to "attract, manage and retain competent staff", while at the same time identifying new opportunities (CIVICUS 2003:6). It is also important that the organization can "demonstrate its effectiveness and impact" both to mobilize resources and mobilize community support and involvement (CIVICUS 2003:6). Organizational sustainability should also be understood as a process that moves from less to more sustainable, not an absolute condition (Cannon 2002:365).

Fowler (2002b:367) defines sustainability as the interplay between resources, impact and the organizations ability to learn and adapt to changes in its environment. Fowler (2000b) maintains that this interplay creates a virtuous spiral. If the organization has "read its environment correctly" and is "contributing something of enduring social value", it will gain public support and feedback (Fowler 2000b:183-184). In turn, learning from assessing its own performance can create "new knowledge that incorporates past insight", which translates into organizational regeneration (Fowler 2000b:183-184). Key here is ensuring knowledge and experience stay within the organization. LNGDOs need to learn so that they can see possibilities and create innovative measures in their environment.

Financial sustainability is an integral part of organizational sustainability but they are not synonyms. Financial sustainability is the continuing "ability of the organization to generate enough resources to work towards its vision" (CIVICUS 2003:6). A number of components enable an organization to be financially sustainable. The organization should have at least more than one source and one way of generating income, and have financial systems, including regular strategic and financial planning, that can manage these resources (Cannon 2002:363, CIVICUS 2003:6). Financial autonomy is closely tied to an organization's ability to work towards its vision. This means that the organization is able to "make its own decisions about how it generates and spends its funds" (CIVICUS 2003:7). Being financially autonomous also means being able to reject funding that does not fit with the organizations values or strategic plans (CIVICUS 2003:7). Let us now examine the strategic choices and trade-offs involved in resource mobilization

5.4.1 Resource Mobilization

From an organizational sustainability perspective, organizations need to reduce resource vulnerability at the same time as protecting the organizations mission (Fowler 2002b:374). The dependency on donor funding means that LNGDOs are highly sensitive to the stability of resources. Changes in the level or conditions placed on funding means LNGDOs need to "adjust their external relationship" to restore stability (Fowler 2002b:374). In this adjustment, LNGDOs run the risk of compromising their original mission, i.e. "mission creep", causing internal confusion as action and reality on the one hand and mission and rhetoric on the other diverge (Fowler 2002b:374).

Resource mobilization can be initially divided into financial and non-financial strategies, see Figure 2 (Fowler 2002b:376). Non-financial strategies allow an LNGDO to operate and

positively impact their beneficiaries while spending little of the organizations resources (Fowler 2002b:376-7). The financial strategies are in turn divided into self-generated surplus

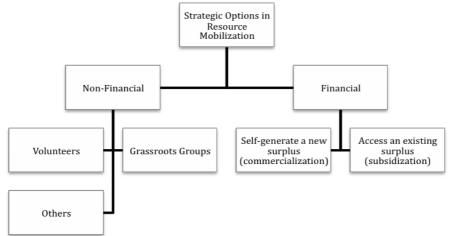


FIGURE 2: STRATEGIC OPTIONS IN RESOURCE MOBILIZATION, ADOPTED FROM FOWLER (2002B:375)

and accessing an existing surplus. Both demand critical decisions and a high level of activity, while the former are likely to increase the autonomy and self-reliance of an organization and the latter are likely to create partnerships with other actors that in the end could limit the autonomy and ownership of an organization (Fowler 2002b:376-8).

5.5 Analytical Model

The analytical model, see Figure 3 below, is derived both from the central themes brought up by respondents included in this study and the analytical framework explored above. Together with an organization's internal capabilities, the partnership discourse and the civic innovation discourse, the legal and political context in which an LNGDO finds itself both enables and hinders the organization's understanding of and practical work with organizational sustainability.

The *legal and political context* within which an LNGDO finds itself provides the fundamental conditions in which the organization operates. The context can both set boundaries as well as enables actions and initiatives. The context is also a normative structure that influences the way in which LNGDOs conceptualize themselves and their role in development.

As shown in the exploration of the concept of organizational sustainability above, an LNGDO's *organizational capability* in terms of structures and systems bears strongly on its ability to improve its sustainability. Organizational capability includes how an LNGDO is organized in terms of functional units and decision-making, its administrative, human

resource and financial management systems as well as its organizational culture in terms of attitudes and beliefs concerning capabilities and sustainability.

The concepts that the *partnership* and *civic innovation discourses* employ will aid in analyzing strategies in a broader development context. Additionally, these concepts guide the analysis of key relationships in the LNGDO setting. The way in which LNGDOs and other development actors talk about each other reveals how the relationship may be enacted. This is important especially as we were rarely able to directly observe their interaction.

It is in the overlap of the four elements that LNGDOs understand and articulate their perspective on organizational sustainability. Gaining an understanding of how LNGDOs, and the other development actors within this case study, define organizational sustainability is fundamental in contextualizing the different strategies applied to enhance sustainability.

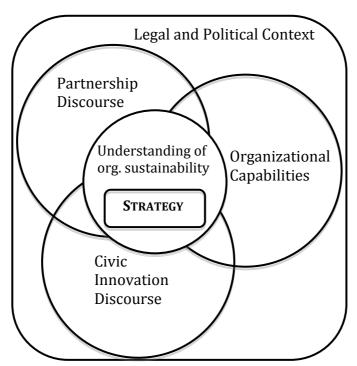


FIGURE 3: ANALYTICAL MODEL

This study aims to understand how 'sustainability gets done' in an LNGDO context. The analysis below is divided into three sections. *First*, the different definitions and understandings of organizational sustainability in the LNGDO setting are explored. *Second*, the legal and political context affecting LNGDOs is presented, analyzing its possible implications. The *third* section explores strategies identified in this study; each strategy's potential to improve organizational sustainability and its' challenges will be analyzed using

relevant concepts from the analytical framework as well as the findings from the first two sections.

6. Analysis

6.1 Section One: Understandings of Organizational Sustainability

Do donors have a responsibility to emphasize organizational sustainability in their relationships with partners?

Yes, I think so, and we do it all the time. I emphasize it to the extent that it has become a mantra and no one really knows what it all means anymore.

Regional Advisor, Donor 020210

As the interview excerpt alludes, there are many different definitions of organizational sustainability. LNGDOs' definition consistently included being able to continue carrying out activities with or without external funding. Some LNGDOs also emphasized community ownership, accountability and involvement, sound structures and policies, a clear and shared vision and skilled staff. Many LNGDOs referred to continuing to be relevant to, and in touch with, community needs and interests. Yet, organizational sustainability was ultimately a function of financial sustainability; the concepts were often used synonymously.

LNGDOs stressed the importance of looking at internal solutions to resource mobilization, i.e. "when I say external I mean depending on outsiders instead of ourselves, the donors, today they can give you, tomorrow they can't" (Executive Director, LNGDO 050110). Donors understand LNGDOs' focus on resources; "People are not thinking about impact, it is just the day-to-day focus on trying to survive. You cannot blame them when everything is so weak, small costs can be the end of the organization" (Program Coordinator, Donor 290110). This struggle with daily organizational survival can explain a focus on the financial elements of sustainability, especially in light of the financial crisis where many LNGDOs saw their funding cut drastically, causing many to downsize, work for free or close down. This could explain why many LNGDOs considered sustaining the organization and its activities as a measure of success.

LNGDOs defined and understood organizational sustainability in four different ways. Most common was *organizational sustainability as financial autonomy*, or being financially independent from external funding, owning the organizations' development agenda and solely being accountable to staff members and beneficiaries. Another common understanding was *organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization*. This means the ability

to consistently attract resources, both technical and financial, from diverse external sources, primarily donors. *Organizational sustainability as community relevance and mission adherence* was also emphasized. This means being present in and involving the community in the planning, implementation and evaluation of the organization's development activities while remaining true to the organization's mission. Although less common, *organizational sustainability as organizational capacity* was also applied. This understanding focused on the strengths and institutionalization of the organization's structures, systems, human resources, practices and policies.

Networks coordinate, apply for funding and redistribute to member organizations, offer capacity building programs and share relevant information. As they often act as the interface between LNGDOs and Donors, it is important to understand their definitions of organizational sustainability. Networks often differentiated between organizational and financial sustainability. Central components of the former were the dialogue between an LNGDO and the community that it serves, an organization's mandate, aims and visions as well as human resources. However, most discussions with Networks ended with statements such as "at the end of the day, money makes the world go round" (Program Officer, Network 050210). Networks often concluded that LNGDOs could be financially sustainable without being organizationally sustainable, but could not be organizationally sustainable without being financially sustainable. Thus, Networks often understood organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization and to a lesser extent as organizational capacity and as community relevance and mission adherence. While primacy is given to financial sustainability, this is not necessarily understood as financial autonomy, but rather resource diversification, including both the generation of the organizations own income as well as securing donor funding.

When Donors defined organizational sustainability, they often spoke of the sustainability of projects and impact, and could be categorized as *organizational sustainability as benefit sustainability*. This could be explained by the way Donors measure the success of their development interventions, i.e. project outcomes and impact. They also emphasized the importance of good governance structures, sound institutions and financial management systems. Here the focus was on *organizational sustainability as organizational capacity*. Many Donors had encountered LNGDOs that closed down because all the information and initiative was tied up in one person, often the founder. Thus, organizational learning and memory was essential in their understanding of organizational sustainability. Donors did not

consider *organizational sustainability as financial autonomy* realistic in the Zambian LNGDO setting. "When we are talking about Zambian local NGOs, in terms of really talking about sustainability when there is no funding from outside, the question is how does the organization survive?" (Program Coordinator, INGDO 280110). In other words, *organizational sustainability as diverse resource mobilization* is the only viable approach to financial sustainability.

There is an important disconnect between the way LNGDOs and Donors use the term organizational sustainability. LNGDOs pointed to a paradox in the aid system when explaining this disconnect. Many LNGDOs claimed that there is co-dependency between donors and partners that donors have a vested interest in maintaining in order to justify their existence. Donors justify their disbelief in LNGDOs' ability to become organizationally sustainable as unrealistic by maintaining that LNGDOs will need donor support and funding in the unforeseeable future. While LNGDOs claim that Donors are intentionally maintaining the dependency of their partners: "If you are a beggar, some don't want you to stop begging" (Executive Director, LNGDO 040210).

Working in partnerships becomes challenging without a common definition of organizational sustainability. While Donors and LNGDOs considered organizational sustainability to be a priority issue, their understanding of what this practically means differed considerably. LNGDOs understanding of organizational sustainability can be seen as an expression of their aspiration to be responsible for and 'own' their development. The key to ownership in this sense is independence and the ability to become financially autonomous. Donors deem this level of ownership beyond the capacity of LNGDOs, thus disqualifying their perception of organizational sustainability. While many Donors claim their ultimate goal is to be redundant, they do not seem to be working towards this goal by adopting a definition of organizational sustainability that encompasses improving the financial autonomy of LNGDOs.

While there are a number of overlaps in the way the concept is understood, LNGDOs, Networks and Donors give priority to different definitions of organizational sustainability. Below is a summarizing table over these definitions and the varying degrees of emphasis given to them by LNGDOs, Networks and Donors are displayed with 1 as the most prominent understanding.

	LNGDOs	Networks	Donors
Organizational sustainability as financial autonomy:			
Financially independent from donors, setting your own development agenda	4		
and solely accountable to staff members and beneficiaries.	1	-	-
Organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization: the			
ability to consistently attract resources, both technical and financial, from	٠,	1	3
diverse external sources, primarily donors.	2		
Organizational sustainability as community relevance and mission			
adherence: being present in and involving the community in the planning,			
implementation and evaluation of the organizations development activities			
while remaining true to the organizations mission and objectives	3	3	-
Organizational sustainability as organizational capacity: clearly defining and			
institutionalizing the organizations structures, systems, human resources,			_
practices and policies	4	2	
Organizational sustainability as benefit sustainability: the continuation of			
benefits stemming from an intervention, with or without the programs or			1
organizations that stimulated the benefit in the first place	-	-	1

TABLE 2: UNDERSTANDINGS OF ORGANIZATIONAL SUSTAINABILITY

These definitional categories will be used throughout the analysis in order to deepen the understanding of the challenges facing and strategies used by LNGDOs in their work with organizational sustainability. The different definitions used by Donors and LNGDOs delineate the space in which LNGDOs work practically with organizational sustainability. The Zambian political and legal framework also defines this space.

6.2 Section Two: Legal and Political Context

In every interview, respondents brought up a new component in the legal and political context in Zambia: The NGO Act (The Act), ratified by President Banda in August 2009. The Act is a coordinating instrument, creating a better overview of CSOs operating in Zambia. Government officials view it as an instrument to enhance the transparency and accountability of organizations (Ministry Officer, Governmental Institution 120210, NGO Act 2009:183-5, Times of Zambia). As one Ministry Officer said (Governmental Institution 120210), "I think we will know who is doing what and where, there is so many organizations right now. We don't know what everyone is doing".

Organizations are to register at the NGOs' Registration Board (the Board), an institution soon to be established within the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, at the latest 30 days after adopting a constitution (NGO Act 2009:189, §10:2). If the application is approved, the organization receives a certificate, valid for five years, after which the organization must reapply (NGO Act 2009:189, §11:1, 190, §14). The Board can reject an application if any "proposed activities or procedures of the NGO are not in the public

interest" (NGO Act 2009: 190, §15:1a). The Act has not yet been fully implemented and its consequences are still to be seen.

The Act has been heavily criticized for counteracting LNGDOs' transparency and accountability by creating a fear of de-registration if activities are seen questioning the government. However, service-delivering organizations did not seem to worry about the ramifications of the Act; "it is just for those who make noise" (Executive Director, Network, 020210) and "it is just another report to fill in" (Program Officer, LNGDO 211209). Those with advocacy components saw the Act as a threat to their existence: "I know it will limit the operations of those that are into advocacy work, most of them actually have grown cold feet and will not be able to speak out" (Advocacy Coordinator, INGDO 280110).

The Act also demands that sources of funding, lists of office bearers, governing committees, annual reports and clear budget reports and other financial information be presented upon application and reapplication (NGO Act 2009: 194, 195 §26:1). With often limited management systems, this presents a hurdle for the registration and re-registration of many LNGDOs.

The government clearly defines NGOs as "not established or operated for profit" (NGO Act 2009:186, §4). The lynchpin is how 'for profit' is going to be interpreted and applied in praxis. If no programs within an LNGDO can be run for profit, regardless if the surplus is ploughed back into the organization to fund programs, this may close the door on LNGDOs' potential as social entrepreneurs. If this is the case, it limits the resource mobilization options open to LNGDOs that see *organizational sustainability as financial autonomy*. In this sense, donor dependence is written into the law. Thus, one can question the government's willingness to aid in establishing an enabling environment for experimenting with new strategies for resource mobilization. As an Executive Director (LNGDO 020210) put it:

Do you think the government wants you to become sustainable?

No! I would say no. Because if they want us to become sustainable, why are they then regulating us like this, not for profit. They are making sure that we are not for profit. How can you then generate your own money to sustain?

On the other hand, if not for profit means that surplus cannot be channeled to the office bearers of the organization, then the Act may inspire creative and innovative solutions just as the financial crisis has spurred a serious discussion concerning organizational sustainability among LNGDOs.

That LNGDOs legally exist for five years at a time also presents challenges to *diverse* external resource mobilization as long-term partnerships may be difficult to negotiate.

I do not blame the donors, because of the New Act, organizations can only be in existence for 5 years then you have to renew. So when it comes to funding, if I was a donor I wouldn't want to fund an organization for more that 5 years because I don't know if it still exists after that.

Financial Officer, Network 030210

Organizational sustainability as organizational capacity is also problematized by the Act. The five-year reapplication rule presents challenges to LNGDO's ability to plan in the long-term, reaffirming the already strained situation of existing from project-to-project. As the organization's future is unstable, it is also difficult to manage human resources and retain staff. The inability to plan in the long-term may also affect an LNGDO's capability of securing benefit sustainability with their 5 years at-a-time 'life-span'.

Having categorized the different understandings of organizational sustainability held by development actors within the LNGDO context and the legal and political system within which LNGDOs operate, let us now turn our attention to the strategies employed.

6.3 Section Three: Organizational Sustainability Strategies

6.3.1 Strategy: Using Volunteers

The use of community volunteers was the most prominent and applied non-financial organizational sustainability strategy among LNGDOs. Regardless of their size or organizational complexity, volunteers were a valued and central part of LNGDOs' organizational structure. This was confirmed by the survey findings that showed 87 percent of the organizations had volunteers while only 45 percent employed paid staff (Survey 2009). Many LNGDOs would not have been able to implement a number of programs had they not engaged volunteers.

The main approach towards volunteers was integrating them in the organization and depending on their contributions as unpaid staff. Those that understood *organizational* sustainability as financial autonomy and organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization commonly used this approach. Volunteers were seen as free labor, independent of donor funding, or also seen as a complement to other external resources. Donors applauded this approach as it testified to the LNGDOs' community involvement and rootedness, at the same time as it lowered the staff costs of projects.

Using volunteers in this way, however, has consequences on the organizational sustainability of LNGDOs. While framed in terms of community involvement, solidarity and commitment, many volunteers joined LNGDOs in hope of training, earning a paid position or receiving allowances. Some stayed with the organization until they had received enough training to be eligible for paid work elsewhere. As few LNGDOs could offer career advancement or allowances, there was a high turnover rate among volunteers. Furthermore, "another challenge is that people work on a voluntary basis can quit at any time, we can't stop them. Without giving a notice, they just stop coming" (Executive Director, LNGDO 050110). This poses considerable challenges to organizational sustainability as it makes long-term planning difficult and considerable time and energy is spent recruiting new volunteers and integrating them into the organization.

This points to an important disconnect between the rationale behind Donors' enthusiasm towards volunteers and what motivates community members to volunteer. Some LNGDO felt torn between the culture of volunteering as an expression of solidarity and the understanding of their volunteers' daily struggles to support themselves. According to a few LNGDOs, where there used to exist a culture of caring for your surrounding community members, the influx of donor funding and the increase in the number of service delivering LNGDOs has institutionalized this culture, creating an expectation of remuneration.

Now there is a discussion that volunteers should be given an allowance, I don't agree with that. They shouldn't be given an allowance because they are helping; they are helping from the bottom of their heart. They could be assisted because they are poor, but that should be a program on its own.

Executive Director, LNGDO 020210

There is a trend among Zambian LNGDOs to sustain their organizations by helping to sustain the livelihoods of their volunteers. These projects included; *group savings and loans scheme*, where volunteers collectively save and issue small loans to group members who establish small enterprises, repaying the group at low interest rates; *animal husbandry*, the LNGDO makes an initial investment in goats or chickens and volunteer groups breed and then sell some of the new generations and the milk or eggs, repeating the process with the remaining livestock; and *arts and crafts*, after an initial provision of material, volunteer groups work together to dye kitenge⁷ material or produce crafts and sell them at the market. By providing

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⁷ A kitenge is a common Zambian garment often worn by women around the waist, chest, over their head or as a baby sling.

opportunities to support themselves, LNGDOs are aiming to decrease the volunteer turnover rates:

If it hadn't been for this, they would have stopped to look to find other ways, other means of surviving with their families. But as this is helping while they do their volunteer work, so there is no need for them to go elsewhere and in that way it is also that helps the sustainability of the organization.

Financial Officer, LNGDO 231209

Donors were generally positive towards such volunteer projects, providing initial training and, at times, capital. The idea fits well with their view, considered idealistic by LNGDOs, of community collaboration and altruism. These projects, however, were often difficult to sustain. Many LNGDOs saw volunteer groups disband after the initial investment, dividing up the capital, material or livestock and selling them directly on the market. Given the extreme poverty of many volunteers, the short-term gain often took precedence over the long-term possible benefit. From an LNGDO's perspective, this challenge is difficult to overcome; "what do you do when you can't pay for food, and you have been given chickens? You sell and provide for your family that day" (Executive Director, LNGDO 040210).

Few LNGDOs sought to engage international volunteers, when doing so the purpose was to develop specific aspects of the organization as volunteers often provided specific competencies Donors identified as weaknesses which LNGDOs' rarely had the resources to improve themselves. While many LNGDOs valued this input, some considered the time and energy costs necessary to integrate these volunteers, during an often-short time period, as higher than the benefits. Some LNGDOs would have preferred to receive the funds spent on these volunteers as direct grants. Another motive, however, for accepting international volunteers was the hope that upon returning to their home, volunteers could connect the LNGDO to other Donors or INGDOs. In so doing, diversifying the external resource base of the organization, a strategy as common and fundamental as engaging volunteers.

6.3.2 Strategy: Diversification of External Resources

The biggest thing to do is to partner with many partners, to have several sources of funding. When one donor closes the door, some other donors may open the window.

*Executive Director, LNGDO 050110**

The diversification of external resources was such a common strategy used to improve organizational sustainability that it had become synonymous with the concept itself: organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization. LNGDOs actively sought financial resource mobilization through accessing an existing surplus, i.e. donor

funding. LNGDOs saw the ability to attract many donors as a strategy to guarantee the consistent flow of resources, thus ensuring the long-term viability of the organization. This strategy was not only frequently used among LNGDOs, but also widely promoted by Donors, Networks and INGDOs.

A sustainable organization is an organization that has the ability to get donors interested to finance activities, that they are not dependent on one single donor but have a base of many donors so that if one pulls out, the organization doesn't fall apart.

Program Officer, Donor 281209

While LNGDOs applied this strategy, they were simultaneously aware of the paradox of equating sustainability with dependence and reliance on external sources. They denounced the culture of reliance they saw in their own and other organizations, believing it to have permeated their organizations from the start: "from the word go, organizations in Zambia are focused on which donor will give us money" (Program Director, LNGDO 211209). Some tied this reliance to a mindset with historical roots: "Government was the sole provider for everything, now NGOs and donors are a replacement for government. Some people are starting to understand, starting to change, but others still just receive" (Center Manager, LNGDO 040210). Not only is the government no longer the sole provider, it is itself highly reliant on external funds; "This is [a problem] even for our government, because even our national budget is donor dependent" (Head of Department, LNGDO 211209).

Others explained this culture with reference to a previous abundance of funding for LNGDOs. "They [Zambian LNGDOs] resisted donor support, but during the 1990's during the structural adjustments and all that, there was a pressure, there were so many donors (Deputy Regional Director, INGDO 110210). As many could previously assume external support, this reliance was integrated into the organizational culture of Zambian LNGDOs. Now "so many new organizations are just mushrooming up everywhere in Zambia because they are thinking somebody will come and be a donor" (Program Director, LNGDO 211209). While one could argue that this culture has been a problem from the start, many LNGDOs problematized this reliance in reference to the financial crisis and the "mushrooming" of organizations.

Many LNGDOs believed this culture of reliance affected their self-image, undermining their ability to think and act 'outside the box' of the 'go-to' solution of external support. "Solutions start with us! You can do much more than you think; people have potential. I think it is the belief that you will always get something from the outside [that hinders internal solutions] (Executive Director, LNGDO 040210). LNGDOs often expressed ambitions to be innovative

and self-reliant, wanting to move beyond this culture of reliance. This could explain the two dominant yet contradictory LNGDO understandings of *organizational sustainability as financial autonomy* and *organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization*. Those in the former category problematize and actively try to move beyond this organizational culture of reliance; those in the latter category seek to ameliorate this culture by diversifying its sources of reliance.

Using the diverse external resource mobilization strategy makes it crucial to establish and maintain relationships with donors. While an overwhelming majority of the LNGDOs included in this study were quick to describe their relationships with donors as 'good', sometimes even 'excellent', they simultaneously criticized donors in general for being mistrusting, at times disrespectful, inconsistent and rarely 'good listeners'. This may be a result of being afraid of criticizing their individual donors and instead projecting their frustration on the donor community at large. Donors defined a good relationship with LNGDOs by the extent to which the resources spent resulted in a lasting development impact. A good LNGDO "follows through with what had been stipulated in the contractual agreement" (Program Officer, Donor 281209), has transparent systems, good governance and clear accountability mechanisms, distinct and realistic goals and cost-efficient administration.

All LNGDOs included in this study highlighted the importance of establishing and being able to present their organizational structure and management systems:

It's difficult to get resources at all. Donors will say what is your structure, all these requirements in the project proposals, many organizations fail to meet these. They say let me see your report, but they [LNGDO member organizations] don't have money to pay for auditors.

Program Officer, Network 050210

As few had a special resource mobilization unit, these responsibilities often fell on Executive Directors or Program Officers, along with most other responsibilities including strategic and financial planning and program implementation. Given the workload on these key individuals, few organizations had time to focus on issues outside of day-to-day activity management. In many LNGDOs, decision-making and strategizing was concentrated to one person, often the founder. Many organizations were founded in response to a specific community problem and by those who felt emotionally involved in finding its solution. "After loosing some members, my closest relatives, maybe three or four of them. They died of the same disease, HIV/AIDS, that is why I had the passion with coming up with the organization" (Executive Director, LNGDO 050110). The founder was often the driving force and much of the organizational

memory, history and learning were tied to that individual. Many LNGDOs risk shutting down if the founder leaves the organization for any reason. The various development actors included in this study often brought up the problems related to this concentration of power.

Many of the organizations, even the bigger ones, don' have independent boards. Its called founders syndrome, many founders won't let go, running the organizations as they feel. It often creates problems in the end, with debts and so on.

Program Officer, INGDO 100210

Donors often appreciated the passionate commitment shown by founders as it translates into a community rootedness that is fundamental in *organizational sustainability as benefit sustainability*. This can also facilitate *organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization*, as the community rootedness can often initially open doors to donors. Many of the LNGDOs in the study experiencing founders syndrome have developed blinders to other forms of funding, working hard to continuously attract donor funding, revealing another layer of vulnerability related to *organizational sustainability as diverse external resource mobilization*.

Most LNGDOs lacked financial plans. With no such plans to fall back on, the decreases in donor funding posed considerable challenges to many LNGDOs.

If we had a financial plan, we would not be in this position now with the financial lapses we have, we would not have been thinking "oh no now there is no RAPIDS⁸ Project!" because we would have taken care of that. So because we don't have a financial plan, we don't know what to do. We have to just sit down and pray to god that a miracle happens.

Program Director, LNGDO 211209

There is an important distinction to be made here. The financial plans of those LNGDOs that used the diverse external resource mobilization strategy were tied to specific projects funded by specific donors. These plans were often a product of donor-driven project planning. Despite the current focus on decreasing project-based aid, this continues to be the dominant aid modality to LNGDOs in Zambia. This meant that LNGDOs rarely had *organizational* financial plans and instead fragmented financial planning through individual *projects*. Given projects often had a 6 months-3 year long life-span, long-term strategic and financial planning was very difficult. The fragmented 'short-termism' of LNGDOs' financial planning runs contrary to the most basic understanding of organizational sustainability and was a challenge of using diverse external resource mobilization as a strategy.

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⁸ RAPIDS Project stands for Reaching HIV/AIDS Affected People with Integrated Development and Support, a PEPFAR funded project in Zambia.

The short-termism inherent in this strategy also made it difficult to manage administrative operations, finances and human resources, which were also often tied to projects, and the demands of the donor funding the project. Diversifying its resource base meant that LNGDOs worked with several different administrative systems simultaneously. Many LNGDOs considered the weakness of their financial management systems to be a central challenge when using this strategy:

I think our central weakness is in terms of finance. For instance, we just use our experience to balance the books. There isn't anyone who is qualified, who is an accountant to do our books. Big donors deny some funds due to the fact that we don't have competent people to administer the funds.

Executive Director, LNGDO 050110

This puts many LNGDOs in a 'Catch 22' situation. They could not develop their financial management systems through hiring competent staff without donor funding, but had difficulty attracting donor funding without sound financial management systems and external auditors. However, according to a Program Officer at a Network (050210), donors have good reason for such demands: "For us to win the goodwill from the donors, we need to improve the way [LNGDO member organizations] administrate resources. Some people just disappear with the donor money, its not encouraging". An LNGDO that shows passion towards its mission often wins this 'goodwill' from donors, however, without adequate systems in place, this goodwill is quickly lost:

In the beginning it is about commitment and devotion and the institutionalization of the organization and structure, the more money that comes into the organization makes financial management more important/.../mistakes or poor book-keeping, then its over.

Regional Advisor, Donor 020210

Given that staff salaries were part of project funds, many organizations had to lay off staff in the funding gaps between projects. 45 percent of the organizations felt that they had to compromise their activities due to a lack of manpower (Survey 2009). Some staff members chose to continue without pay, hoping the organization would soon secure a new project. Continual fluctuations in staff compositions often resulted in the concentration of knowledge, organizational memory and network contacts to few key staff members. It often also translated into a strict hierarchal organizational structure where "everything is focused on one or two people" (Head of Department, LNGDO 211209). With an often unmanageable workload was, many LNGDOs often had a hard time retaining these staff members. Considering that organizational learning and institutional memory was often invested in these few individuals, loosing them had dire consequences on the capabilities of the organization.

Those applying the diverse external resource mobilization strategy often seemed to develop the ability to juggle parallel externally defined management systems. However, one could question if management systems that are not a product of an internal organizational development process improve the sustainability of an LNGDO according to any understanding of the concept of organizational sustainability.

Donors and INGDOs often focused on the deficiency in the technical management skills of LNGDOs and exhibited limited trust in their capacities. While donors described options for LNGDOs to become less dependent on their support and guidance, discussions often ended with 'but lets be realistic'. This dismissive attitude towards LNGDO agency may contribute to the culture of reliance and discourage innovation among organizations. Donors relayed a view of themselves as activators, enablers and 'empowerers', with the underlying message that LNGDOs are in need of activation. LNGDOs recognized this implicit message of passivity, expressing frustration with being seen as in need of activation; "We are not passive, helpless recipients of development. We have people here who have capacities, people that have resources they can contribute to the process and we have people who are interested in the well being of the country and the people" (Executive Director, LNGDO 020210). While donors often described LNGDOs as 'passionate', 'committed' and 'motivated', this passion needed to be channeled and refined in order for LNGDOs to become efficacious actors.

While being contract based, relationship was referred to as a 'partnership', by both LNGDOs and Donors alike. Outlining rights and responsibilities of the partnership was important to LNGDOs and Donors. Yet, contracts may be undermining the organic development of mutual trust, maintaining a 'patron-client' relationship, which is the anti-thesis of the partnership discourse. As contracts and conditions are the premise of the relationship between Donors and LNGDOs, the space available for proactive innovation is already confined from the word go.

Even before entering into contractual agreements, LNGDOs run the risk of being steered into working in areas prioritized by Donors. None of the LNGDOs in the study explicitly admitted to having this problem themselves but often gave examples of other organizations that had succumbed to the temptation of accessing funding by altering or expanding their mission and objectives. However, some organizations alluded to it; "If we can scale up we can attract more donors, and go in rural areas as a strategy to attract more donors, since this is what they want, the rural areas" (Executive Director, LNGDO 281209).

Network Organizations highlighted this issue and considered this a significant problem among their member organizations:

I think there are a number of organizations that change their work according to donors. When donors want to fund HIV/AIDS, some organizations change their whole mandate, they say, ok now we work with HIV/AIDS so that they can get funds.

Executive Director, Network 280110

One INGDO included in this study acknowledged their role as a funding agency in bringing about this 'mission creep': "Many organizations have lost their vision, we may be culprits here, because when we see, lets say, EU funding coming, then we ask them could you maybe do this, so that we can access these funds for you? So we are to blame as well" (Country Representative, INGDO 100210). The extent to which mission creep is a problem depends on the extent to which the LNGDOs original mission reflected the interests and needs of their community. If seeking external resources alters their mission, the point of sustaining organizations can fundamentally questioned. Mission creep is problematic if the LNGDO's mission does serve community needs and Donor priorities do not. This could erode the organizational sustainability as community relevance and mission adherence. In addition, by applying the diversification on external resources strategy as their main strategy to achieve organizational sustainability, LNGDOs accountability has shifted away from the civic sphere and moved closer to Donors. Many LNGDOs found this shift frustrating as it questioned the very legitimacy of their work.

In an attempt to decrease their dependency on donor funding and technical assistance and its consequences, many LNGDOs explored alternatives in resource mobilization. Investing in and owning capital was often the first of these alternatives brought up in interviews.

6.3.3 Strategy: Capital Investment

Regardless if their strategies were documented in formalized plans or if the LNGDO has recently started talking about organization sustainability, every organization aspired to own their own offices or other property.

What I have seen, the first thing an organization does is look to acquire property. I think it is one of the best ways to achieve sustainability. Rent is expensive, so owning office space means you can cut that off your budget. I think that is something that stresses a lot of organizations.

Program Officer, Network 050210

Six of the fourteen LNGDOs included in this study owned the buildings in which they worked. Two of these six bought their buildings with self-generated resources, two had their

building built by community members while the other two had acquired them through donors. They all felt that owning their offices had contributed significantly to the sustainability of their organizations. Some also mentioned wanting to own their own vehicles as transport was a considerable hindrance to reaching beneficiaries further afield. A number of organizations had received vehicles from donors as part of project funding, others had approached donors but their proposals had been denied. One LNGDO told of an experience where they were denied funding for vehicles as donors question their intended use and necessity:

You ask for a car because where you work, there's no bus, no road. You ask for four-wheel drive, then you only want a vehicle to show off. There is sense that Africans, they don't deserve this, so they get cars to pose. Why would I need or want to pose? Or 'we see people walking all over Africa, can't you do that'.

Executive Director, LNGDO 020210

This interview excerpt points to a fundamental Donor-LNGDO mistrust. It also illuminates LNGDOs' perception of donors as unreasonable and uninformed of the day-to-day challenges facing organizations. One of the larger Networks felt that the 'mistrust' between LNGDOs and Donors was a result of how development is measured:

Right now we are interested in funding activities with outcomes, we need reports to show our donors, what did we do with the funds. We put this and this many back in school and that we took this and this many to hospital. That is not sustainable. We need flexibility to invest part of the money.

Director of Programs, Network 020210

Donors were also very reluctant to fund the appropriation of property, including office buildings. Here again, they pointed to the difficulty of measuring the impact of property investment: "It is problematic because we have to measure our work on program outcome, the outcome of having a building could be measurable over 20 years and could sustain them but it is not measurable in the terms that we measure" (Country Representative, INGDO 100210). According to Donors, investing in property does not contribute to benefit sustainability, which seems to be measured in the short-term outcomes of projects. Again, the short-termism of donor funding makes it difficult for LNGDOs to legitimize and advocate funding for capital investments. One would think that helping LNGDOs own their own offices would be seen as a way to increase their self-reliance, a concept central to the partnership discourse. However, as providing funding for capital goods was often seen as a hand-out, it did not qualify as a viable option in the partnership discourse, thus did not qualify as a legitimate method to increase self-reliance.

Beyond references to measuring benefits, donors displayed a general mistrust in LNGDOS' capability to transfer gains in their sustainability to beneficiaries; "It is also a principal that we don't fund constructing buildings, then you get organizations that are not doing community work, that are not giving anything to their beneficiaries because they are diverting the money to secure a building" (Program Officer, INGDO 100210). This was reinforced with many references to potential misuses of funds, quoting the generally weak governance of financial management systems among LNGDOs.

When asked why donors do not fund capital investments, all LNGDOs drew a blank, often returning the question. They did not understand why their proposals were being denied, claiming that donors never explained their decisions. The frustration of constant denials, combined with the experience of diminishing donor funding, have lead organizations to venture into generating their own income through enterprises.

6.3.4 Strategy: Establishing Enterprises

As most LNGDOs understood *organizational sustainability as financial autonomy*, they actively sought to establish enterprises in order to self-generate a new surplus, as opposed to accessing an existing surplus. All but two of the LNGDOs included in this study had components of entrepreneurship. They ranged from small-scale poultry farming to the establishment of furniture production lines. The extent to which these activities contributed to the budget and the way they related to the LNGDOs' other activities varied greatly.

Many LNGDOs introduced economic elements to their development activities, i.e. applied integrated social entrepreneurship. There were two different categories of integrated social entrepreneurship: production units and user fees. Those LNGDOs that provided skills training introduced production units to their courses. Carpentry students, for instance, produced goods in the training process and these were either sold by the students or sold by the organization. The former benefitted the individual student, often a beneficiary of the organization, while the latter contributed to the organization as a whole. This was applied to skills training in farming, tailoring, wood-working and catering.

The focus of some LNGDOs made the integration of production units difficult. Instead, these organizations integrated user fees in their development activities. The LNGDOs that provided training required tuition fees. These organizations also extended the use of training equipment to others for a small user fee, e.g. use of computers. LNGDOs providing beneficiaries with services free of charge, e.g. clinics, required user fees for other community members.

While less common, some LNGDOs added an enterprise with the primary purpose of generating an income, i.e. applied complementary social entrepreneurship. The scope of these enterprises differed greatly. Those who owned property sublet space for commercial and residential purposes or opened guesthouses. Those who owned vehicles rented them out or used them as taxis after hours. An organization providing children in the community with an education ran a parallel private school that funded the community school. Several LNGDOs outsourced staff as consultants in a range of development fora, both to the financial benefit of staff members and the organization. Those who owned land, or at least a small plot, engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry and sold produce on the market. Others produced construction material or consumer products.

As discussed above, the NGO Act clearly states that LNGDOs are not-for-profit entities. However, most LNGDOs seemed unsure how this would affect their entrepreneurial ambitions and which legislation was applicable⁹. The confusion and the limited capacities of human resources resulted in many LNGDOs with debts to the government from unpaid fees and taxes. LNGDOs with debts have a much harder time mobilizing donor funding.

One issue that dominated many of the discussions concerning the self-generation of surplus was the compatibility between an LNGDO's mission and its entrepreneurial activities. The ambivalent attitude of many Donors and Networks revealed an uncertainty towards how to approach the issue:

If an organization would to focus on making money, that will change the whole dynamic of civil society.

Is it important that an organization is non-profit?

For me no! You need the finances to run an organization. You can do both.

Executive Director, Network 020210

Donors often explained that LNGDOs enterprises would be on such a small scale that the contributions towards organizational sustainability would be minimal. This, together with their weak financial management systems, made this strategy unrealistic from a Donor perspective. One LNGDO included in this study was completely financially self-reliant. After an initial donor input of machinery and technical expertise, their enterprise had been running

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⁹ Companies Act, Small Enterprises Development Act, Societies Act, Co-operative Societies Act

since the late 1970s, improving and developing to suit both the needs of the beneficiaries and the organization. Other LNGDOs were able to fund between 5-30% of their total budget. However, many had just recently established their enterprises and were in the process of experimenting with different structures and activities. These organizations received positive feedback from Donors but were not granted the funding many wanted to invest, develop and expand their entrepreneurial activities.

Given that donors primarily understood *organizational sustainability as benefit sustainability*, they problematized the affect enterprises could have on the provision of benefits, fearing that LNGDOs would loose their focus. "It is foremost about the balance, if you don't primarily do what is written in you strategic plan, well then there is a problem" (Regional Advisor, Donor 020210). Donors fear that engaging in enterprises will lead LNGDOs to spend a lot of time and human resources on generating an income. However, LNGDOs already spend considerable time and human resources attempting to secure donor funding. LNGDOs felt a mistrust that originated in Donors lacking confidence in the organizations capacity to maintain their focus: "What do they think, that we won't be focusing on our beneficiaries?" (Executive Director, LNGDO 020210). However, Networks had witnessed a number of LNGDOs that had successfully implemented enterprises but failed to maintain these activities as personal interests and issues of profit had consumed the organization. They felt that LNGDOs tended to underestimate the demands entrepreneurial activities made on organizational structures and systems.

6.3.5 Strategy: Community Mobilization

Another non-financial strategy was the mobilization of community members to provide the solutions to their own problems, an approach often used by LNGDOs that understood *organizational sustainability as community relevance and mission adherence*. This involved LNGDOs entering into dialogue with community members, planning activities and facilitating their implementation. Community members supply labor and knowledge and the LNGDO often supplied material and expertise.

Organizations also need to look at how they best can use the community. How can they bring together people to do things for free? It's about mobilizing willingness. As long as you are doing very good work, that's it – you will continue. If the community is working for you, I think it can be sustainable.

Program Officer, Network 050210

One LNGDO was built on the very idea of community mobilization and self-organization, using it explicitly as the backbone of their organizational sustainability. While registered as an

organization, this LNGDO did not adhere to strict structural rules about how an organization should look or function. The LNGDO mobilized its surrounding community into clubs, who in turn worked collectively to solve problems they had identified as a group and harness opportunities to improve their livelihoods. This included cultivating shared land to improve food security, establishing group savings and loans schemes and investing in shared equipment to establishing small-scale cooperatives. While depending on donor funding to cover administrative costs, the LNGDO did not disperse funding to the groups themselves. If they were to shut down, the benefit of their interventions would continue, i.e. groups would continue to work collectively as it had benefitted them considerably.

Another LNGDO combined community mobilization with membership fees. The organization facilitated the formation of community farming groups and provided these groups with initial input support, often seeds, together with training in agricultural marketing. These farming groups, in turn, paid a membership fee in kind, often grain, to the LNGDO. The LNGDO sold the grain at the market and in so doing was able to financially support 25 percent of their budget.

All LNGDOs emphasized the importance of community mobilization and often adopted the concepts, like mutual accountability, ownership, participation and responsibility, common in the partnership discourse to describe their relationship with the community. That they had such a relationship with the community was taken as self-evident. Some LNGDOs adopted components of community mobilization, most often for structural projects like constructing community schools or clinics. However, when many LNGDOs referred to community mobilization as an organizational sustainability strategy, they were actually referring to the use of volunteers. It is problematic that these two terms were used synonymously. There is a fundamental difference between the two strategies: community mobilization involves the *empowerment* of community members and volunteerism involves the *utilization* of community members.

6.3.6 Strategy: Networking

All of the LNGDOs included in this study were part of at least one network organization. 77 percent of those organizations included in the survey were members of a network or umbrella organization (Survey 2009). While this was never entertained as the sole organizational sustainability strategy, it was often described as a component that improved sustainability. Many joined network organizations in order to gain access to donor funding, which was

channeled through networks as intermediaries. Some became members in order to increase their image as a legitimate and serious partner, and in so doing improving their potential to attract donor funding. Others joined in order to improve their organizational capacity as networks often offered training and workshops to its members. While less common, networks were seen as an important forum for knowledge and idea exchange between members.

Advocacy LNGDOs stressed the importance of network organizations as they often worked collectively. Organizations working mainly with service delivery often worked independently and did not prioritize actively engaging with networks. Networks are built on the premise of collaboration and learning by sharing ideas and experiences. However, one should perhaps not underestimate the competitive atmosphere among LNGDOs. Many organizations work with similar issues, especially within health, and compete for the same donor funding. Smaller organizations were at times overlooked by network organizations but still saw networking as the best option to gain funds and as a sustainability strategy, using their membership as a stamp of approval as a legitimate organization when approaching other development actors.

Competing with other service delivering LNGDOs for donor funding through networks makes collaboration and the possibility to learn and share ideas less important. However, one service delivering LNGDO included in this study actively applied networking. Together with nine other LNGDOs working in the same development sector, the organization had formed their own consortium as "Donors want to fund organizations that have teamed up together, it's easier for them. It is a platform to share information and to do activities together" (Executive Director, LNGDO 050110). This innovative solution could be a way forward to both improve organizational sustainability as organizational capacity and as diverse external resource mobilization, especially for small LNGDOs with limited contacts with the donor community and a limited organizational capacity. Time will tell whether this strategy will catch on.

6.3.7 Strategy: Engaging with the Private Sector

Many LNGDOs included in this study had approached the Zambian private sector in search of support. Yet, the relationships were rarely maintained and their contributions were often piecemeal, e.g. companies supplying paint or constructing a school. All organizations considered the Zambian private sector as an underutilized resource. Some LNGDOs explained

this underutilization with the way organizations equate "muzungus", with money, and by default, local Zambian actors as having little to offer:

There is also banks that can come and give money. Like Barclays, they said they would give 1 percent of their profit to organizations. So they have got cash. Imagine there are no organizations, including us, that is going to Barclays bank to get funding. Why? Because there is a Zambian! But when Anna comes from Sweden, they think 'ahh, you are people who have got money', people will be rushing. We have money inside the country but we are not accessing that!

Head of Department, LNGDO 211209

Donors also emphasized the importance of accessing local resources from the private sector as well as soliciting donations from the growing Zambian middle class. Here again, though, the underutilization of this potential funding source was explained with reference to the culture of reliance on external, "muzungu", funding. However, given what many consider to be the strong social capital of local communities and the culture of reciprocity, securing donations from Zambians could be possible:

Traditionally many organizations in Zambia have not looked at what they have here. I think that they need to look more at what they have here, we have now a big corporate community that we need to tap into, that is how it works elsewhere, why wouldn't it work here? I mean individuals give, just look at the churches. Many of these churches they get up to 10% of your income. Why wouldn't you give an organization instead?

Program Officer, INGDO 100210

While LNGDO and Networks viewed the private sector as a potential source of resource mobilization, the Zambian public was not seen as a viable option: "Fundraising activities takes time and it is very uncertain if you are going to get any money at all. It is hard to raise money when you are surrounded by poverty" (Executive Director, Network 280110).

Only one LNGDO included in this study engaged in a comprehensive and long-term partnership with the private sector and the Zambian general public. This LNGDO worked with orphans and vulnerable children and had received support from 19 private companies and 8 individuals for the last ten years. The support was in the form of direct funding but foremost in services, material and goods. But they experienced similar challenges as those depending solely on donors. They were tired of going "out with the begging bowl all of the time" (Executive Director, LNGDO 040210). Many companies and individuals earmarked their contributions, which the organization felt was frustrating as they felt they knew best where resources were needed. They were also worried about the affects of the global financial

¹⁰ Muzungu is the widely used Nyanja and Bemba (two most spoken Zambian languages) word for white person.

crisis and had aimed to save enough money to invest in a structure that could be used for their activities as well as for subletting to small shops. They believed that investing in capital and securing an income independent from outside help was the best solution for sustaining their organization.

7. Concluding Discussion

This study has explored the case of organizational sustainability among LNGDOs in periurban Lusaka and Kitwe. There are five main understandings of organizational sustainability in the LNGDO context. LNGDOs primarily understood organizational sustainability as a result of financial sustainability. Organizational sustainability was explained and perceived as the process towards financial independence from donors, enabling LNGDOs to set their own development agenda and focus their accountability towards staff members and beneficiaries. Also a common understanding among LNGDOs, Network Organizations principally understood organizational sustainability as the ability to secure consistent and diverse externally mobilized resources. The continuation of benefits stemming from an LNGDO intervention was central to the understanding of organizational sustainability among Donors.

Seven main strategies to improve organizational sustainability among LNGDOs have been identified in this study; the two most prominent strategies are the use of volunteers and diversifying external resources. However, given the primacy of financial autonomy, LNGDOs often focused on strategies that decreased their expenditures or increased the self-generation of income. While many had ventured into entrepreneurial activities, only one LNGDO was able to apply organizational sustainability as financial autonomy through generating its' own surplus applying the enterprise strategy. Many LNGDOs included in this study generated their own income and were able to fund between 5 and 30 percent of their total budgets.

One of the fundamental challenges facing LNGDOs in their work towards organizational sustainability is that they employ a different definition and understanding of the concept than Donors. Consequently, working in partnership with Donors towards improving organizational sustainability is difficult when their basic understandings diverge. An underlying mistrust between LNGDOs and Donors also hinders potential strategies. The short-termism implicit in project-based funding and the new NGO Act hinders the long-term planning necessary for the successful implementation of any strategy aiming to improve organizational sustainability. This is exacerbated by weak structures and poor management systems among many of the

LNGDOs in this study. Perhaps the most prominent and difficult challenge to overcome is the mindset and pervading culture of reliance on external support among LNGDOs. This may limit innovative new strategies from even being articulated, let alone implemented.

To improve LNGDOs ownership over their own development trajectories, LNGDOs, Donors, Network Organizations and INGDOs need to recognize their shared responsibility in improving the organizational sustainability of local organizations working with development in the South. This initially demands that development actors actively engage in fundamental discussions regarding the basic understanding of organizational sustainability. Instead of equating organizational sustainability with financial sustainability or benefit sustainability, this discussion should focus on a more nuanced definition of organizational sustainability, weaving its many understandings together. Donors need to give LNGDOs support and space for innovation and experimentation so that they can create their own solutions to organizational sustainability. If Donors' long-term goal is to become redundant, they should identify ways in which they themselves are contributing to the continuing cycle of donor dependence. LNGDOs should reassess their overemphasis on financial solutions to sustainability challenges and share and develop promising emerging strategies that originate in the needs and capabilities of the community. In so doing, they will not have to wait to receive, in order to give.

8. Directions for Future Research

This study has scratched the surface of a topic of emerging concern among local development organizations in Zambia. Future research could focus on how the practical implementation of various organizational sustainability strategies affects organizations support among and relevance to beneficiaries. Additionally, exploring strategies that specifically employ non-financial approaches could provide a deeper understanding of how LNGDOs can strengthen their civic rootedness and improve collaboration and exchange among local organizations. Finally, examining how donors can facilitate innovation for sustainability among LNGDOs will help development actors navigate a largely unchartered issue.

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Appendix I: Organizations Included in the Study

LNGDOs

Community School situated in a compound in Lusaka. Providing education for OVCs

and other children within the community.

Training Center situated in a compound in Lusaka. Provides training in

craftsmanship, furniture production, business and tailoring.

Training Center situated in a compound in Lusaka. Provides basic education for

students between 15-30 years of age. Also provide training in

tailoring, catering, computer skills and business.

Traing Center situated in the outskirts of Lusaka. Provides training in tailoring,

craftsmanship, farming and animal husbandry.

NGO situated in the city of Lusaka. Advocacy organization that engage

in several communities throughout Zambia. Providing sensitisation

and basic human rights education.

Transit Orphanage situated in a compound in Lusaka. Provides shelter for children

living in the streets. Also provide services aimed at reuniting lost

children with their families.

CBO situated in a compound in Lusaka. Act as a link between

beneficiaries and service institutions as hospitals, schools and

possible employers.

CBO situated in a compound in Lusaka. Provides skills training,

community school, community clinic, sensitisation on HIV/AIDS

and home-based care targeting HIV/AIDS patients.

NGO situated in the city of Kitwe. Provides skills training, community

school, community clinic and advocacy on behalf of their

beneficiaries.

CBO situated in a compound in Lusaka. Provides home-based care of

HIV/AIDS patients, a community school and provide selected

beneficiaries with options of high school education.

CBO situated in a compound in Lusaka. Provides a community clinic

and a community laboratory for medical testing.

District Association situated in the outskirts of Lusaka. Organize and support local

clubs and groupings with their main activities in farming and

crafts.

Farmers Cooperative situated in the city of Kitwe. Connect and organize farmers,

distribute grain and provide general support.

Advocacy Cooperative situated in the city of Kitwe. Support members in legal issues and

advocate for the rights of their target group.

Networks

NGDO situated in the city of Lusaka. Organize and advocate for civil

society, also engage in budget tracking of governmental

institutions and programs.

NGDO situated in the city of Lusaka. Organize members and act as

intermediaries for donor organizations and government.

NGDO situated in the city of Lusaka. Organize and advocate the rights of

its' members.

NGDO situated in the city of Lusaka. Organize and connect member

organizations. Act as intermediary for donor organizations.

NGDO situated in the city of Lusaka. Organize and connect members that

focus on advocacy. Speak on behalf of members and advocate the

rights of their members.

NGDO situated in the city of Lusaka. Advocate the rights of their target

group and organize member organization and support their

members on issues of legislation and rights.

Donors

Main focus on supporting processes in civil society by consultation and support in various forums. Also contribute with funding to processes within civil society.

Engage in direct funding of LNGDOs and capacity development. Also contribute with funding to processes within civil society.

Bilateral organization providing funding to LNGDOs.

Bilateral organization providing funding to LNGDOs.

Bilateral organization providing funding to LNGDOs.

INGDOs

INGDO with a focus on community development supporting smaller organizations and community groups.

INGDO with a focus on poverty reduction and capacity of LNGDOs.

INGDO with a focus on organizing and supporting a targeted group of civil society groupings.

INGDO with a focus on health issues, primarily HIV/AIDS.

Intermediary Organizations

Intermediary organization distributing international funds within a specific sector of civil society.

Governmental Institution

Ministry of Community Development and Social Services

Appendix II: Interview Guides

Interview Guide LNGDOs

Introduction and background

Tell us a bit about the history of your organization? Issues of concern:

Founding of the organization

Contributors throughout the lifetime of the organization

Donors when founded?

How was the structure of your organization decided upon?

What does your organization seek to achieve?

Issues of concern:

Current vision? Aim(s)? Goal(s)?

How do you seek to realize this/these goal(s)? Objectives? Core activities?

Who was involved in defining these objectives and activities?

Were staff members involved?

Community members/Beneficiaries?

Other organizations?

Government representatives/agencies? Donors?

What are your main areas of activities as of today?

Issues of concern:

Self-identified?

Need?

Donor involvement?

Government involvement?

Stakeholder?

Who implements them / carries them out?

How are they carried out?

How do you define success of your organization?

What do you consider the central strengths of your organization to be? What are the central challenges?

What to you consider a sustainable organization to be?

What is sustainability to you and your organization?

Which are the stakeholders of the organization?

Which is the main target group of the organization?

Which are the beneficiaries of your organization?

How would you categorize your organization?

GRO/CBO/NGO/FBO?

Why?

Differences between different labels of organizations?

Funding and Financial Strategy

How are your activities funded?

What form does your funding take?

Does your organization have a financial strategy? (GET DOCUMENT)

Does your organization have an organizational strategy and plan? (GET DOCUMENT)

Does your organization have a plan on how to meet your goals if your funding situation drastically changes?

Has your organization taken any measures to be self-reliant in terms of donors/government bodies/other stakeholders?

Does your organization have any income generating activates aimed at raising funds for the organization or its' members?

Issues of concern:

Which?

How did they develop?

Why did they develop?

What are the future plans for these activities?

Are there any other activities planned to start?

Are there any old activities that have been terminated?

Documents governing use of funds and control?

Do you have any financial reserves which are accessible if a donor pulls its funding?

What percent of your budget are administrational costs?

Have you ever received an initial investment from a donor to develop sustainability or self-financing strategies?

Do you have fixed assets? (land, building, equipment, training program)

Do you conduct any fundraising activities?

How do you decide to allocate funds within the budget between different Departments and Programs?

Donor Relationships

How would you describe your relationship with the different donors?

Does your organization have a contract with your donor outlining rights, responsibilities and expectations?

Is your organization dependent/reliant upon donors to function?

Is your organization part of any network?

Do you see your organization as dependent on donors/staff members/government/other stakeholders?

What are the current limitations of your organization?

Interview Guide INDGOs/Networks/Donors Introduction and background

Tell us a bit about the history of your organization?

What does your organization seek to achieve?

What are your main areas of activities as of today?

How do you define success of your organization?

What do you consider the central strengths of your organization to be? What are the central challenges?

What to you consider a sustainable organization to be?

What is sustainability to you and your organization?

Which are the stakeholders of the organization?

Which is the main target group of the organization?

Funding and Financial Strategy

How are your activities funded?

What form does your funding for other organizations take?

Does your organization have an organizational strategy and plan? (GET DOCUMENT)

What percent of your budget are overhead costs?

What percent of partners' overhead costs do you fund?

Do you fund activities aimed at sustainability or self-financing strategies?

What is your rationale for doing that?

Is that a specific aim of your organization?

Donor – Organization Relationships

How would you describe your relationship with the different organizations? Issues of concern:

Involvement in their decision making?

Involvement in focus, aim, goals and strategies?

Different or similar understanding of the causes of societal problems?

Do you feel you share the values and beliefs of your organizations that you fund?

Do you feel that you have the same view and understanding of how long change takes to happen?

Do they challenge your policy and strategy decisions? Example.

Do you feel you can challenge their decisions? Example.

Does your organization have a contract with your partner organizations outlining rights, responsibilities and expectations?

Issues of concern:

Why or why not?

Who took the initiative to write such a contract?

Is it always the same contracts, or are there different contracts for different organizations?

Are you happy with this contract?

Is your organization part of any joint activities?

Why?

How did this come about?

Reason for joining/not joining?

How does your organization work with capacity building?

In communities or with organizations?

Capacity of what?

Individuals as well as organizations?

Appendix III: DED Survey

Date:	Address:
Name of Organization:	
	Phone:
	Thore.
Name of interview partner:	
	Email:
Position, function:	
Interviewer: Nina Börning (DED Junior Advisor)	Province:

All answers given in this questionnaire will be treated with respect. There are no wrong answers.

Our desire is to get a possible realistic picture of the Civil Society and different Organisations in Eastern, Southern, Western and North-Western Province.

For that we appreciate your assistance and we enjoy that you do this questionnaire with us.





Introduction	
Please, describe your main activities in a few words:	
Whom do you consider as your members and or target groups?	
<u>Vision and Objectives</u>	
A B C D Different If you choose different please explain briefly	





Pl	Please name your vision and main objectives.					
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					If you choose different please explain briefly	
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Cou	ld y	ou s	how	me your org	ganigram or could you outline it for me?
Stru	ctur	e II	(Exe	ecutive Com	mittee/ board etc.)
Plea	se de	escri	be b	riefly your off	icial organisational structure.





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Do all your members work on a volunteer base?

Yes	No	I do not know

Do you have employees, which are paid for their job in the organisation?

Yes No I do 1	not know
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If you ticket yes: In which position and since when?

Position	Since

When did your organisation register in Registrar of Society or Company?





Did you pay your annual returns ever since then? I do not know If you did not pay your annual return, what was the reason? Structures II (Financial Management) A B C D Different If you choose different please explain briefly





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				member of	an umbrella organisation (or you applied to an umbrella organisation)
whi	ich	one	?		

HIV/ AIDS

What measurements have you put in place to tackle HIV/ Aids issues at your work place (policy, work place programme...)?





How do you deal with discrimination against people infected or affected by HIV/Aids at							
your work place?							
1							
A B C D Different If	f you choose different please explain briefly						





Projects: Implementation

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Pr	ojeo	ct P	lan	ning:		
W	hen	yo	u p	lan a projec	et or activity, do you consider the following questions:	
W	hic	h O		outs will you		
	Yes		L	No I de	o not know	
					outcome will be there for individual persons	or your
		7		(s)?		
L	Yes	1		No I do	o not know	
W	hic	h di	rec	t benefit/ o	utcome will the target group have?	
-	es	•			o not know	





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Monitoring and Evaluation

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Study on Civil Society in Zambia 2009 What kind of support would you need to improve in the area of capacity building?? Service (Delivery), with a special focus concerning member organisations. Services delivery to members What kind of services does your organization offer to your members and/ or target groups?





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G	enei	ral (Эuє	estions	
Aı	re y	ou '	WO1	king with a	n umbrella organisation in this area?
7	/es	Ī	1	No I do	not know





Study on Civil Society in Zambia 2009 Who are your target groups? Which are your partner organisations? Are there instances that train, or do you offer trainings for justice agencies and institutions (courts, Victim Support Units, etc.)?

Gender perspectives





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Wl	nich	role	doe	es this play i	n your daily work?
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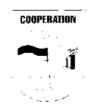
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International Development Cooperation





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	DP)				
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Pro	ovin	ce?			
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organisation?



Study on Civil Society in Zambia 2009

General Questions
What opportunities do you think would improve local governance and the performance of
the district, i.e. regarding service delivery or local development plans and implementation?
What opportunities would you see to improve the presence and the participation of the civil society?
And for the end:
When you could send a wish or a message to DED (German Development Service now:
In what matter could/ should the German Development Service support your

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