

Planners and Searchers

Different organizations' approach towards aid

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Abstract

In the year of 2000 the world leaders signed on the Millennium Development Goals, which are eight measurable and time-bound targets to reduce world poverty and promote human rights. In order to achieve these sets of goals by 2015 a lot of foreign aid is being given.

The approach towards aid and the MDGs are being criticised by William Easterly. He claims that this approach, which he calls planners, with no reflection and utopian beliefs has so far not been successful. According to Easterly it is now time for an approach that works at the local level and with realistic goals in order to reduce poverty. These organizations are known as searchers.

In the thesis I will show, by studying their documents, that the organizations Sida and the International Committee of the Red Cross both have tendencies of being both Planners and Searchers but also that that the following conclusion can be drawn:

1. The organization have more similarities than dissimilarities
2. The ICRC showed very little tendencies that could be argued as an approach of a planner were as Sida has tendencies of both a planner and a searcher.

Key words: Foreign aid, Planner, Searcher, Sida, the International Committee of the Red Cross

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1 Introduction

Eradicating extreme poverty continues to be one of the main challenges of our time, and is a major concern of the international community. Ending this scourge will require the combined efforts of all, governments, civil society organizations and the private sector, in the context of a stronger and more effective global partnership for development. The Millennium Development Goals set timebound targets, by which progress in reducing income poverty, hunger, disease, lack of adequate shelter and exclusion — while promoting gender equality, health, education and environmental sustainability — can be measured. They also embody basic human rights — the rights of each person on the planet to health, education, shelter and security. The Goals are ambitious but feasible and, together with the comprehensive United Nations development agenda, set the course for the world's efforts to alleviate extreme poverty by 2015

-United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, 2008

In the year of 2000 the world's leaders were gathered to adopt the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals which is a set of goals to reduce world poverty. The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) is eight quantifiable and time-bound targets that address the world's different problems and also covers what is agreed to be the basic human rights. These are:

1. Eradicate extreme hunger and poverty
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce child mortality
5. Improve Maternal health
6. Combat HIV/aids, Malaria and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Develop a global partnership for development

(UN, 1)

These targets have been set to the year of 2015 and as Ban Ki-moon states above, it will only be possible to accomplish these targets if nations, organisations and private sectors collectively work together.

In order to achieve these goals a large amount of aid is necessary. The World Bank estimates that governments and organizations have to give up to 40-60 billion dollars in foreign aid in order to organize these objectives by the year 2015(WB-1).

Even though the MDGs is a collective effort to reduce world poverty and promote human rights, criticism has also been raised against both the MDGs and to the effectiveness of foreign aid. Studies have shown that aid has been misplaced and misused for other purposes than to reduce poverty. The studies

indicate that it also might prolong and worsen on-going conflicts (Anderson, 1999 p.1-2).

To minimize these effects and create the most effective results of aid, a set of studies and declarations have been made and signed by world leaders. A few examples of these are The Paris declaration of aid effectiveness 2005 and The Accra Agenda of Action 2008 (OECD-1).

A person, who criticises the use of foreign aid and the belief in the Millennium Development Goals, but also one of its founders Jeffrey Sachs is William Easterly. In his book *The White Man's Burden* (2006) he not only criticizes the MDGs and Sachs beliefs, but also the way organizations' and governments' approach towards foreign aid. In his book he classifies them planners since they, according to his view, irresponsibly give aid away without reflections of its outcome. He believes that organizations instead ought to have a more 'local-approach' in which they take responsibility for their work and reflect. They are known in his book as searchers (Easterly, 2007).

Today there is a large amount of organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, that work with aid and humanitarian assistance and all have more or less the same goals and principles; to reduce world poverty and create development. The approach of aid-giving can differ in different types of organizations and hence it is interesting to see if William Easterly has a point in his theory that there are planners and searchers in aid-giving. In the on-going debate of aid effectiveness and the results of aid I believe it can be of interest to see if diverse approaches exist in different types of organization. If so it can be interesting through further studies to see if these types of organization are more effective than the others.

1.1 Aim

My aim with this thesis is to understand and illustrate the approach organizations have towards aid. I want to see if they use different approaches and if the organizations can be seen as either searchers or planners. I want to implement these types of aid giving and see if they are more common in a certain kind of organization. I will therefore base my thesis on the following research question:

- *Does the organization show a different approach toward aid giving?*
 - *Can these dissimilarities be seen with the help of Easterly's terms "planners" and "searcher"?*

With these questions I hope to see if one can claim that strict governmental-organizations have an approach that is similar of Easterly's planners and if the non-governmental organisations have an approach similar to searchers. This will also be my hypothesis throughout the thesis.

1.2 Selection of cases and delimitation

In order to specify my thesis I have made some delimitation of my cases. Hence the ability to deepen my case is greater and a more rigorous work can be done.

First of all I have chosen two different humanitarian organizations. Since I want to focus on the different types of organization and examine how similar and/or how different they work I have focused on one governmental and one non-governmental organization. The governmental organization I have chosen is Sida, which is an acronym for the Swedish International Development Agency. Sida is a public authority within the Swedish Foreign Department and it handles most of the aid sent from the Swedish government (Sida-1). Sida can therefore be seen as a typical and strict governmental-organization.

As for the non-governmental organization I have chosen the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Even though the ICRC is not classified as a typical non-governmental organization (NGO), it is considered to be one of the largest international humanitarian organizations and could because of that be both interesting and relevant for my work since it does not work under the authority of a state (ICRC-3).

Both of these organizations are well established and well-known in the field of aid giving and can be considered to be typical role models.

In order to examine the organizations approaches in aid I have chosen to examine their general document of how they work and their action plan of aid giving.

I will also study the action plan of each organization in one specific country, namely Somalia. I have chosen to focus on only one state due to the risk of validation problem since the circumstances of each and every country is unique. In this way I can examine if the same conclusions can be drawn from the general document.

Somalia is, according to the World Bank, considered to be one of the world's poorest countries and was placed as number 161 of 163 on the Human Development Index in 2001 (WB, 2013). Somalia has had an on-going civil conflict since 1991. The conflict still creates violence in the central and southern parts of the country. There has not been a full functional government in the country since the beginning of the conflict. Today Somalia has The Transitional Federal Government, which is considered very fragile (WB. 2010 p.10-11).

Since the beginning of the conflict, Somalia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has declined from US\$280 in 1989 to US\$226 in 2002. This is recognized to be the consequence of the insecurity in the country, a weak government and a weak administrative structure (WB, 2013).

Somalia is an interesting case from many aspects. First of all, Somalia receives up to approximately 497 million dollar a year in aid (GHA- 1). It is considered to be one of the poorest countries in the world. Even though Somalia is a weak state with and long on-going conflict, the aid organizations seem to be well aware of the situation and its problems. For me, given the opportunity to study these

organizations' action plans for their aid giving in Somalia, it seemed as very accurate for my aim with this work.

1.3 Material

For this essay I will use secondary material to illustrate the theory of *The White Man's Burden* (2006). The choice of this theory is basically for the concept of the planner-searcher theory. There are many other theories on how to give aid. A similar theory is the top-down and bottom-up approach but since the concept of planners and searchers are more broaden and void it is more interesting to use.

In order to study the differences and similarities in the organization's approach towards aid, I will also use empirical documents from each organization. I will therefore examine the organizations' action plans and general documents to be able to understand their approaches. When it comes to the case of Somalia, Sida does not have an annual report like ICRC has, Due to that fact I have to use Sida's official homepage where there is a specific section about Somalia. All of the documents I have chosen, have been collected from both of the organization official homepages.

1.3.1 Problem with material

For the sake of transparency and validity, it is important to highlight why some of the material can be found in my study. First of all I have taken the latest action plans of Sida and ICRC; unfortunately they are from different years. Sida's action plan is from year 2009-2011 whereas ICRC is from 2010-2014. This can create validation problems because ICRC has a more accurate and up-to-date document. But since I have taken the both latest version on the organizations websites I consider it to be what the most up-to-date the organization have. On the general documents I have chosen on how they present on how they work. I will also here chose the latest documents on the organizations official homepages.

There is a problem considering validity when it comes to the case of Somalia. Sida does not have specific action plan for a specific state like the ICRC. This is both interesting and problematic since I have to examine Sida's specific page of Somalia and not its action plan of Somalia. This means I am able to do a rigorous examination of ICRC than of Sida. However since I uses this material merely to examine and illustrate if the organisations have a mentality more like searcher or more like planners, I consider the notion that Sida chose to only present this given information as a reflection in itself.

1.4 Background

It is also of importance to clarify definition of aid since it is a broad concept with many meanings. I will also outline the two organizations, Sida and the International Committee of the Red Cross. This will be done with the purpose of getting a clear understanding of the different kinds of organizations in the study. I will therefore make a small drop on each organizations aim and purposes.

1.4.1 Aid

The term foreign aid is at its broadest meaning the consistence of resources of any kind transferred from a donor to a recipient. Aid does not necessarily need to be financial grants or reliefs, which are the most common kinds of aid; it can also be physical goods, skills and knowledge (Riddell, 2007, p.17).

The main purpose of foreign aid is that rich countries (the donors) try to help poor or underdeveloped countries. What is to be considered as aid or not is usually determined by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisations for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The DAC was formed in 1960 with the purpose of coordinating and promoting aid from donor countries. This kind of aid is usually known as official development assistance (ODA) (Riddell, 2007, p.18).

Official aid is divided in two sets of elements: bilateral and multilateral aid. Bilateral aid is aid directly provided from the donor government to a recipient country while multilateral aid is aid provided from the donor through international organizations to the recipient (Riddell, 2007, p.51).

1.4.2 Sida

Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, also known as Sida is, as stated earlier, a government agency that works on the behalf of Swedish parliament. Being a governmental agency, Sida works and cooperates only upon political decisions from the Swedish government. Today Sida cooperates with a total of 33 countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe.

Sida has the mission to reduce world poverty and believes this should be done by cooperation. Sida considers that each recipient country is responsible for the aid given through the Swedish organization (Sida, 2012).

The Swedish aid is divided into two kinds: a short-term humanitarian relief aid and a long-term sustainable development. The sustainable development is in turn divided into bilateral and multilateral aid. The bilateral aid is the hugest kind of aid given from Sweden. The multilateral aid is when many countries collaborate in certain projects with the aim to reduce poverty. Sida is also a part of the Paris Declaration. (Sida, 2009).

1.4.3 The ICRC

The ICRC was founded 1863 and is today one of the world's largest humanitarian organization with the aim to help people in need due to conflict and armed violence. The ICRC is a politically and governmentally independent organization. The ICRC has a mandate through the Geneva Convention from 1949. The ICRC operates in over 80 countries and has over 11,000 workers (ICRC, 2010).

The ICRC has the humanitarian mission to protect and assist those people who are victims of war or violent conflict. The ICRC also promotes international humanitarian law (IHL) and universal humanitarian principles (ICRC-1).

Even though the Red Cross is an independent and impartial organization it cannot be classified as a non-governmental organization (NGO) according to UN definition. Instead it is to be considered as a hybrid organization since its existence in itself is private but it has its mandate from the international society of states (Rona, 2004)

1.5 Other research

My thesis focuses on the possible differences in organizations aid-giving. In the field of development studies there are many studies and theories that can be applicable to this thesis and there are also other interesting researchers in this field.

This essay will be based on the theory of William Easterly and his approach on aid giving by separating them into planners and searchers. The planner and searcher approach can be seen as a classical top-down and a bottom-up approach, which has been studied several times. There are namely other researchers who, like Easterly, favour a bottom-up approach in cases where the local environment and local tradition should be considered when giving aid. Achim Wennmann is a researcher who discusses the aid effectiveness between a top-down approach and bottom-up approach with a focus on statebuilding. He highlights that the focus that aid have had on state building in a fragile state has so far been on top-down rather on a bottom-up. The author means that more research has to be done towards context-sensitivity and local conditions in the sense of development transitions (2010).

Wennmann focuses on the effectiveness of aid and many studies are dedicated to that but also to the effects of aid. One example is Agnes Cornell (2013) where she in her thesis establishes that what impact of democracy aid has on democracy is depending on which type of regime. Another example is the classical work of Amartya Sen where he in his book *Poverty and Famine* argues that famine is not only caused by the lack of food but also by organizations like The World Food Programme (WFP) that distributes food (1981).

There are also studies on how the entrees of non-governmental organizations are changing the platform of aid giving (Riddell, 2007.) but I have found very little or no research that compares organizations with the focus on their methods

aid giving. My thesis will compare two different kinds of organizations through the eyes of Easterly's theory of planners and searcher, an approach that I have not been able to find elsewhere.

2 Theory

As mentioned before William Easterly classical work *The White Mans Burden* and the concept of planners and searchers will be the theory for this thesis in order to illustrate two kinds of approaches towards foreign aid. I will start by presenting the book and describe the two characters more thoroughly.

2.1 The White Mans Burden

Its the tragedy in which the West spent \$2.3 trillion on foreign aid over the last five decades and still had not managed to get 12-cent medicines to children to prevent half of all malaria deaths. The West spent \$2.3 trillion and still had not managed to get \$4 bed nets to poor families. The West spent \$2.3 trillion and still had not managed to get \$3 to each new mother to prevent five million child deaths.

(Easterly, 2007 p, 4)

With this William Easterly opens his book *The White Mans Burden*.

Together with the MDGs the world believes, or more correctly the Western world believes, that poverty can come to an end and that the answer is to be found in the West (Easterly, 2007, p.8-9).

Concerning poverty Easterly sees two kinds of tragedies:

1. The poorest need of help which creates the need for aid
2. Aid has not created development that it was supposed to

(Easterly, 2007, p.4-5)

The second tragedy, as he calls it, is the benchmark of his book. To be able to solve tragedy number one, we must solve tragedy number two. Instead of asking the question how do we (the Western society) solve the world poverty? As so many world leaders do, Easterly believes that we have to ask the question; what can aid do for the poor? (Easterly, 2007, p.17-18).

As mentioned earlier, Easterly reacts strongly against Jeffrey Sach, the creation of MDG and the concept of “the big push”. With the MDGs the world leaders became united for the same goals in focus and since then more money than ever has been spent on aid. Jeffrey Sach released his book *The End of Poverty* where he claims that the world’s poorest are trapped in a so called “poverty trap” containing bad health, education and infrastructure keeps them stuck in their poorly situation (Easterly, 2007, p.16-17, 34). It is a well establish belief in the West that countries are poor simply because they started out poor and that this problem can be solved with so called “big pushes” (Easterly, 2007, p.58). Big pushes are aid constructed by investments and the removal of all obstacles to

development with the belief that this will help these poor countries to grow out from its trap. These big pushes of aid are the cause of the huge amounts of aid giving in the world. Easterly does not believe in the theory of the poverty trap or that big pushes will solve the problem of poverty. He argues that theory have existed since the 50s and so far not succeeded (Easterly, 2007, p.47, 67-68).

The world or rather, as he points out, the rich countries from the West have since the end of World War 2 and decolonization tried to save the rest with the creation of foreign aid. With big plans and universal blue prints they have to reinforce themselves through the world. Easterly described these actors with the term “planners”. In order to save The Rest, big organizations like the IMF and The World Bank have been created to handle the large amount of aid and enforce economic help/law to the recipient countries. This implies according to Easterly a new way of imperialism (Easterly, 2007. p.6, 10, 128).

The problem with aid is that it does not give the results it was planned to give. This Easterly ‘proves’ by looking back on the past 60 years, showing that aid had not had the result they claimed it would. An example is where Easterly compares aid and a nations income. According to Sach and the theory of poverty trap, states that are poor cannot increase their income without finical pushes but Easterly means that states’ that not have received any or much lesser aid then other have the same growth as the states that receive more aid. He even argues that states that receive below average aid or even any aid at all have the same growth in income. The conclusion for Easterly is therefore; poor countries without aid can create the same development therefor aid cannot be the explanation of growth (Easterly, 2007, p. 34-35)) There are a lot of other variables than aid the that explain the growth of development, which lead Easterly to question the big success the theory of the big push has had.

Most of these problems lie in the approaches the West chooses to operate in. With little reflection of tradition and history of each and every nation, they try to enforce Western ways to transform the Rest (ex p.135). This emanates from the West’s belief in universal goals and global blueprint, in which one answer will solve it all without any reflection on either local traditions or circumstances. It is as he says “applying a simplistic external answer from the West to a complex internal problem in the Rest” (Easterly, 2007, p.6).

The conclusion Easterly draws is that the answer to the Big Question (to solve world poverty) is that there is none. However the way to develop other countries is to have a searchers approach and to promote home-grown development without the interference of the West. If the West wants to help it has to abandon its great global plans and instead work with a bottom-up approach (Easterly, 2007 p333).

The point for Easterly is to show how 60 years of history proof that the planners way have so far not been working and therefore has to be abandon. It is time for searchers to enter the arena.

2.2 The planner and the searcher

To explain the approaches towards aid, Easterly uses the concept of planners and searchers.

The planner is the concept that describes the West's approach with aid has been so far. The planners is what also can be called the traditional way, by which the West has set out to 'save the Rest'. It is the concepts where the rich people and, as Easterly points out, especially white people consider themselves having the obligation to save the poor nations (Easterly, 2007, p.10, 21). The planners believe that they can save the world and end poverty (Easterly, 2007, p.15). It is typical for a planner to set utopian goals without any consideration of previous results and no reflection on the fact that so far no set goals have been accomplished. The problem with the planners set of high goals (like the MDGs) according to Easterly is that it creates expectation that the planners are not ready to take (Easterly, 2007, p.12). The planners dislike taking responsibility, neither for their goals nor for the consequences of not having any reflection (Easterly, 2007, p.12, 22). The planners in foreign aid have good attention but lack the motivation to carry them out or to motivate anyone to take action for them (Easterly, 2007, p.5). Why planners are so popular and so far have been so successful is also due to their rhetorical advantage. They will always use their description how to end world poverty stop world hunger and so on. It is typical for a planner to be universal in its aid giving (Easterly, 2007, p.19).

The planners have a top-down approach which is a hierarchical structure where the orders and outlines come from an elite on the top down to the local, grounded people. The planners, Easterly say, use a typical top-down arrangement where the top sets out (high) goals but lacks knowledge of the bottom. They also do not follow up to see if their outlines have been carried out or if it work in practice (Easterly, 2007, p.6).

According to Easterly, organizations like the IMF and World Bank are typical results of planners.

The alternative to planners is the searcher that differs from the traditional way and is an alternative choice and 'agents of change' (Easterly, 2007, p.5). The searchers consider the few results the traditional way have given and therefore seek other ways to give aid. A searcher, unlike the planner, does not set unrealistic goals but acknowledge its lack of answers. The searcher works rather in a way to try to relief any kind of suffering instead of universal goals (Easterly, 2007, p.11-12). This will make a searcher more humble in its belief to save the world and is therefore more realistic than the planner. The searchers are the heroes of Easterly's book. The Searcher learns from its mistake and also takes responsibility for its action (Easterly, 2007, p.6, 223). The searcher also has great knowledge of what kind of help is actually needed since searchers work on the grass level and through this know what is actually needed (Easterly, 2007, p.6-7). This differs from the planner how considers himself or herself to have the answers to the problems and due to that fact force upon the recipient countries a set of action

plans. The searcher believes instead that the locals have the answer of their problems and thus try to push themselves forward (Easterly, 2007, p.6-7).

In portraying the differences of planners and searchers, Easterly uses the picture of the free market. He states that free markets work, whereas the market economy does not. The West tries to plan a market but misses to understand that markets raises spontaneously without plans and is bound to its local circumstances and tradition (Easterly, 2007, p.73-74). The searcher is here the one who is concerned about the demands whereas the planner only thinks of supplying without the consideration of what is really needed (demanded).

2.3 Criticism against *The White Mans Burden*

Even though this book will be the base in my thesis it is important to know that this book's thesis also has been criticised. Amartya Sen writes in his article "*The Man Without a Plan*" that the complexity of aid contra poverty cannot be simplified of the free market and the illustration of the supply and the demand of the book Harry Potter, as is done in the book. Sen also consider the distinction between the two characters as an oversimplification by Easterly to help explaining his thesis (Sen, 2006)

This thesis has no claim that the thesis of "planners and the searchers" is a correct form to study organizations but merely a way to study differences of organizations' views upon and effectuation of aid.

3 Methodology

To be able to see if there is a difference between the different types of organization I will study and analyse the organizations different work/aid plans in Somalia and their general documents.

My approach will be making a text analysis that is based on a method how to analyse a text systematically. There are several ways to make a text analysis; first of all there is a question on whether or not to make a quantified or qualified analysis. It could be argued that I ought to make a quantified text analysis but I consider that to measure the frequency of a set of words or to measure the amount of words will not illustrate the differences of the organizations. I consider it rather important to look at the text as a whole and to “read between the lines” and consequently chosen to do a qualitative text analysis. A qualitative text analysis is to illustrate the important parts in a text that is to analyse the different parts but also to look at it as a whole and to consider the contextual framework. The text analyse mans as stated above to systematically analyse a text with a purpose to classify the content in a given documents. The intention behind this aim is to answer the question: Does Sida /the ICRC characterize as Easterly’s description of either planner or searcher? (Esaiasson et al, 2007, p.211).

When it comes to classifying a text, ideal types are usually used as the analytical tools, which I also have chosen to use (Esaiasson et al, 2007, p.211).

The analytical framework I will use to study the organization is based on Easterly’s characters planners and searchers. Since these two concepts symbolise two different approaches in foreign aid, they will be my analytical tools for ideal types.

To create ideal types enables you to define and categories the different analytic units and concepts. It is a strategy to formulate concept to make it clear and measurable. Here it is also important to be as void as possible so the reader gets the same view as the author of the different concepts (Esaiasson ,2007, p.214).

Since different concepts have different abstractions levels the concepts have to be viewed upon as a theoretical framework and not as a reflection of the reality. The necessity is to get a consensus of the concepts. To create ideal types is to give a reflection where reasoning is broadly refined and defined, and to make events to something measurable. You create stereotypes. It is important to understand that ideal types have no empirical base but can only be used as an analytical framework to study the empirical, which in my case is the work plans (Esaiasson et al,2007, p.2139-142). The purpose of ideal types is to make an ideology or a set of claims to make it easier to observe. (Beckman, 2007, p.28).

This all makes it important to establish clear variables for the conclusion in the text analyses I will hence to use some key terms that is based form the ideal types of planner and searcher and will be states in chapter 3.2.1.

My explanation will be based on the angel I have chosen and on the theoretical model, I will therefore focus on the characters of aid giving and not focus so much on the concept of development.

Creating the ideal types will set the framework to study the organizations' aid plans and also the cased study of Somalia. In order to create my ideal types I have focus on the first chapter of *The White Mans Burden* which has a focus on explaining the both characters.

The analysis is also of a descriptive character since I do not want to explain why or how but merely illustrate what the differences hold and to draw conclusions about them (Beckman, 2007, p. 48-49).

I do not wish to claim this essay to be a study of discourse since I do not intend to examine how the words are used, but rather to look into what contexts the terms from the ideal types are in.

3.1 Validity and intersubjectivity

Since the thesis is based on an empirical text analysis, the validity and reliability of the thesis is easily questioned, based on the risk of different understanding of the ideal types and the interpretation of the organizations' documents. In order to avoid that it is important to be as void as possible in the concepts of planners and searchers. This will improve my construct validity and by that improve the intersubjectivity. The intersubjectivity is important to a thesis which means is has to be as transparent as possible so the reader can draw to same conclusion as stated. I will therefore outline the variables that I have chosen to look from the ideal types with questions.

There is a risk of bias in my work. A researcher that interprets different documents and "reads between the lines" can easily question the objectivity and the risk of bias. It is hard to look at any text without a subjective opinion. Therefore I will present the result and analysis separately thus enabling to see which is the opinion of my own and what is from the documents.

3.2 Ideal types: The planner vs. The Searcher

The concept Easterly uses in his book *The White Man's Burden* to describe different models on how aid can be used and worked with, is searchers and planers.

	Planner	Searcher
Approaches	Traditional: the way aid has been handed out during the past 60 years	Realistic: always search for new ways
The question to foreign aid	What does it require from foreign aid to end poverty?	What can foreign aid do for poor people?
View of poverty	The thought that poverty is a technical engineering problem that the planners' answer will solve	A belief that poverty is a tangle of political, social, historical, institutional and technological factors
Responsibility	Raise high expectation but take no responsibility for meeting them	Accept responsibility for their actions
Intention	Announce good intention but motivate no one to carry them out	Find out what works and get some rewards
Level	Apply global blueprints	Adapt to local conditions
Answer to the problem /information	Think they already have the answer	Believe that the locals have the answer
How has the solutions	Believe that the outside (the West) have enough knowledge to impose solutions	Believe that only the insiders (locals) have enough knowledge to find solutions. They also believe that solutions just can be reached by individual trial and error experimentation
Goal	Universal and big goals	Different goal: using trial and error, to push themselves forward
How they are	Elitist: the planners is a small and narrow elite of the west	Grass-level: those who are working on the ground level in aid agencies and/or NGOs.
Key words	Global blueprint and utopian goals	Feedback and accountability
View of reality	Lack a knowledge of what the reality looks like	Find out what the reality looks like
Aid effectiveness/reflection	Do not know and do not try to find out if their aid have gained its purpose	Find out if the recipient is pleased

3.2.1 Variables

Since the ideal types of searchers and planners hereby are set, I have chosen several terms that I consider to be connected to the different types. These terms are the variables in the study of the documents. The variables will be used to illustrate what contexts they are used in. The terms I have chosen are presented below with a description of how I will look upon them:

- 1) **Responsibility**: can it be seen in the document if and how the organization takes any responsibility?
- 2) **Local vs. global**: how often are the terms used and how are they used? Which of the terms is the organization placing its focus on? Similar terms: universal, regional and partner
- 3) **Goals**: when they talk about goals, are the goals universal or local? Similar term is strategies.
- 4) **Result**: how is it being used? Is it with a focus on a local or global scale? Does the organization care about result?
- 5) **Reflection**: is the term used or do the document show sign of reflection? Similar word: follow-up
- 6) **Information**: how do they receive their information and how to they base that information before taking action?

These terms will be my main focus in the study of the documents of the organizations. I will end my study by doing an overall review of the documents if it seems important to demonstrate another typical ideal type.

When looking at the case studies I have found that they are not as rigorous as the general documents. This is based on the notion that Sida does not have a specific country plan and therefore I will not be able to compare them at the same level. I will however focus on how both organizations reflect and look at the local conditions of the country concerned.

4 Result

The results of this thesis are based on the different documents provided of the organizations Sida and ICRC. I will start by examine each organization's general document of its principles and how they work. Then I will look at each organization's work in Somalia

4.1 Sida

4.1.1 General documents

The general documents I have chosen are Sida's action plan for aid effectiveness 2009-2011(the latest edition) and the document on how Sida works.

Sida's "*Action plan on aid effectiveness 2009-2011*" (2009) shows how Sweden will use the Paris declaration of aid effectiveness (2005) and the Accra Agenda of Action (AAA, 2008), which are two documents announcing how the relationship between donors and recipients - partners as they are called in the document – should be (p.1). In the Swedish Development Cooperation they point out seven priorities:

1. Increased use of partners' countries and organizations' system
2. Increased share of programme-based approaches
3. Increased predictability and accountability of result
4. Increased focus on reducing the number of contributions
5. Increased joint analytical work and coordination of the country and regional missions
6. Improved global cooperation with other donors, particularly within the EU
7. Increased focus on supporting multilateral organisations to fulfil the commitments on aid effectiveness

(p.1)

Each of these priorities is outlined later in the documents with indicators and principles. Each priority needs to be followed up to see if it is according to what is stated for each and everyone.

Concerning the different terms, I will start by looking at the terms of 'local vs. global'. The term 'local' is mentioned in the total of six times and most of them are found in the second priority, where the focus is on programme-based approaches. On page 2 they also mention that the effective way is to use programme-based approaches and that "objectives, prioritised measures and indicators will differ between countries and country categories" (p.13). Similar

concepts, where the local conditions are considered, are to be found in different ways on pages 2 and 3 but also in all the seven objectivities. For an example in objective 1) it is mentioned that is “Sweden shall increase the share of development cooperation that respect the priorities of the cooperation partner and which is should be implemented through its system” (p1,11).

Similar words to the meaning of ‘local’ could be either ‘regionally’ or ‘partner’. The word ‘Regionally’ is used more often but mostly in the same way. The word ‘regional’ is to be found in sentences of regional goals (p.3) and regional missions (p, 18). The term ‘partner’ is often used, many times in an aspect of the partner country’s priority and that its system has to be the first choice (ex. p.10, 11, 13) or in the concepts to hold the partner country accountable (p.15) and improve transparency (p.16).

The term ‘global’ is mentioned more often but in different contexts. It is used in sentences like “global programs will then be set” (p.3) and “cooperation on the global level” (p.2). Mostly the term is used in the statistics provided (not of interest) or in sentences, for instance “the follow up shall be done multilateral, globally and regionally” (p.4). The term universally is never used.

The question of ‘responsibility’ is mentioned several times in contexts where a broadened ownership, increased accountability (p.2) and annual follow up are brought up (p.3,4,5). The term ‘follow up’ is often used in the sense that the Paris Declaration and the AAA need to be followed. (p.1, 2, 3, 19). But it can also be used in the sense that specific goals in countries have to be followed up (p.3).

‘Reflection’ is only used once and then in the sentences of to reflect on a recipients budget (p.24).

A frequently used word is ‘result’. The term is used in different contexts; mostly in the sense that they need to work for results like priority point 2. Another use of the term is in ‘result-based’ like in result-based management (p.4, 5). The meaning is usually to state that Sweden has to focus on areas where it can be expected to have most effects or to state that it is needed to focus on fewer countries to gain better results (p.4). Result is also used to point out that the result has to be monitored (p.12).

The term ‘goal’ is also used several times. As mentioned earlier it is sometimes used in specific goals (p.11) and also in talks about the Parisian goals and the goals of The Action Plan (p.3)

Concerning the term ‘information’ it is used in contexts concerning the information Sida needs to constitute an action plan, and the that information is received from DAC and “if necessary” from departments and the embassy’s concerned (p.5). In page 18-19 it is also mention that “The Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Sida will as a rule adapt their analytical work and missions to the partner country’s and organisations’ planning process, working cycle and needs, and to the greatest extent possible use existing information and analysis in the partner countries (from various sources)”.

Other indications that are similar to the key terms are found in sentences like “a donor must support a broader ownership” (p.1) and “special attention is given to countries... system (p.2).

The other document that I have focused to look upon was Sida's "*Swedish Development Cooperation – This is how it works*" (2010) in order to get an understanding of how they work.

The overall goal of Swedish Development cooperation (SDC) is "to contribute to making it possible for people to improve their living condition", Here, in the beginning of the text, the importance of seeing that each country must determine its own development plans and that Sweden supports these governments, agencies and organization that work in the poor countries, is highlighted (p.3)

The term 'local' is never used. The term 'regional' is used four times but never in a sense that aid needs to be adapted locally or that there is a need of receiving any locally information. However it is used in sentences as "regional bank". The term 'partner' is used more frequently and in contexts like "cooperation strategy is based on the partner country's own strategy.." (p.6) or in the dialogue of Sweden and the partner countries in different objectives (p.6, 9).

An example of how the term 'global' is used in a context is: "according to Sweden's policy for global development (PGD), the overall objective is to contribute to equitable and sustainable global development "(p.3). The term is also used to highlight Swedish development as a part of a global effort (p.4). Another context is when global strategies are mentioned (p.6).

The document mentions the term 'responsibility' both in the aspect of Sweden (p.9) and in the aspect of the recipient country (p.4). An example of the concept of responsibility is that Swedish recourses (aid) are to be monitored in order to achieve the expected result (p.6). No word resembling the words "follow-up" or "reflection" is being used in the document.

The term 'result' is used in explaining the Paris Declaration (p.4). But disregarding that, the term is only used in the chapter "Management and result" (p.9). Here it is stated that results are to be compared with established goals (responsibility) and that the results shall be reported back to the government.

'Information' is used only in the context of education which is not relevant for this thesis.

The term 'goal' is used in the focus of MDGs (p.4) and in the sense of monitoring results as stated above (p.9).

Looking at the document as a whole, the importance of MDG and the global cooperation is highlighted repeatedly (p.4, 6, 9). Other sentences of interest can be "each country determines its own development and implementation plans" or that the aspect of the poor should always permeate all aspect of work (p.3). Another sentence that indicates responsibility is where the document states that knowledge and experience can always be draw from previous cooperation (p.5).

4.1.2 Somalia

Sida does not have a specific action plan for Somalia or an annual report like ICRC. On Sida's official webpage you can however find a specific "chapter" about Somalia, where its current situation is stated, and about Sida's different

programs in the country. Since this is hard to compare with a strategic country plan like the ICRC, I have chosen to use Sida's webpage where a specific section of Somalia can be found. I have looked at "Our work in Somalia" and "Program and Projects". These pages are in Swedish but I will non-the-less use the same terms.

On the page "Our work in Somalia" no terms that I have chosen to focus on are mentioned. Instead I had to analyse the text as a whole.

In the beginning of the text it is stated that the civil war that has been going on in Somalia has created urgent needs. It is also stated that Sweden channels its support to organizations with good local knowledge like the Red Cross and other big organizations. One finding in the text is that the local environment and circumstances are in focus and that Sida is giving its aid accordingly (Sida, 2009).

An examination of "Programs and Projects" shows that Sweden has three big projects in the country. In none of the projects any of the terms are used. Instead the projects are constructed in the same way as used in "Our Work in Somalia", meaning that it is stated the reason why the project is important, reasons to local circumstance and which organizations are supported in the project (like UN or Red Cross) (S.S.2-4).

4.2 The ICRC

4.2.1 General documents

The International Committee of the Red Cross' document "*ICRC Strategy 2011-2014: Achieving significant results for people in need*" (2010) constitutes its action plan. On page one the country history and local circumstances of the country are explained but also that the strategy of 2011-2014 is a response to the strategy from 2007-2010.

Like Sida, the ICRC points out its key factors. ICRC calls them Key Success Factors and those are:

- 1) Relevance
- 2) Access
- 3) Acceptance and reputation
- 4) Organization and processes
- 5) Human Resources Capacity and Mobility
- 6) Position

All these factor are stated to be "developed to monitor results and thus progress will be made"(p.1).

The term 'universal' is only mentioned once: "promoting and strengthening humanitarian law and universal humanitarian principles" (p.1). 'Global' is also mentioned once in the aspect of the global environment (p.4).

The term 'local' is on the other hand mentioned more (six times). It is used in passages stating that ICRC will work with local organization and have a locally

presence (p.4). It is also used in the context of using local resources and hiring locally for the work (p.7.8). Similar sentences can also be found in pages 4-6. Local understanding (p.7) is also mentioned. The word 'regional' is used in the same way (p.4).

The term 'goal' is never mentioned but the word 'result' is mentioned several times, for example in "be altered as a result of the growing" or similar (p.4, 7). But also in the sense of evaluating or monitoring results (p.2, 7). The term is also used in "result-based management" (p.8).

Regarding the term 'responsibility' it is only mentioned one time in the context of their responsibility (p.5). The document talks neither about reflection nor follow-ups.

'Information' is used when mentioning that the organization has to develop its information-management capacity and to share information so that it can adapt its humanitarian response in changing situations (p.8)

Considering the text as a whole, word similar to the terms mentioned above can be found. For example, regarding responsibility, sentences like "... beneficiaries will play an increasingly active role in formulating their own request and assessment..." (p.4), can be found. Another finding is the reflection what the ICRC makes of its role in the world (p.8). More examples are: "The ICRC must increasingly work on the basis of scenarios, building upon its rapid response capacity, capitalizing upon its mobility of staff and preserving flexibility" (p.5) and "adapt approaches... to make the most of the skills and experience of its staff" (p.8) among others. "The lesson learned and the integration of new experience to be practiced in the organization" is also mentioned (p8).

The second document of the ICRC is "*Mission and Work*" (2009).

The term 'local' is used when mentioning "local knowledge" (p.12), "knowledge of local facilities" (p.13) or local environment (p.14). The term "local, regional and international level" is also mentioned in the aspect of the analysis level or the level of actors (p.13, 21). "Local" is also used in the sentences "to listen to locals" and "to work on the local level". On page 16 they talk about the level based approach. Here they highlight that each approach is unique since each approach has its own implementation strategies. 'Regional' or 'partner' are mostly being used in the same way.

The term 'universal' is often used in sentences about humanitarian law or principles (p.4,9,16) but also concerning universal network (p.23) and that the vocation is universal (p.21). 'Global' is never mentioned.

The term 'goal' is never used in the document whereas the term 'result' is mentioned five times. On page 23 results are mentioned in a context to monitor the result to "constantly improve the quality of its work". Results are mentioned as the direct result created by conflicts (p.9, 12) and "Interacting should provide the basis for building on the skills of each and hence for obtaining the best possible result" (p.23)

'Responsibility' is in the document often used in the sense of how ICRC must alert others about their responsibility according to international humanitarian law (p.7). It also occurs when pointing out that the organization has a responsibility towards individuals or population, and therefore has to monitor their results so

they can improve their work (p.9, 23). Moreover, it is used when stating the responsibility of another actor (p.19, 20). Terms like ‘follow-up’ and ‘reflection’ are never used.

‘Information’ is used in contexts like when in need of information for the staff on ground, or in the sentences if the information given can be trusted. (p.17, 19).

Moreover the document used local examples to illustrate the importance of adapting to the local environment (p.17). Another concept of responsibility can be found when the document mentions reducing the exposure to risks (p15). It also states “comprehensive analysis of the situation, the actors present... This enables the ICRC to identify the people adversely affected and their needs “(p.13).

4.2.2 Somalia

The ICRC has unlike Sida a specific annual report for Somalia; I have chosen the “Annual report of Somalia of 2011”.

The report is introduced by a short review of the country’s situation both in the present and in the past to show the country’s context (p.150). Here it is also stated that the ICRC, which is the international representation of the organization, works closely with the national section of the Red Cross, the Somalia Red Cross Society. Before taking action the ICRC had a close contact with all parties of the conflict in order to understand the situation. It also admits that the organisation faces difficulties to reach all people in need (p.151)

The terms ‘global, ‘universal’ and ‘regional’ are never used in the report. The term ‘local’ is used some times. The concept is used in the context of “local adapt conditions” and “local knowledge” (p.152) and in the sense of local doctors or authorities (p.153).

The terms “information”, “follow-up” and “reflection” are never used, like the word ‘responsibility’.

‘Goal’ is also never used, however ‘result’ is mentioned one time in a title (p.150).

Since there it is a lack of key terms, it is more important to look upon the text as an entity. I have found following sentences that can be similar to the key variables. On page 150 it is highlighted that the ICRC has contact with the parties of the conflict “through a continual dialogue with relevant weapon bearers” (p.152) or face-to-face meetings (p.155). The ICRC also gives examples of how it has adapted to local circumstances: “People unable to travel for financial, health or security reasons received medical care from 12 mobile medical teams” (p.153) Another interesting comment is that it is told that six out of eight clinic could be kept running whith no explanation or reflection why the other two had to close. (p.152).

5 Analysis and conclusion

Presenting the result above it is time to return to the thesis question: is there a difference between the two organizations' approach towards aid and can the difference be explained by using either planner or searcher? In order to do this analysis I will therefore go through each organization separately and then compare them

Starting with Sida the following conclusions can be drawn regarding the selected terms:

- A lot of attention is put on the local aspects
- The term global is also often used in sentences of global development and global programs
- The term goal is used both in the global and the specific scale
- Show strong indication of responsibility is shown both in the aspect of the recipient and the donor (Sida)
- This can also be seen on the aspect of result where it is often used to monitor result
- Information is received from DAC and, if necessarily, local embassies
- Sida does not have a strategically country plan for Somalia
- The website's specific page of Somalia gives a lot of attention to trying to explain Somalia's situation as due to the result of its actions

Out of these conclusions it is hard to say that Sida is either a planner or a searcher. Sida often considers a recipient own circumstances and adapts to local conditions. The website's specific page of Somalia strengthens this belief. Just like arguments that indicate that the organization Sida has a searcher approach in the aspect of its focus of local aspects can be found, arguments for being a planner can be found in the aspect of a global blueprint. The global aspects have also a big focus in Sida's documents, which can be seen in the aspects of goals in which Sida often refers to the MDG or similar. This shows more of a planner's approach rather than of a searcher's, who tries to set small goals in order to achieve something instead of leaning towards big and utopian goals, like especially the MDGs could be argued to do. However it is important to note that Sida also mentions the importance of specific and individual goals. The global scale can be seen more frequently than the aspect of goals. The global aspect can also be found, where Sida mentions them to be parts of a global program and to have a global policy. This could also indicate a planner's approach. Sweden relies on global information (DAC) and works afterwards global arrangements. A searcher tries to achieve small endeavours and "search" its way forward. It is not the way of a searcher to just adapt to a set arrangement. The notion that Sida does not have a strategical country plan also weakens its effort to show its care of having a local aspect. Even if tendencies of Sida having more of a planner's approach can be seen, some

tendencies of a searcher's approach also can be seen. Not only when concerning Sida's attention to the local approach but also when it comes to reflection. Sida shows a strong sense of responsibility for monitoring results (to find out if the recipient is pleased) and for having follow ups, which indicates a sense of reflection.

Concerning the ICRC the following conclusion can be drawn:

- Gives a lot of attention to the local approach
- The global focus is only in the aspect of the respect for and upholding of international humanitarian law
- Information is important to the ICRC to understand changing situations
- Goal is never mentioned
- Reflection is hardly used but can be found in the aspect of result where the important of monitoring is talked about
- Responsibility is mentioned both in the sentence of responsibility against IHL but also of individuals
- The ICRC has an annual report of Somalia
- In the document of Somalia, examples of the adaption of local circumstances are given

Like concerning Sida, it is hard to claim that the ICRC has an approach of either a planner or a searcher, but there are many similarities to a searcher. The ICRC gives very little attention to the global aspect in any of the documents, except in the mentioning of IHL. Instead the organization gives a lot of attention to the local aspects. The attention to the local aspect can more or less be found in every variable examined. This gives strong indications of a searcher who always considers local traditions and circumstances. The same can be argued when regarding information, where it, unlike Sida, actually points out the necessity of collecting information from the local staff in order to understand the situation or in the case of responsibility. The ICRC also hands out annual reports of every country it operates in. In the case of Somalia the organization often shows examples of how it adapted to local situations and also how it considered the importance of communicating with both parties of the conflict. This indicates that the organization tries to understand the living conditions. There are also signs that the organization takes responsibility, when in vague sentences, monitoring results and reflection are talked about, since the result of monitoring the result is to improve its work. There are many aspects that can be found that indicate an approach of a searcher and very little to be argued about an approach of a planner. The ICRC shows global aspects but it is hard to say that this means being a planner. The organization shows sometimes a lack of reflection. This can first be seen that in the lack of many terms - both concerning reflection and similar words. But also the same can be found in the case of Somalia, in which it is mentioned that it has been possible to have six of eight clinics running but no reflection about why two clinics were lost.

Comparing Sida and the ICRC it can be stated that the two organizations are very much alike. Both give a lot of attention to the local approach. Every document mentions the importance of understanding local conditions and the

priority of a country's own strategies. On the other hand, Sida also gives a lot of attention to big constructions like the DAC, Paris Declaration, AAA and the MDGs which could be considered, according to the theory of Easterly. Since this thesis does not explain whether the Paris Declaration nor AAA, I will not argue about them. But as mentioned above, the MDG could be considered to be a utopian set of goals. Besides Sida mentions more of goals, both specific and global ones. The ICRC talks about the importance of local information, which is something Sida lacks. However both organizations show signs to take on responsibility in the sense of monitoring results. Another distinction between the organizations is, as mentioned before, the annual reports of Somalia. Sida does not have a annual report of their work in other countries. This again shows a lack of care to monitor on the local level from Sida's case.

In conclusion, this thesis has examined several documents of the two organizations, Sida and the ICRC in order to study if they have a similar or dissimilar approach towards aid. The results have shown more similarities than dissimilarities in their approach towards aid. Also viewing them through the eyes of planners and searchers, it is not possible to argue that one organization is a typical planner and the other a typical searcher. However the ICRC shows very little tendencies that could be argued for having an approach of a planner whereas Sida shows tendencies towards being both a planner and a searcher. I therefore consider that the hypothesis cannot be affirmed, since neither of the organization has been clear cases of being either planners or searchers.

5.1 Further research

This thesis has been a start of comparing different types of organizations through the planner-searcher theory of William Easterly. Since the thesis could merely indicate some differences based of the documents given, no organization could be claimed as being either a searcher or a planner, even though Sida shows more tendencies of being a planner than ICRC.

A suggestion for further research is therefor to do real case studies of different projects that the organizations have. In this way one would be able to monitor the effects of the organizations' action plans and see how they work. Another suggestion would be to monitor the communication between local workers and the organization management in order to see if a top-down approach or bottom-up could be found.

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