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Part 1 - Framework and context

Introduction

The Canadian voluntary sector has over thirty years of experience in international development. Throughout this period the global context has shifted, sometimes in dramatic and surprising ways. The sector faces many challenges. International crises proliferate while development resources dwindle. State-voluntary sector relations are strained as economies are restructured and the state relinquishes its responsibilities in the provision of services to its citizens. Historical preserves of traditional Northern NGO activity, such as direct project implementation, are being assumed by increasingly sophisticated Southern organizations. The "North-South" dichotomy is less and less relevant as poverty grows in the North and pockets of great wealth emerge in the South. At the same time, the phenomenon of "globalization" presents the voluntary sector with opportunities to forge international policy and program alliances with the potential for real development impact.

Given the challenges we face, now is the time for both the voluntary sector and CIDA to reassess their role in ODA and develop new ways to work together. This paper seeks to stimulate among Canadian NGO staff, boards and partner organizations a critical reflection on the role and relevance of the voluntary sector, as well as its evolving relationship with CIDA. It draws on existing analyses of the CIDA/NGO relationship, particularly the 1991 CCIC document "A Time to Build Up: New Forms of Cooperation Between NGOs and CIDA." It provides an overview of the voluntary sector internationally and in Canada, and sets out some of the challenges facing Canadian voluntary organizations in relation with other actors in civil society, Southern colleagues, and the government. Among them are:

How to increase effectiveness, efficiency, accountability and legitimacy (what are the obligations of voluntary organizations as they intervene in development)?

How do voluntary organizations build constituencies, and involve them in the development process? How do they more effectively increase public awareness of complex and rapidly evolving international issues (including changing organizational roles)?

How can voluntary organizations preserve their relative autonomy and civil character given the level of dependency on government funds, while at the same time collaborating with government in human centred development programming?

How do they resolve the tension between expectations of official donors and those of Southern NGOs and other constituencies?
Many organizations are considering how to restructure themselves to respond to these challenges; how can this be accomplished in a context of diminished resources and lack of experience? How can government contribute to an "enabling" environment?

The paper ends with an outline of a three-fold agenda for Canadian voluntary organizations, and recommendations on how the sector and government can work together to implement this agenda. These recommendations take into account the human and financial constraints now facing both CIDA and NGOs, and are intended to be flexible; they will need to be revisited periodically to assess their relevance. They are also intended to launch a process of dialogue with government on the many issues raised in the following pages.

We suggest that three guiding principles should frame the relationship between the government and the voluntary sector:
1. responsiveness to independent voluntary organization initiatives;
2. transparency and shared learning in policy and program formulation and decision-making; and
3. effective consultation (including some form of mutual accountability) in the process of developing both broad and specific policy frameworks for ODA.

What do we have to contribute to the dialogue? As stated in "Building and Sustaining Global Justice: Towards a New Canadian Foreign Policy" published by CCIC in May 1994. "Canadian NGOs draw upon direct, first hand experience with the devastating consequences of global poverty, suffering and injustice. They work both overseas and in Canada with communities and organizations of marginalized people - women, children, workers, farmers cooperatives, poor consumers, ethnic and religious minorities - around tangible development activities for change. These actions place people - women and men alike - at the centre of the development process... Voluntary organizations have contributed to Canadians' understanding of the daily experience of people living in poverty throughout the world. And we have been educators and advocates for Canadian policy that responds to the long-term development needs of poor populations."

Factors Influencing the Role of NGOs

Internationally:
Post Cold War politics have changed the nature of aid as a foreign policy tool; the post-war aid regime is in decline (2); the role of the state is increasingly circumscribed, and traditional notions of state sovereignty, especially at the economic level, is less relevant;

Direct financial transfers may be replaced in part by bilateral or multilateral agreements governing reciprocal obligations around such issues as management of environmental resources; remaining ODA may well be increasingly consumed by emergency humanitarian assistance (3);

At the same time, recognizing that global poverty is increasing, recent UN conferences (the World Summit on Social Development, the Population Conference) set out significant obligations for donor countries to support long-term poverty reduction strategies in the South (4); As aid donors are reducing their financial commitments, they are also making aid conditional on economic reform by the recipient state, a practice facilitated by the OECD, the World Bank and the IMF; NGOs have decried the negative impact of economic conditionality policies, and it is
widely recognized that major international institutions are in need of fundamental reform; There is tentative recognition by some governments and multilateral institutions that support for civil society, human rights, "good governance" and poverty reduction must be the foundation for economic reform.

In Canada:
In an era of economic restructuring and globalization, the government speaks of reinventing itself. Meanwhile, the private sector is restructuring and the voluntary sector is being subjected to the same kind of (primarily financial) pressures;

Government and private donors have greater expectations of accountability for NGOs;

Poverty and income disparity in Canada are on the rise; the redefinition of government and the cut back in government services have led to an increased sense of urgency about a wide range of social, political and economic issues;

Government is less willing to fund policy development or activities which are linked to advocacy, such as development education, despite the fact that organizations across Canada have played an important role in promoting a public commitment to global citizenship and support for development assistance.

For NGOs:
NGOs are a growing part of ODA transfers, managing upwards of 15% of total ODA flows; new NGOs are springing up everywhere, especially in the South, and in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union;

As post-Cold War conflicts proliferate, with 90% of the casualties civilians, NGOs are increasingly involved in delivering humanitarian assistance and contributing to peace-building (5) ; new NGOs are emerging, with highly specialized skills;

There is some increase in the openness of multilateral institutions - particularly the UN - for policy dialogue with non-state actors; international NGO networks are improving their capacity to make use of these opportunities;

Greater NGO visibility brings with it closer scrutiny of the quality of NGO policy interventions; Southern organizations are increasingly active at the international level and are demanding equity and reciprocity in their relationships with their Northern counterparts;

Some NGOs are returning to their "transnational" identity and expanding their joint programming and advocacy capacity (e.g. World Vision, OXFAM, CARE).

Defining The Canadian Voluntary Sector

NGOs are just a small part of a larger community called the voluntary sector. The latter has a long history in Canada. Examples include the United Way, itself a coalition of many smaller voluntary organizations devoted to a wide array of social causes. There are at least 55,000 such
registered organizations in Canada (72,000 if all registered charities including individual churches and the fund-raising arms of hospitals and universities are added), and well over five million Canadians participate in these organizations in various ways. The Canadian Centre for Philanthropy estimates that charities provide 354,000 full time jobs and 221,000 part-time jobs and pay a total of $13 billion in salaries. (6)

The value of the voluntary sector has remained relatively unquestioned. A recent statement prepared by a coalition of voluntary organizations summarizes their contribution: "one important role of voluntary organizations is to educate the public and the government, to collect and disseminate information, and to make it possible for government to act, when broader collective action has been necessary ... In addition to these functions, voluntary groups in Canada have emerged to provide collective voices for those who individually have little access to power with policy makers. And voluntary groups have also been the expression of and the agent for the benevolence, commitment to social justice, and search for community experienced by individual Canadians ... Additionally, there is more and more data available on the efficiency of voluntary organizations in bringing together talented volunteers to provide direction and sometimes labour, and in bringing to policy makers the insight and experience of those delivering the services and their clients or intended beneficiaries." (7)

However, some critics have begun to raise concerns about voluntary organizations. For example, how truly "voluntary" are these organizations? Who do they represent? Moreover, "voluntary organizations have been painted with the broad brush of special interests that are said to overload governments and devalue the policy process. Organizations need to anticipate and respond to some of the emerging trends on governing and in government/citizenship relationships. If they cannot or choose not to address these issues in a strategic manner, national voluntary organizations will soon find that their legitimacy, resources and ability to influence public policy and deliver services to their constituencies will be seriously compromised." (8)

They will also need to re-think how to more effectively integrate volunteers in a period of shrinking resources.

**Part 2 - A profile of NGOs**

**Motivation**

Within the voluntary sector, international development organizations are those whose primary purpose is to support local development priorities and aspirations mainly (but not exclusively) in the South. This includes the development "arms" of the churches, unions, cooperatives and professional associations. Around the world, the majority of these organizations are committed to the following underlying values: altruism: NGOs respond to the needs of others; autonomy: NGOs are distinctive from and independent of governments; participation: NGOs provide channels for citizens to participate in international development; efficiency: NGOs mobilize and use financial and human resources in a cost-effective manner; cooperation: NGOs have unique
relationships with beneficiary communities. (9); internationalism: NGOs are active in international programming and policy networks based on solidarity and mutual interests.

As one NGO observer has noted, voluntary organizations depend primarily on appeals to shared values as the basis for mobilizing human and financial resources. Citizens contribute their time, money and other resources to a voluntary organization because they believe in what it is contributing to society. They share a commitment to the organization's vision of a better world. A healthy voluntary sector is characterized by a substantial number and variety of independent voluntary organizations, representing an array of distinctive and sometimes conflicting commitments. They serve as forums for the definition, testing and propagation of ideas and values in ways that are difficult or impossible for government or the private sector. Their commitment to ethical values, over short-term political or economic goals, gives them a natural orientation to the needs of politically and economically disenfranchised populations that are not met through the political processes of government or the economic processes of the market. (10) As well, many NGOs operate across borders and beyond national interests and are committed to a global approach to solving development problems.

The number of NGOs in both the North and the South has risen dramatically in the last 15 years. According to some analysts, "there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the rise and growth of NGOs (and less so, of GROs - Grass-Roots Organizations) is directly related to the increasing availability of official funding under the [current economic and political agenda promoted by Northern donors]. This agenda implies on the one hand, that markets and private initiative are the most effective means of fostering economic growth - with NGOs picking up the pieces -, and on the other hand, that NGOs and GROs are vehicles for "democratization" and essential components of a thriving civil society, which in turn are seen as essential to the success of the agenda's economic dimension." (11)

Funding is by no means the only factor. Organizations have also emerged spontaneously as a popular response to political or economic crises around the world.

What Functions do NGOs Assume?

NGOs assume a range of organizational forms. These include Relief and Welfare Agencies (organizations oriented to meeting the basic survival needs of vulnerable populations); Public Service Contractors (organizations funded by Northern governments and multilateral institutions to work in Southern countries implementing official donor-designed programs); Popular Development Agencies (Northern NGOs and their Southern intermediary counterparts that concentrate on self-help, long-term social development and grassroots democracy); Grassroots Organizations (also known as People's Organizations - locally-based groups whose members are the poor and oppressed themselves, and which help to shape the popular development process); and Advocacy Groups and Networks (organizations that exist primarily for research, education, lobbying, representation and capacity building, such as the Freedom from Debt Coalition in the Philippines, Third World Network and Health Action International, and co-ordination mechanisms like CCIC and the International Council for Voluntary Action.) (12)
Many organizations combine two or more of these mandates and assume a blend of organizational forms. No value judgement accompanies these categorizations. An NGO's value should be judged by the quality of its work, its commitment to social change, and its capacity to collaborate with other development actors. (13)

Canadian NGOs: The Basic Profile

When Bridges of Hope was published in 1988, most Canadian NGOs were: secular (72%); religious, but non-denominational (13%); and denominational (14%). The majority of NGOs in Canada are Canadian. Affiliates (primarily of British and American NGOs) make up 25% of the total. In the past, the primary role of the Canadian affiliates was to fund-raise for the programs of their "parent" organizations. CARE, World Vision, and Planned Parenthood continue to be successful fund-raisers in Canada, and have developed their own international programming capacity. (14)

The North-South Institute estimated in 1994 that some 350 Canadian international development NGOs (including the international programs of organizations like the Red Cross) employed 4,550 staff members and had 72,100 volunteers in Canada with perhaps another 11,000 overseas. (With the substantial cuts in government funding to NGOs of the last two to three years, the number of paid positions is decreasing). (15)

Some Canadian non-governmental groups have a structural link to a donor base, such as the churches, labour funds, cooperatives and credit union movements; others have a base formed primarily through regular solicitation. As well, there are now more organizations centred in ethnic communities in Canada which have an interest in international development, especially as it pertains to their home lands.

According to the 1991 Secor Report on CIDA, there were approximately 500 organizations who received funds from CIDA in 1989/90, including a large number of domestic organizations and the international programs of churches, universities and colleges, cooperatives, and trade unions. This growth was partly the result of active encouragement on the part of CIDA Partnership Branch in the late 1970s and '80s, as well as healthy aid budgets. It was also the result of heightened Canadian awareness of humanitarian crises in the South during the 1980s, for example the Ethiopian famine of 1984/85, and the civil wars in Central America.

CIDA's impetus to support Canadian NGOs (and through them, Third World NGOs) came in part "out of an analysis of the prevailing development philosophy of the 1960s by the pioneers in this process [within NGOs and within CIDA]. They recognized that government-to-government assistance would never be able to change the situation of the... politically and economically oppressed, unless these very people were reached directly; organized, empowered, and assisted to participate actively in a process of change that began at the roots, and dealt with the cause of poverty, not just of its symptoms." They believed that "to achieve this would require effective and dynamic local NGOs and popular organizations, and a network of international NGOs, including Canadian NGOs, to help sustain this local work." They also believed that "only independent non-governmental organizations of Canadians, working with people working for
change in the real local context, could continually forge a cutting edge of new ideas, new
questions, and new and relevant strategies to development." (16)

Southern Organizations

No other phenomenon of the last 30 years has so changed the nature of NGO development work
as the growth and strengthened capacity of Southern NGOs. This, as much as the evolving
relationship with governments, has had a profound impact on the traditional work of Northern
NGOs. At the same time, it offers real hope for social change.

Many countries of the South have a rich history of voluntary action - much of it community-
based and culturally rooted. Northern NGOs began to increase support to independent Southern
NGOs in the late 1970s. While motivated primarily by participatory development goals, the
promotion of Southern NGOs was also a practical decision on the part of Northern partners
arising from a recognition of their own limitations.

Northern and Southern NGOs have struggled long and hard to find a successful relationship and
division of labour. The initial conceptualization of partnership could seldom overcome inherently
unequal power relationships and paternalistic practices. Alternative relationships around
solidarity or collegiality have had more success. (17) International networks and alliances
provide guidance for effective working relations based on common cause and relative autonomy,
especially when they do not involve a funding relationship. Nevertheless, Southern NGOs
continue to have a legitimate preoccupation with securing resources without compromising their
autonomy as development actors.

Northern governmental donors are increasingly funding Southern NGOs directly, by-passing
their Northern counterparts, in the belief that by doing so they can enhance efficiency and
effectiveness of aid delivery, and strengthen civil society in developing countries. In many
instances, Southern NGOs have welcomed direct funding. At the same time, most want to
continue a relationship with their Northern counterparts, who can provide them with support
(such as long-term core funding) that governments cannot. Moreover, establishing an equitable
relationship with an official aid agency is virtually impossible because of the latter's size and
necessary foreign policy interests which do not always correspond with the interests of the
recipients.

Bilateral programs themselves need healthy Northern NGOs to build and sustain a political
constituency for the development budget in the North. Northern NGOs also have an important
role to play in advocating for international policies that can help strengthen civil society in the
South, and in building new sorts of partnerships between SNGOs and Northern organizations
with similar concerns. (18) Canadian examples include the work of coalitions of Northern and
Southern NGOs in particular countries, such as the Philippines- Canada Human Resource
Development, or the Canada-Bangladesh Policy Education Project, both of which are designed to
strengthen the capacity of local NGOs/networks and solidify links with Canadian organizations,
in order to "identify and discuss the policy concerns that could create positive changes in
people's lives... and to build a strong, cohesive group committed to mutual support, cooperative
learning and collaborative work." (As noted in a cooperative self-assessment by the Canada-Bangladesh NGO Policy Education Project).

Northern governments and the public generally regard NGOs in a positive light. This is not always the case in the South, where NGOs may be treated with suspicion by their governments. As Southern NGOs become more effective, they are subjected to tremendous scrutiny, pressure and harassment. For example, some governments have enacted restrictive laws to monitor NGO activity and external funding. In other instances, Southern NGO workers have been harassed, imprisoned and killed when they have worked in conditions of social strife or war.

Where the state is more benign, the work of NGOs in both the North and South can be greatly assisted by governments through the establishment of an "enabling" environment: processes of participation and involvement, expressions of public support, tax legislation and registration requirements, as well as government economic and social policy. Given the growing wealth of some segments of Southern societies, combined with their relatively weak commitment to voluntary action, Northern NGOs (both domestic and international) can assist Southern NGOs in developing their capacity to fund-raise locally and to build constituencies. At the same time, Northern NGOs must be more accountable to their Southern partners in their own fund-raising and education activities.

The Capacities and Vulnerabilities of NGOs

NGOs North and South have many strengths. They have worked with the most marginalized of people (refugees, women, workers, minority groups, the rural and urban poor, farmers, indigenous peoples, youth and children) in a range of economic circumstances and under widely differing political regimes. They have a collective experience in all fields of social development: health, formal and informal education, small scale and sustainable agriculture, small scale/micro business development, cooperatives, the provision of credit, appropriate technology, community development, relief and humanitarian assistance. In many instances (for example, supporting the ANC in South Africa, or development activities in Eritrea and Tigray in the 1980s), development NGOs have done what governments would not or could not do.

More recently work has taken NGOs into the development and promotion of alliances and networks and into more systematic and significant contact with environmental, human rights, labour, and peace groups. They have a unique ability to facilitate North-South and South-South linkages. In Canada some of the important organizations in this regard have been the churches, unions, solidarity groups and volunteer-sending agencies.

NGOs have worked through processes of change, and have adapted their methods. Using community development techniques and building on concepts and methodologies of participation and inclusion, NGOs have gradually increased the effectiveness of their work. This has included an appreciation of community control, use of local resources, cultural sensitivity and flexibility.

NGOs are developing the capacity to be self-critical. There is an increasing amount of disciplined research into NGOs. Assumptions are being tested and weaknesses are being described and analyzed. For example, NGOs can be competitive, adverse to cooperation, and
unskilled in research, policy development, advocacy and development education. At the same time, they tend to cover up for each other's weaknesses. Many NGOs, both in the South and North, have allowed the availability of funding, rather than need, to dictate programming decisions; Northern donors and NGOs alike pride themselves on being "talent" spotters, seeking new marketable initiatives, when a longer-term commitment to an old partner may be what is needed.

NGOs are not always internally democratic and may have weak relations with other social actors. Decision-making in NGOs can be dominated by local elites; too often, there is limited grassroots participation, especially of women, in the planning and design of projects, and a lack of coherence between stated commitments to gender analysis and women's issues and actual programs and management structures.

Many Northern NGOs acknowledge that documentation of their experience is irregular, and geared more to fund-raising than to institutional learning. To be fair, the work of NGOs does not lend itself easily to monitoring. "There are no ready indexes of popular participation no convenient barometer to chart the "raising of consciousness," and no comparative tables listing the degrees of empowerment. (19) However, some organizations, such as Oxfam and Save the Children UK, as well as the Aga Khan Foundation and the Inter-Church Fund for International Development in Canada, are now setting out to evaluate and share lessons from their many years of development experience. This documentation, combined with policy advocacy, is a recognition by NGOs that development challenges cannot be met at the project level alone, but require international policies that favour sustainable human development.

Part 3 - Shifting development paradigms, new context and new roles

In the 1960s, international development NGOs for the most part adopted a charity approach to development and did not question the traditional model of economic growth. This began to change with the economic crisis of the 1970s, which convinced many that this model, far from eliminating poverty, was in fact a major cause. Through UNCTAD and other fora, the demands by Southern governments for greater global equality had a profound impact on many Northern NGOs, who witnessed their own governments resisting the call for a more equitable New International Economic Order (NIEO). Community groups in the South developed cooperatives, peasant associations and a variety of formal and informal community-based approaches to implement strategies for national self-reliance. NGOs shifted towards longer term planning, emphasizing small self-contained projects, appropriate technology and community organizing for self-reliance, a trend which continues today with more emphasis on a "strategic" orientation and global inter-dependence.

In the 1990s many NGOs are moving away from reliance on organizational or program growth as a strategy to increase NGO impact. They see themselves as "catalysts" and advocates, influencing others by working together, sharing ideas, providing training and education, and
advocating domestic policy reform in support of sustainable development. They are also "particularly suited to act as 'bridging organizations' that [can stimulate] cooperative problem solving involving grassroots groups and government agencies." (20) However, because service-delivery and humanitarian assistance tend to attract more official funding, there is a growing rift between well-resourced service-providers and poorly-funded social mobilisation agencies (21).

Mobilizing for Sustainable Human Development

As noted earlier, NGOs around the world have been critical of the orthodox development policy prescriptions manifest most clearly by the World Bank. NGOs, along with independent development thinkers in the UN and some official donors, have promoted a "people-centred" approach to development. CCIC and many of its members articulated this vision before the Special Parliamentary Committee Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy in 1994. Three decades of development experience led Canadian NGOs to urge that sustainable human development (SHD) become the cornerstone of Canadian foreign and domestic policy, and that 60% of Canadian ODA be directed to SHD programming.

As a development cooperation agenda for governments and voluntary organizations, sustainable human development includes implementing the UNDP/UNICEF Human Development Priority Agenda of basic education, primary health, reproductive health, nutrition, family planning, the enhancement of the status of women, and the provision of clean water supplies. Promoting SHD also means facilitating democratization and public participation through strengthening autonomous community organizations, trade unions, women's organizations and others capable of representing local organization. An additional objective is to strengthen the necessary policy framework by investing in the democratic development of essential institutional, legal, legislative, financial and economic structures. In all of these aspects Northern and Southern NGOs play significant roles.

Sustainable human development aims to eradicate poverty by enabling those living in poverty to meet their basic needs and their full human potential. It values social and economic justice, equality and equity, and popular participation. Among other things, this means generating and redirecting resources in support of these goals. The challenge is to translate the long-term vision of sustainability and sustainable human development into national and international policies. What does this mean for NGOs?

While Northern NGOs have not abandoned their project orientation, for the most part they are no longer direct program implementors (with the significant exception of the delivery of humanitarian assistance). Southern NGOs and community groups have the skills and experience and are much better placed to determine priorities. But Northern NGOs continue to have a role to play in supporting the development of capacity and program delivery of Southern partners.

As well, Northern NGOs are working with their Southern partners to expand collaboration and joint responsibility, especially in the areas of policy dialogue/formulation, advocacy and public education, research and analysis, in order to apply learning and recommend policy alternatives to governments, multilateral organizations and private sector institutions. This is not new. Many Canadian NGOs have been undertaking these activities since their creation. They are being
joined by non-traditional actors such as national anti-poverty groups and women's organizations, and are organizing and advocating through increasingly complex global networks.

An example of this global advocacy role can be seen in the activities of Southern and Northern voluntary organizations in UN World Conferences, especially since the 1992 UN Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED). NGOs, human rights groups, women's organizations, environmental organizations and others have converged by the hundreds on UN conferences in Vienna, Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing. Voluntary groups are now monitoring and in some cases participating with national governments in the implementation of action plans arising out of government commitments at these conferences.

However, many of the NGO actors in the international policy arena constitute an elite with weak connections to the very grass-roots communities they claim to represent. NGOs will have to ensure democratic and participatory processes to feed into the UN and other international fora, even if these processes are awkward, time-consuming and potentially divisive. Their impact depends in large part on their capacity to mobilize their constituencies: witness the success of the women's movement, Amnesty International, or Greenpeace.

NGOs as Actors in Civil Society

Expanding "civil society" and democratic participation has become an important objective in all official donor development cooperation strategies. Indeed voluntary organizations can take credit for pioneering a development approach based on the participation of all actors, especially the disenfranchised, in civil society. Therefore it is important to define the concept of "civil society" in which NGOs see themselves embedded. Civil society is the social space that exists beyond the family but does not include the private sector and the state. It includes non-governmental organizations, human rights groups, cooperatives, unions, media, religious assemblages, professional associations, and so on, through which individuals collectively and voluntarily carry out their social enterprises. Such associations may be in harmony with the state but they are distinct. Indeed, autonomy is essential for the authority and integrity of such groups. (22).

The framework of civil society recognizes that development is a political process. As Political Scientist Laura Macdonald has written in a paper for CCIC, "recognizing that NGOs have a role to play in strengthening civil society does not in itself entail a commitment to social justice. In order to contribute to democratic government, NGOs need to directly address the power relations within civil society." Power has many dimensions, lying "not just in the control over the national state, or over economic resources, but also in ethnic, racial and gender relations." For instance while formal democracy has been established in many countries (particularly in Latin America), these democracies remain fragile because of the weakness of civil society.

Enhancing civil society as a framework for ODA requires support to those who are marginalized to improve their access to material, political, social and cultural resources. Such processes cannot occur without conflict. In the final analysis "power must also be redefined as not power over other people or nature, but as power to establish more sustainable, just societies ... A strong civil society does not equal democracy; there are many societies where the elite will organize itself within civil society to block possible state measures of change such as land reform. There can be
discrimination of the worst kind inside civil society. NGOs must be ready to choose the side of the poor, against the interests of the rich and powerful, while the state must create an environment in which conflicts can be accommodated in a peaceful manner." (23)

Mobilizing within civil societies for development change, North and South, provides the context for renewed government/NGO relations. NGOs have significant resources to contribute to a "Civil Society Initiative" (as articulated by CCIC's U.S. counterpart Inter-Action). In local partnerships and with governments, NGOs are creating social capital and fostering social action by supporting existence (the presence of a critical mass of effective local NGOs to be a dynamic, credible force for building popular participation in policy formulation and implementation), capacity (assisting local organizations to develop new program capacities and skills), and environment (providing an "enabling environment" for NGOs to strengthen civil society and to develop a constructive relationship with the state, as well as effective means for keeping it accountable). (24)

The voluntary sector is a critical link between knowledge and action, and an essential part of the democratic process. For many Canadian NGOs, this means defining their own tenuous roots in Canadian civil society, and the specifics of their links to civil societies in the South.

**Part 4: Issues in the relationships between canadian ngo's and CIDA Recent CIDA Trends**

All government departments are reeling from deep cuts to their budgets and personnel as a result of the February 1995 federal budget. Unfortunately the severity of the cuts has negated aspects of the Government's 1994 Program Review. The Review was attempting in part to identify government services which could be more appropriately delivered by or in partnership with the voluntary sector. Instead of a program rationalization carried out in consultation with the voluntary sector and other relevant actors, many activities have been reduced or transformed for reasons of political or economic expediency.

CIDA has not been immune from these trends. The February 1995 budget has resulted in significant changes in the Agency and its relationships with its "partners." Current trends indicate:

- an erosion of the responsive program and some increase (at least over the recent past) in NGO funding from Bilateral Desks; more control/direction of NGO activity; (e.g. relevance to CIDA Regional/Country Development Policy Frameworks);
- general decline in real NGO Indicative Planning Figures (IPFs); increased emphasis by government on results-based programming and financial management standards and practices.

If Canadian NGOs are to fulfil their role in supporting civil society initiatives for sustainable human development, then critical issues in the CIDA/NGO relationship require attention and resolution. These are described below.
Canadian NGOs have consistently asserted their role as independent development actors with a claim on government resources. While the expectation of automatic funding "entitlement" for international voluntary organizations is unrealistic, NGOs legitimately identify themselves in their funding relationship with government as "agents for change doing work under their own authority, co-agents in the international field with CIDA, as co-professional and colleagues." (25)

Funding to NGOs increased steadily throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, reaching a peak in 1992/93, when Canadian NGOs received a total of $310 million for their international programs from various branches of CIDA (Partnership, Bilateral and Multilateral). Of this amount, $158.6 million came from the responsive program of Partnership Branch. This trend has now reversed. Between 1991/92 and 1995/96, ODA was cut by 30.7%, with a reduction to the voluntary sector of 28.2%.

There have also been administrative changes in the funding relationship. CIDA has moved from project-by-project funding to program funding for agencies that demonstrate appropriate management capacity. These funding arrangements should result in greater administrative simplicity for both CIDA and NGOs. While shifting funding criteria away from individual projects and towards the review of management and governance of recipient agencies is perceived by many NGOs as a very progressive step, others (especially among those which are highly dependent on government funding) worry that it will lead towards more pervasive control of the organization as a whole.

During the last decade, CIDA opened up several new thematic and country/region specific programs to NGOs. Sometimes they were a result of NGO initiatives; sometimes NGOs played a role in drafting program guidelines. As collaborative mechanisms, these funds not only assured CIDA cost-effective administration of NGO programs but, more importantly, encouraged some joint programming among Canadian NGOs. They were the primary vehicle for inter-NGO learning processes and peer review of individual NGO development strategies. Much of this collaborative experience is now lost with the 1995 federal budget decision to terminate fourteen special funds and centralize all future decision-making on the expenditure of CIDA funds within the Agency (with at best a handful of NGO representatives on CIDA-managed advisory committees). The disappearance of these special funds raise a number of core questions which will affect the future structuring and complexion of the Canadian NGO community.

Some have argued that the number of CIDA funding programs resulted in a fragmented CIDA/NGO relationship based on a vast network of contracts and sub-contracting relationships. How would Canadian NGOs have evolved if there had been fewer windows? How will the positive lessons of some of these experiences, for example around NGO collaboration, be preserved? How can CIDA engage with NGOs in a rational discussion of programming approaches based on development impact, rather than terminating arrangements without consultation for bureaucratic or budgetary reasons?

One positive example of an approach based on development impact is the "NGO Division's Allocation Criteria and Process" (January, 1995), developed in response to criticisms from the
NGO community that the criteria in the past were not transparent, and were based on historical funding levels rather than on the quality of development programming. NGOs were consulted during the process and support the new criteria. But CCIC was surprised to discover that a new criterion - relevance to CIDA Country Development Policy Frameworks - had been added after the original criteria were circulated and generally accepted at the CIDA NGO Consultation in October 1994. This criterion was subsequently removed for the 1994/95 fiscal year but is to be reviewed during 1995/96. (26)

Does CIDA's mandate still include the nurturing and fostering of NGOs? Or is it increasingly charged with the regulation and control of the NGO community that it funds? How are the deep cuts to the NGO program reconciled with the government's commitment to basic human needs? How do CIDA and the NGOs resolve the inevitable tension between the short term approach of most government departments which focuses on projects, control/accountability and managing political constituencies, versus a commitment to SHD which implies long-term programs and institutional change?

2. Accountability

NGOs are accountable to government for the funds they receive. The government can enforce this accountability through Revenue Canada tax returns, financial reports and evaluations. NGOs are also held to account for the work they do. Most NGOs would argue that their prime accountability is to their own donors and to their project beneficiaries. Yet it is difficult for private donors or partners to exercise their collective strength to hold NGOs accountable.

Questions of accountability are going to increase if 1) relative cuts to ODA place more pressure on NGOs as service deliverers on behalf of official donors, and 2) international NGOs and the UN are successful in convincing bilateral and multilateral aid programs to invest more in basic human needs programming. CIDA is not positioned and does not have the independent capacity to deliver this kind of programming itself. If NGOs are expected to play a more prominent role, what kind of accountabilities will follow? What should be the mutual accountability between CIDA and the NGOs?

A critical mechanism for promoting accountability and learning is evaluation. Unfortunately it tends to be used by many official donors as a method of control. If learning is to take place, the financial threat that seems to accompany failure must be removed. Ian Smillie has noted "this would help to ensure that the preventable (errors) become more predictable, and therefore more avoidable." Smillie goes on to stress the importance of research and dissemination, and to identify the responsibility of NGOs themselves: "the survival of an independent NGO community as a source of development learning and as a genuine weapon against poverty will depend on its own willingness to confront questions of quality, cost-effectiveness and impact head-on, openly and by itself." (27) But clearly the CIDA funding relationship can be an important factor in promoting individual and collective learning on the part of Canadian NGOs.
3. Country Focus (CF) and the Open Bidding System (OBS)

"Country Focus" (CF) began in the early 1980s in order to allow CIDA bilateral desks to determine programs and then select resources (or "executing agencies") on a non-competitive basis according to the relative strengths of NGOs and cooperatives, universities and colleges, crown corporations, or multilateral mechanisms. NGOs and cooperatives received $90.7 million through Country Focus in 1994/95. Instead of simply executing CIDA designed bilateral projects however, NGOs were able to submit their own proposals: at least 20 such NGO initiatives had been approved by 1992. The large scale of these projects provided a foundation for NGO learning around the complexities of carrying out development programming as a long-term commitment to socio-economic change.

There have been concerns about the CF model: NGOs have pointed out that there is no consistency in the application of CF among different bilateral desks. There are differences in planning, monitoring, reporting and evaluation procedures. CIDA has not always had confidence in the ability of NGOs to deliver on some of these large contracts. The private sector has objected to what they perceive as unfair competition from NGOs. For NGOs, the dependency created by large Country Focus contracts was demonstrated very clearly in 1993 when CIDA cutbacks forced the cancellation of signed contracts, and a further $26.3 million in contracts awaiting signature. Some NGOs reportedly lost as much as 50% of their anticipated income as a result.

In response to a government-wide directive from Treasury Board, CIDA adopted an Open Bidding System (OBS) in the fall of 1994. Many NGOs are concerned that CIDA's OBS presently excludes the not-for-profit sector, although they were assured that (for the time being) they could continue to access bilateral funds through Country Focus. However, NGOs worry that CF criteria are becoming increasingly restrictive, while at the same time the OBS has listed a number of projects that would lie squarely in the domain of the excluded non-profit sector, such as the supply and training of primary school teachers. Rather than turning development programs into a "commodity" upon which one bids, NGOs argue that the OBS should be restricted to true procurement aspects of CIDA bilateral programs. At the same time, NGOs would welcome a continuing openness in CIDA bilateral branches to NGO initiatives if the common goal is poverty reduction and meeting basic human needs. 4. Consultation

On paper, the CIDA approach to consultation is both thoughtful and open. In 1993, CIDA prepared a policy document on consultation ("CIDA Policy On Consultation with Canadian (Civil Society) Stakeholders") to promote a consistent approach to the agency's various "stakeholders." The paper addresses such aspects as the need for an agency-wide appreciation of what consultation is, how it is coordinated with "stakeholders," its objectives, predictability and timing, participation, how to structure and analyze to ensure the best use of results, and how those results can be incorporated into the agency planning process.

The paper argues that in order to be successful consultation should be based on: shared information and opinion; a commitment to the consultation process and to development; an acceptance of the uniqueness of the contribution each may make; and a recognition of mutual needs and benefits. The objective of such consultation is the enunciation of the commonality to
be found in each other's knowledge and views; an understanding of each other's approach; and a striving for complementarity of policy objectives, where appropriate and useful. CIDA adds that consultation is not synonymous with either an exchange of information or with consensus. It refers to deliberations between two or more parties in which all have a reasonable expectation of influencing the outcome.

The NGO approach to consultation was well expressed at a meeting between NGOs programming in Central America and CIDA in June 1992: "the NGOs reviewed some of the basic principles they believe are essential for any ongoing consultation: that the process be marked by mutual respect and sensitivity, be cumulative and incremental, be inclusive of all NGO actors in Canada and in Central America, and be documented on a continuous and public basis so that the decision-making process refers to and is accountable to the content of the consultation process." (28)

The practice of CIDA/NGO consultation has been mixed, partly because consultation of this kind requires a considerable investment of time and human resources: does the NGO community (or the government) currently have such a capacity, or the confidence that their commitment will translate into better programs and policy by all actors? How can we best structure our on-going relationship with CIDA to meet the expectations of Southern partners that Canadian NGOs influence Canadian foreign policy towards sustainable human development goals?

5. As Policy Actors "Many of the challenges encountered in making democratic policy more effective are shared ones. A fundamental starting point is recognition of the importance of shared responsibility for the process, including agenda setting, vision building, strategy and monitoring. No doubt this is a complex, time-consuming process which pre-supposes a new culture in which to build governmental-non-governmental relationships. It challenges current perceptions, behaviour, and historic arrangements. It means transforming the current system." (29)

NGOs have had some positive experiences in working with CIDA to develop its policies, for example around human rights and democratic development. There have also been some interesting cross-departmental initiatives, such as discussion among representatives of the NGOs, Departments of Finance, CIDA and Foreign Affairs on reforming the international financial institutions. And NGOs have promoted the participation of Canadians in the democratic process of foreign policy making, such as the 1994 Parliamentary review of Canadian foreign policy.

It takes time to build confidence among government and voluntary sector actors before a genuine process of policy dialogue can take place. Moreover, Canadian NGOs have been largely unsuccessful in integrating their Southern colleagues into the process. Is CIDA willing or able to take the lead in developing opportunities for on-going, cross-departmental dialogue on a variety of development issues? Are NGOs willing to devote resources to this important work? How can they persuade private donors that policy dialogue is an essential aspect of effective long-term development efforts?
6. Development Education

Northern NGOs have had some impact with specific international campaigns to improve the conditions and defend the rights of people living in poverty. For example, in the late 1970s and early 1980s Southern and Northern NGOs and health workers were successful in advocating an international code of conduct regulating the activities of the infant formula manufacturers and their representatives. International campaigns of this kind in Canada, often led by the churches, focused on rooting education in people's own experience. They also combined messages with actions that ordinary Canadians could take to make a difference.

The activities of Canadian organizations across the country have been essential to building a public constituency which is supportive of Canada's international commitments. Many emerged out of global education programs, solidarity links and international networks. They work with local community-based groups and institutions refugee groups, schools and libraries, trade unions and women's organizations. They have enriched the understanding of Canadians about the human dimensions of development.

The Canadian NGO community is regarded internationally as a leader; but NGOs have suffered from recurrent doubts about effectiveness, financial dependence on government, the criticism that they reach only the converted, delays and uncertainties about funding, and lack of clarity. NGOs were furious about the 100% cut to development education groups in the 1995 federal budget. In the absence of these groups, the ability of national organizations to sustain and extend education programs that touch people in their communities outside of central Canada is highly questionable. How will overseas programming NGOs respond to the challenge of developing an integrated framework linking fund-raising, public education, and public mobilization? Can they work more closely with other institutions to achieve education objectives, such as teachers' federations and universities? How will they relate to the development education community? What are CIDA's own objectives?

Part 5: Recommendations for an enhanced government-voluntary sector relationship

The relationship between the voluntary sector and government should be guided by a set of shared principles: a) responsiveness; b) transparency and shared learning; and, c) effective and open consultation (including some form of reciprocity).

A goal for the voluntary sector in this relationship is to promote coherence of programming and policy objectives across government departments in support of Sustainable Human Development (SHD). For its part, the government should promote and defend the voluntary sector in Canada and in the South.

The CIDA Policy Statement on the Role of the Voluntary Sector should reflect the following understanding and appreciation of the sector's role in ODA, based on its "values" orientation: a) The voluntary sector predicates its work on a "community of interests," with values common
to international networks and national NGOs;
b) The voluntary sector creates and expands the space for cross-cultural North/South communications based on relations which aim at equity and dialogue;
c) The voluntary sector plays an important role in mobilizing people for solidarity and promoting the concept of "global citizenship;"
d) The voluntary sector can mobilize particular expertise that corresponds to the stated needs of partners;
e) The voluntary sector commits itself to a long-term process of accompany other Southern organizations struggling for social change; it can enrich the range of development responses in the field, and increase the likelihood of discovering effective, innovative and low-cost strategies.

The current agenda for Canadian voluntary organizations has three components which can be supported by government in a variety of ways. They are:

1. Enhance program support for Southern partners through:
   a) Capacity-Building with Southern NGOs, including program and organizational development; fund-raising and strengthening autonomy; enhancing policy advocacy capabilities; strengthening local coalitions and associations.
   
b) Support for Sustainable Human Development programs, including basic human needs, community economic development and social change, and ecologically sustainable development.
   
c) Humanitarian Assistance: addressing emergencies within a context of long-term development and peace-building.

2. Improve policy role:
   a) Policy Development: this includes strengthening shared learning from program activities (among NGOs, and between NGOs and other sectors, such as government, social movements, academics, and the private sector); experimenting with innovative alternatives which can be replicated and enlarged; and documenting policy alternatives based on lessons learned and experience with innovation.
   
b) Policy Dialogue: enhancing NGO participation in and contribution to national and multilateral policy-making; seeking new channels and methodologies for the participation of people's organizations in policy dialogue about issues affecting their lives.
   
c) Policy Advocacy: Expanding the capacity to promote and advocate for policy alternatives with the public, with government and with international institutions.

3. Develop Active Constituencies through Public Mobilization and Fund-raising:
   a) Public Education and Action: Developing long-term collaborative strategies for building and mobilizing public participation across Canada, including building links with other sectors of
Canadian society (domestic voluntary sector organizations, schools and universities, the private sector).

b) Enhancing Fund-raising: Improving the quality of messages, reducing costs while expanding reach (and linking to mobilization/education); seeking innovation; strengthening Southern organizational capacity for fund-raising.

While the Canadian voluntary sector has a great deal of work to do on its own to support effectively sustainable human development, CIDA can contribute to the NGO agenda in the following ways:

1. Enhance program support for Southern partners:

a) Continue streamlining administration of CIDA/Canadian Partnership Branch support for Canadian NGOs based on development criteria.

b) Provide flexible access to bilateral resources (recent studies of CIDA commitments to Basic Human Needs suggest that at least 49% of all CIDA bilateral and Partnership Branch BHN expenditures for CIDA are channelled through the voluntary sector). (30)

c) Expand opportunities for shared NGO-CIDA development learning by: making systematic use of existing resources (e.g. NGO evaluations - perhaps by publicizing on a yearly basis the key findings of current evaluations; similarly, CIDA could provide support to independent evaluations arranged by Canadian NGOs and their Southern partners themselves; build learning/evaluation into NGO program budgets; creating interdisciplinary consultative groups with representation from NGOs, research centres, government departments and the Parliamentary Centre, modelled after the Peacebuilding Contact Group; including NGOs as participants and resource persons in CIDA and DFAIT training courses on themes relevant to voluntary sector actors. (This is already done for such themes as human rights and democratic development, and should be widespread.); and collaborating to develop results-based programming indicators that would help evaluate sustainable human development goals.

d) Both the government (coordinated by CIDA) and the voluntary sector should work together to analyze recent experiences with emergency and humanitarian assistance in order to develop a policy framework that situates emergency assistance as an integral part of a long-term development process.

e) Considering the disproportionate contribution of NGOs/NGIs to the Government's stated priorities of basic human needs, poverty reduction, human rights and civil society, CIDA should continue to allocate a significant proportion of the aid budget to NGO/NGI initiated programming. A strong responsive component within CIDA (now housed within Canadian Partnership Branch) provides a unique opportunity for NGO innovations which can address the development challenges of the 1990s.
2. Improve policy role:

a) Recognize importance of policy work to development by providing funding for innovative policy work.

b) Improve collaboration on policy by having a bi-annual voluntary sector-Ministerial policy dialogue on issues related to international development.

c) Support policy activities with CIDA by: developing a joint process to monitor CIDA's Sustainable Human Development/Basic Human Needs programming (which would include Southern participants, academics); establishing clear, realistic and cost-effective processes for NGO input into CIDA planning to ensure NGO concerns and priorities (Canadian and Southern) are considered from the outset; developing an annual plan for development sector policy events; creating incentives for NGO-academic-CIDA collaboration on policy development. (One way to build knowledge and confidence would be to hold more regular staff exchanges between government departments and voluntary organizations).

d) Support Canadian international policy coordination and coherence across government departments.

e) Support international policy development: Canada should standardize its positive practice of supporting NGO participation in multilateral policy fora by encouraging NGO participation on Canadian delegations; funding Southern NGO participation at international gatherings; and supporting international NGO networks.

3. Develop Active Constituencies through Public Mobilization and Fund-raising:

a) In light of the demise of CIDA's Public Participation Program, create a mechanism through which NGOs can contribute to CIDA's new guidelines and directions for public education.

b) Implement joint education and mobilization strategies as appropriate.

Suggestions for Implementation:

a) A CIDA-CCIC group could meet three times a year and involve CIDA Vice-Presidents, officials from other Government departments particularly Foreign Affairs, and research bodies such as the North-South Institute. Meetings could focus on such agendas as the findings of CCIC's Task-force on Building Public Support for Sustainable Human Development, the results of monitoring the implementation of ODA policy in Canada in the World, and the implementation of CIDA's policy on the voluntary sector. As well, both NGOs and CIDA should actively seek opportunities for informal debate and discussion on important policy and program issues.

b) Continue to find opportunities for issue related "round tables" as needed, for example on reform of the international financial institutions.
c) CIDA's Canadian Partnership Branch can play a leading role in the Agency and with
government to facilitate and coordinate relations among its partners, and between its partners and
CIDA. The Branch could also oversee the implementation of the Voluntary Sector Policy
Statement.

Further, NGOs can work with the Branch to:
i) implement current NGO Assessment and Allocation criteria and the criteria for designated
funds in an effective, consistent and transparent manner;
ii) study the changing roles and capacities of the sector, North and South, in development
cooperation;
iii) promote (vis--vis Foreign Affairs and other departments of government, other branches of
CIDA, and internationally) a recognition of the contributions of the voluntary sector to Canadian
development cooperation goals.

**Conclusion**

We face a development challenge of staggering proportions which will require all of the skill and
ingenuity of the three key development actors: the state, the market and civil society. Each has its
own role, its own strengths and limitations but each is equally important. One cannot be favoured
over the other if sustainable and equitable development is to be achieved.

Voluntary sector organizations North and South are an important component of civil society.
They have been advocates of many development concepts over the years, such as the promotion
of human rights and democratic development, gender and development, and ecologically
sustainable programming. They have been educators and innovators, promoters of equity and
global activists. NGOs are forces for democracy, bringing issues forward for attention and
action. NGO workers have risked their lives, documented abuse, found their way into areas no
government representative can reach.

Canadian NGOs have been diplomats and conciliators, gad-flies and voices of conscience. At the
same time, the sector readily acknowledges the challenges it faces, including the proliferation of
international humanitarian crises, dwindling resources and generally weak links to a Canadian
constituency. NGOs are also challenged to: define effective methodologies for participation in
international policy-making and program implementation; build cross-sectoral alliances for
public policy development and reform; produce results and be accountable; and develop the
capacity for joint NGO programming, mergers and alliances.

For its part, the government can treat NGOs North and South as experienced partners capable of
contributing invaluable insights into development approaches, and significant and innovative
development programming. NGOs are not simply a delivery channel for Canadian ODA, or an
extension of foreign policy. Rather they are the institutional expression of the Canadian
humanitarian impulse. By committing to a relationship based on mutual respect, CIDA and
NGOs can continue to collaborate on important development concepts. Key to this is a
recognition that NGOs may have goals and roles which are distinct from those of government
and still remain a legitimate, in fact essential, component of Canadian ODA contributions to
development. "More is at stake than the health and growth of the voluntary sector. The new
vision and challenges that NGOs can bring have much to offer the survival of the planet itself."
(31)

End-notes

1. This paper is based on extensive preliminary research by Brian Rowe.

2. According to the 1995 Reality of Aid, as a proportion of the income of donor countries, aid
has fallen to just 0.30% of GNP in 1993/94, from 0.33% in 1992/93, its lowest level in 20 years.
(London: Earthscan Publications Ltd., 1995), page 3. DAC estimates that it will fall further, to
0.29% in 1994/95.

3. Bilateral spending by Development Assistance Committee (DAC) members on emergency aid
increased 25% between 1992 and 1993. Some estimate that aid to emergencies could be close to
10% of total DAC aid in 1994. "Clearly it makes sense to invest in conflict prevention (and crisis
response). But NGOs remain concerned that long-term poverty reduction does not get pushed
down the list of priorities as a result." (IBID, page 10).

4. According to the 1995 UNDP Human Development Report, one out of every three 3 people in
the developing world lives in poverty; 70% of these people are women. The number of rural
women living in absolute poverty has risen by nearly 50% over the past two decades.

5. The 1995 Human Development Report notes the astonishing increase in the number of

6. David Sharpe A Portrait of Canada's Charities: The Size, Scope and Financing of Registered
Charities (Toronto: Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, 1994). With regard to voluntarism, the
Department of State concluded that overall volunteer time in Canada in 1989 was the equivalent
of 617,000 full-time jobs.

7. Canadian Centre for Philanthropy et al. "Government Funding of Interest Groups: A
Voluntary Sector Response," (Ottawa: September 1994).

8. Susan D. Phillips "Of Visions and Revisions: The Voluntary Sector Beyond 2000" (Ottawa:
National Voluntary Organizations newsletter, January 1994). In response to the February 1995
budget and changing government expectations of the sector, an informal coalition of national
umbrella organizations has formed to develop processes of constructive dialogue with the federal
government on the nature and role of Canadian voluntary groups (domestic and international).

9. Tim Brodhead and Brent Herbert-Copley Bridges of Hope? Canadian Voluntary Agencies and
the Third World (Ottawa: North-South Institute, 1988) page 29.

11. Michael Edwards and David Hulme NGO Performance and Accountability, (UK: Save the Children, 1995) page 24; Edwards hastens to add that this does not imply that NGOs wholly-heartedly support this agenda. But, he asks "if NGOs are becoming more responsive to external concerns, what is happening to the links - to their values and mission, and to their supporters and others - through which they claim their right to intervene in development?"


13. Some NGO Facts and Figures: The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) lists 2,970 NGOs in the 25 OECD countries in 1993, up from 1,600 in 1980. There are probably tens of thousands of NGOs in the South, even hundreds of thousands if grass-roots community organizations are included;

Taking private and governmental contribution together, the total transferred by and through Northern NGOs increased from $1 billion in 1970 to $7.2 billion in 1990 - in real terms twice the rate of increase in international development assistance (approximately 13% of net disbursements of official aid). (A report on NGOs and Governments: Stakeholders for Development by Ian Smillie and Henny Helmich for the OECD in 1994 estimates transfers in the order of $9 to $10 billion (page 14));

According to the UNDP, "In the early 1980's, one rough estimate suggested that NGO activity "touched" 100 million people in developing countries - 60 million in Asia, 25 million in Latin America and some 12 million in Africa. Today the total is probably nearer 250 million - and will rise considerably in the years ahead." (UNDP Human Development Report 1993) To give one concrete example, the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) now has more than 12,000 staff and has plans to work with over three million people in the provision of health, education and training, and credit services.

14. Annual reports from eighteen of the largest CCIC members (including CARE and World Vision) indicate that they raised $158 million from the Canadian public in 1993. The largest NGO is World Vision (Canadian income in 1992 was $81 million with $69.6 derived from the public.)

15. Alison Van Rooey, "The Emergence of NGOs as Foreign Policy Actors," presentation to the Special Joint Committee Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy, July 26, 1994 (Ottawa: North-South Institute).

16. "Creative Tension - Canadian NGOs and CIDA: Towards a New Entente," (Ottawa: CCIC, 1990), pages 5-6; for more on the history of CIDA/NGO inter-action, refer to "A Time to Build Up: New forms of Cooperation Between NGOs and CIDA" by Ian Smillie (Ottawa: CCIC, 1991) and Bridges of Hope, also Brian Murphy's chapter 'Canadian NGOs and the Politics of Participation' in Swift, Jamie and Tomlinson, Brian (eds) Conflicts of Interest: Canada and the Third World (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991).
17. See, for example, "North-South Cooperation: Toward a Society of Citizens of the World," a document co-produced by the Canadian NGO Horizons of Friendship and a Mexican non-governmental organization called Espiral in 1992. The publication was funded by Horizons and CIDA.


26. The criterion will only present a problem if Southern and Northern NGOs are not actively involved from the outset in contributing to CIDA's Country Development Policy Frameworks.


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