The Expression of Values in the Context of Non-Governmental Development Organisations:

A Case-Study of Oxfam New Zealand

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Abstract

This thesis is an exploratory study of the 'expression of values' within development organisations. I consider the value-bases of the economic and humanist paradigms of development, the nature of values and their relation to both organisational and personal positions, and how these impact on non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs). The expression of development values is embedded in theory, in practice modalities, in organisational structure and function, and in personal beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Development values are also inherent in statements of an organisation's vision and mission. More often than not these values are implicit, and do not always match with the organisation's operations.

In the course of this exploration I draw on the broad history of development paradigms, the influences of moral philosophy, and the evolution of NGDOs. I acknowledge the complexity of 'development', evident in the multiplicity of players and the multi-disciplinary nature of development in practice.

A case-study of Oxfam New Zealand illustrates the significance of values and their relevance to operational functioning. My research methodology involved open-ended questionnaire techniques and analysis of secondary resources drawn from Oxfam publications. Analysis of findings reveals an interdependence between words and their meanings and the interpretation of both organisational and personal values. When the results of the case-study are aligned with the literature, my conclusions make a case for stronger articulation of values as an important future role and function of NGDOs, including Oxfam New Zealand. Values represent the *why* of development that shapes the *how* of development practice, and thus explicit values can enhance organisational strength and power.

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Abbreviations

AUSAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc. (Originally "Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe")
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CID	Council for International Development
Corso	Council for the Organisation of Relief Services Overseas
CSO	Civil Service Organisation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of OECD)
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GRO	Grass-Roots Organisation
HDR	Human Development Report
IDEA	International Development Ethics Association
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IFIs	International Finance Institutions
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFAT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade
MSF	Médicins Sans Frontières
MNC	Multi-national Corporation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NGDO	Non-Governmental Development Organisation
NPI	Non-Profit Institution
NZAID	New Zealand International Aid and Development Agency
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PRSPs	Poverty Reduction Strategic Programmes
PVO	Private Voluntary Organisation
RAMSI	Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands
RBA	Rights-Based Approach
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SWAps	Sector-wide approaches
TNC	Trans-national Corporation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Economic and Social Council
US	United States (of America)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter 1:   Introduction

1.1   Scoping the Study

This thesis is an exploratory study of how values are expressed in development, within the context of non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs). A case-study of Oxfam New Zealand will illustrate the influence of values on organisational structure and function, and how personal values held by individuals can shape both the organisation and development practice.

The complexity of 'values' in relation to development is acknowledged at the outset. Values underpin everything we say and do, but rarely do we declare the nature of these values and how they influence behaviour. To use the 1970s vernacular, it is values that indicate 'where we are coming from'. But, as O'Leary observes:

> To a large extent, work in the area of development ethics has been academic and has not penetrated the development practitioners' sphere of activity. Values and ethics have not been made explicit in the conduct of development practice. This can be attributed partly to the fact that development studies are multidisciplinary in nature, lack a defined body of knowledge and are informed by a variety of professions from which development practitioners emerge *(2006:3)*.

The importance of values to development organisations is indicated in the words of an Oxfam New Zealand research participant[1]:

> *We need a 'think-tank' to find words and statements to represent the heart of Oxfam – a values platform. We need to be clear about what Oxfam stands for. We do not need to be singing the same song, but we do need to be singing from the same song-sheet.*

The expression of values is thus a grey area in development, in both academic study and in practice. This thesis will argue that values are the underlying drivers

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[1] There are no annotated references to interview participants, for reasons of confidentiality, explained Chapter 5. All direct quotes from interviews are inserted in italics to distinguish them from quotations from the literature.

for the concepts and practice of development and that they need to be made explicit.

'Development' is likewise a complex word. It has long been a contestable site in its ideology, its paradigms, discourses and practice, all of which are influenced by values. Different starting points for beliefs and attitudes about what makes 'good' development determine different approaches to its implementation and outcomes. 'Morass' is the word that comes to mind to describe this complexity, a word described as "an entanglement, a disordered situation *especially one impeding progress*", as well as "a bog or marsh" (Oxford English Reference Dictionary, 1996, emphasis added). It is small wonder then, that the baggage carried by 'development' has made little headway in reducing poverty, in improving the well-being and opportunities for people in the developing world. 'Development', it might be said, has become well and truly bogged.

This thesis explores how values relate to the intricate web woven around development theory and practice, with a primary interest in NGDO values. In other words, the phenomenology of development, and development organisations, is investigated and interpreted through the lens of values. This introductory chapter outlines how these issues are translated into research questions and their relevance to the literature. It covers a synopsis of subsequent chapters and some explanation of terminology adopted for the study.

1.2   Research Questions

The primary question for this research is: How are development values expressed, by organisations, and by individuals within these organisations?

This question is elaborated through the following questions:

1. What are the sources of development values?
2. Why are values important?
3. How do values relate to NGDOs?
4. What are the implications for NGDOs?

These questions draw on the following assumptions, indicating a personal position that flavours the research:

- Values provide a guide, a road-map for development practice, and thus need to be articulated and clearly explained;
- Values are evident (expressed) in the behaviour of people within the organisation, and in the field;
- A congruence between espoused vision, mission and values, and organisational structure and function enhances organisational and personal integrity;
- Articulated values constitute a major contribution to what makes a 'professional' practice[2]; and
- The basis of 'good development' is inherent in *relationships* established within the organisation and with partners, with primary stakeholders and with donors.

1.3   Significance of the Study

This study seeks to bring development values 'out of the closet', and is significant for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it highlights the relevance of values to both theory and practice and the need to make them explicit. Despite the extensive literature on development theory and practice, and on NGDOs, there is a paucity of material that directly addresses inherent values. Some valuable background is offered by the proponents of development ethics (Goulet, 1973, 1996; Crocker, 1991, 1996; Gasper, 2004), yet this remains largely at an abstract level. Writers on development (for example: Esteva, 1992; Chossudovsky, 2003; McMichael, 2004) have lamented the 'failure' of development programmes to achieve 'real' progress and poverty reduction. Booth (1985, 1993) and Schuurman (1993, 2000) discuss the 'impasse' in development theory and offer their views on a way forward. Post-modernists such as Escobar (1997) decry the whole development enterprise. Without an explication of their values, determining the value positions of these writers requires prior knowledge

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[2] This assumption is based on an interpretation of a 'professional' as one who has declared beliefs, rather than the contemporary meaning of occupational exclusiveness (see also Gasper & Truong, 2005:19).

of the history and evolution of development theory and practice, together with some understanding of values-analysis.

Secondly, literature on NGDOs (see Edwards & Hume, 1996; Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001; Lewis & Wallace, 2000) is limited to descriptions of their exponential growth and their role and function in global development. Reports on development projects and programmes describe factors relative to effective (or otherwise) implementation, but matters of 'value' are not specifically included in analysis. There is much *prescriptive* writing. Fowler (2000) and Chambers (2004) propose development models for NGDOs, and Edwards & Hume (1996) identify what NGDOs *ought* to be doing by way of development management and practice principles. There is also a dearth of *empirically-based* studies on development and non-governmental organisation (NGO) values (Elson, 2006; O'Leary, 2006). As O'Leary explains:

> There are methodological problems associated with studying values. Interpretations of the term are diverse and studies indicate that most people have often not thought deeply about, and are unaccustomed to articulating, their values … Values are usually inferred from what people say and do *(2006:4).*

Despite these gaps in the literature debates it is encouraging to note the work of Fowler (1997), Padaki (2000) and Hailey (2000) who argue for the significant role and function of values for NGDOs.

Thirdly, recognition of the complexity of development has led me to draw on literature from generic organisational theory (Huse, 1980; Mead, 2005; Champoux, 2006; Henderson et al., 2006), and to the historical context of development and the evolution of NGDOs, invoking the ideas of writers from past generations. It is acknowledged that value positions can shift according to the ethos of contemporary times, however there is a thread of continuity in historical accounts that justifies referring to the past, particularly in the metaphysics of Western philosophy.

Fourthly, the case-study methodology on Oxfam New Zealand offers a means to examine more closely the functions of values within a development organisation which can be then applied to a wider frame of reference. The case-study explores

organisational and personal values as expressed through primary and secondary sources.

Ultimately this thesis adopts a broad canvas to illustrate the expression and relevance of values, based on a humanist approach to development as represented through the work of NGDOs. The intersections of past and present, different theoretical positions, the evolution of development organisations and their functions lead to explicit acknowledgement and understanding of the role of values in development.

1.4   Presentation of the Study

Chapter 2 is concerned with the dialectics of development, illustrated through identifying the principal values of the economic and humanist paradigms. There are references to historical origins, to development outcomes, theory and practice, and to the influence of the global political economy. While the discussion presents the paradigms as binary opposites the focus is on establishing a platform to illustrate how values are infused throughout development discourses, and on the importance of making them explicit.

In Chapter 3 I review literature pertaining to the nature of development values and their interpretation. I draw on selected 'meta-theories' of development ethics and the 'values-analysis' approach devised by Rokeach (1973). Again, there is reference to the historical context of theoretical and practice shifts. The significance of values in organisational contexts is reviewed, together with their application to NGDOs and development practice, and the cross-cutting issues of personal values within an organisation. This multiple approach leads to the presenting an 'architecture' for understanding and analysing the expression of values, a framework that synthesises 'values' with 'development'.

Chapter 4 turns attention to the NGDO literature, beginning with an unravelling of definitions and nomenclature. The history of NGDO origins and their rise in numbers and influence is discussed, together with the consequences of such growth. New directions advocated from the mid-1990s are described under selected headings: advocacy; accountability; being a learning organisation; a 'rights-based

approach' (RBA), and international collaboration. These initiatives indicate an emerging awareness of significant NGDO development values.

These three chapters are integral to the shape of my research, establishing a context for my approach to the case-study with Oxfam New Zealand.

The case-study research process, the methodology and my approach to analysing the findings are described in Chapter 5. I consider literature on qualitative case-study methodology, and detail the course of my research. Data analysis draws on both primary and secondary data, obtained respectively through interviews with staff at Oxfam New Zealand, and through website information, published papers and other publications. Research limitations and researcher bias are also included in this chapter.

An overview of Oxfam as an international organisation is presented in Chapter 6, beginning with its origins and subsequent history. Initial appraisal and analysis of the organisation's vision, mission and values are included here, together with its approach to development and its current strategic plan and goals. The second half of the chapter details the context of Oxfam New Zealand, considering funding resources and their distribution, organisational structure and RBA. This chapter is concerned with setting the context for the case-study.

Results of the case-study research are detailed in Chapter 7. Values identified in secondary resources are aligned with interview participant denotations of RBA. Themes identified include tensions between organisational and personal values, and between the functions of advocacy and public awareness and direct development practice, and organisational issues arising from rapid expansion and change.

In Chapter 8 I return to the original research questions to consider themes from research findings and their relation to 'the expression of values', and link these with conclusions drawn from the chapters surveying the literature. The evidence suggests the future of NGDO operations rests not so much on *how* values are expressed but rather on a *coherent approach* between individuals and the organisation, and with the external relationships established with donors and

primary stakeholders alike. This conclusion indicates the significance of values and *why* they need to be acknowledged. Reflections on research findings indicate some potential future trends for NGDOs, and suggestions for further research.

1.5   Terminology

A brief explanation of terms adopted in this study is relevant at this point.

1.5.1   Rich World / Poor World

There are various words adopted to distinguish between rich and poor countries of the world: North/South; developed/less-developed/under-developed; $1^{st}/2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ worlds; core(centre)/periphery. All these terms suggest a hierarchy, dichotomies of superiority and inferiority which emphasise inequalities to be read as master/slave, imperial coloniser/colonised, modern/traditional societies, progressive/primitive or backward.   Such terminology is part of the problem of development, indicating a dominant world order and a significant power imbalance (see Goulet, 1973). De Senillosa highlights this imbalance in describing how the current world order

> has allowed increasing wealth, resources and political power to accumulate in the hands of the few, while the system is kept relatively stable thanks to patronage, the use of commercial or financial pressure, or quite simply, repression or military force (as in the case of the 1991 Gulf War)…. Those who benefit most from the system ensure that they have the necessary means to maintain this unequal division of power at the local, regional, national and international level *(1998:48).*

From this description it is clear that power (particularly economic power) rules the world, thus rendering those who live in poverty as powerless. Given that the less-developed population of the world outnumbers that of developed nations, "majority world" (Murphy, 2001:76) would be the most appropriate term to adopt. However, I use the words 'North' and 'South' in this thesis to maintain contemporary conventions in the literature. These terms refer respectively to industrialised, westernised countries and to 'developing countries'. The latter is a euphemism

that disguises the impossibility of ever 'catching-up' with the North, of ever making poverty history[3].

1.5.2 Donor/Donee

There is a similar plethora of distinctions between 'donors' and 'aid recipients'. Anderson (2001:292) describes a "serial re-naming" of aid recipients over past 20 years, from 'victims' and 'beneficiaries' to 'counterparts', 'participants' and 'clients'[4]. My preference is to use *primary stakeholders*, because the term gives them pole position in the purposes of 'development', and because it is a conventional term used in development project and planning analysis. Even here this term is not satisfactory, as Edwards & Hume (1996) point out:

> Poor people's development is 'their' process, which they must control; to this extent they are 'shareholders' in development not 'stakeholders'. While 'stakeholder' might put them on equal footing with donors and lenders, a power imbalance just pushes them back to being 'consumers' *(1996:256).*

With this reservation in mind 'primary stakeholders' is applied in this study to represent those populations on the receiving end of development funding, those who should be the principal beneficiaries of 'development'.

1.5.3 NGDOs

Definitions of non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) are elaborated in Chapter 4. The range of acronyms appearing in the literature can be confusing and is often ill-defined. For present purposes NGO is adopted to apply in a generic sense to non-governmental organisations, and NGDO (representing a subset of NGOs) to NGOs involved in development programmes. This definition does not distinguish between international, national or community-based development organisations, but has the advantage of putting 'development' as the common denominator. In this study NGDO refers to those organisations whose development programmes operate out of their country of origin, yet their internal

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[3] It is noted that 'poverty' is a term relative to defining conditions. For example in economic terms poverty can be related to the cost of living; in human terms it might be defined as lack of capabilities or a sense of well-being. Sen (1989) argues at length for the inclusion of non-economic variables in the measurement of poverty and world development.

[4] The origins of 'client' trace back to early Roman times, a word denoting a relationship with a 'patron'. The evident inequality in this relationship continues to be maintained by many professional groups.

advocacy and public awareness functions (explored in Chapters 4 and 6) indicate they are active both internally and externally.

1.6   Summary

This chapter has outlined the scope of my thesis, the research questions and underlying assumptions, and the significance of the study. A synopsis of the following chapters indicated that literature reviews will cover the dialectics of development, the architecture of development values, and the place of NGDOs in the aid chain. Subsequent chapters focus respectively on research methodology, the context of Oxfam New Zealand, and research findings. This chapter has also included an explanation of the terminology used in the text.

There is no last word in a study of values, but there is some strong advice from Rokeach, acknowledged as a seminal contributor to the field:

> The value concept … should occupy a central position across all the social sciences – sociology, anthropology, psychology, psychiatry, political science, education, economics and history *(1973:3)*.

There is no mention here of development studies, but it is clear that all of these disciplines have influenced the academic study and the practice of development. The next chapter highlights divisions within the social sciences by describing the distinctions between the economic and humanist paradigms of development.

Chapter 2:   The Dialectics of Development

2.1   Introduction

The discourses of development, in theory and practice and impact, record an ongoing debate between opposing world views and their underlying values. This chapter reviews how values are presented in the meaning of development and in the historical origins of the word, and outlines the underlying values of two opposing paradigms: the economic and the humanist approaches to development.

A dialectical interpretation has been adopted, though it is recognised that neither paradigm is exclusive, or immune to political and social influences.[5] This would indicate that the expression of values is also subject to multiple variables and shifts according to the pressures of prevailing economic and political conditions.

2.2   Values and the Meaning of 'Development'

Reference to the complexity of development in Chapter 1 has alluded to the different interpretations of 'development'. Here the concept is considered in more detail.

Friedmann (1980) declares "development is one of the more slippery terms in our tongue". He goes on to describe the nature of 'development':

> It suggests an <u>evolutionary</u> process, it has positive connotations, in at least some of its meanings it suggests an <u>unfolding from within</u>. And of course, development is always <u>of</u> something particular, a human being, a society, a nation, an economy, a skill. … It is often associated with words such as <u>under</u> or <u>over</u> or <u>balanced</u>: too little, too much, or just right…which suggests that development has a structure, and that the speaker has some idea about how this structure <u>ought</u> to be developed. We also tend to think of development as a <u>process</u> of change or as a complex of such processes which is in some degree lawful or at least sufficiently regular so that we can make intelligent

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[5] The risks of over-simplification and generalisation in reviewing the positions of each paradigm within a single chapter, and to adopting a dialectical approach, are acknowledged.

statements about it. Finally, as a complex of processes, we can also speak in some sense of the <u>rate of change</u> at which these processes occur in time *(1980:4, original underlining).*

In this paragraph Friedmann illustrates various interpretations and meaning of 'development'. There is no one definition that will satisfy all definers, and no universally agreed policy or process to guide actions undertaken in the name of development. I do not argue for a unilateral understanding, but I contend that the confusion and debate around the meaning, theory and practice of development arises because underlying values are not articulated. As Gasper declares, "the very idea of development as societal improvement is value-relative" (2004:14).

For example, Harrison (1988) notes development is "a valued state", and Chambers (2005) refers to development as "doing good", which leaves the definition of what is 'valued' and 'good' wide open to different interpretations. Esteva (1992) acknowledges the original meaning of development as 'growth' (as in biological maturation), and Rist (2002) employs historical accounts to argue that development is a natural process that occurs over time. Cowen and Shenton (1995) interpret development of the modern era as 'intentional'. The words that connote 'development' begin to stack up: 'evolution', 'growth', 'progress', 'process', 'unfolding' all indicate something of the nature of development, though nothing of its substance. All these words are evaluative and relative to context. What is measured as growth in economic terms (as in gross national product (GNP)) might also result (from a humanist perspective) in a process of rural and urban impoverishment (see Frank, 1966; Mies, 1986; Shiva, 1992; Chossudovsky, 2003; McMichael, 2004).

Thus the meaning of 'development' requires supplementary clauses of explanation, and particular attention to its inherent value assumptions. The next section introduces the ideological origins of modern development values as a prelude to reviewing the economic and humanist paradigms of development.

2.3   Origins of Modern Development Values

The source of modern development values is frequently laid at the door of the Age of Enlightenment, the era of the 18th century in which the Western world elevated 'man's' supremacy over nature, science over religion and individual liberty over communal association. This era, also called the Age of Reason, is a thoroughly Western world view which continues to dominate global politics and economics (Esteva, 1992: Cowen & Shenton, 1995; Escobar, 1997). It also heralded the emergence of the nation-state and democracy, along with the French Revolution, the American War of Independence and the establishment of colonial empires.

The ideas of the Enlightenment initiated the foundations of modern science and control over natural environments. They produced the origins of modern economics and capitalism in the work of Adam Smith, who proposed that people are driven by rational self-interest, that the purpose of life is to pursue happiness, and that the social world is governed by competition between conditions of scarcity and the forces that work towards equilibrium (Nisbet, 1970; Hoksbergen, 1986:284; David, 2004). The success of a market economy was clearly demonstrated in the 19th century Industrial Revolution, and in the exploitation of people and resources in colonies where a different view of the world prevailed, based on people's relationship with their environment and communal association.

At the same time the humanist voice is expressed by writers such as Paine and Rousseau, and is present in the catch-cry of the French Revolution: 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' is a fore-runner to contemporary concerns for human rights (Nisbet, 1970).[6] Democracy, the people's voice, became the founding document of the United States in 1776[7]. The social upheaval created by the Industrial Revolution drew a conservative reaction from philosophers like Saint-Simon, Comte, Bentham and Mill, arguing against *laissez-faire* individualism and for 'constructive' development that could be applied to and for the benefit of all

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[6] The quest for human rights has a much longer history, and can be traced through key European events recording ethnic, civil and religious uprisings: for example Magna Carta, Luther's stand for Protestantism, successive rounds of Scotland's opposition to English rule, and to statutory concern for welfare support dating (in England, at least) from the 16th century.
[7] Of course the idea of democracy is not new, deriving as it does from ancient Greek philosophy.

society. In Cowen & Shenton's interpretation (1995; 1996) these writers sought an 'intentional' model of development, one designed to create order out of chaos: progress should be measured in human terms, not just economic criteria. While the value-positions of 19th century writers can be critiqued they were nevertheless promoting the humanist values of development.

Thus there are two strands that emerge from this brief account of the Enlightenment and its consequences. One is the rational, scientific and individualistic approach, in which exploitation for economic gain dominates. The other, represented by the themes of democracy, including liberty and equality, called for people's freedom from tyranny and oppression. The word 'fraternity', in its sense of 'brotherhood' also suggests a communal approach to solutions relating to human well-being. Respectively, these two strands represent the core value differences between the economic and humanist paradigms of development. These are now reviewed in more detail.

2.4   Economic Paradigm of Development

In the 20th Century the success of the Marshall Plan for European economic recovery following WWII provided a model for development projects in the South, albeit driven by Cold War politics. McMichael (2004) describes this era (1950-1970s) as the "Development Project", succeeded from the 1980s by the "Globalisation Project". Development was based almost exclusively on the economic imperatives of industrialisation and market mechanisms, and sustained by the Bretton Woods Institutions, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The parallel emergence of economic and political world powers during the latter half of the 20th century served to create a leviathan that has segued into a global financial, trading and technological market, dominated by Northern nations and their institutions.[8] The economic paradigm of development is situated within this history.

Sen (1984:486) describes the major strategic themes of the economic development paradigm as follows:

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[8] Fowler notes that "the World Bank's total lending in 1993 was the equivalent of the amount transferred by international capital markets in the space of nine minutes" (1996:173).

1. Industrialisation;
2. Rapid capital accumulation;
3. Mobilisation of under-employed manpower; and
4. Planning, and an economically active state.

These principles are translated in the Modernisation Theory of development[9] as (1) production of goods for local and international markets; leading to (2) profits for distribution and income for wage-earners drawn from (3) the rural sector which relied on subsistence farming and seasonal work (hence deemed 'under-employed'); and (4) active state involvement in development processes. Northern eyes viewed the South as 'traditional, backward and primitive' and development was designed to draw such societies into the 20th century, into the North's rational, abstract and scientific epistemology and its value systems. Even the Basic Needs Approach of the 1970s which attended to health and education needs was promoting the need for 'human capital' in order to provide grist for the economic mill.

Neo-liberal economics[10] from the 1980s eschewed state involvement and focused on privatisation and liberalisation of markets.[11] Developing countries in the South were subjected to structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), and development funding from international finance institutions (IFIs) was made contingent on Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmes (PRSPs) and government policies for Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAps). Emmerij (2005:1) calls it a "harsh reversal" of previous development policies.

What is evident in development outcomes as recorded (for example) by Chossudovsky (2003) and McMichael (2004) is less of an 'economic transformation' for developing countries, and more of a transformation based on a global political economy, controlled and directed by Northern states, and by IFIs. Dower describes the relationship between development and globalisation as

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[9] Significant contributors to Modernisation Theory were Rostow (1956, 1961) and McClelland (1970). McClelland promoted individual entrepreneurialism as the key to development.
[10] Also called 'neo-classic economics'; see Bauer (1976) and Lal (1983) on neo-liberal development theory.
[11] It is noted that many developed nations also adopted this regime, including New Zealand.

an economic process involving increased international investments and trade in goods and services. Development is a process of economic growth. Globalisation is the engine of economic growth. So globalisation is the engine of development. Since development for all countries rich and poor is desirable, globalisation is desirable and therefore ought to be promoted *(2005:1).*

This simplistic syllogism of the economic paradigm is telling, not least because it obscures the unequal and unfair distribution of benefits which occurs between the rich and the poor within nations, and particularly in the economic imbalance between North and South.

The expression of value positions within the economic paradigm become evident in this brief synopsis of development history, and all are imbued with political power:

- Individual self-interest and happiness;
- Science and technology have all the answers;
- Economic progress is both the means and ends of development; and
- Northern nations and institutions know what is best for the South.

I have incorporated both modernist and neo-liberal positions on development in the discussion above, on the basis that they are two sides of the same coin. The humanist development paradigm, to be outlined in the next section, is not so much a response to the economic model as a perspective with an alternative starting point.

2.5   Humanist Paradigm of Development[12]

The humanist paradigm raises questions on what it means to be human, and what might be the essential ingredients for humanist development. Hoksbergen (1986:294) outlines the following propositions, which he argues have become articles of faith:

- People adapt and create their social environments;
- The purpose of life is to enhance both individual and collective personality; and
- Historical evolution in both biological and social worlds leads to higher stages of order.

These propositions reflect Cowen & Shenton's notion of 'immanent' development (1995): it is an evolutionary process. 'Development' involves both the natural and the social world (thus incorporating both environmental and economic sustainability). Development applies to both individuals *and* collective social organisation (see Walzer, 1990; Bell, 1993; Etzioni, 1996). Although Hoksbergen does not use the word 'culture', its importance is reflected in the ideas of environmental adaptation and creation, and historical evolution. "How may we live?" is the question, and people have found their own answers, for better or for worse, over centuries of history. Sahlins (1997) described "the original affluent society" as one in which human needs were satisfied through a harmonisation of their social structures, cultural beliefs and practice, and their relations with the environment.[13]

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[12] I might have headed this section 'Human Development Paradigm' (see Gasper, 2004, arguing for a shift 'from economism to human development') or 'Humanitarian Development Paradigm' (David, 2004). However, 'Human Development' is limited by connotations of psycho-social and biological theories, and 'Humanitarian' is a word equated too often in the literature with emergency assistance for natural disasters and conflict situations, as though 'development' is quite a different enterprise (see Iriye, 2002; Vaux, 2001; Smillie & Minear, 2004). I have elected the word 'humanist' because it represents a philosophy dating back to Greek and Roman times, because it incorporates the idea of immanent development as suggested by
Friedmann (1980) and Cowen & Shenton (1995), based on the social nature of being human. 'Humanist development' also captures Fromm's idea of *being* more than we *have* (1978), Esteva's notion of development as an 'unfolding' (1992), and Durkheim's distinction between organic and mechanistic societies (Nisbet, (1970).
[13] The negative aspects of a traditional society – oppression of women, genital mutilation, slavery, inter-tribal strife – can be noted, yet industrialised societies also have their negative aspects – class discrimination, racism, and 'social problems' such as gender-based violence.

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David's definition of 'humanity' is founded on "caring, sharing and interdependence, and on constructive relationships" (2004:57). He points to *Weltanschuung,* a world view common to all major religions and philosophies, found in Christian injunctions to "love thy neighbour as thyself", to "do unto others as you would be done by"; in Buddhist concepts of Dharma and precepts of compassion (Schober, 1995); in Confucian yin/yang philosophy; and in Islamic principles (Sardar, 1997). The inference here is that humanist values are universal, a question to be addressed in Chapter 3.

Gasper's criteria for humanist development (2004) include improving opportunities for education, health, social and distributive justice, through peace and security and environmental sustainability. Gender equity, empowerment and participation, capacity building and sustainability are all words writ large in development practice, reflecting a humanist and 'rights-based' approach to development (as introduced by Sen (1999), and adopted by Oxfam during the 1990s). Korten (1987) terms this kind of development 'people-centred'. Sen (1999) refers to processes of change designed to enlarge freedoms and opportunities for human beings to lead valuable and valued lives. And what is valuable in human lives is found in Archbishop Tutu's definition of *Ubuntu*, as quoted by Vaux:

> We belong in a bundle of life. We say, 'a person is a person through other people'. It is not 'I think, therefore I am'. It says rather: 'I am a human because I belong'. I participate, I share. A person with *ubuntu* is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good. For he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are *(2001:15).*

The Cartesian reference in this quotation is an interesting exposure of differences in North/South epistemology. Tutu is rejecting Western individualism, and is also highlighting the essential 'both-and' principles of communitarianism (see Plant, 1974; Bell, 1993).

At the same time we can note from the Northern sources cited here how the spirit of humanism has been kept alive. Adam Smith was also interested in human well-being, clearly expressed in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, (Giri, 2000; Vaux, 2001; David, 2004). The 'humanist movement' of the 1960s and 1970s contributed much to understanding a people-centred development through the literature of psychology (Rogers, 1951; Perls, 1968), industrial psychology (McGregor, 1960), moral philosophy (Buber, 1970; Fromm, 1978), sociology (Freire, 1970; Illich, 1970), and social action (Alinsky, 1971). Writers such as Geertz (1967) and Smelser (1967) promoted the importance of understanding indigenous community cultures in development practice. Primary sources of development ethics (Goulet, 1973; Berger, 1974) were published in this era, and Lissner (1977) presented his extensive study of voluntary development agencies under the title *The Politics of Altruism*. Clearly, humanist development is multi-faceted and 'inter-disciplinary' as Friedmann testifies (1980).

The primary values emerging from this review of the humanist ideas relate to development as follows:

- Human well-being is central to both individuals *and* the collective, and is dependent on *relationships* and concern for others;
- Human rights, especially for cross-cutting issues such as gender and equity, sustainable livelihoods and distributive justice are essential for development (Brown, 2000; Therival, 2004);
- There is an interdependence between people, their culture and their environment, and their economic practices; and
- Development is an evolutionary process.[14]

Thus, the values of the humanist paradigm present a counterpoint to economic development values. There is a dialectical opposition between the two paradigms which is explored in the next section.

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[14] This point begs the question of how economic development can be promoted or accelerated through the *intentions* of the economic paradigm.

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2.6   Dialectical Opposition

Goulet (1973) describes development as a dialectical process, and how this interpretation can offer a conceptual aid to understanding new forms of conflict arising from dualistic approaches. He goes on to claim:

> [A]bove all, a dialectical explanation leads one to conclude that development is not some uni-linear evolutionary movement which obeys intrinsic natural laws. Rather, the development process inevitably releases opposing forces competing in identical arenas of 'fields' of influence. … Its effects are ambiguous and unpredictable *(1973:101).*

There is some prescience in Goulet's observation, given the history of development theory and practice from the 1960s and the dominance of the economic paradigm. In Table 2.1 I have classified the principles of the two paradigms. It is an arbitrary collation, yet highlights the polarisation of the economic and humanist value-positions. The table also indicates the inter-disciplinary enterprise of development, resting on a spectrum of theory and practice which embraces politics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics and physical sciences (see Friedmann, 1992; Gasper 1999).

In the section which follows, I take up Goulet's reference to ambiguity to identify a number of the paradoxical effects of development, arising from the dialectical opposition of the two paradigms.

Table 2.1 : Classification of Development Principles

Development Approach	Economic Paradigm	Humanist Paradigm
Policy	Intentional Top- (trickle-) down benefits, exogenous Modern technology Progress, Project-based	Immanent Bottom-up, endogenous Enhancing traditional technologies Sustainability Programme and process based
Psychological	Passive recipients	Active agents, primary stakeholders
Socio-cultural	Individual freedom / happiness Mechanistic / Gesellschaft[15] Libertarianism	Collective, community, inclusive (people-centred) Organic / Gemeinschaft Communitarianism
Economic	Free market Profit-centred, wealth creation Private enterprise Material goods Human capital – investment resource	Free trade Human well-being, livelihoods Basic human needs, not wants Social capital - capabilities
Political	Power over Northern dominance – "West is Best"	Empowerment – 'power to' Rights, social justice, peace and security
Epistemology and Philosophy Liberation theology	Rational empiricism Evidential science (linear cause/effect logic) Instrumental	Reflexive, intuitive Evaluative knowledge base, binary and complementary. Religious and spiritual beliefs Harmony with nature and environment Intrinsic Consciousness; education and learning
Outcome measures	Quantitative Efficiency driven	Qualitative, focus on effectiveness.

Source: Author

2.7   Paradigmatic Paradoxes

There are three paradoxical effects arising from the dialectics of the development paradigms.   The first lies within the common origins of both economic and humanist paradigms; the second relates to the difference between intentions and outcomes; and the third highlights the way in which political rhetoric has obfuscated the real meaning of development.

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[15] These words, and their counterparts in the next column derive from the sociological analyses formulated by Durkheim and Tönnies (see Nisbet, 1970).

2.7.1 Common Origins and Paradigmatic Control

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the origins of both economic and humanist paradigms of development can be traced to the ideas of the Enlightenment, yet have since taken different trajectories. Smillie poses this paradox as a conundrum:

> [H]ow to rationalise the ideals of More, Rousseau and Marx with the suffocation of freedom (and the terror) that some of their followers instituted? How to benefit from Adam Smith's liberal economics without ignoring, and reaping the consequences of, the tremendous social ills that challenge the new millennium? *(1995:251)*

Unravelling this puzzle is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it does indicate the influence of values in shaping the collective discourse of a paradigm. David claims a paradigm operates as a "management control system":

> The propagation of certain ideas and ideologies, theoretical constructs, empirical generalisations, and preferred types of policy prescriptions through this consensus-driven mechanism helps to explain why a dominant paradigm tends to maintain its tenacity and is difficult to overthrow *(2004:9).*[16]

Banuri (1990:37) observes that paradigm maintenance is achieved by creative adaptation or modification of assumptions, and assimilation of criticisms, indicating the strength and importance of underlying values. Thus development paradigms hold "a natural resistance to change" (Schuurman, 2000:8), a view that goes some way to explaining why the economic paradigm remains dominant. As an example, the humanist words of 'capacity-building', 'gender equity', 'empowerment' and 'participation' have all been absorbed by international finance institutions (IFIs), yet have amounted to little more than giving lip-service to external pressures (Finnemore, 1997; Kurian, 2000; Maxwell, 2001; Ellerman, 2005).

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[16] Hence Sachs (1992:1) could mourn that "the idea of development stands like a ruin in the landscape". And here is a part-explanation of why the economic model of development continues to dominate the world scene.

2.7.2   Intentions and Outcomes of Development

A second paradox is illustrated in the outcomes of development projects and programmes. The economic paradigm assumes that capitalism (power and wealth held by a few) will benefit all people in terms of employment and increased income. The results show a significant contradiction of this assumption. McMichael (2004:302) cites the disparities: 80% of the world's wealth is consumed by 15% of the world's population, thus giving a lie to the assumption that inequalities will lessen over time. The South is indeed the 'majority world'.

Of course there have been some achievements in the name of economic development. Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea (the so-called 'Asian Tigers') are all examples of successful economic development. Few commentators (with the exception of Goulet, 1973; Korten, 1990; and Etzioni, 2005) acknowledge that success in these economies was achieved by strong (and sometimes repressive) governments and did not require change in traditional social and political structures. United Nations (UN) Human Development Reports also indicate some improvement in health and education indicators. Even so, there is no apparent lessening in human need, especially for victims of war and famine. Development, it might be said, is not doing much 'good' in the South, whether measured by economic or humanist values.

2.7.3   Political rhetoric

The dominance of the economic paradigm has been aided and abetted by global politics: indeed, it might be said that the default setting of international development goals has been determined by geopolitical economics.

But such objectives are cloaked in a shroud of altruism, of "a selfless concern for the welfare of others, giving without regard to reward or the benefits of recognition" (Titmuss, 1970), as evident in Table 2.2, summarising official pronouncements on US intentions for development. The moral rhetoric might look like altruism, but is clouded by more covert aspirations, thus highlighting the potential distance between what we say and what we do in the name of development values.

Table 2.2 : Good Intentions, or False Promises?

President Truman, 1949 *(Rist, 2002:71-72)*	"Making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas; … We hope to create the conditions that will lead eventually to personal freedom and happiness for all mankind."
President Kennedy, 1961 Presidential Address *(Escobar, 1992:136)*	"Man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty. To those people…of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery…we offer a special pledge – to convert our good words into good deeds – in a new alliance for progress – to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty."
President Johnson, 1966 *(Goulet, 1973:67)*	"The pages of history can be searched in vain for another power whose pursuit of that self-interest was so infused with grandeur of spirit and morality of purpose!"
McNamara, 1968 *(Finnemore, 1997:210)*	"In the exercise of power, aid is the moral obligation of developed nations."
President G W Bush, 2002 *(Sachs, 2005:336)*	"A world where some live in comfort and plenty, while half of the human race lives on less than $2 a day, is neither just nor stable. Including all of the world's poor in an expanding circle of development – and opportunity – is a moral imperative and one of the top priorities of US international policy."

The underlying messages in these statements belie worthy moral intentions, seeming more like a wolf in the clothing of Western charity. All statements in Table 2.2 embrace the superiority of the United States (US) as an example of developmental achievement, and their interest, if not intention, in imposing that dominance on the developing world. Truman at least alludes to elements of development outcomes as 'personal freedom and happiness' (a Eurocentric classical economic view)[17], and Kennedy's words refer to an objective of poverty reduction. Of course such grandstanding is stock-in-trade for politicians, but the meaning of 'development' takes on a pseudo-moral force under the guise of altruism. As Jeffrey Sachs avers, "US development policy…can be measured more in sound bites than in assistance that is truly scaled to the size of the challenge" (2005:335). Perhaps President Nixon was being more honest when he declared in 1968: "the main purpose of American aid is not to help other nations but to help ourselves"

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[17] Though Esteva is moved to outrage by the 'fiat' that classifies two-thirds of the world as 'underdeveloped' (1992:7).

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(quoted in Chandler, 2001:687). A similar political agenda is found in Kilby's analysis (2007) of Australian Aid programmes (AusAid).

A closer consideration of 'altruism' indicates some of the hidden agenda of the political economy of development, drawing on Titmuss' international analysis of blood donation (1970), and Vaux's concept of the 'selfish altruist' (2001). Titmuss points out that altruism is "determined by the values and cultural orientations permeating the donor system and society in general" (*op cit*:73). In a similar vein Vaux describes how a 'selfish gene' can intrude on humanitarian interventions: there is scope for aid workers "to choose whom to help and whom to ignore, to enjoy a sense of power and to overlook the capacity of those we help" (2001:2). Thus, for both Vaux and Titmuss, altruism is a humanitarian value, with fishhooks. Altruism could be said to be the foundation of Northern funding of development in the South, and the life-blood of NGDO sources for private donor funding, but the international aid business denies the real results that could be expected from altruistic values (Malhotra, 2000; Moore, 2006).

This section has illustrated how the humanist perspective has been forced under the dominant tectonic plate of economism. The earthquakes and volcanic activities of civil rights movements, of nationalist and inter-nicene conflict, of the 'war against terrorism' have caused little disruption to the fundamental operations of the economic development paradigm.

2.8 Summary

A brief survey of the dual approaches of the economic and humanist paradigms of development has been offered in this chapter, recounting their common origin, the value bases of each paradigm and their dialectical opposition. Discussion has highlighted how values are ever-present in the theory and practice of development, and in paradoxical outcomes, thus indicating the importance of articulating values and their sources. The next chapter takes a closer investigation of the nature of development values.

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Chapter 3:   The Architecture of Development Values

3.1   Introduction

In Chapter 2 I explored the opposing world views on economic and humanist development, illustrating the significance of values in the context of development. This chapter attends to the nature of values, their meanings and interpretations, and to the 'expression of values' in development and in organisations, highlighting how values are important and relevant. I survey the literature on the meaning of values, their sources within the 'meta-ethics' of development, and then consider the values inherent in organisational issues and practice principles. Table 3.6 at the end of the chapter illustrates how value-words might be analysed, offering an 'architecture' for development values, a framework for understanding the sources of values and the implications for NGDOs and development practice.

What are the values that development serves? Writing in 1973 Goulet's answer was "to meet the needs of political economics". In a later era Gasper (2004) and David (2004) argue for the values of humanism. This is the nub, as illustrated in Chapter 2 on the dialectics of opposing paradigms. There are no absolute answers to be found in this chapter, only further questions and debate.

3.2   The Meaning of Values

Like 'development', 'values' is another slippery term that defies absolute definition. We might be able to describe what we mean, but this meaning is selective, depending on our 'value position' (Plant, 1974:12). A value is not an objective empirically observable entity, but something intrinsic to an ideology, a belief or an attitude. As such, the word 'value' is something to be contested and open to different interpretations.

The Oxford English Reference Dictionary (1996) offers a range of interpretations. The first five meanings of 'value' cited connote the utility of a thing, as in the price we pay in a market exchange – essentially an economic interpretation of the word. Meanings 6 and 7 refer to 'serving a purpose', and to 'one's principles or standards'. Definitions 8-13 relate to music, the quality of sound, mathematics, relative rank

(as in playing cards or a chess game), the quality of light in a painting, and to numerical measures of magnitude in physics or chemistry. 'Value' is indeed a complex word!

For present purposes the primary interest is in the interpretation of 'principles and standards'. Pattison notes that the use of values in a moral context has arisen only in the last 30 years[18], and describes value concepts as follows:

> The concepts are … thoroughly post-modern, appearing to refer to some tangible external reality. … [A]t best they are only partially referential. Gold is only valuable to those who value gold – and those who value gold may do so for many different reasons. The metal, being itself inanimate and an object, does not require people to value it *(2004:2)*.

Pattison goes on to describe how moral values are intrinsic to human assumptions, beliefs and attitudes. He points out that just as gold has been used to underwrite the (Northern) economic order so does our utilisation of values lend support to existing moral and social orders. Table 3.1 summarises Pattison's various interpretations of the meaning of values, showing the different meanings adopted by different disciplines.

Table 3.1:   Synonyms for Values

Domain Source	Synonyms for Values
Economics	Preferences, Choices, Desires
Psychology	Attitudes and Beliefs
Sociology	Norms, Assumptions, Expectations, Judgements and Prejudices
Management, Manufacturing	Standards, Visions, Goals
Ethics	Morals, Principles, Commitment

Adapted from Pattison, 2004:3-5

It is useful at this point to separate what we mean by 'values' from 'ethics' and 'morals', though the terms are often used interchangeably.[19] For Pattison "morals are precepts and habits oriented towards attaining what is good and desirable"

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[18] Coinciding with the rise of postmodernism, the shift from positivist and instrumental thought, and the 'rediscovery of value', as surveyed by Soper (1993) and Connor (1993) .
[19] Engel (1990) notes that 'ethics' and 'morality' are interchangeable in ordinary language. Gasper (2004:19) points out that 'ethics' has a Greek origin, and 'moral' derives from Latin, implying there is a common meaning. However, Saenz (2005) argues this is a superficial distinction; he would also like to see development ethics including analysis of the analysts to better understand their own 'situated selves'.

(2004:4), indicating that we demonstrate moral principles and values in behaviour (and, it should be said, in political and economic policies for development). A better distinction is found in Engel:

> '[M]orality' most properly refers to judgements and actions regarding what is right or good, and 'ethics' to the *reasoning* such judgements and actions require *(1990:2, emphasis added)*.

Gasper's definition of ethics expands on Engel's position. He notes ethics (1) is a set of "substantive beliefs about what is good or bad or right or wrong", (2) "refer to theories and principles", and (3) "is also a field of study" which can be descriptive, prescriptive or methodological (2004:18-19). Thus ethics lend justification and legitimacy to moral positions which are often vague and contradictory, though what is 'right' and 'good' is left open to what is *valued* as such. In development terms, as elaborated in Chapter 2, there is a distinct contrast between the values of economic growth and the advancement of human well-being.

Smith & Duffy (2003) take a slightly different approach in exploring the ethics of development tourism. Their primary interest is in the interaction between ethical (moral), aesthetic and economic values, while acknowledging there are other fields like epistemological and religious values.[20] They note the dominance of religious and ethical values in pre-modern societies and the primacy given to economic values in modern times, effectively marginalising other ethical values – for example those inherent in the humanist paradigm[21].

Padaki (2000) offers a more basic definition of 'values', centred on beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. 'Beliefs' represent cognitive organisation arranged on a centre-periphery continuum. 'Attitude' indicates an affective association with a belief, and can represent a cluster of beliefs, while 'values' represent an organisation of attitudes. Thus, "a 'value system' is a cluster of values, often interrelated, that *governs the characteristic thinking-feeling-behaviour pattern of a person*" (Padaki, 2000:422, emphasis added). Identifying the relationship between values and

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[20] See also Rokeach (1973:24) re Allport-Vernon Test: value content groupings include theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political and religious beliefs. Rokeach also notes these groupings could be culture-bound.

[21] Fowler claims that economic development is amoral (2005); and in Gasper's analysis (2004) economics ignores its value assumptions.

behaviour is helpful, suggesting some prospect for the empirical evidence of values to be found in behaviour.

O'Leary adopts a similar approach:

> A value can be defined as an ongoing belief that a specific way of acting or being is preferable to an alternative way of acting or being. A set of values forms a value system, which is an ongoing arrangement of beliefs about what is preferable and important about ways of acting and being *(2006a:1)*.

Yet this attempt to find a substantive meaning for values becomes a road to nowhere. At best we can appreciate that values are created by humans, giving meaning to actions, experiences and attitudes, and to behaviour. There is some comfort in the following statements:

> Just as we breathe air and cannot see or describe it in any very nuanced way, we mostly breathe values and meanings, assuming them, rather than interrogating their nature *(Pattison, 2004:6)*.

> Ethical values are not *quantifiable*, they are not *exchangeable* in the way that giving them a monetary equivalence would imply, and … they are not just *personal preferences (Smith & Duffy, 2003:27, original emphasis)*.

The relation of values to development is highlighted by claims of the International Development Ethics Association (IDEA, 2005). IDEA argues that value issues are at the heart of the development discourse and development thinking; that values form a basic justification and rationalisation of development models and theories; and that values make primary contributions to decision-making for both donor organisations and aid recipient groups or communities. In other words, values are foundational issues in development theory and practice.

3.3   Interpreting Values

Even the classification of values comes with a range of terminology and interpretations. Values can be normative or aspirational (Pattison, 2004), relative, or universal and absolute (Gasper, 2004; Dunning, 2003); instrumental or intrinsic,

or terminal (Padaki, 2000; Das Gupta, 2004)[22].   Here is a mine-field requiring careful negotiation.   Table 3.2 presents a summary and a conceptual aid to illustrate how the words might be clustered. The discussion which follows refers mainly to the intrinsic/instrumental distinction, with some elaboration on cultural relativism and universal values.   The appearance of 'normative' in both ends and means columns of the table reflects the potential conflation of ends with means inherent in the 'intentional' development model of the economic paradigm (Cowen & Shenton, 1995).

Table 3.2: Values Terminology

Ends	Means	Contingent
Intrinsic Aspirational Universal & absolute Terminal Normative	Instrumental Normative	Relative

Source: Author

Das Gupta (2004) defines instrumental values as the *means* to something else, and Padaki (2000:425) illustrates such means with a list of individual qualities like ambition, honesty, imagination, obedience and responsibility. The *ends* of these values, their 'terminal' objective, might be peace, equality, freedom, happiness, salvation or wisdom (*ibid*).   These words represent 'intrinsic' or 'aspirational' values, to be valued for themselves and defying substantive definition. They can also be termed 'universal' or 'absolute'. Sen (1989) introduces an interesting analysis of intrinsic and instrumental values, identifying both positive and negative conditions for each category, which is reproduced in summary form in Table 3.3.[23]

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[22] The terminology of intrinsic and terminal values is derived from the seminal work of Rokeach (1973) on the nature of values.
[23] Sen draws on examples in the literature as identified in (brackets), and also points out that some writers (Rawls, for example) may have a foot in both positive and negative camps.

Table 3.3:   Four Concepts of Freedom

Freedom as a Value	Positive What a person is able to do or be – choice	Negative Independence from interference of others
Intrinsic Freedom as a value in itself – what constitutes the 'good life'.	• Conditions for free development and activity of individuals under their own control. (Marx) • Primary goods: rights, liberties, opportunities, income, and social bases of self-respect – social justice based on efficiency and equity in *distribution* (Rawls). • Freedom from hunger and escapable morbidity; fulfilment of 'basic needs'.	• Liberty, democratic rights – means to other ends. • The right to enjoy the fruits of one's labour (Bauer).
Instrumental Freedom as a means to ends; being able to choose without interference.	• Utilitarianism: freedom conducive to more happiness (Bentham).	• Non-interference of the state, or anyone else (Milton Friedman). • Freedom to earn profits (World Bank).

Adapted from Sen's text, 1989

Here Sen is linking the value of freedom with different interpretations of 'development'. Positive freedoms represent the humanist paradigm and negative freedoms the economic approach.

'Relative' values raise some complex issues. A relative value is bound by context, and in any situation there can be a myriad of conditions to impel action or behaviour – which appear to relate to a scale or hierarchy of values (or a central-periphery continuum (Padaki, 2000). In development practice, should an aid organisation forsake an anti-corruption principle by offering some payment or *guangxi* in order to smooth the way to a greater goal for community development? Here is where value contradictions and ethical dilemmas begin.

But the notion of relative values raises the bogey of cultural relativism. Cultural relativists perceive socio-cultural beliefs and practices as sacrosanct, and outsiders therefore have no business in offering criticism against genital mutilation, child labour, imprisonment without trial, or events like the treatment of students in Tiananmen Square. Clark describes the purpose of cultural relativism as granting

each ethnic group immunity from external critique and to protect their continuing existence as valuable entities in their own right *(2006:170)*[24].

A corollary of this position is that trans-national aid programmes have no place in assisting development in the South, which is but one theme of 'anti-development' arguments expressed by Bauer (1976) and Hughes (2003). Cultural relativism brooks no interference, is a doctrine in which "no one can judge what is good for another person, or compare one person's wants and satisfactions with another's" (Gasper, 2004:194)[25]. Indeed, cultural relativism begins to look like a defence against external criticism and Western market forces (Gasper, 2004:211). In rebutting such views Etzioni (2005) argues for a cross-cultural 'moral voice' which enables and articulates a core of globally shared values. At the same time, Etzioni deplores the use of 'moral values' as justification for military or economic enforcement of one state's values over another's[26].

The question of universal values is just as fraught. There is much argument about what might constitute a universal value, and what to include on a list of such values (Gasper, 2004; Etzioni, 2005), and on their validity (Dower, 2005). There is extensive debate on the compatibility of Western and Eastern philosophies: if the former represents economic individualism and democracy, how can it be reconciled with oriental communitarianism or autocratic government? Lal denies the possibility of a universal morality by reducing all human nature and culture to economic rationalism and self-seeking behaviours: relationships are simply 'transactional costs', and cultural norms are a form of 'equilibrium' (2003:42). Dunning (2003) and Küng (2003) on the other hand, find there is common ground in all major world religions in the credo 'do as you would be done by'. The UN Human Development Report (HDR) of 2004 identifies a list of 'global ethics'

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[24] Clark is writing in the context of multi-cultural societies and the politics of ethnicity. He goes on to identify three objections to cultural relativism: (1) a philosophic contradiction between linguistic expression and semantic meaning; (2) ethical commitment to human existence, an end in itself, is not a means to other people's ends; and (3) in a practical sense there is no justification for preferring one's own position if all other positions (world views, value systems, social practices) are equally valid. (2006:172)

[25] Cultural relativism would thus cut across NGDO advocacy, and the importance of speaking out on behalf of Southern peoples against oppression and inequity.

[26] Currently exemplified in the "war against terrorism".

arguing these values represent the "basic moral equality of all human beings" (HDR, 2004:90). Gasper (2004:184) offers a composite list of Nussbaum's criteria for universal human capabilities. The debate between the economic and humanist development paradigms begins all over again. Table 3.4 summarises a selection of humanist interpretations of 'universal values'.

Clearly there are some common points across all columns in Table 3.4, yet the ordering of values and terminology are all dependent on their source and the orientation of the writer. For all the claims of universal values there is no universality on prioritisation or interpretation. We can see, for instance that columns 1 and 2 come out of same stable, reflecting the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Küng is a theologian; and Dunning is a professor of international business, promoting a means for 'Responsible Global Capitalism'[27]. There are other typologies (see Corbridge, 1993; Alkire, 2002[28]; and Dower, 2005). Gasper (2004:45) for example, draws on ideas from Goulet (1995), Edwards (1996b), Finnis (a legal philosopher) (1987) and UNDP (1996), noting their congruence, though he concludes that "to understand and make better value choices we need some more clarity on values" (2004:46). A universality of values appeals to an understanding of 'humankind' that transcends geopolitics, nation-states and global economics, and lends credence to the mission of humanist development programmes. As Goulet claims, "only truly human values can be truly universal" (1973:xxi). Nussbaum (2000) attempts a more absolute expression of universal values related to human capabilities (see column 4 of Table 3.4), extending her earlier collaboration with Sen (1993).

Table 3.4 does not distinguish between intrinsic and instrumental values, though Dunning goes part-way in identifying 'virtues, lesser virtues and culture relative values'[29]. At this point the table serves to illustrate the range of value words that

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[27] Along the same lines as the current interest in 'corporate social responsibility'.

[28] Rather than considering 'values', Alkire attempts to harness the 'multiple dimensions' of development as expressed by a range of theorists into an epistemological framework, in order to provide "a non-paternalistic and useful tool in addressing … development problems … in a way that respects the insights and inspirations of women and men from all races, classes and political orientations" (2002:194).

[29] Dunning's cultural relative values are particularly relevant factors in cross-cultural communication. Metge & Kinloch (1978), for example, highlight cultural behaviours that can be mis-interpreted.

might be termed 'universal'. The importance of universal values is recognised in Minear & Walker's argument:

> If globalisation is the context, universality must be the distinguishing feature of the future. Humanitarianism is, first and foremost, a value-driven endeavour. … The challenge is to build a value set that is truly global. … The search of the future must be for global values, not just to globalise western values *(2004:97)*.

This section has illustrated some of the different ways values can be interpreted. The meaning of value-words is dependent on the eye of the beholder, on ideology, beliefs and attitudes, and these will be influenced by socio-cultural context and a host of other factors, including translation from another language. This is not to argue for blanket relativism, nor to claim there is one best set of values for development. Rather, I am highlighting the importance of articulating values as a means to explain the *how* and *why* of development. The explicit expression of values is particularly relevant to NGDOs, as Chapter 4 indicates, and is further explored in Chapters 6 and 7 which cover the case-study of Oxfam New Zealand. In the next section I review the some of the primary philosophic sources of humanist values to show how these have been shaped in the context of development.

Table 3.4 :   Summary of Universal Values

UN Human Development Report (HDR) (2004:90)	UN World Commission on Culture & Development (Gasper, 2004:202)	Küng (2003:152)	Nussbaum (Gasper, 2004:184)	Dunning (2003:23)
Premise: All cultures share a commonality of basic values that are the foundation of global ethics.	Principles of human rights, democratic legitimacy, public accountability.	Premise: Global ethic which underlie all other values are: *humanity* and *reciprocity*.	Criteria for "the meaning of 'human' and the contents of 'being'": normatively central human capabilities.	Universal absolutes: respect for human dignity; respect for basic rights; good citizenship – a 'pyramid' of values.
• Equity • Human rights and responsibilities • Democracy • Protection of minorities • Peaceful conflict resolution and fair negotiation.	• Treat others as one would want to be treated oneself • Universalism • Basic necessities provided for individual security • Alleviation and eradication of suffering • Democracy and protection of minorities • Respect for all cultures • Commitment to peaceful resolution of conflicts and fair negotiation.	Basic Values: • Respect for life • Non-violence • Solidarity • Justice • Tolerance • Truthfulness • Equality • Partnership	• Life • Bodily health • Bodily integrity • Senses, imagination and thought • Emotions • Practical reason • Affiliation • Other species • Play • Control over one's environment	• Virtues: truthfulness, reciprocity, justice, honesty • Lesser virtues: trust, solidarity, reliability, loyalty • Culture relative: duty, prudence, forbearance, diligence, sense of guilt/shame

Source: Author

3.4   The Meta-theories of Development Ethics

The construction of development values is not a simple pre-fabricated design. There is no one blue-print to be applied. In this section I trace the philosophic sources of development values. The principle writers on development ethics (Goulet, 1973; Crocker, 1996; Gasper, 2004) all acknowledge the influence of significant themes in the history of social and moral philosophy. The following summary draws substantially from Smith & Duffy's text on the ethics of tourism (2003), following a chronological outline of principal philosophic influences on development values.

3.4.1   Aristotle on 'Virtues'

Aristotle's ideas on 'virtues', on the traits that allow us to flourish as humans, continue to influence contemporary writers on development (Smith & Duffy, 2003:44). This perspective has been taken up in the work of Nussbaum (1992; 2000), promoting a 'feminist principle' in a 'duty of care'. Champoux (2006) highlights the importance of 'ethics of care' in relation to behavioural values in organisations. As O'Leary explains, 'virtues' represent a focus on 'moral character', addressing the question 'What should we be?' which leads to a "moral sensibility about what he or she ought to do" (2006a:1). Furthermore, the theory of virtues is a reminder of the 'both-and' premise of the humanist paradigm, in which

> living a life in accordance with [behavioural] virtues helps the individual maintain a proper *balance* between their own *individual flourishing* and the *well-being of the community (Smith & Duffy, 2003:45, emphasis added)*

3.4.2   Kant on 'Rights' and 'Duties'

Eighteenth century philosopher Immanuel Kant introduced the notion of 'principle ethics', addressing the question of 'What should we do?' For Kant there was a categorical imperative in reason, leading to ethical standards, as in a code of conduct, and concern with 'rights' and 'duties' (Smith & Duffy, 2003:79). In terms of 'duties' Kant is mindful of 'obligations to others'. Once again the implications and importance of relationships between the individual and community are highlighted. There are contradictions in Rights Ethics, as Champoux (2006) acknowledges: in a negative sense legal and moral rights can mean 'don't interfere with others' (as in cultural relativism), or a positive duty to help others. As noted

in Chapter 2, 'altruism' is not always governed by a pure sense of duty. But while David (2004) argues that Kant's intention was to give political expression to humanity and a moral dimension to politics, he notes that the UN Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent international human rights agreements can be criticised for their individual and Northern focus, reflecting another form of cultural imperialism. Smith & Duffy are more outspoken:

> Kant's arguments should stand as a salutary reminder of the unethical and flagrant opportunism of those governments, institutions and individuals that try to hide their self-interests behind a language of morality *(2003:80)*.[30]

The 'human rights' discourse continues to intersect with the global scheme of development. It is evident in this brief introduction to Kantian ideas that rights are closely associated with development values and their different interpretations.

3.4.3   Bentham and Mill on 'Utilitarianism'

The philosophy of utilitarianism as propounded by Bentham and Mill argued for the pursuit of happiness, for minimal pain and maximum pleasure and for rational deliberation on actions (Smith & Duffy, 2003:55). Smith & Duffy go on to describe the appeal of utilitarianism in its universality, rationality, impartiality and versatility, offering potential for "a cross-cultural method for objectively resolving ethical conflicts" (2003:57). There is a distinction to be made between 'act utiltarianism' (the rightness or wrongness of a particular action) and 'rule utilitarianism' which focuses on the rules governing evaluation of consequences. Yet not all consequences can be pre-determined: evaluations can change according to social and political conditions, and the question of how to measure happiness remains (Smith & Duffy, 2003:68). There is a strong link here to the economic development paradigm: "utility is often defined in modern economic analysis as some numerical representation of a person's observable choices" (Sen, 1999:60). Sen is challenging the reductionist assumptions of the economic development paradigm. Ultimately, as Smith & Duffy argue (2003:72), utilitarianism is a

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[30] As exemplified in Chapter 2 in reference to US Presidential pronouncements about 'good intentions'. Another stand-out example would be US, UK and Australian tacit approval of the Indonesian invasion of Timor L'Este, and subsequent supply of UK military aircraft to Indonesia (Martinkus, 2001).

contentious form of welfarism, judging 'moral goodness' on the basis of maximising 'social benefit', providing justification for the oppression of minorities, personal injustices and other ignoble social outcomes. Post-developmentalists such as Escobar (1992) would argue that utilitarianism is yet another expression of Northern domination and cultural imperialism.

3.4.4 Rawls on 'Social Justice'

Rawls' theory of justice (published 1971) is primarily concerned with 'fairness' in the distribution of goods, rights and power in society, based on principles of 'equal liberty', 'difference' (in terms of balancing social and economic inequalities) and 'fair equality of opportunity' (Champoux, 2006:58). Gasper (2004), David (2004) and Smith & Duffy (2003) all acknowledge how these principles draw on utilitarianism, Kant's notions of rights and the humanist values of Aristotle, and point out major flaws in Rawls' arguments. Smith & Duffy's interpretation indicates:

> Rawls is trying to avoid imposing a particular model of a morally good life on people. He recognises the diversity of ethical opinion but argues that this means that every person would want to be free to frame their own ideals, to decide on their own priorities. This in turn means that people would want the freedom to choose, and … we would want to ensure that everyone had these basic liberties/rights *(2003:97)*.

The critiques of Rawls' theory draw attention back to the dialectics of development. Smith & Duffy (2003) and David (2004) point to the theory's individualism, amounting to the laissez-faire version of contemporary capitalism. Questions on who deserves what and why in terms of distributive justice counterpoint the human needs of vulnerable people with the economic needs of capital to 'reward' enterprise. Both these writers acknowledge the theory is an idealistic vision, more relevant to advanced economies than applicable to the needs of developing nations. In an extended chapter
on 'equity' Gasper (2004) exposes Rawls' philosophic analysis as an attempt to derive a unifying set of principles for policy choices from diverse criteria. Bell (1993) labels Rawls' approach as 'neo-Kantian liberalism', in which liberal theory is reformulated and systematised with little cognisance of a communitarian

(humanist) perspective. The history of development would suggest 'fairness' in distribution of goods, rights and power belongs to a remote Utopia.

Nevertheless, questions of social justice, of distribution and rights remains lodged in the consciousness, the policies and practices of NGDOs.

3.4.5   Sen on 'Development as Freedom'

In Sen's philosophy (published 1999) he postulates human rights as 'freedom from' and 'freedom to', in both instrumental and constructive application.   His 'capabilities' approach incorporates aspects of human well-being and quality of life and the 'functionings' of how people live – what is valued and how values are applied.   Sen's work has proved appealing both to mainstream economists and NGDOs, and is embraced in particular by Oxfam.   Gasper's summary of Sen's achievements reads thus:

> Overall, Sen provides us with an advance beyond mainstream economics and utilitarian philosophy: a focus on more than income and felt utility, by examination of the contents of the life options available to people. He does so in ways that maintain a conversation with mainstream economists and hence have been able to influence them *(2004:179)*.

In David's view, "Sen's vision of development is defined in terms of the expansion of people's entitlements and capabilities, the former giving life sustenance and the latter generating freedom" (2004:233).   "Capabilities", according to Gasper's interpretation, are "substantive functionings" such as life expectancy, health and education, mobility and other 'opportunities' – as opposed to particular skills, aptitudes and abilities (2004:179), suggesting some ambiguity in normative use of language. Gasper also finds fault with Sen's concept of freedom as choice relating to what 'people have reason to value', especially in a market-driven and money-oriented world that has captured its consumers.

Giri (2000) offers a more critical view:

> Sen's agenda of human well-being suffers from a fundamental problem of dualism between self and other, egotism and altruism. Overcoming this dualism is crucial for realising human well-being but calls for the work of a creative and reflective self, a matter which has received little attention from Sen. The lack of an ontological striving and a quest for self-development in

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his picture of persons limits Sen's conceptualisation of human well-being and his sociology of multicultural toleration and epistemology of positional objectivity as well *(2000:1015)*.

The question of self-reflection in development is addressed in Chapter 4 in discussing the 'learning organisation'.

3.4.6   Summary of Ethical Theory

This presentation of the meta-theories of development ethics shows the complexity of each theory. It indicates some of the interconnections between them, as well as the impossibility of determining absolute development values. As an introduction there are also omissions[31], not only from the history of Western philosophy and epistemology, but also from the panoply of non-western religious and philosophic traditions. At best this section might, as Escobar suggests, offer the "possibility of learning to be human in post-humanist (post-man and post-modern) landscapes" (1997:226). Alternatively, it is as well to be reminded by Goulet that "philosophy always buries its undertakers, yet is always attended by its constant revival" (1973:10).

3.5   Values in Organisational Contexts

This section turns the focus to the application of intrinsic and instrumental values relative to development organisations. Development organisations, for the most part, adopt 'intrinsic values' as a shining light of aspiration towards ultimate goals, and will be discussed in relation to organisational mission/vision/value statements and organisational culture. Instrumental values are those that relate to the structure, management and processes of an organisation. Generic references to organisational theory will lead to closer consideration of development practice principles and modalities.

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[31] Additional discussion on development ethics could have included elaboration of Nussbaum's 'capabilities' approach (1992; 2000), and Habermas' 'discourse ethics' in which reciprocity is a necessary and universal feature of genuine human communication (1990). 'Reciprocity' can be noted as a value inherent in the development practice principle of 'participation' and fundamental to human interaction and relationships, yet there are too many practical objections (raised by Smith & Duffy, 2003) to allow a consensus in this moral dialogue.

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It is useful to note Champoux's observations (2006) on how organisational theory has undertaken shifts from Taylor's 'scientific management' ('management by instruction', according to Henderson et al., 2006) of the early 19th century in which labour is perceived as a fundamental prerequisite of capitalist economics, to a more humanist approach from the 1960s. McGregor's Theory Y (1960) posits that worker commitment to goals is related to individual motivation and potential. Drucker's 'management by objectives' was introduced in the 1950s (Champoux, 2006), and remains influential in strategic planning, formulating a business plan, and identifying key performance indicators (KPIs). Henderson et al. (2006) argue that controlling workers by instructive goal-setting (the *how* or *what* you do) is now superseded by "leading through values", the *why* of organisational management. The more recent term of 'self-managing teams' indicates a devolution of management (Champoux, 2006), while 'inter-disciplinary team' is an advance on the use of 'multi-disciplinary team', a term commonly used in the health sector (Opie, 2000), and highly relevant to development organisations. The 'team' approach, regardless of context, reinforces the importance of relationships, and the instrumental values of participation and empowerment within the organisation.

The shifts in organisational theory reviewed here have been accompanied by literature on mission and vision statements, on being a values-based organisation, and on organisational culture, structure and management systems. The relevance of these issues to NGDOs and to development is described in the following sections.

3.5.1 Organisational mission/vision/value statements

According to Mead, an organisation's mission describes "who we are, what we do, where we are headed, providing a guide to strategic planning, defining the scope of operations, guiding leadership styles and promoting shared expectations at all levels of the organisation" (2005:89). More simply, a mission statement represents "the core purposes that keep members focused on what is important to the organisation" (Champoux, 2006:82): in other words it is the *intention* of the organisation's operations. An organisation's vision encompasses the *desired end-state*, and its values express the *ends and means* underpinning both mission and vision.

These elements are not easy to encapsulate into succinct statements, as revealed in NGDO websites[32]. Henderson et al. point out that the visible or iterated artefacts of an organisation do not always represent organisational realities, offering the example of Enron's values, engraved in granite in head office reception, as "communication, respect, integrity and excellence" (2006:109), words belied by the company's subsequent fall from grace, and a resounding contradiction of their values. A more relevant example is found in Ellerman (2005): in 1985 the World Bank's mission statement is dedicated to 'helping people help themselves'; in the same year Oxfam's Field Directors Handbook described the aim of the organisation in the very same words[33]. These organisations would be poles apart on the ideological continuum of development, and is yet another reminder that value words can mean different things to different people.

Nevertheless, as Das Gupta argues, "Values are deeply held beliefs, the fundamental building blocks of a workplace culture reflecting a view about 'what is good'" (2004:xv), thus reinforcing the *presence* of values, whether they are articulated and heeded, or not.

3.5.2 *Value-based / values-driven organisations*

This heading represents another ubiquitous term that is in danger of losing its currency. The words are much touted in the literature on organisations and organisational development, both in the private (business) sector (Huse, 1980; Champoux, 2006; Henderson et al., 2006) and within critiques of NGDOs (see Fowler, 1997, 2000; Hailey, 2000; Padaki, 2000). The intended meaning of the term 'values-driven organisation' indicates that an organisation has adopted articulated values and applies them to all parts of organisational operations, from strategic planning to monitoring and evaluation, from recruitment to performance appraisal. As Fowler observes:

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[32] I have found NGDO vision/mission/value statements wordy, inconsistent, and not easily understood. See www.oxfam.org.uk and compare it with www.oxfam.org.nz. (This issue is explored in more detail in Chapter 6.) A better example of clarity is found in the position of the Development Resource Centre, at www.drc.org.nz.

[33] When I reported this gem to staff at Oxfam New Zealand it was greeted with snorts of derision. The World Bank's mission is now worded as "Working for a world free of poverty"; Oxfam GB's Strategic Plan (2007) states "Oxfam works with others to overcome poverty and suffering". A cynic might observe the intent of these statements is still pretty much the same, and add that while everyone is 'working' there is little evidence of poverty reduction.

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> Value statements are not an optional extra for professional NGDOs; together with beliefs, they are the most fundamental expression of what the organisation stands for – its identity, … [providing] the necessary initial orientation for choosing paths and goals for action *(1997:46)*.

There is but a short leap here to being a 'learning organisation', another theme extolled in organisational literature, and is certainly the recommended *modus operandi* of writers on NGDOs (see Bloch & Borges, 2002; Hailey & James, 2002; Power et al., 2002; Roper & Pettit, 2002; Eyben 2006).   Except for an account of organisational change from David & Mancini (2004) there is little on record to illustrate the processes of becoming a values-driven organisation, perhaps because it requires a difficult and disruptive transformation (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001). Fowler & Biekart note:

> All organisations are driven by values of some sort. The for-profit sector values money, on occasion tinged with a concern for social responsibility. Public bureaucracies value and strive for order, consistency and stability. Political parties value and aspire to power *(1996:129)*.

Henderson et al. call values

> the DNA of an organisation, the glue that holds the three core elements of business (culture, leadership and strategy) together, and drive change within an organisation *(2006:195)*.

Being 'value-driven' is not without its critics. Van Rooy refers to "missionary zeal" in the establishment of NGDOs, acknowledging the origins of many leading organisations, of both faith-based and secular orientations (2002:20).   Temple (1997) describes such zeal as 'economicide' which led NGDOs to substitute a reciprocity infrastructure for the exchange mechanisms of capitalism, suggesting that passion and principles are not sufficient for organisational effectiveness. Chambers asks whether NGDOs have been "handmaidens, missionaries or evangelists for a new world order" (1992:20).   O'Leary adopts a more generous appraisal:

> NGOs basically have a vision of how the world should be: a particular type
> of social order and human relationships [which include commitment to]
> human equality, people-centred development, inclusion, participation (both
> means and ends), empowerment (psycho-social and political), social justice,
> physical well-being and security, human rights, good governance and
> democratisation, gender equity, local definition and ownership of change,
> sustainability and learning from experience *(2006a:13)*.

O'Leary may be attempting to cover all bases in this description, and also notes how easily values can be undermined in practice. Nevertheless, she is illustrating the distinctive value-laden words that feature in NGDO manifestos, if not in practice.

Fisher considers NGDO values through a focus on process, the conscientisation and struggle for new alternatives, and the connection between personal and social change, thus capturing the relationship between 'the personal and the political'. He notes the association of ethics and politics: "NGO values are essentially political, not value-neutral" (1997:458).[34]

Thus values are embedded within an organisation, whether they are acknowledged or not, and certainly they contribute to organisational culture.

3.5.3 *Organisational culture*

The culture (also called the 'climate' or 'character') of an organisation is best referred to as the "internalisation of norms of behaviour" (Padaki, 2000:420). Huse describes organisational culture as the "relevant norms and values that are shared by most employees" (1980:61), thus indicating the infusion of personal values in organisational behaviour. Champoux (2006), drawing on research by Argyris & Schön (1996), describes how organisational culture develops and communicates an ideology that defines what an organisation is all about, and goes on to point out the distinction between 'espoused' values (what we say) and 'in-use' values (what we do) (2006:77), thus echoing Henderson's distinction between words as artefacts and everyday practice realities. Too often, the 'in-use' values present invisible artefacts

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[34] Being 'value-neutral' is a post-modern contradiction of terms. Science might have upheld 'value-free' positions in the past, in the interests of a 'pure' epistemology, but even 'pure research' begins from 'assumptions' that have underlying values.

of unarticulated assumptions, proving a minefield to many new recruits to the organisation.

Organisational culture is present in visible artefacts such as the office layout, its décor and the accepted dress code. It is also conveyed through symbols, slogans and ceremonies, the legendary heroes, communication styles, and the degree of supervision and levels of decision-making (Hofstede, 1994; Harris & Hartman, 2002; Mead, 2005; Champoux, 2006). Here we can sense the influence of personal values in shaping the symbols, slogans and communication patterns which represent the organisation, and how they become reified in organisational culture.

A further complication is the cross-cultural dimensions of international organisations, as studied by Hofstede (1994) and Mead (2005). Hofstede is concerned that 'organisational culture' has become a fad promoted by the popularity of the Peters & Waterman text *In Search of Excellence* (1982), and describes inter-cultural research to refute their thesis. Mead's research notes that organisational values are distinct from national values and will take second place to national interests when conflicts arise. For NGDOs engaged in development in the South this evidence adds a cautionary codicil to fixed concepts of organisational culture and values.

3.5.4 *Organisational Structure and Management Systems*

There are various models for organisational structure outlined in texts on organisational theory: the *functional organisation* is vertically structured as a conventional pyramid, with a top-down chain of command; the *product organisation* has a singular purpose and unity of command with limited coordination across various departments; and a *matrix structure* involves complex inter-dependency throughout the organisation (Huse, 1980). Given the multi-disciplinary and multi-functional responsibilities of development organisations, it is likely that a structure that enables both lateral and vertical communicative matrices is more appropriate, especially when the 'product' is driven by an external focus.

Huse indicates two significant problems for matrix organisations. A multiple command system (reporting to two or more bosses) can lead to power struggles,

and/or to 'group-itis', and to endless cross-team meetings that can interfere with time management. A further risk is 'groupthink', in which internalisation of group norms over-ride appraisal of alternative ideas and the suppression of critical thoughts (Irving, 1972).[35] Both these issues surface in the findings of my research with Oxfam New Zealand.

David et al. (2006) describe the organisational change process undertaken by NGDO Action Aid to facilitate 'good development', based on organisational 'accountability, learning and planning' (ALP).[36] Among the key features of the changes is the primacy given to development programmes over the administrative functions of finance, human resources and reporting. Decision-making was decentralised, power shifted to primary stakeholders, and process emphasised over policy and planning. Implementing organisational change meant working around internal power issues, the hiatus created by staff turnover and resolving donor accountability demands for quantitative indicators. Nevertheless, David et al. report outcomes of organisational achievements which demonstrate (1) congruence in attitudes, behaviour and principles, (2) real power-sharing, (3) procedures that are aligned with the organisation's mandate, and (4) an ongoing review and reflection process that influences budget allocations.[37]

This outline illustrates the necessary congruence between organisational structure and its purpose, both of which are infused with values.

3.5.5 Operational Principles and Procedures
While features of NGDO development management will be explored more fully in Chapter 4, attention here is on the instrumental values inherent in operational principles and procedures. There are two questions to consider.

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[35] The debacle of the US Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, and also the escalation of the American War in Vietnam, is attributed to 'groupthink', in which individual opinions were subsumed to the interests of the group, in this case the unique combination of unrealistic optimism and euphoric conformity (Irving, 1972).
[36] The chapter is headed "Bringing Systems into Line with Values" and the reader is obliged to assume ALP represents instrumental values for the organisation, as nowhere does the word 'value' appear.
[37] A full and frank account of ActionAid's change management and processes is reported in David & Mancini, 2004.

1. What is more important in achieving organisational goals – efficiency or effectiveness? Of course both are necessary, but are these instrumental values operating for organisational maintenance (as Weber illustrates in his vision of bureaucracy[38]) or for the intrinsic ends of the organisation?

2. 'Who Plans? On What Basis? For Whose Benefit?' This mantra forces an examination of organisational decision-making, the underlying rationale and value assumptions, and the ultimate intended ends. That is: knowing, understanding and integrating values into practice will clarify the intentions and process of a development programme.

These questions are best addressed through the framework drafted in Table 3.5, in which organisational principles are classified either as intrinsic or instrumental values, and procedures are iterated simply as tasks.

Table 3.5: Classification of Development Operational Principles and Procedures

Intrinsic Values	Instrumental Values	Procedures (Tasks)
Accountability Action-reflection learning Capacity-building Gender equity Inclusiveness	Participation Empowerment Advocacy Monitoring and evaluation	Planning Analysis (financial, social, stakeholder, environment) Facilitation, consultation

Source: Author

The words in Column 1 do not necessarily represent the organisation's philosophic values, but are particularly relevant to organisational well-being and 'human resource management'[39], as well as development management. Column 2 includes the range of means to achieve the ends in Column 1, and Column 3 indicates some of the tasks that will contribute to both means and ends.

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[38] Nisbet writes: "Weber's analysis of bureaucracy, *including its role in non-governmental spheres of society and culture,* … with the rarest and most minute exceptions, still [applies]. No one has yet added to Weber's theory any element that is not at least implicit in his own statements on the subject" (1970:142, emphasis added).

[39] Employees are no longer regarded as 'cogs in the organisational machine' under the 'Personnel Management' strictures of some 25 years ago, but as significant resources in achieving organisational goals. Hence contemporary HR practice invokes 'performance reviews' which consider potential 'capacity-building' through further training opportunities as well as accountability and iteration of individual achievement and challenges. There are obvious parallels here with the humanist development paradigm.

Of course, analysis, monitoring and evaluation and accountability are paramount in any organisation. Business organisations (operating within the economic paradigm) would undoubtedly add 'profit' as an intrinsic value. For NGDOs the question is who or what is driving these principles and procedures: the donors, the strait-jacket of log-frame analysis (see Gasper's critique, 2000a), the interests of primary stakeholders, or organisational functioning? A development practitioner will recognise that many of the words in Table 3.4 are also development tools, thus underlining the need for congruence and integration of organisational and practice values. All of these words have been widely debated in development studies literature.[40] There is no unilateral agreement on what constitutes 'best practice', thus underlining Küng's assertion that "abstract terms have to be filled with meaning" (2003:148).

3.6   Personal Values

To switch the focus from organisational values to personal positions is not such a big shift if we understand that individuals are in and of an organisation, and that it is "internalisation of norms of behaviour" (Padaki, 2000) that provides the common denominator for organisational behaviour. Personal values are determined by what we (as individuals) believe and how we want to live. They derive from many sources: family background and status, culture, education and life opportunities.

Personal motivation is a significant factor in accepting a job offer, whether it is a means of escaping unemployment or fulfilling a life plan. Nelson & Quick indicate that work values, as in achievement, concern for others and fairness, outweigh job choice decisions over pay and promotion opportunities (2005:92). Henderson et al. go further in claiming "a relationship between values and people, people and performance, and performance and strategy, will result in increased commitment from employees and increased clarity of purpose" (2006:13). They add that "the culture of an organisation can be identified by the highest-priority shared values of

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[40] See Chambers (1983; 1997a), Cooke & Kothari (2001) and Botes & van Rensburg (2000) on participatory practice; Tinker, 1990; Kabeer, 1994; Rowlands, 1995, 1997; Marchand & Parpart, 1995; Rai, 2002; and Saunders, 2002 on gender equity and empowerment. For critiques on NGDO advocacy see Lal (2003), Slim (1995) and Sogge (1996). See Edwards (1993) and Edwards & Hume (1996, 1996a) on accountability. Baskind, et al. (1994) and Lee & George (2000) elaborate on environmental assessment. Lee & Kirkpatrick (2000) include papers on the integration of development appraisals.

its members" (*op cit*:110), and cite research that shows "people who have been allowed to clarify their personal values and align them with their role in the organisation will derive increased meaning from their work" (*op cit*:138). The outcome is increased commitment and loyalty, increased performance, work satisfaction and staff retention.[41] In the view of Henderson et al., personal values are experienced cognitively, emotionally and behaviourally: they are the "head, heart and hands of performance" (*op cit*:140).

There are few sources to be found in development literature that address personal values for practice. Fowler's ethical paradigm promoting values of 'fairness, accountability and dignity' stands on the attributes of self-awareness, honesty, respect for others, and the embracing of difference (2005:173). Chambers' recipe for 'responsible well-being' as a model for development practice includes the primacy of personal behaviour and attitudes, reflection, experiential learning and critical self-awareness (2005)[42]. Certainly the 'learning organisation' model (see Roper & Pettit, 2002; Eyben, 2006: David et al., 2006) links with the need for 'self-awareness' that is emphasised by Vaux (2003) and Gilbert (2005). Gilbert seeks to enhance and increase the "awareness and capacity to listen", in order to diminish "the self's power to distort our motives and actions" (*op cit*:65). Gilbert's seemingly simple strategy for self-awareness centres on listening skills and self-reflection. Without extending this discussion into the art of communication (as in Laing, 1967; Buber, 1970; Fromm, 1978; or Carkhuff, 1983), Gilbert is indicating the significant relevance of interpersonal relationships to development practice, whether in the field or within a development organisation. She concludes:

> Greater capacity for self-knowledge would not only provide aid workers with their greatest personal strength in whatever circumstances they find themselves but also minimise the risk of doing harm in an increasingly complex world *(2005:68)*.

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[41] "Passion and commitment" are found to be key motivational factors for joining Oxfam New Zealand .

[42] Chambers also argues for a "pedagogy for the non-oppressed", with particular reference to graduates of development studies and their need to relinquish academic theory (headwork) in favour of heart-work (feelings and behaviour).

3.7   Distinguishing development values

Discussion thus far has shown that sources of values are various. Models and definitions of development derive from these sources, and are influenced by culture, socialisation and life experience, and by the prevailing political economy. There is no question that values are demonstrated in behaviour, nor the influence of personal motivation underlying behaviour. Values may be sorted on a continuum or placed in a hierarchy – but in which order depends on the value-position of the arbiter. Yes, it can be argued that there are universal values, but questions of which ones and how far they can be applied remain. O'Leary's thesis on the influence of values on development practice in Cambodia concludes that "values are not essentially different but are prioritised differently" (2006a:vii).

Various discourses can be used to analyse development values, though each would draw from different perspectives, as evident in the following construction.

- The meaning of 'development'. Is it 'growth and progress' (Esteva, 1992) or 'change and continuity' (Rist, 2002), or to be read from a company balance sheet or growth in gross domestic product (GDP)?
- Development ethics. "Development ethics is the means of the means" (Goulet, in Crocker, 1991:464). Goulet is suggesting that development ethics may offer a way to escape the economics-based tautology of development in which ends are conflated with means (see Cowen & Shenton, 1995).
- Definitions of 'good' development.   'Poverty reduction' is the slogan for Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), the strategic imperative, yet statistics recording outcomes of particular targets do not measure expressions of improved well-being, freedoms and social justice.
- Development as *process*. Is it simply a project or a programme; or the *means* to 'good change' (Edwards, 1996; Chambers, 2005) or the 'good life' (Goulet, 1973)?[43]

These different starting points also represent the sources of vigorous debates on development and are relative to organisational positions. It is both inappropriate and impossible to pin 'development' and its values to a one-way street or end-stage.

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[43] Mosse (2004) argues that aid policies drive the *process* of development, not the *ends* of development.

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Nevertheless, Table 3.6 draws the themes of this chapter into a framework for understanding the expression of development values. The table highlights how values can start with big ideas (the meta-theories) which are then filtered through intrinsic ends presented in development theory and literature. Instrumental value positions add a further dimension through organisational and practice principles. The personal attributes included in the table represent the desirable qualities for a humanist practice of development.

3.8   Summary: The Architecture of Development Values

Exploration of development literature and discussion in this chapter has argued for an articulated vision, a mission and values which underpin organisational structure and procedures, development practice and individual behaviour. Discussion has also shown that expressed values can offer a guide, a road-map for development. Table 3.6 summarises the concepts presented in this chapter, and presents an architecture for understanding and appraising the value-base of the philosophy, theory and practice of development.

The metaphor of an architect's blueprint is not a definitive design. Like any artistic endeavour, the choice of development theory, values, organisational and practice principles will depend on the eye of the beholder and a personal approach to the canvas of 'development'. Nevertheless, it is the explicit expression of values that helps us understand what lies behind the *why* and *how* of development.

Table 3.6:   The Architecture of Development Values

Meta-theories of Development Ethics:	Development Values[44] (Instrinsic values) [Ends]	Organisational Principles / Strategies (Instrumental values) [Means]	Practice Principles (Instrumental Values) [Means]
• Virtues • Utilitarianism • Rights / Duties • Social Justice • Capabilities	• *Humanism* (vs economism) • *People-centred* (Korten, 1990) • *Process*, not ends and means • 'growth and progress' (modernism) • 'change and continuity' • 'good life' – life sustenance, esteem, freedom (Goulet, 1973) • 'responsible well-being' (Chambers, 2004) • 'fairness, accountability, dignity' (Fowler, 2000) • 'good change' (Edwards, 1996; Chambers, 2005) • Poverty Reduction (WB, MDGs) • Equity, human rights and responsibilities, democracy, protection of minorities, peaceful conflict resolution and fair negotiation (HDR, 2004) • Empowerment, inclusiveness, accountability (Oxfam GB) • 'More Life' (Rolston, 1990)	• Organisational values / culture • Organisational structure • Management systems • Development management process • Operational procedures, (reflecting practice principles and required skill competencies): • Social/stakeholder/environmental analysis • Learning organisation (action/reflection) • Facilitation • Monitoring and Evaluation	• Participation • Empowerment • Sustainability • Capacity-building • Advocacy • Gender equity

Personal attributes		
Fowler (2005:173): • Self-awareness • Honesty (in motivation) • Respect for others • Embrace difference Gilbert (2005): • Self-awareness • Capacity to listen	Chambers (2005): • Primacy of the personal (behaviour and attitudes) • Reflection • Experiential learning • Critical self-awareness	

Source: Author

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[44] This list draws together various denotations found in the literature as cited. Note these concepts are often couched as the aspirations or 'results' of development.

Chapter 4:   The Place of NGDOs in the Aid Chain

4.1   Introduction

In Chapter 2 the dialectics of development were examined in the context of development paradigms.   Chapter 3 explored the meaning and nature of development values. The implications of both these chapters are now brought to bear on the value concepts and issues relative to NGDOs, thus setting a framework for undertaking research on Oxfam New Zealand.

The discussion draws on the literature to present the historical context and evolution of NGDOs. Issues of terminology, their involvement in programmes funded by official development assistance (ODA), their extraordinary rise in numbers and influence, and the consequences of their exponential growth are explored in relation to the expression of values. The function of NGDOs in latter-day development practice has raised impassioned debates about their accountability to donors rather than to primary stakeholders, concerns for the level of NGDO co-optation by major funding institutions, and questions about who benefits. These debates are at the heart of determining the place of NGDOs in the aid chain. New directions for NGDOs are considered under headings of advocacy, accountability, being a 'learning organisation', RBA, and international alliances.

4.2   Definitions of NGDOs and Related Terminology

Just as 'development' and 'values' have many meanings and interpretations, so does the term 'non-governmental organisation' (NGO).   Although 'NGDO' is adopted in this thesis there is no universal acceptance of this nomenclature. Here I draw on development literature to explain the various definitions and labels attached to NGOs engaged in development, and come to an ambivalent conclusion.

According to Vakil the term 'non-governmental organisation' was officially invented by UNESCO in 1950, defined as "officially recognised organisations with no government affiliation that had consultative status with UN" (1997:2068). Literature on NGOs (domestic and developmental agencies) has produced what

Vakil describes as an "alphabet soup of acronyms" and a range of descriptors that defy classification.

Lindenberg & Bryant offer a generic description of an NGO:

> NGOs are organisations that:
> - provide useful (in some specified legal sense) goods or services, thereby serving a specified public purpose.
> - are not allowed to distribute profits to persons in their individual capacities.
> - are voluntary in the sense that they are created, maintained, and terminated on the basis of voluntary decisions and initiatives by members or a board of directors.
> - exhibit *values-based* rationality, often with ideological components; may be national, multinational or fully multinational *(2001:6, emphasis added).*

NGOs are often referred to as the 'third sector', to distinguish them from a government sector and the 'for profit' private business sector.[45] However, Uphoff argues that development NGOs are merely a *sub-sector* of the private sector because they operate on the basis of relationships with 'clients' or 'beneficiaries' (1996:25). Saxby draws a *typology* of 'private aid agencies' contingent on the different accountabilities to state contractors, donating public, beneficiaries and members (1996:42-43). Arrossi et al. subdivide development NGOs into a number of *categories*, according to their functional interest in "public issues and concerns" (1994:39). Whether 'sub-sector', 'typology' or 'category', NGO is a term that covers many bases.[46]

There is yet another stream of descriptors. In the United States development organisations associated with USAID are termed 'private voluntary organisations'

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[45] 'Non-profit institutions' (NPIs) can form a significant contribution to national economies in terms of GDP. In New Zealand for example, NPIs contributed $3.64 billion to GDP (2.6%); the proportion rises to 4.9% when volunteer contribution is included, thus equating NPIs with major industries and corporate businesses (Statistics NZ, 2007).

[46] Including, according to Fowler (2005) a number of pejoratives: BRINGO = briefcase NGO; CONGO = commercial/corporate NGO; FANGO = fake NGO; MONGO = 'my own NGO', a personal possession; PONGO = a politician's NGO; and the ultimate insult: NGO = 'nothing going on'.

(PVOs) (Korten, 1990:2).[47]   Sogge (1996) refers to 'private foreign aid'. Alternatively, Western-based organisations might be referred to as 'Northern NGOs' to distinguish them from their 'Southern' counterparts (Clark, 1992). In developing countries, organisations involved in development are variously called a 'civil service organisation' (CSO) or a 'community-based organisation' (CBO), or more simply a 'local NGO' (Fowler, 1999). The term 'grass-roots organisation' (GRO) became popular during the 1960s and 1970s and is now rarely mentioned, yet its meaning of a group formed out of common interest and particularly a desire for social, political or economic change at a local level is re-formulated in CSO and CBO. GRO remains alive in NGO development language of empowerment and self-determination (Arrossi et al., 1994; Fowler 1999).[48]

In Fisher's view (1997) the multifarious definitions, structures and functions of NGOs have been essentialised and relativised in the literature, and he calls for comparative analysis of the different configurations. To unravel further the 'multifarious' configurations, I have summarised Vakil's analysis (1997) in Table 4.1 as a template for identifying NGOs. Vakil takes into account the problems of definition, arising from multi-faceted functions of NGOs, their different stages of evolution, their diverse activities and multi-sectoral coverage. She argues for the benefits of utilising 'essential and contingent descriptors' for both research and practice. While it could be reasonably easy to identify the essential descriptors and the sector focus of most NGOs, it is the 'evaluative attributes' that would take some critical analysis. Questions arise about 'what the organisation *says* it is doing' and whether it is '*doing* what it says'.   The question of the expression of values is thus present even in defining NGDOs.

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[47] See also www.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/private_voluntary_cooperation
[48] Another acronym to add to the mix is INGO, for 'international non-governmental organisation', as adopted by Chambers (2005) but this nomenclature can be too narrow. For example, Amnesty International, World Wildlife Fund, and Greenpeace are all INGOs, representing global networks bound in a common cause. Though their aims are closely linked to development goals for human and civil rights, and to ecological and environmental sustainability, such organisations may not be directly involved in development practice and projects. Sogge refers to them as "knowledge-based NGOs" (1996:145). It is also an acronym which could easily slip into DINGO when applied to development organisations, a word that connotes a wild animal with a rather notorious reputation.

Chapter 4 – The Place of NGDOs in the Aid Chain

Table 4.1:   Schema for Taxonomy of NGOs

Essential Descriptors			Contingent Descriptors
	Level of Operation • International • National • Regional • Community-based	**Sectoral Focus** • Health • Housing • Education • Rural/urban • Gender	
	Orientation • Welfare/charity model or development focus • Commodified outputs • Advocacy • Development education • Networking • Research	**Evaluative Attributes** • Accountability • Efficiency • Values • Control of resources • Gender equality • Level/types of participation	

Adapted from Vakil (1997:2062-66)

Discussion thus far illustrates the problems of definition, particularly related to the level of operation and orientation of NGOs. In this study I am following the example of Fowler (1997) and de Senillosa (1998) in adopting the acronym NGDO. Hence, as Smillie (1996) argues, NGDO is simply a subset of NGO in which the focus is on 'development' either locally, nationally or in the international arena. Fowler's definition of an NGDO in the 21st century reads:

> [They are] third-party serving, non-profit based, legally constituted non-state organisations, directly or indirectly reliant on the system of international aid. In most cases they function as intermediaries to promote sustainable development, social justice and enduring improvement in the circumstances of poor and excluded groups *(2006:601, N1).*

Even with 'NGDO' there is some confusion. Iriye (2002) uses this acronym in presenting a long history of NGDOs and their international roles, yet makes an ongoing distinction between humanitarian relief and development aid. Minear & Walker (2004) offer an extensive report on the future for 'humanitarian NGOs', on behalf of World Vision, CARE, Oxfam USA, Oxfam GB and Catholic Relief Services (and others), yet all these organisations are also involved in the front-line of

development practice.[49] However, Minear & Walker concur with Slim (2001) when they conclude:

> Traditional divisions between natural and manmade disasters, between relief efforts and development work, between humanitarian action and human rights, between environmental concern and work conditions will seem increasingly threadbare and vacuous (2004:97).

Thus the ambivalence evident in NGDO definitions and associated terminology causes some confusion in identifying the role and function of NGDOs in the global frame of development. This conclusion is not surprising, given the debates within and between development discourses and the influence of development values. It also suggests that NGDOs themselves are not clear on where their values lie. For example, Saxby questions whether NGDOs are "autonomous agents or 'hired guns'" for official aid programmes (1996:37), and Edwards & Hume (1996a) ask if they are not 'too close for comfort'? Whose side are they on: the economists' or the humanists'?

4.3   Lessons from History

Of course humanitarian aid does not originate in 20th century development programmes. From the biblical Good Samaritan to sanctuary offered by medieval monasteries and hospices, from Elizabethan Poor Laws to the Welfare State, concern for needy people is a well-established human trait. But it was the advent of major social dislocation caused through European revolutions, not least in agriculture and industrialisation that engendered the 'idea' of intentional development (as argued by Cowen & Shenton, 1995; and acknowledged by Norgaard, 1994; and Shanin, 1997). Likewise, the impact of colonisation disrupted social order and cultural practice throughout the Americas, Africa and Asia (see Frank, 1966; Catley, 1976; Esteva, 1992, 1994; Escobar, 1997).

The 19th century fictional accounts of Thomas Hardy and Charles Dickens offer a grim tenor of conditions in England, but more pertinent is the emergence of organisations bent on providing relief from the negative effects of urbanisation, punitive labour conditions and outright poverty. Two contrasting types of

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[49] Certainly the immediate responses by major NGDOs (including Oxfam New Zealand) to the Asian tsunami of 2004 would support this contention.

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organisation arise in this period: the 'charitable' and the 'settlement'. The former organisation could be church-based, or founded on philanthropic goodwill, offering dispensation of food, clothing, perhaps access to accommodation and employment.[50] Development as charity was 'doing-to' people on the basis of what others thought best, meriting the term 'deserving poor'. According to Pearson, this kind of welfare programme was based on an Arcadian view that social problems could be overcome by "sweet, subtle human sympathy and the power of human love" (1975:192). Pearson also describes the alternative approach adopted by 'settlement organisations' which worked *with* people, establishing goals and objectives determined by the people of the Victorian slum tenements, facilitating changes that the inhabitants wanted. Here are the origins of 'community development' and 'radical social work' that inspired advocacy and community-based political activism from the 1960s[51]. We can also recognise this approach in Freire's pedagogical empowerment of Brazilian peasants (1970). Pearson concludes that both structural inequalities and individual needs should be taken into account as part of the "domain of political and moral discourse" (1975:197). Unfortunately politics and moral values frequently turn out to be uncomfortable bedfellows, as Pearson recognises[52], and it is therefore no surprise that the course of NGDO operations have been beset by a range of competing interests.

This historical summary indicates the emergence of two distinct NGO development models: the 'altruistic' and the 'people-centred'. More recent NGDO history replicates both the charity and settlement models, the former evident in fundraising programmes and humanitarian assistance and the latter in capacity-building projects based on participation and empowerment practices. Nevertheless, NGDOs have emerged as key players in development, and their current advocacy activities support humanist values, despite a temporary ensnarement within the economic paradigm. The next section describes how NGDOs rose to such prominence.

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[50] This sort of project is reproduced in contemporary funding appeal programmes for child sponsorship and 'buying a goat', and in responses to environmental disasters such as the Asian Tsunami and Hurricane Katrina.
[51] For example, Civil Rights movement in US, the rise of Feminism, and later Gay Rights and Disability Rights organisations.
[52] Also noted in Chapter 2.

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4.4   The Rise and Rise of NGDOs

Korten (1987) describes three distinctive 'generations' of development action strategies emerging since 1950. The first is relief and welfare; then local self-reliance (as in the rise of CSOs); and thirdly, sustainable systems development. These generations are not mutually exclusive, nor open to precise definition. As Korten acknowledges, the first and second modes of development remain both needed and appropriate, yet both are better off if they have embraced sustainability in their strategic approach (1987:149). Korten also recognises that different organisations may undertake different aspects of these generations.

Elliott interprets the 3rd generation of development as one grounded in empowerment and "training for transformation", a process for developing critical consciousness (1987:58-59). Korten (1990) acknowledges this process in defining a 4th generation of development as 'people's movements', also described by de Senillosa as contributing to structural economic and political changes to favour marginalised and impoverished peoples (1998:46). De Senillosa goes on to suggest a 5th generation of NGDOs, in which these organisations become

> 'transmission belts' for the perceptions, concerns and struggles of the South, while also assuming their role as funders of 'added value' via development education, awareness-raising and lobbying – all with the objective of democratising and transforming the structures of their own societies, and as equal partners with Southern NGDOs, global society itself *(1998:49)*.

Korten's third generation strategy of sustainable development marks a turning point for NGDOs. If 'people-centred' development was to succeed in poverty reduction, its practice had to join with, or at least work alongside, national and international programmes, beyond the limitations of small-scale programmes in local communities. Hence in the late 1980s the call went out for 'scaling-up' of organisational strengths, improving technical and strategic competence and collaboration with other agencies and organisations. Edwards & Hume (1992a) argued for scaling-up as a means to improve NGDO impact, and Chambers (2005) continues to refer to a scaling-up of his participatory methodologies to reflect his model of development as 'responsible well-being'.

This shift in NGDO thinking coincides with the global rise of neo-liberal economics and its influence on development programmes. If state functions were to be devolved to other sectors under conditional funding from IFIs, then NGDOs were in a good position to fill the resulting vacuum: NGDOs had experience on the ground; they could offer organisational structure and expertise to undertake an expanded mission (Edwards & Hume, 1992; Fowler, 1997). Thus began a relationship between NGDOs and ODA in the delivery of development and responsibility for the provision of basic services such as health care and education. The resulting explosion of new organisations, both Northern and Southern, is therefore not surprising. NGDO development practice might have been "more effective, cheaper, and better targeted at low-income groups than official aid" (Van der Heijden 1987:107), but in outcome they were, in Dolan's view, "midwives to integration into capitalist economic and political systems" (1992:210). Temple (1997) calls NGDOs 'the Trojan Horse of development', suggesting there were ulterior motives not wholly driven by humanist concerns.

There is some confusion in the data reported on the growth in NGDO numbers and the proportion of ODA funding they receive. Figure 4.1 is a graphic illustration of the rise of NGDOs, supplemented in Table 4.2 with information from other sources, and with data on ODA funding transfers and budget dependency. Hayden's graphs (Figure 4.1), showing the steep rise in NGO numbers from 1990, would be dramatic in any line of business and they underline the acerbic views of Dolan and Temple cited above. In Table 4.2 there are variations in dates and figures which make it difficult to assess details beyond an overall massive increase in numbers of organisations, the funding transfers from ODA and NGDO budget dependency.

Figure 4.1: The Rise of NGOs
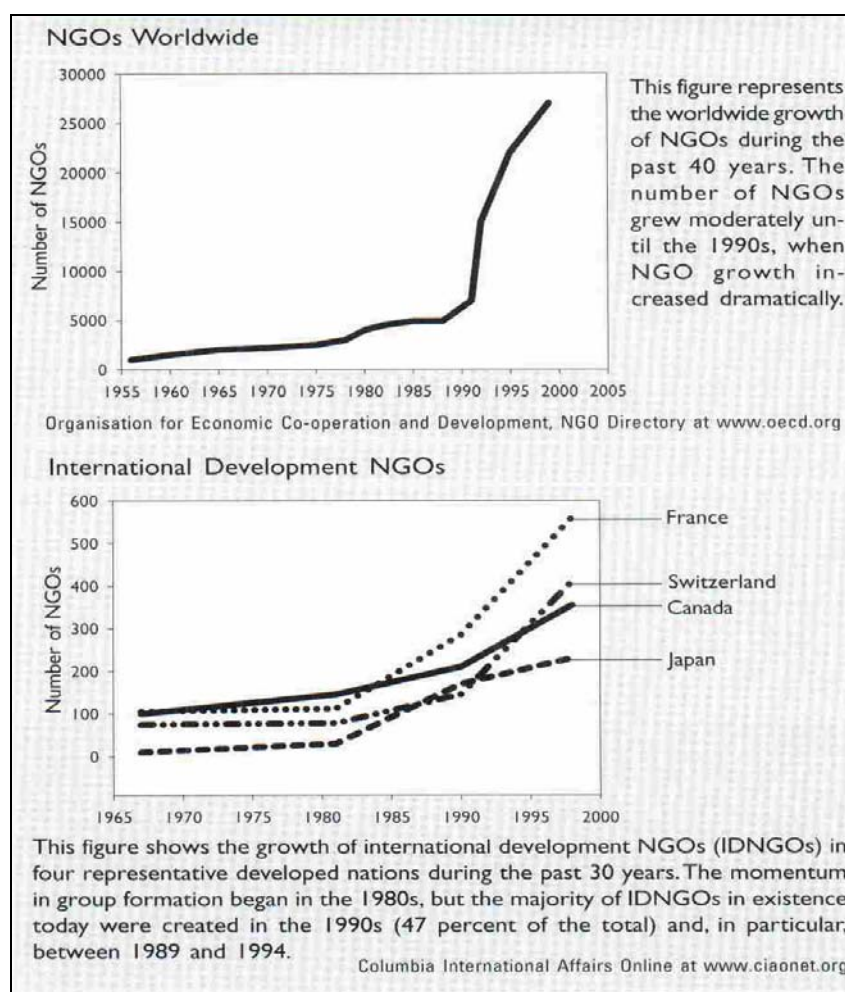
Source: Hayden, 2002:59

Table 4.2:   Data Relating to Numbers of NGOs and Funding Sources

Numbers of NGDOs	• 1970-89, international NGOs increased from 2300 to 24,000 (but may not be all development organisations). (Arrossi, et al, 1994) • 1989, OECD figures: 4000 NGDOs, working with 10-20,000 Southern NGOs (Edwards & Hume, 1992) • In the South, the availability of official funding led to an 82% increase of NGOs in Nepal, 1990-1993; Tunisian NGOs grew 64%, 1989-91 (Edwards & Hume, 1996a)
ODA Funding Transfers to NGDOs	• 1970-85: increase from $1b to $4b (Van der Heijden, 1987) • Proportion of OECD aid funding allocated to NGDOs increased from 0.7% in 1975 to 3.6% in 1985; in 1994 to total was $2.3b. (Van der Heijden, 1987; Edwards & Hume, 1996a) • OECD reports 1600 organisations receiving ODA in 1980; by 1993 this figure has risen to more than 3000 (MFAT VASS report, 1998) • 1993: one-third of WB projects involved NGOs; 1994, inc to over 50%; more than 15% total aid channelled through NGOs (Zaidi, 1999) • 1995: a total of $3.5b, a 3-fold increase from1983 (Fowler, 1998) • 1970: $1b; 1997: $7.2b (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001)
% NGDO budget dependency on ODA	• In the early 1970s more than 90% of NGDO funding came from members and supporters (Van der Heijden, 1987); • Varies from less than 50% to well over 90% (Smillie, 1996) • 1984: 7-15%; increase over 10 years to 18-52% (Edwards & Hume, 1996a) • Oxfam New Zealand 2006 Annual Report records 35.5% of total budget came from government grants.[53]

Source: Author (all figures in US$)

Despite inconsistencies in the data it is clear that NGDOs have become significant players in global development programmes.   The consequences and practice implications for this economic and global expansion have also impacted on NGDO functions and operations as the next section outlines.

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[53] As reported by Catherall (2007), 30% appears to be the benchmark for New Zealand NGDOs. This issue is explored further in Chapter 6.

4.5 Consequences of Exponential Growth for NGDOs

Korten's generational analysis (1987) could represent orthodox organisational growth theory, but by the mid-1980s NGDOs seem to be caught in a web of intervening variables that undermined their original mission, and certainly their fundamental values. There are three outcomes of the rise of NGDOs from the 1970s. The first is the steady and prolific publication of academic analyses and critiques, followed (or accompanied) by advice of 'what you ought to do' nature. The second outcome is the proliferation of Southern CSOs who began to apply pressure to NGDOs in relation to participation and self-determination (Smillie, 1995; De Senillosa, 1998; Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001). And thirdly, there is the emergence of a new kind of relationship with official development agencies. These issues are discussed through reviewing relative literature.

By the mid-1990s there was a raft of writing debating the role and function of NGDOs in development. Edwards & Hume lamented NGDO failure to articulate an alternative vision of development, to analyse the links between micro- and macro-conditions, to engage in constructive dialogue for advocacy instead of "shouting from the sidelines" (1992:21). Dolan (1992) is concerned for a 'survival of the fittest' mentality evident in NGDO image-making and brand protection; and Clark is critical of the residual colonialism arising from NGDO centralised decision-making and 'we know best' attitudes (1992:193). It seemed there was much hand-wringing on future directions, much like the content of critiques that preoccupied post-modern development theorists such as Esteva (1992), Sachs (1992), Booth (1993) and Escobar (1997) during this time. Edwards and Hume (1996a) expressed significant concerns for the role of NGDOs, suggesting that a relationship with IFIs compromised performance, distorted accountability and weakened NGDO legitimacy. Smillie (1996) went further, perceiving parallels with trans-national corporations (TNCs), in which aid organisations are imitating corporate behaviour, driven by global ambition. Fowler & Biekart claimed that rapid expansion, driven by official aid funding, pushed NGO values into "altruistic ambiguity, [or] naked commercialism under the cloak of charity" (1996:130). In Fisher's view, co-optation by IFIs put NGDOs at risk of becoming

> [A]n organisational mechanism for an international welfare system, doomed to be little more than the front-men for the 'lords of poverty' *(1997:454).*

Here is evidence of how the economic development paradigm is able to embrace its opposition, and how overlooking organisational values can pervert humanist development intentions.

These indictments continue to 2000 and beyond. Wallace (2000) describes how the ideology of corporate managerialism has infiltrated NGDOs through employing staff from the private sector, and through engaging (volunteer) board directors more accustomed to reading a bottom line profit-and-loss statement than considering the less tangible measures of changes in peoples' well-being. Accountability was always a one-way street, upwards to the institution or the people who controlled the purse-strings. If the drive from the mid-1990s was to become more 'professional', then professionalisation pursued a path that abnegated the rights of the people NGDOs purported to serve, and which certainly obviated declared organisational beliefs and the possibility of living up to them.

There is as much advice for NGDOs as there are critiques, with a proviso offered by Edwards & Hume that there is "no such thing as an 'optimal' strategy for all NGOs, even given similarity in context and background" (1992:211). Yet they go on to prescribe the key areas for scaling-up: working with government, operational expansion, lobbying and advocacy, and supporting local-level initiatives (*op cit*: 212-3). Such scaling-up required more research and better appraisal and analysis, improved monitoring and evaluation processes, becoming a 'learning organisation', developing skills, credibility and partnerships. These words feature in more recent studies of development management (see Wallace, 2000; Thomas, 2000, 2007; Roper & Pettit, 2002), and relate in no small part to NGDO organisational values, indicating a growing awareness of the relevance and importance of articulated values. The biggest challenge for NGDOs, Edwards & Hume contend, is in maintaining traditional strengths of flexibility, innovation and attachment to values and principles (1992:215), and they continue to impart this message in subsequent publications (1996, 1996a[54]). Korten has a similar message: NGDOs need to regain their vision, to tap into the core values of their origins and the commitment of their pioneers (1990:215). Other writers followed suit with more pragmatic suggestions. Fowler (1997) offers "a guide to enhancing the effectiveness

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[54] See also Edwards, Hume & Wallace, 2000; Edwards & Sen, 2000).

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of NGOs in international development".[55]   Eade & Ligteringen (2001) include a range of recommendations emphasising different elements of development practice. Likewise, Lewis & Wallace note "the need to find new roles and relevance in theory, policy and practice" (2000:xi), in order for NGDOs to maintain their comparative advantage over official agencies – which, as outlined by Fowler & Biekart (1996), is their better reach, their innovation, low cost, speed and flexibility, inclusiveness and higher probity. In effect, all of these writers are arguing for the articulation of values, and their importance to the well-being of NGDOs and the effectiveness of their practice.

The explosion in the number of CSOs in developing countries has also led to critiques from the South of NGDO intervention, much as Third World women had raised issues about their status in relation to the global feminist movement during the 1980s. Korten (1990), Esteva & Prakesh (1998), and Narayan et al. (2000), all testify to the need to attend to the 'voices of the poor'. In Fowler's view, pressures from Southern NGOs have arisen because of

> [N]ational sentiments, disappointment with supposed partnership arrangements; inconsistencies due to staff turnover; and, perhaps most importantly, increasing support for the notion that the problem of development is less to do with lack of resources to be made good by aid transfers and expatriate expertise than with local leadership, institutional arrangements and capabilities, and the policies required to mobilise and use existing resources well. This perspective diminishes the justification for the presence of foreign agencies *(1999:145)*.

Such critiques begin to sound like 'an inconvenient truth'. Or, as Van Rooy puts it, "most NGOs have successfully worked themselves out of a job, both by their success at one level and by their organisational obsolescence at another" (2001:37). This point is taken up by Fowler in considering a future scenario in which "NGDOs can no longer rely on a system of international concessional aid as a reference point for their role, work and continuity" (2000:589). Van der Heijden (1987) recognised this

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[55] Fowler's thesis is that NGDO effectiveness rests on a *balance* between "contradictory forces, expectations, demands and processes associated with performing complex tasks in collaboration with resource-poor, powerless people in unstable and often hostile environments" (1997:xiii), suggesting prerequisites for development agents are the hand-eye coordination of a juggler, and the physical flexibility and strength of a gymnast.

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point some 20 years ago when he observed the inconsistency between NGDO dependence on right-of-centre funding and their left-of-centre objectives.

Expansion and its consequences of the past 20 years appear to have caught NGDOs between a rock and a hard place. What they might have gained in experience, organisational growth and competence came at the expense of maintaining a sense of direction and their integrity. They discovered they were simply another link in the aid chain, to be exploited in the global machinery of the economic paradigm of development.

Figure 4.2 reproduces Fowler's conception of the chain of interactions in development, and the increasing complexity of relationships in delivering development outcomes. The diagram illustrates how development intentions are filtered in a one-way linear direction through four separate organisational structures, leaving little room for CBO influence at the end of the chain. As Fowler & Biekart observe:

> At the end of the chain, all agency-supported changes taking place among the target population have become dependent on a whole range of other determinants including the weather, a functioning infrastructure, people's attitudes, political stability, inflation, exchange rates, organisational self-interest, government policies, behaviour of donors, shifts in international terms of trade and so on (*1996:116).*

Figure 4.2: NGOs in the Aid Chain
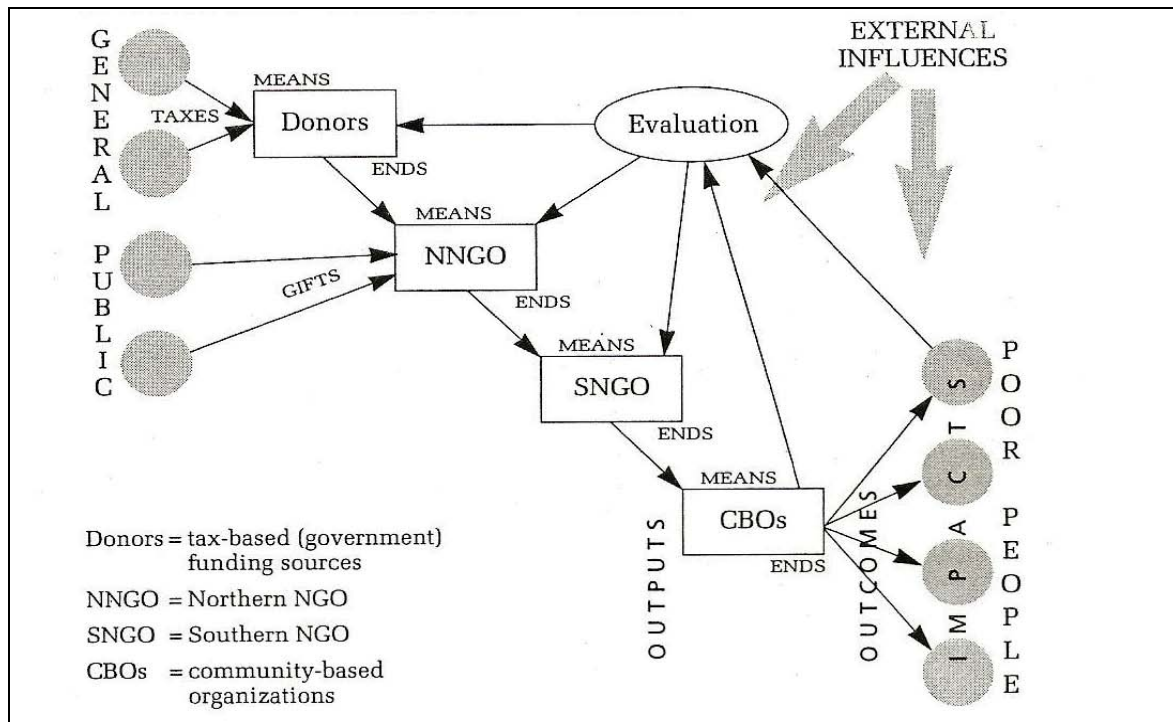
There is no mention here of development values, which must surely be modified in passing through each link of the chain. Development, as described by Fowler and Biekart, is a complex process, and elements of this complexity have been explored in previous chapters. Development is not a linear predictable process, according to Ellerman (2002), raising arguments that challenge the basis of Western epistemology (see also David, 2004).

The next section considers how NGDOs are grappling with these issues, with reference to some of their focal developments.

4.6   New Directions

NGDOs are now "scrambling for a new identity" (Van Rooy, 2001:38). While the geopolitical world of development and IFIs might focus on PRSPs or SWAps, and the MDGs, NGDOs are following Korten's 20-year-old advice "to achieve a clearer definition of [their] own purpose and distinctive competence, and to define a strategy for developing required new capacities" (1987:150).

Lindenberg & Bryant have researched the state of NGDOs through examining the structural and policy transformation of six leading organisations (including Oxfam) in response to globalisation. Their findings indicate emerging organisational imperatives, summarised as:

- Re-examine values and create a new vision and mission;
- Redesign relief and development programmes;
- Transform organisational culture and increase accountability; and
- Build global networks for services, fundraising and advocacy institutions.

(Adapted from Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001:23)

The pressures for such change, according to Lindenberg & Bryant, derive from new forms of poverty, new waves of complex emergencies and pressures for efficiency and accountability, all of which can be set against the weaknesses of the Bretton Woods institutions, a declining capacity for national governments, and the question of engaging in global advocacy.[56]

Hailey (2000) leads a call for NGDOs to articulate their values, with a more direct focus on development practice. Values define NGDO identities and offer a 'niche market' for development.[57] Assessing their core values is a strategic imperative (and a moral imperative, as noted in Chapter 3) for reclaiming their rightful territory. Indicators of key organisational values, according to Hailey, are:

- Genuine participatory planning, monitoring and evaluation processes;
- Ability to undertake critical reflection on experience and learning;
- Capacity for accountability and transparency in relation to local communities; and
- Legitimacy with, and embeddedness in, local society.

(Adapted from Hailey, 2000:404-406)

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[56] It might also be observed that organisations, as open and dynamic systems, will adapt and change according to both internal and external pressures. Going out of business is not an option yet contemplated by NGDOs.

[57] Being in a 'niche market' might sound like an advertising executive's dream, but the point to be made here is the distinctive role and function NGDOs might play in the wider theatre of development.

Hailey is suggesting NGDOs need to move from the semantics of development practice language to being grounded in a reality that meets the interests of developing communities.

Thus, the pressure for organisational change is both structural and procedural. NGDOs appear to be giving greater focus to their roles and functions, to their values, to organisational development and to how they might operate as advocates to the wider world for the people in developing countries who strive for their own place and space. David & Mancini (2004) detail the change process for Action Aid under the title *Going Against the Flow: making organisational systems part of the solution rather than part of the problem,* a heading that certainly illustrates the intention of change. Further evidence is in the advent of global association and alliances to give strength to advocacy campaigns. NGDO organisational and financial partnerships with Southern NGOs (see Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001) support capacity-building and self-determination for development in the south.

Debates on current practice and the future of NGDOs will not go away, given the range of meanings of 'development' and 'values' and interpretations of 'NGDOs'. Concerns for the humanist principles and practice of advocacy, accountability, international collaboration, devolution and inclusiveness (for example) will not find easy answers in the 21st century. But NGDO commitment to find their niche is evident in the selected issues examined below.

4.6.1 Advocacy

Support and argument for a cause is not a new phenomenon, as the initial beginnings of organisations like Oxfam and Save the Children indicate. NGDOs have long enjoyed consultative status with UN and the World Bank, offering their perspective on development strategies and programme planning (Vakil, 1997; Iriye, 2002). NGDO fund-raising programmes rest on public support for their causes, and advocacy in the different forms of awareness-raising and public education, protest and lobbying activities is now stock-in-trade for development organisations, both in the North and the South. Fisher (1997) describes how NGDOs can initiate and sustain social movements, or articulate protest and collective action in their poverty reduction campaigns through "thickening webs of trans-national networks" (1997:452). He also raises concerns about the legitimacy of such activities,

reflecting the question of 'who benefits': the organisation or the primary stakeholders of development programmes.   Lissner's work on the politics of altruism (1977) remains relevant, supporting Fisher's contention:

> The political behaviour of a voluntary agency is determined by (1) the desire
> to maximise the influence of agency values on public opinion; (2) the desire
> to maximise agency income; and (3) the desire to maximise agency
> respectability and leverage *(Lissner, 1977:73).*

Maximising agency influence, income and status may well be part of the agenda, and without an explicit development mission and values an NGDO could well be termed a "selfish altruist" (Vaux, 2001), offering the equivalent moral dubiousness of the political rhetoric described in Chapter 2.

Nelson (2001) has no such reservations in reference to campaigns to abolish landmines, restrict child labour, protect dolphins and whales and extend political and civil rights, and he also acknowledges NGO honours received as Nobel Peace laureates.[58]   He notes how NGOs are most visible through environmental campaigns, and their success in getting the World Bank to do more, expanding its influence in environmental and social issues, but "campaigns targeting the WB, especially on matters of economic policy, often encounter ambiguity and uncertainty" (2001:268). On the other hand he argues that

> NGO advocacy with WB and IMF is ethically essential, substantively
> important and politically relevant to the relationship between the IFIs and
> national policy *(op cit:269).*

Nelson recommends that NGOs could be more effective in their advocacy with the World Bank if (1) terms and agendas of NGO partnerships are clarified; (2) they focus on practice and institutional change at the World Bank; and (3) they review their models and strategies against experience. This latter point is echoed by

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[58] Iriye (2002) offers a full list dating from 1904, though only MSF and Grameen Bank might be considered 'development organisations' within the definition adopted for this thesis.

Sogge (1996a) who highlights the importance of organisational reflection on the significance and impact of advocacy[59].

Earlier contributions to the debate on NGDO advocacy include Korten (1990) and Edwards (1993). In Korten's view there is

> potential to build a broad climate of public support that focuses political pressure on otherwise unaccountable governments in ways that may not be possible through purely domestic initiatives, [offering] opportunities to reshape the agendas of governments and public international assistance agencies via participation in national and international policy for a *(1990:84)*.

Edwards (1993) recommends a clearer sense of strategy and better ways of linking local-level action and analysis with international advocacy, in order for "the doormat to influence the boot", a not-so-subtle reference to the power imbalance between IFIs and NGDOs. Viable alternatives to accepted (economic) orthodoxies also need to be developed.

Such linking of local with global issues raises questions on future roles in development practice for NGDOs. Burgeoning numbers and organisational strength of Southern NGOs is shifting the balance of relationships with NGDO partners and thus a rupture to the aid chain illustrated above.

Speaking out against national and international policies is not without risk, as Corso[60] discovered in New Zealand in 1979, and as Lister & Nyamugasira (2003) reflect on the limitations imposed on CSO advocacy in Uganda. Lal (2003) and Dunning (2003) both raise questions about the legitimacy of advocacy undertaken by NGDOs on the international scene. Lal traces the history of Western individualism and the reactionary "collectivist morality" of the 19th century. NGOs, as global representatives of this morality, are "becoming party to the ethical imperialism being promoted by global Salvationists" (2003:57),

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[59] This point is heeded by Oxfam: during research at Oxfam New Zealand I observed representatives from Australia and Ireland who were present to review a recent campaign (see Chapter 7).

[60] Council for the Organisation of Relief Services Overseas, founded in 1944.

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but they are more likely than not to do great harm, particularly to the constituency in whose name they claim to speak – the world's poorest people *(Lal, 2003:55)*.

These are strong words, recalling the dialectics of development. Lal's opposition to the work of NGOs is drawn from the equally imperialist principles of neo-liberal economics.

Thwaites' paper explores the implications for NGDOs in preventive advocacy, with reference to the humanitarian disaster in Rwanda in the 1990s, in which Oxfam GB, World Vision and Médicins Sans Frontières (MSF) warned of impending crisis, only to be accused of dramatising events "to raise their own profile, influence and cash" (2001:307). The dilemma for NGDOs, as Thwaites points out, rests between being a prophet (rarely popular in their own time), and the shepherd-boy who cries wolf too often.[61]

On the other hand, advocacy can be interpreted as a basic civil and democratic right, speaking out on behalf of peoples' needs. And, it can be noted in passing, there is little objection raised to professional lobbying in politics or to the promotion of consumer goods through advertising. NGDO advocacy draws attention to political, humanitarian and socio-economic issues, and to the values of standing up and being counted. In a globalised world that can link individuals, communities and international organisations it is an important function that cannot be denied.

4.6.2 Accountability

NGDOs have been criticised for years for their inadequate reporting of results and development outcomes (as were official agencies, it should be noted). Questions of what happens to donor funds continue to surface, accompanied by critiques of the proportion spent on administration, marketing and consultants while ignoring what NGDOs might be achieving in the name of real development.[62] Such concerns

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[61] Debate on global warming and climate change presents a similar dilemma.

[62] As recently as July 2007 a 2-page spread in the Dominion Post reviewed concerns under the headline "Feeding the Aid Machine" (Catherall, 2007).

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also feed public ignorance on the business of running an aid organisation, and the complex dynamics of the development enterprise, as noted by Fowler (1996).

The importance of financial reporting to donors and funders is acknowledged as a contractual and legal requirement. At the same time, NGDOs are being pressured to give primary focus to downward reporting to local people and partner organisations. The development lexicon has been expanded to include 'participatory monitoring and evaluation' and 'transparency' (Chambers, 1997a; Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001). Thus, NGDOs are squeezed between formal quantitative accounting, and relationship-based qualitative assessment. Lindenberg & Bryant describe the pressure as "a circle of accountability … answering to volunteers, beneficiaries and donors [and] requiring a multi-directional flow of information" (2001:212).

Accountability is thus contingent on who is asking for information, and in what context, and forces attention to monitoring and evaluating processes and outcomes. Responding to accountability demands also invokes increased overhead costs (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001:226), and if research, evaluation and monitoring functions are added, NGDOs can be commended for maintaining organisational overheads to around 30% of total budget (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001; Catherall, 2007). Yet, as Uphoff infers, these quantifiable costs are rarely connected to the qualitative benefits of development practice and outcomes (1996:33).

None of these writers acknowledge that 'accountability' is an organisational value related to integrity in the sense of 'moral uprightness' and 'honesty'. These concepts are related to the next section which considers the 'learning organisation'.

4.6.3 The Learning Organisation

Earlier in this chapter reference was made to 'transformation' (Elliott, 1987), and to 'critical reflection' (Hailey, 2000). In Chapter 3 the relevance of organisational relationships was acknowledged, linking with 'experiential learning' and 'self-awareness' (Chambers, 2005; Gilbert, 2005). All of these concepts, together with 'monitoring and evaluation' are embodied in the meaning of a 'learning organisation'.

According to Roper & Pettit, a learning organisation infers a set of underlying values which contribute to valuing different kinds of knowledge and learning styles, creative thinking, working collectively and fostering leadership potential throughout the organisation (2002:259). In practice there are three levels of learning: single-loop (dealing with symptoms); double-loop (testing assumptions, identifying the roots of problems, and re-thinking strategy); and triple-loop (questioning the existence of the agency). Pasteur & Scott-Villiers (2005) illustrate the learning process as a cycle of action and reflection, as shown in Figure 4.3. They are concerned with closing the gap between rhetoric and reality. They note the time and space required for reflection, and also the necessary processes to encourage openness, risk-taking and creativity which relate to personal behaviour, to organisational systems and a wider institutional context. If Van Rooy described humanitarian aid as "public expressions of 'Do Now, Think Later' mentality" (2001:37), the concept of a learning organisation is encapsulated as "Don't just do something: stand there" (Minear, 1987:204; see also Sogge, 1996a).

Figure 4.3:   A Cycle of Learning and Action
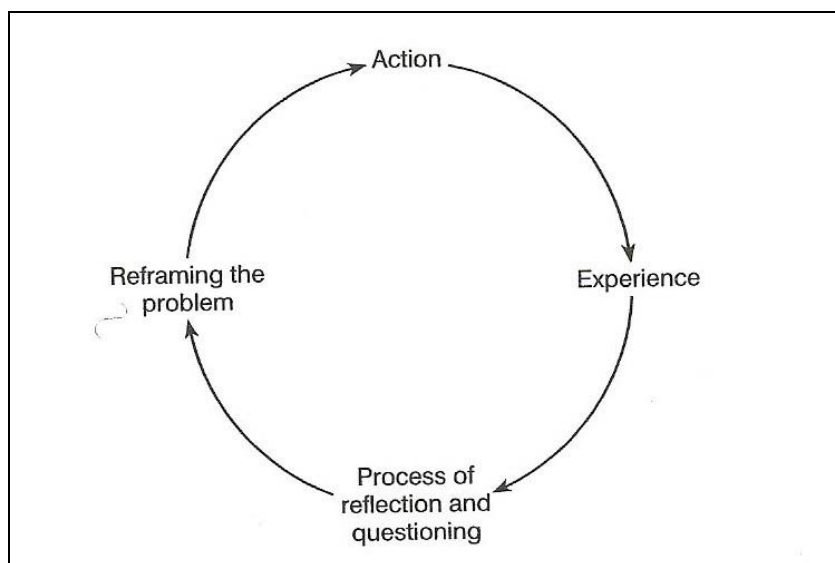
Source: Pasteur & Scott-Villiers, (2005:183)

Such a simple-sounding process has to confront a number of obstacles. Not least among these is the complexity of development itself: multiple components (economic and social and political), shifting agenda, and its unpredictable processes do not make an easy ride for practitioners to identify and predict improvements. Issues internal to the organisation such as staff turnover, a spread of international

offices with different cultural bases, and institutionalised dogma can all intervene in establishing a learning environment (Hofstede, 1994; Roper & Pettit, 2002; Mead, 2005; Pasteur, 2006). Nevertheless, as Edwards argues (1997), to develop capacity for learning and to make the connections is even more important than accumulating information: transformation, whether within the organisation or in poverty reduction, will not otherwise happen. Put another way, capacity-building, empowerment and participation are values just as important internally to NGDOs as they are in the field. These values also link with the rights-based approach to development, described in the next section.

4.6.4   A Rights-based Approach (RBA) to Development

RBA derives from Sen's philosophy on 'development as freedom' (1999) and is central to Oxfam New Zealand's development programmes, to be explored in Chapter 6. For the moment the following paragraphs offer a more generalised perspective.

In O'Leary's view, RBA involves the integration of principles of democracy, rights, justice, empowerment and good governance into development practice. The core principle is that "all people are citizens with rights, rather than passive beneficiaries of aid" (O'Leary, 2006a:9). Chandler claims that RBA is justified through "the language of morals and ethics rather than politics" (2001:683), thus highlighting the centrality of humanist values to NGDO development practice.

In reviewing the future of NGDOs Van Tuijl (2000) suggests a human rights focus is a positive direction, because (1) human rights as a normative instrument transcends global markets and the rise or decline in aid funding, and (2) the universality of human rights is supported by a strong legal, political, social and cultural global footing[63]. While some have argued that the UN Declaration of Human Rights derives from Western religious and political-philosophic traditions (see David, 2004), Van Tuijl claims that "values underpinning human rights resonate beyond the West" (2000:619). A human rights approach is a tool, not dogma. It is a universal political reality and "a language and framework offering a basis for the peaceful co-existence of axiomatic value-based systems" (Van Tuijl,

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[63] See also David, 2004:249ff.

2000:620). If the language of human rights is enshrined in NGDO mission statements and their global relationships then this strategic position

> will put them in the middle of brokering flexible and trans-national arrangements among states, markets and civil society players, using human rights standards as guiding principles *(Van Tuijl:625).*

Such a situation is more an ideal than a present reality, and being 'piggy-in-the-middle' can be more uncomfortable than rewarding. In sum, the foundation of humanist principles inherent in RBA puts NGDOs in direct confrontation with a global political economy.

4.6.5   International Alliances and Collaboration

A future for NGDOs in global association and collaboration is included in prescriptions for organisational development offered by Korten (1990), Fowler (1999), Edwards et al. (2000), Roche (2001), and Lindenberg & Bryant (2001). Collaboration is a sound principle in terms of avoiding duplication of services, reducing organisational overheads, and enhancing effective service delivery, and for NGDOs, a means of strengthening their global influence.[64]

Fowler (1999) suggests there are forces for NGDO decentralisation (through pressures from Southern NGOs and enhanced communication technologies for example), which are leading to the formation of global membership organisations. Lindenberg & Bryant (2001) take a closer examination of federations, international consultation and collaborative campaigns, describing various structures and their strengths and weaknesses, concluding that each organisation grows according to its evolutionary history and brand identity. In their view:

> The challenge of globalisation presents an inescapable reality. No organisation interested in relief and development can be successful alone. [The ideals of] genuinely global human improvement and mutual obligation … remind them that they need to work harder not only to cooperate in their

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[64] However, in my (New Zealand) experience NGOs are reluctant to surrender their identity and public profile, even for the sharing of administrative facilities. A proposal for joint service delivery in a small community with an organisation that shared common goals was vetoed because 'it would jeopardise sources of donor funding'. 'Patch protection' by NGDOs is noted by Dolan (1992), Lindenberg & Bryant (2001), and Thwaites (2001).

own spheres but also to find ways to link with their allies in the developing world and devise global governance and organisational structures consistent with their ideals and political realities *(op cit: 152)*.

Fowler supports this view, perceiving that building upwards via global associations will lead to international democracy within development organisations, pointing out that:

> The argument for devolution is simply a logical consequence of realising the goals in local capacity development and policy advocacy that most NGDOs already espouse *(1999:149)*.

4.7   Summary

Despite the growth in numbers of NGDOs and their reliance on ODA, this review of the NGDO roles and functions shows there is more to the scheme of development than falling in behind the prevailing development discourse and obedience to rules of the game. It has also indicated the relevance and importance of expressed values to development organisations and their practice.

This chapter has traced the complexities of terminology and the historical background of NGDOs to explain their context, reflecting on a continuing distinction between the 'altruistic' and 'people-centred' models of development. I have explored the exponential growth of NGDOs and their current efforts to find new directions. Possibly the greatest function for NGDOs is to (1) advocate to the Western world for the critical needs of the people of developing countries (as fund-raising promotions exemplify); (2) to expose the shortcomings of international policy and under-funding of development[65]; and (3) to promote what can be achieved through development programmes. While a number of challenges have been exposed, there is evidence of a renewal in NGDO commitment to their values and to organisational change. It would seem that NGDOs are finding new roles and functions in development that will profoundly alter their place in the aid chain. These observations are relevant to the account of the context of Oxfam, the subject of Chapter 6. The next chapter describes the methodological approaches adopted in the case-study of Oxfam New Zealand.

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[65] For example, Oxfam NZ (and others) press statements re the reluctance of most governments to commit to the UN resolution re 0.7% GNP contribution to development.

Chapter 5: Investigating Oxfam New Zealand: Case-study Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The complexities of development and values, and the range of NGDO issues described in previous chapters suggest that the selection of an appropriate research methodology is critical. A case-study methodology, which can explore the expression of values and explain the issues through real-life examples, offers the best option.

This chapter covers the ground of qualitative case-study research and its advantages and disadvantages, my research design and methods, research questions and data collection, and the approach to data analysis as applied to Oxfam New Zealand.

5.2 Qualitative Case-study Research as a Methodology

In this section I outline reasons for choosing a case-study model for research, and I discuss the nature of qualitative case-study research with reference to the literature. This discussion acknowledges a number of advantages and challenges to the methodology, relative to my research. Later in the chapter I identify specific limitations (Section 5.4) and the risks of researcher bias (Section 5.5).

The aim of a case-study, as Denscombe argues, is "to illuminate the general by looking at the particular" (2007:36). A single-organisation case-study of the expression of development values is adopted for this research because it allows for:

   i.   an initial exploration of development values;

  ii.   a review of behaviour and integration of values, contextualized within a single organisation;

 iii.   in a practical sense, completion within given time-frames; and

  iv.   illustrative descriptions of phenomena to assist further research.

A case-study thus provides an exemplar which can have wider implications. In this instance the relevance of case-study findings connects back to the development literature reviewed in previous chapters.

To be an exemplary case-study, Yin (2003) posits characteristics of significance, completeness, consideration of alternative perspectives and demonstration of sufficient evidence. While these features are taken into account this study is simply an initial exploration of an issue long overlooked in Development Studies. O'Leary refers to the "dearth of value-specific material in the literature [which indicates] the marginal status of values in development practice" (2006:115).

Gasper evaluates a range of development case-study approaches, noting the variance in meanings of 'case' as an instance or a representation of an instance.

> In literature on qualitative research methods, [a case-study] can be further restricted to study of a system … such as an organisation, project, policy, decision or whatever. The case-study so defined overlaps with but is distinguishable from other qualitative research traditions like biographical study, phenomenology, and ethnography (*Gasper, 2000:1056*).

This present study considers a single organisation and the views of individual responses from employees of Oxfam New Zealand, supplemented by drawing on information from published secondary sources.

In the context of development Gasper argues that the multiple facets of development and the multi-vocal process in a complex site of contestation are beyond any one agent's powers to foresee and control. "In such contestation and vocalising, agents seek to define and defend themselves and influence others through language, including ethical statements and systems" (*ibid*). Thus Gasper focuses on methodological approaches to 'anecdotes, situations and histories', which may be 'thick' or 'thin'[66], real life choices, conceivably true fictions or impossible fictions. He notes that "single-case studies cannot sustain generalisations, but

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[66] 'Thick' refers to the depth and detail of information obtainable through the case-study process; a 'thin' case-study is less detailed (Denscombe, 2007).

provide insights and hypotheses as well as some understanding about specific cases" and cites warnings from critics that "responsiveness in value terms should not become relativism, an automatic acceptance of local actors' stated values which abrogates moral responsibility" (2000:1059). This caution is heeded in my approach to the research and data analysis.

Gasper's views on case-studies suggest this present study is 'thin', using a limited and pre-set range of questions and methods: it is not holistic, in that findings are not directly transferable to other organisations. But relating the findings to relevant discourses and literature adds depth to understanding the expression of values. In drawing on individual responses to questions it could also be termed 'anecdotal', a superficial account that serves to illustrate a point. The question of validity rests on whether the study is 'real', informing and enriching understanding of values and organisational practice, building on the framework for the research process. Gasper acknowledges the relevance of 'learning narratives' for supporting practice, and for building and maintaining attitudes, character and skills, for action. His interest in development ethics leads to his assertion that: "The basis for morality is a willingness to consider other people's costs and benefits … thus we require attention to both feelings and reasoning" (2000:1077). This humanist approach is due encouragement to consider development values and behaviour within a single-organisation case-study.

While Gasper posits the scope of case-studies in a development context, Padaki (2000) provides a more practical approach to studying values. He outlines a 2-day workshop programme for identifying both personal and organisational values in relation to development practice. He notes there are significant challenges in such a task, in identifying (1) the prevalent organisational values; (2) conflict between personal and organisational positions; (3) conflict between different groups of people; and (4) internal inconsistencies (differences between what we say and/or what we do). Padaki's model would allow a more in-depth study of Oxfam New Zealand's values, yet all of these challenges were evident in undertaking my research.

There are also a number of methodological difficulties. Elson finds research on voluntary sector values more often than not lacks a theoretical framework and empirical evidence, and is thus "neutralised by untested assumptions and weak research methods" (2006:10). In addition, O'Leary points out that "Values…are difficult to research methodologically because of their abstract and contested nature" (2006:115), as illustrated in previous chapters. Both these points indicate uncharted waters in development studies research, yet also the significance of attempting to discover how values are expressed.

In this study I am asking questions about the *expression* of values as iterated by interview participants and through secondary sources, rather than identifying or upholding specific development values (aside from an overall humanist perspective). Findings apply only to a single organisation, even though the methodology may have potential for wider research, as noted in Chapter 8.

5.3   Introduction to the Research Process

5.3.1   Why choose Oxfam New Zealand?

In the first instance my selection of Oxfam New Zealand was encouraged by television advertising based on the ancient Lao-Tse adage: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach him how to fish and you feed him for a lifetime".[67] Such a message distinguishes between one-off development projects and programmes that are designed to build capacities, and to empower people for self-determination. The message fits well with the humanist paradigm, without using 'pornographic images' of children (see Lissner, 1977, 1981; Sogge, 1996; Uphoff, 1996). Appeals to 'sponsor a child' may tug at altruistic heart-strings but do little to educate the public on the nature of development in the South. A second reason for selecting Oxfam is because it is a secular agency, which means a faith-based

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[67] This adage has doubtful applicability in today's world when it is more often the case that what is needed is the net to go fishing. As a staple diet, fishing has been a long-time occupation in many communities of the South. The gender bias is noted, since generally it will be women that go fishing more often than men. Fishing rights are largely owned by the North, and depletion of fishing stocks means a corresponding fall in food supplies in the South. Oxfam New Zealand draws attention to the economic disadvantages for Pacific nations of a fishing agreement between the Pacific and the European Union (see Braxton, 2006).

ideology would not be an intervening variable in the study. Thirdly, attestations in the literature (Smillie, 1996a; Lindenberg & Briant, 2001; Aaronsen & Zimmerman, 2006) promote Oxfam as a leader among NGDOs, suggesting a model organisation for the study.

5.3.2 Engaging with Oxfam New Zealand

With no previous experience in development practice or association with development agencies finding a subject for my research required 'cold-calling'. I solicited the interest of the Oxfam New Zealand's Executive Officer in my project and as a result of a positive response attended a meeting in April 2007 at the Auckland office of Oxfam New Zealand to discuss details of my proposed research. The organisation has been interested in values clarification for some time, and was keen to see if my research approach would assist their future direction. Thus a supplementary objective of the research was to provide some useful outcome for the organisation beyond an outsider's academic exercise.

A formal proposal outlining the research intentions and process was submitted and accepted by Oxfam New Zealand (Appendix A). My primary communication with the organisation was through the Human Relations Manager.

5.3.3 Research Process Outline

The values research undertaken by Rokeach (1973), Schwartz (1994)[68], Padaki (2000) and Elson (2006) all started with a pre-set list of value-words which survey participants ranked according to personal preference and perceptions. In this present study I took the opposite approach. My research design invited interview participants to put their own words on to the ideas presented in Oxfam New Zealand's RBA, thus allowing a spontaneous generation of value-words, rather than being forced to draw on externally-determined concepts. These individual denotations of RBA would be termed by Padaki as 'personal values', or by O'Leary (2006) as 'espoused values' of individuals, rather than representing organisational values. Because Oxfam New Zealand has not yet articulated the latter this process

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[68] The work of Rokeach and Schwartz appears to have become a bench-mark methodology in the literature on the study of values.

was both a short-cut to identifying the expression of development values and a means to considering how they might fit with the organisation's principles. O'Leary's research (2006) is the only precedent I have found in the literature to affirm the process adopted in this study.[69]

In outline, the case-study adopted a two-stage methodology: an examination of values expressed in Oxfam New Zealand's website statements and publications (secondary sources), and semi-structured interviews with staff.

Research of Oxfam New Zealand's publications covered a selection of papers available on their website, and articles published in the Dominion Post newspaper. Following Henderson et al. (2006), a 'values-scan' of these publications was undertaken to assess the presence and frequency of value words. These words were then assembled into tables, drawing on values-analysis schema as described in Chapter 3.

The questionnaire for staff interviews was intended to be semi-structured and open-ended, devised to elicit views on RBA and participant perceptions on organisational issues, and where improvements might be made. Table 5.1 includes the question schedule together with underlying intentions which draw on previous chapters and the literature on values research. A question on motivation and commitment could illustrate the extent of a humanist approach to development. Identifying and ranking RBA value-words would illustrate the extent of internal congruence and also acknowledge inter-personal differences and give some cognisance to Rokeach (1973) and Schwartz (1994) methodologies based on ranking values. The question relating to behaviour attempts to draw the connection between values and behaviour within the organisation, and the potential for personal value-conflicts. Finally, the question on 'doing better' sought to establish the congruence between personal values and organisational practice.

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[69] O'Leary's research extended to considering both 'espoused' values and 'values-in-use' as demonstrated in the development practice of Cambodian NGO practitioners. She notes the range of influences on practitioners: personal and cultural values, organisational values, the political and economic context, 'development' values as expressed in theories, and donor values.

Table 5.1:   Questionnaire Schedule

Questions	Intentions
How long have you been involved with Oxfam? Tell me a bit about your background. What keeps you involved?	Demographic data Commitment
Oxfam NZ takes a RBA to development. In your interpretation, what words and phrases best describe this approach? What are the most important words, the least important? And why?	Denotations of RBA Rank order
How would you recognise these words/phrases in behaviour, in organisational processes and activities? Do you find there are behavioural or organisational issues that raise personal conflicts for you? And how would you deal with them?	Behavioural expression of values Potential value conflicts
Are there areas where you think Oxfam NZ could do better in terms of its values and principles? How would you like to see this happen?	Congruence between organisational and personal values

Source: Author

5.3.4 Pre-testing the Questions

Pre-testing of questions for interviews was undertaken with three people employed in the health and disability sector (non-development agencies) in New Zealand, only one of which had declared and well-articulated values. For the other two organisations their identified objectives or purposes were adopted as a starting point for examining values. The contributions from all three pre-tests indicated (1) the questions could be completed within the given time frame; (2) the questions were non-threatening, and not personally invasive; and (3) this was a really interesting project. "It makes you think" was the concerted response.

5.3.5 Ethical Issues

The project was approved by Massey University's Ethics Committee as low-risk research, following a review process undertaken with my supervisors and staff of the Institute of Development Studies. In the course of this process I offered satisfactory assurances regarding recruitment and access to participants; obtaining informed consent; anonymity and confidentiality; potential harm; security and privacy; use of the information (including rights of redress in case of dispute); participant access to information; potential role conflicts; and any cultural or gender concerns.

Ethical issues relating to consent for interviews and confidentiality were covered by an information sheet on the project (see Appendix B), and a consent form (Appendix C) which was signed by each participant. To protect respondent privacy all details that might lead to identification within the agency have been omitted.[70]

5.3.6 Selection of Interview Participants

Research interviews took place during the first week of June, 2007. Because of workload pressures within Oxfam's office there was no attempt to plan a selected sample for interviewing. At my introduction to staff I tabled a one-page brief on the project and a copy of the interview questions, as a means to keep all staff informed. I then circulated the office, inviting people at random to express their interest in being interviewed for the project. By good fortune this process obtained a cross-section of the organisation. Participants included four out of five of the management team and eight other staff from across their teams. The initial goal had been to undertake ten interviews: such was the interest in the project that twelve people, without any hesitation or reluctance, agreed to participate. Only two people declined the invitation, on account of work commitments for the week. Of a total staff of 33 at this time, this meant the sample was more than 36%. One further interview with an Oxfam New Zealand Board Member took place late in

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[70] I am conscious that New Zealand is a very small village within the global village, and that social inter-connections in a country with a small population, especially in the field of development, means that the sources of quoted statements could be readily identified. For the same reasons I have not distinguished responses of members of the management team from others, nor to which teams any participants belong.

July, to add a Board perspective to the research. As a bonus, I was also able to attend a cross-cutting team meeting for fine-tuning the organisation's Strategic Plan, and an organisation-wide staff meeting.

The interview schedule, confined to a 30 minute meeting, was restrictive, inhibiting elaboration and exploration of responses, but maintained as a concession to prior notice about staff work pressures. Some participants were happy to extend discussion beyond this time limit.

Although it was suggested at my initial meeting at Oxfam New Zealand that focus-group meetings with interns and volunteers would be useful, these did not eventuate because of time and organisational constraints.

5.3.7 Data Collection and Analysis

All interviews were recorded on audio-tape and later transcribed in note form for analysis and to identify particular themes. A full analysis of findings is presented in Chapter 7. Reflections following interviews and observations made during the course of the week were recorded in a field journal.

Information from secondary sources allowed a form of triangulation in analysing the findings. For example, my interpretation of Oxfam International values and Oxfam New Zealand principles could be cross-matched to interview participant denotations of RBA. Following Hancock & Algizzone (2006), further information to validate interview findings came from observations and participant feedback, and links with development literature.

In analysing the data I have adopted the Rokeach (1973) and Padaki (2000) approach of intrinsic and instrumental values identification (as described in Chapter 3), not just for convenience, but because the distinction bears a relation to 'development' as both a theory and a practice, between ideas and action, between ends and means, and a connection with Cowen & Shenton's concepts of 'immanent' and 'intentional' development (1995). Such an approach enables exposition of the intricate relationship between an organisation's vision, mission and values (intrinsic values), its strategic planning and operations (instrumental values) and

the personal values of individuals engaged with the organisation. This approach also allows some synthesis with the literature reviewed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

5.3.8 Post-research Follow-up

An interim report on research findings was sent to all participants for comment or amendment. None was received. A final site visit was made late in August 2007 as a re-check with participants, and to brief all staff on the provisional outcomes of the research. Again there were no objections or particular comments raised: in general my summary report was accepted as a fair representation of both personal views and desired clarification of organisational values. Although all participants were aware they could access the taped record of their interview or to transcribed notes, there were no requests to do so.[71]

This follow-up visit provided opportunity to meet with the Executive Officer to discuss my preliminary findings. Both he and the Human Resources Manager found no surprises in the outcomes of the research and appreciated the contribution it would make to their quest to identify organisational values.

A formal report was submitted to the Executive Officer some two weeks later. On the understanding that this report was the property of Oxfam New Zealand and they were already aware of what organisational development needed to occur, the findings were couched in terms of 'reflections' rather than 'recommendations'. The report is included in Appendix D.

5.4 Limitations of the Case-study

Denscombe (2007:312-13) describes the advantages of small-scale qualitative studies. They are grounded in reality; they are able to deal with complex situations; they can tolerate ambiguity and contradictions; and because they are contingent on the interpretative skills of the researcher they are open to alternative explanations. On the other hand, there are disadvantages, raised in questions about the representativeness of the data, researcher interpretation,

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[71] I do not believe the lack of response to research findings reflects indifference to development values or to my research, given the enthusiastic response by participants. If I had drawn a questionable conclusion I am confident I would have heard about it!

utilising data out of context, and oversimplifying explanations. This section considers how these disadvantages might have limited the study.

The absence of articulated organisational values meant that adopting RBA was a second-best starting point for the research. In a sense it was a fishing expedition. Yet the clauses relating to rights are clearly value-laden, representing basic human rights and a humanist perspective on development.

The time constraints indicated above meant that a semi-structured interview of 30 minutes limited the depth of responses and supplementary questions that might have been addressed in a longer interview, though some were extended beyond this time-frame with participant consent. Open-ended questions also received a range of replies that cannot be conveniently quantified for analysis, though they illuminated both the nature of the question and differences in personal responses. Here is where Denscombe's disadvantages could well apply, especially if my interpretations of the data included researcher bias.

The total time spent at the Oxfam New Zealand office was less than 40 hours: a longer period of observation and opportunity to gain a greater understanding of organisational operations and behaviour might have obtained useful data to add to the analysis, and to the 'thickness' of the study.

I am mindful that observations and conclusions offered in this study come from an outsider perspective. I have never been engaged in development work, other than involvement in NZ community organisations (as employee and volunteer). Of course there are advantages when the researcher approaches a subject with an open mind, but peripheral observation and academic knowledge limits full engagement with the day-to-day realities of a development organisation and its practice.

This research was confined to values operating within the organisation. One possible weakness is absence of material evidence relating to direct practice in Oxfam New Zealand's development programmes, and how values are expressed in relating to donors and supporters and in advocacy campaigns. A study on the

connections between the organisation and its field operations would enrich the understanding and interpretation of value behaviours.

Finally, consideration of a single organisation will not offer a blueprint for all NGDOs. At best, the findings provide a snapshot of how values operate within Oxfam New Zealand at the time of the research and within the organisation's current operations. However, this study highlights the significance of articulated values for NGDOs, and in my conclusions (Chapter 8) I make a case for similar research in a wider frame of reference.

5.5 Researcher Bias

The risks of omission and bias are ever present in a study of this nature. Gasper points out that

> we must not omit essential features from our analysis, nor must we include incidentals or biasing premises *(Gasper, 2000:1076)*.

This section assesses where such factors lie and my efforts to minimise their impact.

The 'biasing premises' are clearly evident in my personal value position, explained through assumptions declared in Chapter 1, and made explicit in my support of the humanist paradigm and 'people-centred' development practice. One important theme of this thesis has been to demonstrate the significant place of values in the theory and practice of development. Rokeach (1973) has argued that values should be central in all social sciences. Squires (1993) and Pattison (2004) both note the relevance of values in the post-modern era: a value-neutral position is no longer justifiable. This means that the selection of literature for review and the framing of research questions were designed with a particular end in mind. Personal bias can also be present in the subtlety of non-verbal communication during interviews and in the phrasing of supplementary questions.

The anti-dote to personal bias in the research process, as pointed out by O'Leary (2006), is critical reflection. Such reflexivity requires self-awareness, an

understanding of one's own world-view, and most importantly the ability to perceive where and how personal views interfere in the research process.[72]   As an example, I found my open-mindedness tested by one interview participant who raised several objections to the goals and processes of Oxfam New Zealand.   It was only through reflection that I came to appreciate the point and validity of the comments made.

Undertaking a values-scan (described above) of secondary sources introduced a potential bias, in that my reading was selective and dependent on my own perspective on development values. This part of the research was completed before conducting interviews on personal denotations of RBA.   Fortunately, the risk of divergence from interview findings did not arise. Table 7.6 (see Chapter 7, page 128) illustrates a remarkable congruence in value-words.

The concerns outlined above are underlined by my heritage of middle-class Pakeha perspectives, and a Eurocentric education.   In mitigation I suggest the experience of living most of my life in rural New Zealand, and a good deal of that engaged with a strong Maori community has been a moderating influence on potential bias. Interaction with the culture and traditions of *tangata whenua* (indigenous people; literally: people of the land) has engendered understanding and respect for alternative world views.   Travel in parts of Asia has also indicated some of the issues in implementing 'cross-cultural' development.   These experiences have helped me recognise the intrusion of bias in my thinking.

5.6   Summary
Essentially, my research is an exploratory study of the intimate relations between values and practice, between an organisation's vision, mission and value statements and its structure and functions, and between individuals and the reciprocal interaction of their relationships within the organisation. This chapter has outlined my approach to the case-study of Oxfam New Zealand.   It has considered the nature of qualitative research, and detailed the process undertaken.

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[72] These qualities are also central to the 'learning organisation' described in Chapter 4.

The limitations of the research and the realities of personal bias have also been presented.

The selection of a case-study methodology within a single organisation met the objective of exploring development values, and was a practical choice within time constraints and for thesis requirements to illustrate previous learning related to a research project. Despite the limitations noted in Section 5.4, the research process gave entry to a development organisation which allowed a first-hand appreciation of an NGDO in action, and to its attendant tensions.

The 'significance' of this case-study (Yin, 2003) rests on its contribution to enlarging the limited body of work on development values. The ensuing chapters, covering the context of Oxfam New Zealand (Chapter 6), the research findings (Chapter 7) and my conclusions (Chapter 8) situate case-study findings within the wider context of development paradigms, the philosophy of values and the organisational structure and functions of NGDOs.

Chapter 6:   Locating Oxfam in the Development Scene

6.1   Introduction

In Chapter 4 I considered the historical evolution of NGDOs, their contemporary roles and functions and offered an overview of critiques and possible futures. Now attention turns to one specific organisation to analyse further the issues raised in previous chapters, and to locate these within the context of my research with Oxfam New Zealand.

This chapter offers first a review of Oxfam's history and organisational development and its global network and operations. Subsequent sections consider the organisation's values, approach to practice and current strategic plan. The second part of the chapter recounts background information on Oxfam New Zealand and a description of RBA. Because Oxfam New Zealand does not have a clearly defined mission and articulated values RBA became the basis of the case-study investigation, the means to investigate the expression of values within the organisation.

Much of the information in this chapter is drawn from Oxfam websites. While it is recognised that NGDO websites may be designed primarily to offer information for prospective donors and supporters, they also provide comprehensive statements on the organisation not available elsewhere, thus illustrating one of the impacts of global communications technology. Such information can be analysed to reveal a particular development framework. In Oxfam's case a broad and comprehensive approach has been adopted, applying Sen's concept of a universal approach to development (Emmerij, 2005:4). It is also implicit that the principles of development practice apply equally to the organisation's internal operations (Johnson & Wilson, 2002).

6.2   Origins and Evolution

The word 'Oxfam', now familiar as the title of a world-wide humanitarian and development organisation, is a contraction of "Oxford Committee for Famine Relief",

established in 1942 by academics and Quakers in Oxford, England, to campaign for famine relief for women and children in enemy-occupied Greece (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001). The famine was caused by the Allied blockade intended to weaken the Germans, and was every bit as terrible as the 1984 famine in Ethiopia (Vaux, 2001:14). Vaux describes the course of Oxfam's campaign:

> For many months Prime Minister Winston Churchill held firmly to the view that winning the war was more important than anything else, including the death of Greeks. The arguments in the House of Commons were eloquent and covered most of the moral issues which humanitarians still debate today. It set a standard for Oxfam of always being ready to challenge the government when it put political interests above humanitarian ones (*ibid*).

In post-war Europe Oxfam was active in helping refugees. From the 1960s, when television brought the emotional impact of humanitarian disaster into people's homes, Oxfam spread its interests to the needs of people in the South. Aaronson & Zimmerman acknowledge Oxfam's involvement in "feeding the poor, [and providing] support to help the poor become self-sufficient" (2006:1008). Other Oxfam organisations were established over time, and Oxfam now has a presence in Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Ireland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Quebec, Spain and United States. Oxfam Canada, for example, began in the mid-1960s with a £60,000 grant from Oxfam GB (Smillie, 1996); and Oxfam New Zealand received start-up funds from Community Aid Abroad (now Oxfam Australia) (Smillie, 1995:199). Until the establishment of Oxfam International in 1995 there was a loose affiliation of Oxfams, and their approach to development largely reflected the spirit and interests of country members. Oxfam America for instance does not accept any government funding and does little advocacy on domestic issues, unlike Oxfam GB (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001).

During the 1980s concern emerged among Oxfam staff and leadership for the way in which "industrialised countries managed global economic governance institutions to meet their own needs, rather than the needs of the poor" (Aaronson & Zimmerman, 2006:1009). This concern gave recognition to systemic problems in development, and reflects the critiques of NGDOs and development practice

described in Chapter 4. Oxfam was acknowledging the organisational and structural problems in development and their interest in promoting development practices that would be more effective in poverty reduction. Smillie (1995, 1996) reports on a major self-examination of Oxfam aims, objectives and programme strategies which began in the early 1990s. Encouraged by Amartya Sen who was honorary president of Oxfam at the time, each affiliate agreed in 1996 to work together to address the structural causes of poverty and injustice. Oxfam's mission shifted from providing relief and skill development to 'assisting the poor' (Aaronson & Zimmerman, 2006).

As a confederation Oxfam International draws together a group of like-minded organisations, adopting a collective and global approach to poverty reduction. While each country runs its own operations and agenda they are bound together by their common approach and their global campaigns in the name of development. Oxfam International coordinates their efforts according to an agreed agenda, while independent advocacy continues within donor countries (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001:196). Today Oxfam is "the world's most influential international organisation" (Aaronson & Zimmerman, 2006:999), following a rights-based strategy with a particular focus on advocacy programmes, campaigning for example on fair trade, making poverty history, and access to affordable medicines. Oxfam continues to play a major role in humanitarian relief[73], as do other NGDOs. Their approach to development is based on a systemic analysis of global governance, in particular the relationship between poverty, human rights, development and trade. "The organisation is widely respected, viewed as well-managed, and politically savvy" (Aaronson & Zimmerman, 2006:1008).

This introduction to Oxfam indicates the humanist paradigm of development is central to their approach. The organisation's rights-based perspective is in tune with the generic future directions for NGDOs identified in Chapter 4. The strength of their global collaboration is evident in their capacity to mount global campaigns such as Fair Trade. Advocacy is thus high on the list of priorities and functions. Smillie (1996a) cites Oxfam as a standout example of an organisation in which

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[73] Smillie notes that Oxfam's humanitarian efforts in emergencies "has proven the only way … to maintain and expand their market share [of fundraising]" (1996:98).

Chapter 6 – Locating Oxfam in the Development Scene

evaluation is linked with 'learning', and for its research activities.[74]   The next section considers the robustness of the organisation's vision, mission and values.

6.3   Visions, Missions and Values

In Chapter 3 it was noted that in 1985 both the World Bank's mission and Oxfam's Field Directors' Handbook shared the same words, indicating the different meanings and interpretations that can be assigned by different organisations and individuals. Within the Oxfam group there are also examples of variations and inconsistencies in mission statements, and illustrations of the confusion that can reign between vision (desired end-state), mission (intention) and values (ends and means).

When Minear cites Oxfam America's Vision of 1986 the use of verbs indicates the vision is more of a mission statement, as in what the organisation *intends* to do, rather than a clear denotation of the organisation's ultimate *goal*.

> To put empowerment, social justice and peace in the forefront of its work, to leverage overseas experience to expand development education in US and abroad, and to engage in policy analysis and advocacy *(1987:203)*.

There are three inter-related elements to this statement in terms of organisational intentions and operations: (1) the key concepts of development are 'empowerment, social justice and peace'; (2) the importance of enlarging understanding of development in the North through education; and (3) the ongoing engagement in advocacy.   These words indicate expressions of values related to the meaning of development and the practice elements of public education and advocacy.

The Oxfam UK and Ireland Mission Statement for 1993 is quoted by Fowler & Biekart as:

> Poverty is more than the absence of material means ... It is also the lack of access to power *(1996:109)*.

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[74] For example, Oxfam is the publisher of *Development in Practice*, a leading journal for academic and practitioner research.

Here the statement appears to be more of a value perspective, a definition of poverty, rather than how the organisation proposes to act on it.

Lindenberg & Bryant cite the following missions (undated), indicating subtle differences of focus:

> **Oxfam GB**: To relieve poverty, distress and suffering in any part of the world, and educate the public concerning the nature, causes and effects of poverty;
>
> **Oxfam America**: Creating lasting solutions to hunger, poverty and social injustice through partnerships with poor communities around the world *(2001:14).*

There is quite a distinction between *relieving poverty* and *creating lasting solutions,* and between policies of public education and partnerships with poor communities. While these differences indicate organisational autonomy within the Oxfam family, there is also a hint of potential conflict when it comes to decision-making on global campaigns or presenting a united front at the consulting tables with IFIs.

The Oxfam GB Strategic Plan of 2007-10 now presents an open-ended statement as their current mission:

> Oxfam works with others to overcome poverty and suffering *(2007:1).*

There are no inferences to *how* Oxfam works, or to whom the 'others' might be. Likewise the intended meaning of 'poverty' and 'suffering' is left open to reader perceptions.

These illustrations are not intended to argue that a global entity like Oxfam should ensure all members are speaking in the same tongue. Rather, the statements above exemplify the kind of intellectual and linguistic difficulties in formulating coherent mission, vision and value positions. The statements also indicate how organisational and political contexts will influence shifts in wording, and how the meaning of value words can be modified according to changing economic, political and social circumstances. It is to Oxfam International's credit that they present a

statement of values which is accepted by all member organisations.[75]   The values are founded on a set of beliefs and centred on three inter-related themes, as denoted in Box 6.1.

Box 6.1:   Oxfam Values

Empowerment Everyone who is involved with Oxfam, whether by contributing to our work, or those who are living in poverty – feels empowered.
Inclusiveness We are inclusive – open to everyone, regardless of ethnic background or religion.
Accountability Our purpose-driven/results-focused approach which holds ourselves – and others – accountable.

Source: Oxfam International, Strategic Plan 2007-12

These value statements may also be open to interpretation, given the extensive debate in the literature on the meaning of empowerment and accountability for instance (Edwards & Hume, 1996; Cornwall & Brock, 2005; David et al., 2006; Kilby, 2006), yet they offer a clear indication of Oxfam's approach to development, to both intrinsic ends and instrumental means. How these values and beliefs are translated into policy and practice is outlined in the following two sections, on Oxfam's approach to development and to strategic planning.

6.4   Approach to Development

There are two major planks supporting Oxfam's approach to development: human rights and advocacy. Lindenberg & Bryant (2001:181) trace the source of RBA to the dynamic relation between advocacy and operations: as NGDOs became more outspoken on human rights, the focus on services and capacities shifted to poverty reduction centred on inclusion rights. Oxfam does not take this stand alone: CARE and MSF are also evolving a RBA to development. Oxfam's RBA is central to the research methodology of this thesis and will be elaborated in section 6.7 below in relation to Oxfam New Zealand. For the moment this section attends to Oxfam advocacy in the name of human rights and 'fairness'.[76]

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[75] Confirmed in a personal communication with Oxfam International, June 1, 2007.
[76] As noted in Chapter 4, Oxfam's RBA draws on Sen's work (1984; 1989; 1999), and 'fairness' captures one of the primary development values promoted by Fowler (2005) which is incorporated in Oxfam's strategic plan (see Section 6.5 of this chapter).

The political struggle of Oxfam's origins (1941-42) set the organisation's course on "combining operational work with advocacy and a focus on addressing the structural causes of poverty" (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001:192). Oxfam GB includes domestic issues in its brief, which has put their status as a charitable organisation at risk more than once (*ibid*).[77] In the US Oxfam America does very little work on domestic issues, but focuses its work on lobbying US government on issues affecting developing countries (*ibid*).

On the international political scene Oxfam GB has held consultative status with UNESCO since 1973, and Oxfam America since 1993 (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001:187). Oxfam International has official status on working groups with donor organisations, including the Bretton Woods institutions[78]. In 1997 Oxfam, along with CARE, MSF and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) met with the UN Security Council for the first time (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001:197). There is no direct role in decision-making, but such consultation is an opportunity for information-sharing and dissemination of NGDO views, and for gaining media exposure and leverage, an important function in the political process as Lindenberg & Bryant (2001) observe.

According to van Rooy (2001:37), Oxfam's role in international advocacy and engagement in global political debate is an exception for traditional development agencies. Campaigns on education, cutting conflict, fair trade and debt relief exemplify careful economic analysis and arguments designed to challenge IFI positions on their own ground. Oxfam's commitment to RBA is supported in organisational units dedicated to public education, research and policy papers, and to advocacy.

Lindenberg & Bryant (2001:151) report on a more recent dialogue between Oxfam and six globalising organisations of Southern origin. Oxfam was advised that while collaboration on global activities is useful, the organisation's advocacy or

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[77] See also Smillie, 1995. Campaigning on human rights is not regarded as a charitable activity by the UK Charities Commission (Slim, 2001). There are similar constraints operating in New Zealand.
[78] World Bank and IMF.

development operations within Southern nations would not be welcome. These organisations preferred Oxfam International to take a lead in changing Northern institutions and perspectives through advocacy. There is a clear message here that Southern organisations are finding their own strengths, and that organisations like Oxfam have a different role to play in the current and future theatre of development. De Senillosa notes how Southern NGOs are urging their Northern counterparts

> to give more importance to defending the interests of Southern people, and especially to influencing the business, financial and development aid policies of their governments, their trans-national companies and the multilateral institutions … to intervene decisively in awareness-raising, protest and lobbying activities *(1998:47).*

De Senillosa goes on to quote a 30-year old response from Julius Nyrere to a question from an Oxfam representative on how the organisation might best help Tanzania:

> Take each and every penny that you have planned for Tanzania and spend it in the United Kingdom explaining to your co-citizens the nature and causes of poverty *(ibid).*

Fisher puts the situation more bluntly: organisations which promote empowerment (as Oxfam does in its value statements) are

> [turning] issues that directly engage the self, subjective experience and daily life into crucial sites of political contestation. … This perspective emphasises the tight relationship between ethics and politics. … Ethical judgements are essentially political *(1997:458).*

Advocacy is thus a political spring-board to promote Oxfam's conception of RBA. However, advocacy needs to be accompanied by organisational reflection for its significance and impact (Sogge, 1996), a reminder of the importance of a 'learning organisation' as described in Chapter 4. Reflection on experience which leads to reframing the development problem or strategy and future action is also a means to define and refine organisational values.

This section has described how advocacy and human rights are fundamental to Oxfam's approach to development. The next section considers how these features are translated into the organisation's strategic plan and change goals.

6.5   Strategic Plan and Change Goals

Organisational values are also critical to developing strategic plans and determining goals. The strategic plan of Oxfam International (2007-12) is heralded as a landmark document. Its title, "Demanding Justice", certainly infers upholding a strong value position within the humanist paradigm and for the organisation's advocacy function. The plan is the outcome of extensive consultation with affiliates and partners in the developing world, underpinned by an appraisal of global issues and explicit beliefs about development as shown in Boxes 6.2 and 6.3. Oxfam International's views on world trends (Box 6.2) focus on an increase in inequalities, the lack of political will to protect security and to prevent and reduce poverty, the potential shifts in the global political economy, and a global concern for human rights. Box 6.3 rephrases these concerns as beliefs, which can be translated as values: equality, accountability, protection for vulnerable populations, and change through advocacy. Of course, strategic plans in any organisation are always full of 'big ideas' and proposals for great outcomes. Nevertheless, the declaration of views and beliefs indicates a strong sense of organisational values, and particularly an opposition to the dominant global political economy and development policies which short-change primary stake-holders.

Box 6.2:   Oxfam's View of World Trends

- **Overall, poverty is decreasing but the levels of inequality are increasing:** gains in human development have been unequally shared, between countries, within countries, and between women and men. Conflict and more frequent natural disasters, some caused by climate change, also contribute to this.
- **Continued failure of global governance:** the UN, the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO have failed to prevent and reduce poverty, insecurity, terrorism, environmental threats and HIV and AIDS, largely because of lack of political will by member states and the dominance of powerful countries. Adequate protection and assistance for civilians in humanitarian conflicts and disasters has not been provided despite repeated promises, and the world has failed to make real progress on the Millennium Development Goals.
- **The landscape of power is rapidly changing:** for example, the rise of Brazil, Russia, India and China, and the implications of their foreign policies will have major effects and create new dynamics and inequalities within and between countries.
- **A growing global movement for change:** people around the world are increasingly concerned with ensuring that human rights are not violated and that we win the fight against poverty and injustice.

Source: Oxfam International, Strategic Plan 2007-12

Box 6.3:   Oxfam's Beliefs

- **Achieving greater equality is a crucial factor in reducing poverty.** Economic growth and increasing wealth through trade and other means is important but will not alone lead to sustainable poverty reduction. We know we also need to reduce inequality, especially for women, if we are to achieve greater economic justice.
- **Poverty, insecurity and environmental threats are closely linked.** The women and men enduring the greatest poverty in the greatest numbers are farmers living in vulnerable circumstances. They are also the most vulnerable to the consequences of climate change. It is not possible to address one problem without addressing the others.
- **Governments and corporations must be accountable.** Changing unfair global rules is essential, but national governments have the biggest direct impact on the lives of their citizens. Citizens must be able to hold governments to account for providing essential services, such as education, health and water. Citizens also must be able to ensure that their rights are not abused by big corporations.
- **Protection is everyone's responsibility.** Conflicts and disasters have enormous human, economic and security costs for us all. Protecting women, children and men from violence and providing the best possible humanitarian assistance is a priority.
- **Ideas, attitudes and beliefs are the key to change.** Supporting women and men to challenge the causes of poverty, injustice, discrimination and exclusion from society is fundamental to achieving real change.

Source: Oxfam International, Strategic Plan 2007-12

The strategies promulgated by Oxfam International to act on these beliefs, and adopted by all affiliates (including Oxfam New Zealand), are described as Change Goals, itemised in Box 6.4.

Box 6.4: Oxfam Change Goals

- **Economic justice**: More women and men will realize their right to secure and sustainable livelihoods.
- **Essential services**: The Millennium Development Goals for essential services will be achieved, and people living in poverty, especially women and girls, will realise their rights to accessible and affordable health, education, water and sanitation.
- **Rights in crisis**: All women and men in humanitarian crises will be assured both the protection and the assistance they require, regardless of who or where they are or how they are affected, in a manner consistent with their human rights.
- **Gender justice**: Many more women will gain power over their lives and live free from violence through changes in attitudes, ideas and beliefs about gender relations, and through increased levels of women's active engagement and critical leadership in institutions, decision-making and change processes.

Source: Oxfam International, Strategic Plan 2007-12

These change goals present the line that Oxfam is drawing in the sands of development. It is an explicit agenda, establishing the organisation's primary interests and opposition to perceived trends in official development planning and programmes. The strategic plan goes on to outline what needs to be done to 'make it work'. Achieving the goals will require internal changes to the organisation, strengthening their role as a global campaigning force, promoting membership and income, and enhancing country-level collaboration and communications. Staff and volunteer development are also recognised as crucial to ensure a truly inclusive confederation. Improvements to monitoring, learning, development and accountability mechanisms are also on the agenda, as is a focus on making links between global and local, between long-term development work, campaigning and policy change. These intentions suggest Oxfam is embarking on the kind of organisational change undertaken by Action Aid (David & Mancini, 2004).[79]

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[79] See Chapter 4, page 71.

In addition to the four goals outlined above each Oxfam organisation has identified additional internal goals. For Oxfam New Zealand these are "informing the public, securing funds, and walking the talk"[80].

The discussion above has described the context of the Oxfam family of development organisations. The next section presents the context of Oxfam New Zealand.

6.6   Oxfam New Zealand

In this section I review the history and evolution of Oxfam New Zealand and its place in the context of New Zealand NGDOs. Also included in this discussion are features of Oxfam New Zealand's funding sources, its organisational structure and a review of its approach to development. All these elements provide a preliminary analysis relevant to the case-study findings.

6.6.1   The Origins and Local Context of Oxfam New Zealand

There is something of a saga in Oxfam New Zealand's origins, as recounted by McLoughlin (1991), Small (1997), and Sutton et al. (2006). Until the 1970s Corso had been "New Zealand's premier aid agency" (Sutton, et al., 2006:2). The decline of the organisation, according to Sutton et al., was due to societal changes, increased politicisation and radical activism related to Maori sovereignty within New Zealand. The impact of these factors on Corso ultimately led to the organisation being deprived of its charitable status in 1979 when Prime Minister Muldoon objected to Corso's attack on issues of poverty within New Zealand and its interest in indigenous rights. Development discourses of the time enter here, particularly the shift from 'aid' to 'development', connecting with internal issues of poverty and social justice for indigenous peoples.

In 1991 a group of Corso members resigned to start their own organisation with a principal focus on overseas development. The new organisation was called Oxfam New Zealand, and as noted above, received funding support from the Australian Oxfam affiliate.

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[80] Information from interview participant. Note how these goals are relative to organisational improvements rather than external development practice.

There was some acrimony engendered in the split. Small (1997), a Corso supporter, uses an Oxfam New Zealand fundraising letter to highlight how development education 'exoticises' world poverty and powerlessness, thus undermining international solidarity in addressing the causes of inequality and potential alternatives[81]. Yet New Zealand-based international aid and development organisations are a very small proportion of the non-profit sector in this country (Tennant et al., 2006; Statistics New Zealand, 2007). Although Oxfam's focus remains external to New Zealand, the range of local non-profit organizations described in Tennant's document suggests internal interest in human rights and social justice has not been overlooked. There are 'horses for courses', it might be said.

An international movement for the rights of indigenous peoples has gathered strength in recent decades (see Narayan et al., 2000; Rata & Openshaw, 2006; Sutton et al., 2006) culminating in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted in September 2007. New Zealand was one of four nations (along with the US, Canada and Australia) that voted against the declaration, despite its unique position as a former colony that holds the Treaty of Waitangi as a founding document for its relations with Maori. New Zealand's official position is mainly based on arguments that the declaration contradicts provisions of the Treaty (Banks, 2007), and a government view that "the text is not consistent with international law, is potentially discriminatory and … many of its provisions are unworkable" (H. Clark, 2006). Whatever the political implications for New Zealand of the UN Declaration, there are issues here for Oxfam New Zealand, both internally and in its relations with overseas partners.

In New Zealand, like many other nations involved in development in the South, the Council for International Development (CID) acts as an umbrella group for some 83 NGDOs to consult, lobby and advise the New Zealand government and government departments on development issues.[82] CID's Point Seven Campaign to raise the level of official aid to the UN mandated target (0.7% of Gross National Income) is but one example, and there is an ongoing relationship with New Zealand

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[81] An issue pursued in depth by Lissner (1977; 1981).

[82] Counterpart examples are Australian Council for International Development (ACID), and Canada's Council for International Cooperation (CCIC).

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International Aid and Development Agency (NZAID) which is the principal funding source of the organisation. Oxfam New Zealand is represented on its board (CID Annual Report, 2006).

It is also pertinent to note that CID subscribes to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and the way these principles align with NGDO development values. For instance, the core Treaty principle of partnership embodies humanist development values of 'reciprocity' and 'accountability' (State Services Commission, 2005). A second core principle of 'active protection' of *taonga* (resources, customs and values) is essential to humanist development practice in the South. The concept of *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty) is relative to development in words like 'self-determination' and 'empowerment'. It is somewhat anomalous therefore to find no references to the Treaty in any of the Oxfam New Zealand documents reviewed for this study. This is not to suggest that Oxfam New Zealand is out of line, but to indicate a need for the organisation to be consistent with New Zealand's political and cultural foundations. This point was made by a respondent during research interviews. Organisational identity and operations are shaped within the society and culture of its national base, and these need to be acknowledged.

6.6.2 Funding Resources and Distribution

By definition a NGO is a non-profit organisation and thus heavily dependent on external resources to maintain operations. Oxfam New Zealand is no exception. As a Ministry of *Foreign* Affairs and Trade (MFAT, 1998) report[83] declares:

> Collectively NGOs … live with a level of financial insecurity that would drive most private sector firms into bankruptcy. They are criticised by governments for their lack of professionalism, and accused of bureaucratisation when they do professionalise (*MFAT, 1998:13*).

The report goes on to comment on NGDO values and potential compromises: "A values-driven NGO defines its programmes based on its social vision, and then seeks the funding required to implement it" (1998:16). Pressures to engage in

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[83] This report evaluates the Voluntary Agency Support Scheme (VASS), which is now linked with NZAID, a semi-autonomous body within MFAT charged with delivering ODA programmes.

external contracts can obscure the original mission and undermine development principles and organisational autonomy.[84] However, NGDOs are advantaged over ODA in their ability to meet poverty reduction objectives, to strengthen CSOs and to promote good governance, and to assist in development where there are inefficient governments, corruption and political difficulties (see Fowler & Biekart, 1996; Fowler, 1998; Lewis & Wallace, 2000; Van Rooy, 2001). Official funding of NGDOs in New Zealand increased from $38,000 in 1974 to $6.7m in 1997/98 (MFAT, 1998:53), yet this represents only 7% of total ODA. The current funding level to NGDOs has risen to $29.33m, though the proportion remains at 7.4% (NZAID, 2007).

Oxfam New Zealand is a major recipient of government funding. The 2006 Annual Report records that 35.6% of their total budget came from government contracts to undertake development programmes, while public donations came to just 26% (see Figure 6.1). This level of government support is on a par with other leading agencies in New Zealand (MFAT, 1998). It is also comparable to a report on non-profit institutions from Statistics New Zealand (2007) which indicates government supplied 29% of all transfer income to NGOs.[85]

This information raises questions on how far Oxfam New Zealand might be compromising its ethos in being 'a tool of government'. The relationship between Oxfam New Zealand and NZAID has not been examined for this study, but informal comment and observation suggests there is a commonality between the development aspirations of the two parties.

When it comes to distribution of Oxfam funds over 56% is spent on programmes in the Pacific and some 21% in East Asia. The balance is distributed between Africa, South Asia and global programmes. The following breakdown of programme focus indicates the spread of Oxfam New Zealand's primary development interests (Annual Report, 2006:7):

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[84] Personal experience in the NGO sector has shown how contracting with government or philanthropic agencies can lead to tailoring programmes to meet the funder's programme focus and requirements, rather than attending to the organisation's objectives and values.
[85] This figure applies to all NGOs, which would include internal social programmes as well as NGDO development operations overseas.

Chapter 6 – Locating Oxfam in the Development Scene

- Community livelihoods   32.5 %
- Water and sanitation   24.7 %
- Gender rights   17.8%
- Conflict reduction and peace-building   13.0%
- Education   9.4%
- HIV/AIDS   2.6%

Accounting for funding and expenditure often becomes a contentious public issue for NGDOs (and NGOs in general). The information in Figure 6.1 is supplemented by the following statement:

> Overall, for every $1 given to Oxfam, 80c is spent directly on our emergency, development and campaigns work, 15c is invested to raise more money and 5c is used for administration (*Oxfam New Zealand, 2007d*).

In Chapter 4 the benchmark of around 30% spent on overheads by NGDOs was cited. Oxfam New Zealand is thus exceeding the norm in claiming total "programme expenditure" of 80.9%. As illustrated in Figure 6.1, this percentage includes the business of 'advocacy, campaigning and development education' (7.1%), 'emergency response' (13.7%) and 'programme management' (4.4%) in their accounting, as well as the 'programme delivery' component of 55.7%. For Oxfam New Zealand there are multiple components in the functions and processes of development.

The next section considers how the organisation is structured in order to deliver on its stated areas of interest.

Figure 6.1:   Oxfam New Zealand Income and Expenditure, 2006

Where the money comes from
TOTAL INCOME FOR YEAR
ENDING JUNE 30, 2006: $6,173,764

Interest and trading 3.3%
Events 5.5%
Public donations 26%
Oxfam International affiliates and other NGO grants 14.7%
Government grants for development programmes 35.6%
Government grants for emergencies 7.8%
Emergency appeals from the public 7.1%

Where the money goes
TOTAL EXPENDITURE FOR YEAR
ENDING JUNE 30, 2006: $6,189,668

Marketing and fundraising 12.6%
PR and communications 2.2%
General administration 4.3%
Advocacy, campaigning and development education 7.1%
Programme management 4.4%
Emergency response 13.7%
Development programme 55.7%
OVERALL PROGRAMME EXPENDITURE 80.9%

Source: Oxfam New Zealand Annual Report 2006:7

6.6.3   Organisational Structure

There are five 'divisions' in the structure of the Auckland office of Oxfam New Zealand, each headed by a director, incorporating Finance, Programmes, Advocacy, Media and Communications, and Marketing. In addition there are two offices based in Papua New Guinea (PNG), employing a total of 7 local staff. There are no New Zealanders based overseas.

The Programmes division has responsibility for activities in the Pacific, PNG, East Asia, clean water supplies and sanitation, and humanitarian issues. The advocacy division includes management of campaigns (for example, Fair Trade) and related

events, research, and co-ordination with institutions and governments at the national and international level. The marketing director is responsible for the extensive fundraising campaigns, and for external relationship management and coordination.

Each of these divisions may appear discrete on paper, yet there is considerable overlap in their functions. Thus maintaining effective internal relationships and communication is an important issue for the organisation. Oxfam New Zealand's structure represents the classic matrix model as outlined in Chapter 3, and some of the difficulties associated with this model were raised by interview respondents. Dual accountability, time consumed in cross-team meetings, and some difficulties in cross-team communication were reported. There are further cross-cutting issues. Oxfam New Zealand is currently undertaking significant organisational change and expansion: from a staff of 7 in 2000, the complement has risen to 37 in 2007 and hence the median length of employment cited by interview respondents was less than one year. Rapid change in any organisation is not without tensions and staff concerns about structure and function are included in research findings.

6.6.4   *Rights-Based Approach to Development*

Although Oxfam New Zealand has not yet articulated its organisational values, their vision statement gives an indication of where their values lie: "Striving to achieve a safer, fairer world where all people can enjoy a life of hope and opportunity, free from poverty and suffering" (Oxfam New Zealand, 2007a). "Poverty is an injustice" is the slogan that summarises Oxfam New Zealand's development tenets and RBA. Box 6.5 is drawn from the 'How we work' page on the website (Oxfam New Zealand, 2007a), illustrating practice principles and denoting specific rights included in this approach.

In declaring its operational principles, Oxfam New Zealand is illustrating not just *what* they do but *how* they approach their development work, and *why* they do it, thus countering Fowler's criticism (1997:xii) that "NGDOs find it easier to talk about what they do than how they do it". Closer analysis of these principles could argue that 'inclusive' implies 'linking global and local', and while the value of equality inherent in the meaning of 'partnership' might be abused in practice (Chambers, 1983; 1997) it is nevertheless an important principle for a NGDO –

especially to avoid accusations of neo-colonialism or the negative aspects of the economic paradigm of development, as indicated in Chapter 2. The principles are remarkable for the absence of a mission of 'poverty reduction'. Their approach is more direct than the statistical target-oriented clauses of the MDGs (see Maxwell, 2001, 2003; Cornwall & Brock, 2005; Saith, 2006): Oxfam New Zealand wants to identify and address 'the root causes of poverty', by challenging 'the local, national and international structures that reinforce poverty', and by involving public support 'to create a world free from poverty' (for example, through the campaign to Make Poverty History).

Box 6.5: Practice Principles of RBA

Partnership
Oxfam works in partnership with poor communities across the world to help people identify and address the root causes of poverty.
Linking local and global
Oxfam believes poverty and injustice are global problems that need a global solution. Our advocacy and campaigning work builds on our grassroots experience to challenge local, national and international structures that reinforce poverty.
Building a Movement for Change
Oxfam aims to motivate and support members of the New Zealand public to take action to end poverty. We believe everyone can play a part in creating a world free from poverty.
Inclusive
Oxfam works with all people, regardless of race, religion or political affiliation.
Rights
Oxfam believes that every child, woman and man has the right to a life of dignity and opportunity. Oxfam's belief in fundamental human rights underpins our grassroots work around the globe and our campaigning and advocacy work. We are fighting for a world where every person has
-    The right to a sustainable livelihood
-    The right to basic services such as health, education and safe water
-    The right to life and security
-    The right to be heard
-    The right to an identity.

Source: Oxfam New Zealand (2007a)

Making the link between Oxfam New Zealand's practice principles and the beliefs and change goals of Oxfam International outlined earlier in this chapter might require a leap of faith. There is an affiliation between phrases like 'global movement for change' and 'linking global and local', but Oxfam New Zealand is more specific in identifying key human rights, and the practice specifics of partnership and inclusiveness. The over-arching tenets of an international

organisation offer an umbrella to its member constituents, leaving a constitutional right for local organisations to supplement (and complement) the fundamental approach to development.

At the time of research undertaken with Oxfam New Zealand their strategic plan had not been formally confirmed, though draft content was aligned with Oxfam International's Change Goals. It is evident that the rights and principles outlined above are consistent with the Change Goals as described in Section 6.5.

6.7   Summary

This chapter has described the context of the international Oxfam family, tracing its origins and motivations for development. A lack of clarity between vision, mission and values has been indicated, yet there is an overall picture of commitment to fighting the causes of poverty, as evidenced in Oxfam International's beliefs, change goals and strategies. An outline of Oxfam New Zealand's RBA indicated some consistency with this picture, and also its own primary focus. Background information has situated Oxfam New Zealand within the development sector in New Zealand and within a social and political context, providing a springboard for investigating and analysing the organisation's expression of values. Case-study findings and analysis are described in the next chapter.

Chapter 7: Inside Oxfam New Zealand: Research Findings and Analysis

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to report on the findings of research within Oxfam New Zealand and to present some analysis, especially in relation to the expression of values. There are three themes to be explored. The first theme (presented in two parts, Sections 7.2 and 7.3) identifies value-words as expressed in public documents (secondary resources) and in interview responses to the question on the meaning of RBA. A second theme considers the congruence between these two sources, in which disparities between personal views ('espoused values') and public pronouncements ('in-use values') are assessed (Section 7.4). Thirdly, the organisational tensions reported during interviews are examined to indicate the significance of values to personal and organisational well-being (Section 7.5).

Thus, the discussion in previous chapters is brought to bear on a single organisation. The humanist paradigm outlined in Chapter 2, the nature of values in Chapter 3, the contexts of NGDOs and Oxfam in development described in Chapters 4 and 6 contribute to my analysis, and to my interpretation of the Oxfam New Zealand's expression of values. The implications of these findings in relation to the literature, and to my research questions will be considered in Chapter 8.

7.2 The Expression of Values in Secondary Resources

Oxfam New Zealand publications reviewed include website statements, selected research papers, newspaper articles, one annual report and two newsletters. Given that each of these secondary resources is written for a different audience there are some inconsistencies in the presentation of findings.

All secondary resources were scanned and analysed prior to staff interviews, as a means to test the validity of value-word analysis in the research. In reviewing web-pages and other publications I wanted to draw out underlying intentions, the values expressed in these sources.

7.2.1 Website Statements

Oxfam New Zealand's Vision begins with the following statement:

> In a world rich in resources, poverty is an injustice which needs to be
> addressed. We are striving to achieve our vision of a safer, fairer world where
> all people can enjoy a life of hope and opportunity, free from poverty and
> suffering *(Oxfam New Zealand, 2007a).*

The first sentence represents a fundamental belief, followed by a clear picture of
the desired *ends*, the intrinsic goals of the organisation: "a safer, fairer world". The
intention of these words is explained in the subsequent clause, indicating a people-
centred focus for development work. It is a fair summation of the humanist
development paradigm and humanist values.

The web-page "How we work" elaborates on the practice principles inherent in the
vision statement. As detailed in Chapter 6 (Box 6.5, page 111), Oxfam New
Zealand operations are based on principles of

- Partnership
- Linking local and global
- Building a movement for change
- Inclusive (*sic*)
- Rights.

These principles enlarge our understanding of 'a safer and fairer world',
representing the 'instrumental values' or *means* of development (Rokeach, 1973;
Padaki, 2000). However, a closer examination of the principles reveals two distinct
strands. 'Partnership', 'Inclusive' and 'Rights' appear to focus on development
practice while 'Linking local and global' and 'Building a movement for change'
represent a wider view of development as global change through advocacy and
public education (see Fowler, 1999; Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001). While it might be
argued there are cross-over concepts (human rights are a global issue, for example)
this duality presents some tensions for the organisation which become evident later
in this chapter.

7.2.2 Published Papers

The publications reviewed here represent a selection of papers available on Oxfam New Zealand's website. They are addressed variously to national governments and international donors in relation to development issues in the Pacific, and offer examples of Oxfam's advocacy function as well as the values the organisation is promoting.

The review process involved a 'values-scan' of the documents following Henderson, et al. (2006), identifying and recording value words and phrases. A summary is presented in Table 7.1, contrasting Oxfam New Zealand's principal critiques (in note form) with their preferred value position.

Although these papers focused exclusively on development issues in the Pacific, the critiques could apply no less for other countries in the developing world. They present a picture of the economic paradigm of development in action, and Oxfam New Zealand's interpretation of its negative effects, especially in terms of short-changed economic returns to local people from external investment and bilateral trade agreements. Within the text of these documents, Oxfam New Zealand offers detailed economic and political evidence of shortcomings, and articulates their preferred humanist alternative.

Analysis of Oxfam New Zealand's value position from column 2 of Table 7.1 reveals an emphasis on pro-poor, people-centred development for the ends of social justice, and opposition to quantitative economic development. Repetition of key words such as 'participation', 'equity', 'sustainability', 'capacity-building' and 'stability and security' indicate the organisation's commitment to the humanist development paradigm and also to their practice of advocacy.

Table 7.1:   Summary of Oxfam New Zealand Published Papers and Expressed Values

Oxfam Critiques	Expressions of ONZ's value position
Pacific Trade and Development (Coates & Lennon, 2005) Opposition to trade liberalisation policies based on the theory of comparative advantage; to a focus on efficient allocation of resources, not effectiveness; and to considering market prices over non-economic development values. "Pro-trade policies are not pro-poor."	• Effective utilisation of people and natural resources • Social and political stability • Pro-poor • Flexibility • Inclusive, integrated approach to development
Pacific Plan (Coates, 2006) The assumption that economic growth will benefit all is a prescriptive approach (includes evidence of failures of economic development).	• Effectiveness and equity (in public health, education, and social well-being - affordable services;) • Fair trade • Sustainability • People-centred development; Participation • Protecting and enhancing indigenous cultures • Capacity building • Evolution • Human security • Participatory democracy based on human rights.
Submission on Draft Pacific Plan (ONZ , 2006a) Recommendations centred on a critique of trade liberalisation; the failures of the North to undertake effective development; and the lack of analysis identifying the *causes* of poverty. Failures to attend to unsustainability, poor governance and insecurity also noted.	• Poverty reduction • Social justice • Sustainability • Security

Solomon Islands (ONZ & Oxfam Australia, 2006) A comprehensive review of development needs, critiquing RAMSI intervention, the emphasis on economic reform policies and environmentally destructive extractive industries.	• Rights-based sustainable development • reduction in poverty and inequality • Peace and security • Jobs and essential services, improved livelihoods • Address crime and violence • Engage with CSOs • Understand traditional cultures • Systematic accountability • People's empowerment • Self-determination.
Fishing Agreement between Pacific and European Union (EU) (Braxton, 2006) This paper highlighted the inequities of bilateral trade agreements and tariff barriers and the minimal return to Pacific countries; the impact of depleted fishing stocks on local livelihoods and lack of sustainability. The agreement is thus a barrier to development. Illegal fishing by foreign companies also noted.	• Equitable distribution of benefits • Fair Trade • Participation • Regional approach needed. • Inclusiveness • Sustainability • Fairness • Justice • Accountability
Vanuatu's Tourism Industry (Slatter, 2006) Described the lack of benefits to local people and how foreign investment profits go off-shore. Results evident in loss of land rights and title; the lack of employment opportunities and exploitation of local employees, resulting in dislocation of indigenous people and crippling debt-servicing for the government.	• Equity • Indigenous rights • Livelihoods • Social justice
Vanuatu: the 2006 Land Summit (Portegys, 2007) Questioned the political will of the government, and critical of the influence of Australian interests	• Sustainable land management • Fair dealings in land • Equity • Stability
Pacific Economic Partnership Negotiations (ONZ, 2007) Critical of the limited time-frames in negotiation and the cost of social impact assessments. Highlighted how the asymmetry of partnership works in favour of EU.	• Consultation and involvement with CSOs • Informed decision-making • Capacity-building (especially in trade) • Equity, fairness • Political stability

Source: Author

7.2.3 Newspaper Articles

Oxfam New Zealand secures frequent publication in the Dominion Post[86], providing opportunities to promote the organisation's approach to development, their critical analysis of development and details on what development programmes can achieve. The items summarised in Table 7.2 have all appeared as feature articles opposite the leader page of the Dominion Post, or as quotes solicited by other writers for feature articles. Full references are included at the end of this study.

Table 7.2 indicates that Oxfam New Zealand's position on development is consistent with that identified in Table 7.1. The values supported and promoted are humanist, pro-poor, and endorse worker rights, safety and sustainable development. The article on anti-corruption reflects Oxfam International's value of accountability.   The item on climate change indicates the links between global and local and represents an example of Oxfam New Zealand's education function, expanded most recently in the campaign 'Be the Change', in conjunction with Greenpeace and Forest & Bird Society.[87]

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[86] The lottery of getting press releases published or being invited to make a statement on particular issues is acknowledged. The frequency of Oxfam New Zealand's appearance in print media is testimony to their leading role among New Zealand development agencies.
[87] Further information is available at www.bethechange.org.nz .

Table 7.2: Summary of Oxfam New Zealand Press Statements and Expressed   Values

Source	Key Statements	Expression of ONZ's Value Position
2005, February 28: *Oxfam labels response to crises stingy* – Barry Coates, Executive Director, ONZ.	Public generosity to tsunami relief appeals has not been matched for other world emergencies … Rich countries give according to their political interests rather than humanitarian need.	Humanitarian aid over political interests
2005, July 5. *Let's also make corruption history* – Barry Coates	Effective structures to make governments accountable will assist in 'making corruption unacceptable' … governments of the rich world too often turn a blind eye to corruption in order to buy political favours. Multinational corporations (MNCs) will pay bribes to gain a foothold in resource extraction.	Accountability by both national governments and multi-national corporations (MNCs).
2006, August 2. *World Trade talks on Life Support* – Barry Coates	This item argues for support of a multilateral trade system, and the strengthening of WTO, WB and the effectiveness of UN.	Need for international trade system that works to benefit poor countries.
2006, August 7. *Dark underside of World Cup glitz* – Barry Coates	Brand name sporting gear is produced through exploitation of workers in the South, aided by local laws and production pressures.	Workers' rights over national and MNC economic gains.
2007, April 5. *NZ well down in the ranks of giving aid*[88] – Michael Field, Dominion Post reporter.	Quoting Barry Coates: "Most Kiwis think we are good global citizens, but compared to others our government is a miserly donor".	More funding means more and better development.
2007, May 9. *Dancing toward a free trade deal* (re free trade agreement with China) – Keri Welham, Dominion Post reporter.	Quoting Barry Coates: "Increased access for NZ goods such as dairy products would impact on China's rural poor, many of them struggling farmers".	Bilateral trade agreements do not help the poor.
2007, May 21. *NZ increases its fight against global poverty* – Barry Coates (re government announcement to increase ODA funding).	Political economy of development aid acknowledged. Oxfam New Zealand's achievements in global and national campaigns reviewed.	Increased aid is "an investment in a more prosperous, safer and sustainable Pacific region".
2007, December 28. *Time for Kiwis to Step up* – Barry Coates	NZ has a duty to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to save those most at risk from climate change.	Impact of climate change falls most heavily on poor and vulnerable communities.

Source: Author

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[88] New Zealand's contribution of 0.27% of Gross National Income to international aid is a long way from the goal of 0.7% set by UN.

7.2.4 Annual Reports and Newsletters

In publishing annual reports and newsletters, designed for distribution to donors and supporters with many photographs of development projects in action, the messages about Oxfam New Zealand's approach are the 'good news' stories of development achievements. These publications also include references to the politics of the global economy, including unfair trade practices and bilateral trade agreements that benefit developed nations over the needs of developing countries; and to the political economy that prevents (for example) the importation of cheap versions of retro-viral drugs by countries which suffer most from the scourge of HIV/AIDS. Oxfam New Zealand is maintaining its mission to build a safer and fairer world. Table 7.3 summarises these publications.

Table 7.3: Summary of Annual Report and Newsletters and Expressed Values

Source	Key Statements	Expression of ONZ's Value Position
Annual Report, 2006	The headlines in this report read "Building a safer and fairer world" (p2), "Fighting poverty 365 days a year" (p4). The range of projects sponsored by Oxfam New Zealand are also recorded.	• Build human security through community-based development, using traditional systems wherever possible. • Linking with other organisations and to global campaigns. • Mutual respect with partners and local communities. • Focus on people's rights as well as their needs.
Oxfam News, Spring 2006	Reports on ONZ development projects in Timor L'Este, Indonesia and PNG, and the Make Trade Fair campaign.	• Building economic independence. • Provision of humanitarian aid. • Addressing discrimination, stigma, gender inequality and lack of public awareness re HIV/AIDS.
Oxfam News, Autumn, 2007	"Linking local grassroots experience with advocacy at a national and international level" (p1).	• Community empowerment • Building local capacities • Reducing conflict and violence against women • Local control of resources • Fair Trade – "a better deal" • Use principles of partnership, respect, participation and humour • Use local resources and skills.

Source: Author

Again, the information drawn from these publications is promoting the values of a humanist position and Oxfam New Zealand's mission. There is an overall consistency in the words and phrases used. The slogans "Fighting poverty 365 days a year" and "Linking local grassroots experience with advocacy at a national and international level" are both consistent with the organisation's practice principles identified above (see page 114, and Box 6.5, page 111). In addition to these slogans, I have noted the following statement presented by the Administration and Finance Director:

> The effectiveness and credibility of Oxfam's *development, advocacy and public awareness* programmes is reflected in the growth of financial support (Annual Report, 2006:6, emphasis added).

The highlighted words suggest a three-fold function for the organisation which is not articulated elsewhere, but which relates to organisational structure and focus. I explore this issue further in Chapter 8.

7.2.5   *Summary of Values Identified in Secondary Sources*

Extracting organisational values from publications that serve different purposes is not an easy task. The position papers reviewed in Section 7.2.2 included submissions on specific issues, and detailed economic and political analysis on others. Three major themes are identified here: the need to promote *pro-poor development* (poverty reduction) strategies; *opposition* to trade liberalisation and bi-lateral trade agreements; and the need to *involve civil society organisations* (CSOs) in policy development and governance accountability. Newspaper items also drew attention to these themes, along with articles on corruption and climate change. Collectively they represent the organisational principle 'Building a movement for change', through the intention of public education. The annual report and newsletters, with a different audience in mind, promoted good news stories and development achievements as well as reminding readers of global development issues. All these secondary sources reflect a humanist position, and are consistent with the literature on NGDO futures described by Fowler (1999, 2000), Edwards et al. (2000), Van Tuijl (2000), Lindenberg & Bryant (2001) as noted in Chapter 4.

Table 7.4:   Summary of Value-words Expressed in Secondary Resources

Mission (Goals)	Oxfam New Zealand Principles	Intrinsic (Terminal) Values (ends)	Instrumental values (means/process)
"Demanding Justice" "Fighting Poverty 365 days a year" "Building a safer and fairer world"	Inclusive Rights Partnership	• Social justice • Dignity and freedom • Empowerment • Security / Peace • Identity • Being heard • Equality / equity / gender justice • Humanitarianism • Sustainable Livelihoods • Participatory democracy • Informed decision-making • Mutual respect	• Sustainability • Power-sharing • People-centred practice; community-based, using traditional systems • Capacity-building (working with traditional cultures) • Participation (in all phases of development practice) • Supporting CSOs • Transparency – accountability • Reciprocity • Sustenance (water and food) • Livelihood – employment • Basic health and education services • Fair dealings in land management
Global Change	Linking global and local Building a movement for change	• Structural and social integrity and integration • Inclusiveness – everyone counts • Peace and security • Fair Trade • Solidarity • Humanism	• Collaboration (with local and international NGOs) • Partnership / power-sharing • Participation • Accountability, to counter corruption • Capacity building • Education on poverty reduction (public awareness) • Advocacy – speaking out; stand up and be counted • Empowerment • Peace-building • Multi-lateral trade agreements (pro-poor, not pro-trade)

Source: Author

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At the risk of some reductionism, Table 7.4 summarises this stage of values-analysis. The primary organisational goals are presented in Column 1 firstly as slogans, and secondly in a more concrete context as 'global change', and these are then linked with Oxfam New Zealand's organisational principles. The outcome is an identification of value words drawn from the publications as either terminal or instrumental values. This division is arbitrary and rests on my interpretation of the distinction between the means and ends of development. The ends represent the 'big picture' of development, the ultimate goals, while the instrumental values represent the necessary means and processes to achieve the ends.

7.3   The Expression of Personal Values

The key question in research interviews sought participant denotations of RBA as a means to elicit the expression of values held by individuals within the organisation. As noted in Chapter 3, personal values can diverge from organisational values, but this approach was the best option for the case-study, given the absence of articulated values for Oxfam New Zealand. The first section introduces some demographic information.[89]

7.3.1   Respondent Background

This section summarises the responses offered in the first part of interviews, relating to length of service, skills and qualifications and commitment to the organisation. Employment tenure ranged from 2 months to nearly 7 years, with the median figure being less than 1 year. Three participants were formerly 'interns' with the organisation, in which they undertook specific projects on an unpaid basis.

There was a range of formal qualifications cited: in political science, international relations, humanitarian law, history, psychology of religion, philosophy, communication studies, and information technology. Only one participant had a qualification in development studies (a Masterate), and one staff member (not interviewed) indicated they had an incomplete Postgraduate Diploma. While a lack of formal study in development might be surprising, given Oxfam's reputation

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[89] As noted in Chapter 1 all direct quotes from participants are presented in italics, and there are no references to their source, for reasons explained in Chapter 5.

as a leader among NGDOs, the range of social science qualifications illustrates the multi-disciplinary nature of development, noted in Chapter 1. As Gasper points out "development theory, planning and practice do not define a single profession or well-bounded set of professions and agents" (1999:2). Perhaps more significant is the absence of economic and technical expertise (with the exception of information technology) that tends to dominate funding agencies such as the World Bank (Ellerman, 2005), indicating that Oxfam New Zealand's approach to development is much broader than a monetary or technological fix.

Participants referred to experiences of living and working (not as development practitioners) in developing countries, to travel experience, to previous employment in NGOs, or to relevant life and work experience. Four people had elected to shift from employment in corporate environments, wanting to work in a charity organisation, and attracted by Oxfam's reputation. The predominant response to the question 'what keeps you involved?' is found in one participant's comment: *"passion and commitment!"* This conviction is echoed by others:

> *Living a life which means something.*

> *Belief in the organisation is core.*

> *To make a change in people's lives – to be instrumental, a catalyst in some form or another. It is humbling, no matter what position is held, to keep sight of what we are here for and the results are what matter.*

> *The feeling that what I'm doing now is a direct contribution to improving life for people on the planet.*

> *I believe in the Oxfam brand – you want to be part of making that difference.*

Such comments could be interpreted as "missionary zeal", as noted by van Rooy (2002). Certainly they represent personal humanist positions in regard to development, suggesting organisational cohesion. Yet there are risks that personal passion can hold undue influence on organisational operations, particularly if, as in the case of Oxfam New Zealand, there are no articulated values, the strategic plan is yet to be finalised and it is going through a period of rapid growth and change.

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The information here has outlined a little of the background of participants and their motivations. Despite the diversity in education and experience there is remarkable consistency in participant interpretations of RBA, described in the next section.

7.3.2 Denotations of RBA

As an affiliate of Oxfam International, Oxfam New Zealand subscribes to the values of empowerment, inclusiveness and accountability, though there is no explicit declaration of these values within the organisation or its publications. RBA was adopted for this research as an entrée to exploring organisational and personal values, asking participants to find words that represented their interpretation of RBA. It should be noted that these 'expressions of values' are personal views rather than articulations of organisational values. While the connection between personal and organisational values, as described in Chapter 3, should not be overlooked, the initial question was directed to Oxfam's RBA, not to perceived organisational values, and thus it is premature to draw conclusions.

Table 7.5 is a compilation of responses and their frequency. Many of the words in this table may sound like development jargon, which some participants acknowledged, but most respondents were able to articulate what they meant and to offer practical examples. This list of words illustrates the significance of the idea of development, incorporating both means and ends, both process and objectives.

Table 7.5:   Denotations of RBA

Responses	Frequency
Human Rights (universal), humanity, inclusiveness, dignity and respect, trust, honesty, non-judgemental	10
Partnership, collaboration	7
Livelihoods, sustainability, capacity building, security	7
Empowerment	6
Accountability (to partners, donors, public and Oxfam affiliates), credibility, results-driven	2
Holistic approach, gender justice/equity, participation, process (not solution focus), structural analysis of poverty.	Each got a single mention

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In analysing the responses of Table 7.5 I continue to draw on the distinction between intrinsic (terminal) and instrumental values as described in Chapter 3 (Rokeach, 1973; Padaki, 2000), as shown in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6:   RBA Value words expressed as Ends and Means

Intrinsic (Terminal) Values (Ends)	Instrumental Values (Means)
Dignity and respect Trust Honesty Non-judgemental Human Rights (universal) Humanity Inclusiveness Gender justice and equity	Partnership Collaboration Livelihoods Sustainability Capacity building Security Empowerment Accountability Credibility Results-driven Participatory process Holistic, structural analysis

Table 7.6 records how RBA words can be allocated as intrinsic or instrumental values. It is a somewhat arbitrary distribution: it could be argued for instance, that security is an end in itself, an intrinsic value that encompasses freedoms, enables livelihoods and sustainability. On the other hand, peace-building in the PNG highlands (for example) is a security *process*, a *means* to the humanist *ends* of development. It is noticeable that *participation* drew only a single mention, possibly indicating that intrinsic values take precedent over instrumental ones.

'Empowerment' is a primary value for the Oxfam family, an *end* in itself, yet the *process* of empowering people is but a means to gain the full range of the intrinsic qualities of being human, and hence I have deemed empowerment as an instrumental value. 'Accountability' is another primary value I have placed in the instrumental column, on the basis that it is a *means* to honour the rights of primary stakeholders and their capabilities, to be inclusive, engendering mutual trust and respect.   (This reasoning could also apply to donors and other stakeholders.)

When asked to rank the RBA denotations participants offered a range of responses. *"It's tough to pick between them – they come as a package"*, said one participant.

The words *"are all getting at the same point"*, said another. On the other hand one claimed *"security underpins all other rights"*. Nevertheless, 'empowerment' was the word most favoured, explained variously as *"well-being", "dignity and respect", "opportunity", "owning the direction of one's own life"* and *"strengthening communities"*. If 'empowerment' drew only 6 responses in denoting RBA (see Table 7.5) it was certainly perceived as the driver for achieving fundamental human rights.

One significant omission in respondent denotations of RBA is *advocacy* which features so largely in Oxfam New Zealand principles and publications. I could assume that participant responses focused on direct development practice – yet the evidence in publications and in the activities and conversations around the Auckland office demonstrated vigorous political commitment supporting the organisation's principle of 'linking global and local'. An alternative interpretation suggests that participant responses represent their *personal* humanist values at the exclusion of *political* or *organisational* perspectives.

This distinction is illustrated in Table 7.6 where the intrinsic values are largely *human qualities,* whereas the instrumental values are more closely aligned to the practical application of RBA: rights to sustainable livelihoods, basic social services, and to life and security. The intrinsic values of Table 7.6 could be said to represent personal humanist positions and behavioural expectations that infect both organisational and practice values. For instance, being 'non-judgemental' connotes acceptance and inclusiveness in interpersonal interactions (Biestek, 1957) which would represent the values of 'partnership' and 'participation'. However, in its public statements Oxfam New Zealand is clearly not shy of making judgements and arguing their case against political and economic policies which inhibit human rights and poverty reduction. There is a real difference between 'judging' on the basis of personal bias, and 'making judgements' on the basis of rational argumentation. As Etzioni observes:

> The moral voice is most compelling when it is firm but not screeching, *judging* but not *judgemental*, critical but not self-righteous *(2005:117, emphasis added).*

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Personal values are not sufficient for effective development practice in a globalised world that is inherently concerned with a political economy. As argued by Fowler (1997), Hailey (2000) and Henderson et al. (2006), explicit values harness activities and give a focus for individuals, and thus give strength to organisational functioning. In its approach to development and its international campaigns, the Oxfam family is engaging in a dialectical debate: without articulated values at their masthead Oxfam New Zealand is jeopardising the strength of their arguments.

7.3.3   Recognising values in behaviour

A prior assumption for this research project was that values are expressed in behaviour, in what we say and do. However, as noted in Chapter 3 values are not visible or describable objects (Pattison, 2004). Values are not a regular topic for the work-place tea-table, nor consciously demonstrated (O'Leary, 2006). Thus people found the question about recognising rights-based values in behaviour really difficult to answer, even when turned round to the negative, as in (relating to *inclusiveness*) "do you feel excluded or disempowered?"

Nevertheless there was some evidence of an appreciation of how values operated within development practice and within the organisation. The following comments also indicate the importance placed on relationships and communication skills, as noted by Fowler (2005), Gilbert (2005) and Chambers (2005).

- On teams and teamwork:
  Teamwork is evident in brainstorms, talk, our solution-focus. We have very open relationships, and it's a positive experience.

- On development programmes:
  Ownership starts to happen when other people start doing it themselves – it's demonstrated in change outcomes.

  Recognising a sense of well-being.

  Listening and facilitating – you'd be virtually useless if you couldn't build a relationship first, and the key to that is being non-judgemental. And the same applies within the organisation.

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- On external relationships:

  We can use clever words and jargon, but our actions are stronger in demonstrating what we are trying to achieve. We don't know all the answers – we need to listen as well as talk.

One participant held very clear views on RBA, offering the following summary:

> *It is grounded in human rights; Oxfam New Zealand does not deliver services according to the flavour of donors; there is real commitment to its global campaigns; and Oxfam New Zealand is a* facilitator *for indigenous NGO knowledge and learning, acting as a* mentor *and* listening *and* learning *from the process (emphasis added).*

The non-italicised words describe the key roles that are needed for effective development, *and* the importance of inter-personal communication organisational behaviours.

7.3.4   Other Reflections on RBA

If secondary sources are illustrating what the organisation says it is doing, then there are some reservations expressed by interview participants in whether it is doing what it says, central to RBA.

> *The human rights approach is idealistic – it's Eurocentric, based around individuals, and it clashes with tribal and clan-based communities which have a different approach. Oxfam's stated ideals need to be watered down, adjusted to what will fit into a communal rights society.*

> *All people have inalienable human rights – which translate into something different in every culture. It's a tension we have not yet worked out, and may never, because the idea of facilitating rights may not match with the preferred rights of different cultural backgrounds.*

The comments recorded here question the relevance of RBA to different cultural orientations. While acknowledging the universality of human rights, there is a sense of unease about the universal applicability of Oxfam New Zealand's position, raising the problem of cultural relativism addressed in Chapter 3.

Another participant was concerned that Oxfam New Zealand's focus on economic and social rights neglected political freedoms and security which are embedded in RBA:

> *We are good at practical humanitarian development, but there is peripheral engagement on human rights when it comes to conflict and abuses.*

This view conflicts with the proclamations on Oxfam New Zealand's activities in peace-building and security in its newsletters.

A third perspective, acknowledging that capacity-building is a key value of RBA, conceded:

> *I don't see rights-based axioms translated very much in the organisation, but they are all themes used in campaigns. The greatest appeal [of RBA] is in the idea of assisting people to help themselves.*

These comments are of course personal value positions, but they raise questions about the level of congruence between personal and organisational perceptions of development philosophy and practice.

7.4   Congruence between Secondary and Primary Sources

The themes identified in secondary sources emphasised values representing Oxfam New Zealand's organisational position, a *political* stance in the world of development. By contrast, analysis of denotations of RBA indicated a preference for humanist qualities as outcomes of development, through the means of instrumental development values. I concluded that interview participants were articulating their *personal* value positions. However, Table 7.7, drawing on Tables 7.4 and 7.6, shows a remarkable compatibility between the two sources, and with Oxfam New Zealand principles.

Table 7.7: Intrinsic Values of Secondary and Primary Sources

ONZ Principles	Secondary Sources	Primary Sources
Inclusive Rights Partnership	• Social justice • Dignity and freedom • Empowerment • Security / Peace • Identity • Being heard • Equality / equity / gender justice • Humanitarianism • Sustainable Livelihoods • Participatory democracy • Informed decision-making • Mutual respect	• Dignity and respect • Trust • Honesty • Non-judgemental • Human Rights (universal) Humanity • Inclusiveness • Gender justice and equity

There is a common resonance in the meanings of words from both sources: these are the words that give vigour to Oxfam New Zealand's operations, identifying their values even though they are not collated and articulated as such. However as noted above, there remains the significant omission of any reference to advocacy by interview participants. The global change ethos is certainly evident in analysis of publications, and also included in organisational principles under the heading of 'Rights':

> Oxfam's belief in fundamental human rights underpins our grassroots work around the globe and our campaigning and advocacy work *(Oxfam New Zealand, 2007b).*

Further research is needed to explain this anomaly. The next section considers respondent views on the organisation's functioning.

7.5   Organisational Tensions

Asking a question about what Oxfam New Zealand could do better is another way to elucidate and to validate organisational and personal values. It is a means to cross-check with initial responses to denotations of RBA, a form of triangulating research findings. The 'wish list' described in this section is dominated by a concern for improved clarification of RBA and the organisation's focus on development, (indicating a real interest in articulating organisational values), and issues of communication.

7.5.1 'Passion and Commitment'

As in all organisations, it is the people of Oxfam New Zealand that make it what it is and what it may become. The 'passion and commitment' for development that characterise staff attitudes is certainly evident in the comments reported below.

> *The organisation tries to live by its values – we don't always succeed, but you can't be perfect. The organisation is dependent on the people that work here – it brings in people who believe in Oxfam values. Most of the time it's a pretty good place to work.*

This statement reflects the arguments made in Chapter 3 on the importance of an alignment between organisational and personal values. However, 'passion and commitment' can have a negative effect in terms of workloads:

> *Staff, by their very nature, love coming up with good ideas, and hate to drop things.*

> *New staff have a passion which can overcome reality, but it shouldn't be squashed because it's their drive.*

Here is an indication of how personal values can influence organisational interests and direction, yet is tempered by the following observation:

> *It's not enough to be well-intentioned, as in the traditional approach to development. It's really important to find competent professional people with skills and qualifications for the job. It's hard to define, but you know it when you see it. Like being open to scrutiny and peer review, sharing the way we do things – a willingness to open yourself to internal pressure to explain why you are doing this in this way.*

This respondent is recognising the risks to the organisation of good intentions, yet is not arguing for the kind of professionalisation embraced by NGDOs during the 1990s, as described in Chapter 4. This statement is also a realistic description of an 'open' and 'learning organisation' (Huse, 1980; Roper & Pettit, 2002).

7.5.2 Environmental Concerns

The Oxfam family is remarkable for its inter-organisational monitoring and evaluation (Lindenberg & Bryant, 2001; Aaronson & Zimmerman, 2006). During my time at the Auckland office, auditors from Oxfam Hong Kong were reviewing financial accounts, and representatives from Oxfam Ireland and Australia were visiting to evaluate a recent global campaign with local counterparts. *"Look at the cost of air travel and the carbon footprint!"* exclaimed one respondent. A policy for inter-office communication via multi-media technology has now become a priority to replace globe-trotting. Thus, Oxfam New Zealand indicates its 'green' leanings, a value upheld in office notices about re-cycling, and in its use of environmentally-friendly cleaning materials and Fair Trade products. Here is an internal link with sustainability, expressing the organisation's principle of a 'right to sustainable livelihoods'.

7.5.3 Organisational Communication and Relationships

The importance of relationships and good communication was a feature recorded in perceptions of RBA values. As one participant claimed:

> *The key for effective teamwork is positive relationships – a regard for others.*

However there is a distinct contrast between the following pairs of comments:

> *We walk the talk.*
> *There's really good communication with other teams.*

> *There's a bit of a silo mentality.*
> *I don't really know what [x] team does.*

Other statements underline this disjuncture between espoused values and how they are expressed in practice (O'Leary, 2006; Champoux, 2006).

> *Respect between teams isn't quite as good as it could be – perhaps no more or less than other organisations. Growth pains have encouraged the silo mentality[90], a lack of respect for others. We have evolved into enclaves, not*

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[90] The term 'silo-mentality' was used by two respondents. While this may be statistically insignificant, the fact that it was mentioned at all indicates that some improvement in inter-team communication would be helpful.

because we are understaffed, but we have ambitions about what we think we can do within our staffing.

[sigh] You recognise participation by feel – you know you are a team member when you can share a problem and it's taken out of your hands.

We are an empowering organisation, and I can be upset in meetings by the ways power can be played out.

These comments may be a function of rapid organisational change or the influence of personal agendas, or both. Another factor is the 'tri-focal' structure of the organisation.[91] Observations drawn during my time in the Auckland office raised questions about the organisational distance between (1) off-shore programme delivery and (2) New Zealand-based marketing and fund-raising, and (3) the local and global advocacy campaigns, despite the frequency of cross-team meetings and office interactions. One respondent suggested the solution lay in

a basic communications strategy, such as a staff newsletter – who's here or away next week, and when they return from the field taking 20 minutes at morning-tea break to give a run-down, to show a few photos of what is happening in the field.

Other suggestions for improvement included:

There's a need for greater understanding of what we are doing across the organisation. It's varied at present. We need to look at what we stand for, what is the direction and where we are going as an organisation. We've started doing this a bit, but I think we can do more.

Induction of new staff – pushing values out – would lead to greater consistency.

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[91] In my initial observations I perceived that Oxfam New Zealand was obliged to look in two directions at once: both within New Zealand and externally at the wider frame of development. Following discussion with the Executive Director (August 2007) I changed this view to a 'tri-focal' vision. That is, Oxfam New Zealand has a three-fold function, comprising "development action, advocacy and awareness programmes", as identified in the Annual Report (2006:6). This concept is expanded in Chapter 8.

The tensions illustrated here will be familiar to many organisations, and are well-documented in manuals on organisation development and behaviour (see Huse, 1980; Handy, 1983; Champoux, 2000) and in development literature (for example, Wallace, 2000; Chambers, 2005; Fowler, 2005a; Lewis, 2007). Oxfam New Zealand should be encouraged that the issues are recognised by staff, and their will for improvement.

7.6   Summary

This chapter has reported on the research undertaken with Oxfam New Zealand, presenting findings and some analytic commentary and discussion. What the organisation says it does was examined through secondary sources. Interviews presented personal values and views, and from these two sources some analysis of espoused values was undertaken.

Secondary sources were consistent in presenting a humanist value-position that focused on poverty reduction, opposition to trade liberalisation and bi-lateral trade agreements, and the importance of involving local people in policy development and governance accountability. It was found that organisational functions had a three-fold focus on development action, advocacy and awareness. Primary sources (as in respondent denotations of RBA) highlighted the qualities of being human, and omitted reference to the function of advocacy which is emphasised in Oxfam New Zealand's commitment to a global movement for change. Investigating the congruence between organisational and personal positions indicated some differences and tensions, and also potential resolutions. The factors of rapid expansion in staff numbers and growth of the organisation were acknowledged early in the chapter and could thus explain the expressed tensions.

All of these issues are reviewed in the final chapter, in which I summarise the research findings in relation to earlier chapters on the literature of development and NGDOs.

Chapter 8: The Expression of Development Values: Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the final stage of exploration in this thesis, drawing conclusions in relation to my original questions. My primary interest was to identify how development values are expressed, by organisations and by individuals. Addressing this question invoked considering the sources of development values, why they are important, how they relate to NGDOs, and the implications for development organisations. The strands of development paradigms, values and the contexts of NGDOs have been interwoven with a study of Oxfam New Zealand, providing some answers and raising further questions.

The chapter proceeds by reviewing firstly "the expression of values" and their importance and relevance to development organisations. I then reflect on NGDO organisational functions with particular reference to the case-study findings. Some observations on possible future trends for NGDOs such as Oxfam are noted here, leading to suggestions for further research.

8.2 The Expression of Values

The expression of values in development relates to the 'what, how and why' of theory and practice. *What* NGDOs do is exemplified in the case-study of Oxfam New Zealand, ranging from humanitarian aid and development programmes to advocacy and public awareness. The *how* of development embraces strategic policies and processes, relationships and behaviours. Policy and practice specifics always draw on 'values', whether they are articulated or not, and values represent the *why* of development that shapes the *how*.

I began exploring the expression of values in Chapter 2, outlining the differences between the economic and humanist paradigms. The distance between their value-bases was revealed in widely different interpretations of 'development' and a range of development discourses. Economists (and right-wing governments), drawing on theories of capitalism, will claim development happens through the private enterprise of individuals, and economic gains will reap benefits for all people.

Humanists promote the inclusion of non-economic factors in development, the intricate relationship between 'freedoms' and the reciprocity between individuals and their communities. Even development processes are dialectical, according to Goulet:

> [They are] fraught with contradictions, conflicts and unpredictable reversals. Development is an ambiguous historical adventure born of tensions between *what* is sought and *how* it is obtained *(1996:5).*

The dialectical approach is clearly identified in the words of one research participant:

> *The [X] trade would give no credence or recognition to Oxfam's views. They are different ontologies that don't speak to each other. [Oxfam New Zealand] … is different from the real world.*

Such disparity was explained in Chapter 3 through examining the meanings of 'value' through the work of development ethicists (Goulet, 1973; Crocker, 1996; Gasper, 2004) and research on values undertaken by Rokeach (1973), Schwartz (1994), and Padaki (2000). A value, as the word implies, is something important, something to be prized and cherished, an intrinsic good. Or a value can impute an instrumental means, a process for achieving the intrinsic ends. This distinction has been important to the research process and analysis of findings.

A definition of 'values' is just as complex as the meaning of 'development'. Values, as argued by Padaki (2000), are represented in beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Hence part of my research sought evidence of the expression of values in behaviour. But "we mostly breathe values and meanings, assuming them" (Pattison, 2004:6), and thus it is rare to find in everyday experience any interrogation of *why* we hold particular beliefs and attitudes. The sources of values are laid down in culture, social structure and norms, in education and life experience, and in interpretations of history. Thus values are to some extent bound by context, though this is countered by arguments supporting universal values, based on the qualities of being human (Goulet, 1973; Etzioni, 2005; Gasper, 2004; Dower, 2005).[92]

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[92] See also Dunning, 2003; Küng, 2003; Minear & Walker, 2004).
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These ideas were explored in Chapters 2 and 3 through reviewing the history of development, and the continuing influence of historical schools of philosophy. It was important to relate this background as a means to illuminate the contemporary context of development and NGDOs. This approach allowed me to trace an 'architecture' of humanist development values, illustrated in Table 3.6 (see page 56), which connected development philosophies with organisational principles and desirable personal attributes. I do not dwell on the iniquities and inequities of Western ideology and globalisation imposed on the rest of the world, nor the 'failures' of development[93]. Rather, I have confined my arguments to a humanist perspective on development that rests on qualities of being human, of both individual and communal aspects of social being. The outline of Oxfam beliefs and values described in Chapter 6 supported the humanist position. It was further confirmed in responses to the interview question on denotations of RBA (Chapter 7): words like 'dignity', 'respect', 'trust' and being 'inclusive' proclaim the tenets of the humanist paradigm and the importance of relationships.

The 'expression of values' thus rests on words, the meanings we attach to these words, and how we enact our interpretations in behaviour. Understanding values explains the *how* and *why* of development. The next section reviews the significance of values to NGDOs and their relevance to Oxfam New Zealand.

8.3   The Importance of Values

> If NGOs are to be ethical agents, then we need to exemplify what we wish
> others to be *(Fowler, 2005:174).*

In this statement Fowler is highlighting the relationship between ethics, values and behaviour in development. But as O'Leary's research has shown (2006) 'espoused' values are not always aligned with 'in-use' values, suggesting there is a distance between what we say and what we do. For example, the extensive literature on 'participation' and 'gender equity' includes definitions and

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[93] Well documented by Frank, 1966; Esteva, 1992; George, 1992; Booth, 1993; Corbridge, 1993; Escobar, 1997; Shuurman, 2000; Rist, 2002; Chossudovsky, 2003; McMichael, 2004.

descriptions of how these words should be applied in development, and as many critiques on how they are not. Fowler's concerns for NGDOs are thus justified.

Against these very real practice issues are the arguments presented by writers on development ethics and on organisations. The utility of values and value articulation is found in the clarification of end goals (intrinsic values) and how to get there (instrumental values). Values provide a guide, a pathway to the ends of a defined development programme. Articulated values inform the public what the organisation stands for. As Henderson et al. (2006) have observed, values are the unique identifier, the DNA of an organisation. Values provide the glue to bind together the people of the organisation, adding strength and vitality to advocacy, public education and fund-raising activities. In other words, values support ethical integrity in development.

Despite the absence of articulated values, my research of secondary sources and interview information indicated Oxfam New Zealand has a strong sense of organisational identity and purposeful direction. Participants demonstrated an awareness of personal values, and an interest in identifying Oxfam New Zealand's 'song-sheet'. As one participant noted (cited in Chapter 1) a values-platform would provide the *"words and statements to represent the heart of Oxfam"*. There can be no better analogy to illustrate the importance of values.

8.4   Organisational Issues

If the importance and relevance of values to development and to NGDOs has been a central concern of this study, the findings of my research reveal some of the impediments to harnessing organisational functions with values. The heart of the dilemma facing NGDOs, according to Edwards (1999) is:

> the role of values in claiming legitimacy. Being, becoming and remaining a truly values-based organisation presents all NGOs and voluntary agencies with an extremely complex and demanding agenda *(1999:266)*.

Research findings from the case-study of Oxfam New Zealand express this dilemma in several different ways. These cross-cutting issues are summarised below. My final report to Oxfam New Zealand (see Appendix D) included specific suggestions for organisational development referring to values-clarification, establishing

strategic boundaries, intra-organisation communication and staff recruitment and orientation processes. Here these issues are discussed in a more generic approach.

8.4.1 Identifying Organisational Values

It is not an easy task to identify organisational values. In the first place there is potential conflict between personal values and those of the organisation. Oxfam New Zealand research findings showed that there are differing views on the validity of RBA, even though people found a consistent vocabulary to denote its meaning. Personal values need to be aligned with organisational strategies and processes and some participants expressed reservations on how the meanings of RBA words were translated and applied within the organisation. On the other hand there was much evidence of passion for development and commitment to the organisation. These qualities are the life-blood of an NGO, but they need to be harnessed to the organisation's objectives. 'Saving the world' is not a viable mission for individuals or the organisation, as argued by Chambers (1992), Temple (1997) and Van Rooy (2002).

Evidence from Padaki (2000) and David & Mancini (2004) in Chapter 4 showed how the process of values-identification can be time-consuming and challenging. Research findings from the case-study have indicated that Oxfam New Zealand has a strong foundation within the humanist paradigm, a keen political nose, and an appreciation of the qualities of being human. There was also expressed interest in identifying what should be included on the 'song-sheet' for the organisation. How Oxfam New Zealand undertakes a programme for values-identification would offer a further topic for research.

8.4.2 Interdisciplinary Teams and Teamwork

The complexities of matrix organisational structure were noted in Chapter 3, drawing from literature on organisation development (Huse, 1980; Hofstede, 1994; Champoux, 2006). Issues relating to dual accountability and maintaining organisation-wide communication emerged during research interviews within Oxfam New Zealand, compounded by work pressures and the task focus of individuals. Thus there was some divergence of opinion in interview responses, between "really good communication" and professed ignorance of what other teams did. One person expressed an objection to 'decisions by committee', and would like

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to see more executive decision-making. Jackson's research (1996) highlights these concerns, and she adds questions of power and status into the mix. As an observer at an inter-team meeting during my research, I noted these factors at work, especially in the persuasiveness of individuals and articulation of their arguments. At the same time there was evidence of effective leadership that kept the meeting on track, and individual influence within bounds.

Relationships are a core driver in doing development: as noted by Anderson (2001:298), "international aid is, fundamentally, about relationships". For Oxfam New Zealand the common ground for all team functions is establishing and maintaining external relationships, with partner organisations in the south, and with donors and supporters. Relationships are equally important within the organisation for effective functioning, as iterated in Chapter 7.

The questions that arise from these observations are: Does Oxfam New Zealand do what it says? Does it practice internally what it preaches under the principles of RBA? Research findings in Chapter 7 indicated there are a number of significant discrepancies. In the light of arguments presented earlier (particularly in Chapters 3, 4 and 6) I suggest the identified anomalies would be resolved if the organisation could identify specific values and reach a consensus on their meaning and expression.

8.4.3   The Tri-Focal Vision of Oxfam New Zealand and Future Directions for NGDOs

My initial analysis of Oxfam New Zealand conceptualised organisational operations as bi-focal, comprising off-shore development coordination and the internal business of advocacy and fund-raising. The organisation was obliged to look both ways at once. This view has been revised to consider Oxfam New Zealand's functions as three-dimensional, drawing on the words "development, advocacy, public awareness" (Annual Report, 2007:6). Thus there is a 'tri-focal vision', a kind of Cyclops wearing stereoscopic spectacles.

The exponential growth of NGDOs described in Chapter 4, and the rise of CSOs engaged in development in the South has shifted the nature of their core business, yet there is some residual ambivalence. NGDOs are dependent on funding support that comes through humanitarian crises (evidenced following the Asian Tsunami,

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2004) and the altruism of the North, which engendered the negative critiques recounted in Chapter 2, relative to perceptions of exogenous human needs and dubious political morality. At the same time there is a primary responsibility to inform Northern publics about the realities of social injustice and poverty in the South. The mandate for political advocacy derives from the humanist development paradigm and RBA, and is a key plank in Oxfam International's Strategic Plan, yet interview participants made no mention of advocacy in their denotations of RBA.

Given the tenets of the humanist development paradigm (see Chapter 2) and the history of NGDOs (Chapter 4) there is no doubt that Oxfam New Zealand's tri-focal vision is both necessary and sufficient for their operations. Literature reviewed in Chapter 4 indicated that 'people-centred' movements are the way of the future, through building global alliances, and becoming 'transmission belts' to represent the cause of the South. In Fowler's view (2000, 2005), NGDOs have an opportunity to occupy a strategic place between the state, the market and civil society, taking up roles as mediators and watchdogs, as well as setting examples of excellence and innovation in development practice. These trends are supported in Oxfam New Zealand's affiliation to Oxfam International, and through its advocacy and public awareness programmes.

However, the question of compatibility between these activities and the function of 'development' remains. The outline of organisational structure in Chapter 6 indicated that Oxfam New Zealand has adopted a facilitating and mentoring role in their operations in the Pacific, supporting local CSOs and development organisations without direct 'hands-on' operations. Findings from the Annual Report and Newsletters (Chapter 7) identified where funds were directed and development achievements, but did not specify that Oxfam New Zealand's role was more as a catalyst (Korten, 1987[94]) than engaging in direct development operations. Oxfam International's Strategic Plan (2007-12) outlines world trends, the organisation's beliefs and its change goals, and implementation strategies are centred on strengthening the organisation and global campaigning. The meaning

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[94] The full quotation shows some prescience by Korten: "The more fully the NGO embraces third generation programme strategies [sustainability], the more it will find itself working in a catalytic, foundation-like role rather than an operational service-delivery role" (1987:149).

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of 'development' appears to have shifted to a political agenda to champion the cause of the South.

There can be no objection to these moves away from the charity model of humanitarian aid, the relief and welfare era described in Chapter 4. Cognisance of values such as 'self-determination', 'empowerment', 'dignity and freedom' has allowed people and organisations in the South to apply their own capabilities, to find their own solutions. Hence NGDOs have shifted their ground. The logical conclusion from this move, and evident in describing the present and future focus of Oxfam, is that they have become "knowledge-based organisations" (Sogge, 1996:145) akin to Amnesty International, Greenpeace and World Wildlife Fund.

There are some reservations to note in these developments. It could be argued that NGDOs are finding at last their true role and function in the global scheme of development. Alternatively, global political advocacy might be a means to keeping Northern organisations alive now that Southern NGOs are taking more control of their own development, as inferred by Dolan (1992) and Smillie (1996). These observations may have some validity, but the question of responsibility for humanitarian aid remains. Rapid response to crises has been a hallmark of NGDOs, and despite assurances from Slim (2001) and Minear & Walker (2004) that the demarcation between development and humanitarian aid is dissolved, I have to question the compatibility between global political advocacy and relief efforts during emergencies. There is potential for out-spoken advocacy to jeopardise fund-raising capacity, and to reinforce the arms-length distance between the 'selfish altruist' of the North and the realities of poverty in the South.

Compensating this lugubrious view is Vakil's 'essential descriptors' for NGDOs (1997). Vakil's taxonomy (see Table 4.1, page 58) is basically arguing for articulation of values, for defining at what level NGDOs operate, and the focus of their orientation. For Oxfam New Zealand values-clarification could well assist in resolving in the ambivalence between politicisation and humanitarian responsiveness, and more specifically the anomaly of denotations of RBA which made no mention of 'advocacy' (see Chapter 7).

Figure 8.1 presents a conceptual image to illustrate this discussion, drawing on Oxfam New Zealand's practice principles. The principles are presented as

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overlapping circles, bounded by the slogans which represent the organisation's vision for development. At the core are the organisational and personal values which both harness and drive the organisation's business. When these values are articulated and linked to practice principles Oxfam New Zealand will offer the accountability, transparency and integrity of a 'values-driven' organisation.

Figure 8.1: Oxfam New Zealand's Approach to Development
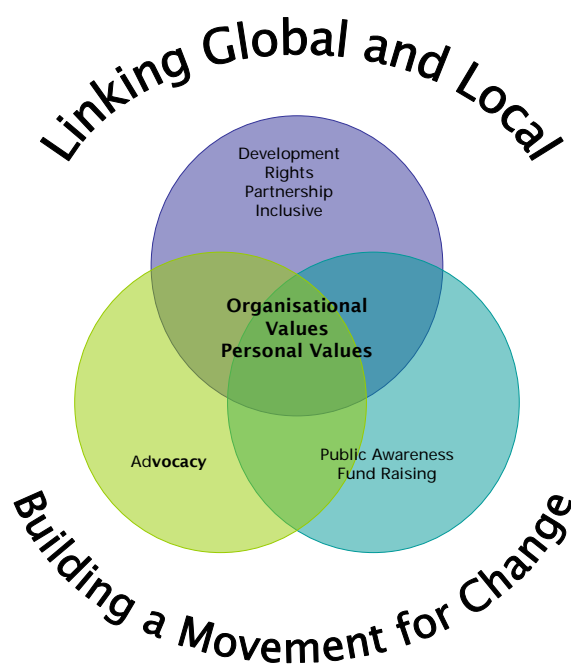
8.5   Potential for Further Research

This study has explored the nature of development values and how they are expressed within NGDOs, with specific reference to Oxfam New Zealand. The limitations of single-organisation research were noted in Chapter 5. In this section I suggest areas for further research.

8.5.1 Process of Values Clarification within Oxfam New Zealand

The study on Action Aid by David & Mancini (2004) detailed the process of aligning organisational systems with values[95]. They describe tensions and obstacles, and how these were resolved. Both management and staff of Oxfam New Zealand have expressed interest in identifying their organisational values. To follow their path as a research project could yield useful information not just to compare with the

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[95] See also David et al. (2006).

process of Action Aid, but to suggest incentives and methodologies for other development organisations.

8.5.2   Expand this Single-organisation Study to other NGDOs.

The case-study of Oxfam New Zealand has been utilised as an exemplar of how values are expressed.   Findings are unique to Oxfam New Zealand.   However, extending the research methodology to other organisations would test the validity and transferability of the process adopted here.   Secondly, a wider view of how organisations define and demonstrate their values could add credence to humanist approaches to development and indicate how these might unfold in the future.

8.5.3   Behavioural Evidence of Values

Values, as elaborated in Chapter 3, are notoriously 'out-there'.   Value-words have no concrete designation, no sensory characteristics: they are simply words to which we attach meaning (Pattison, 2004).   Values just are.   Despite the distinctions between 'espoused' and 'in-use' values argued in the literature (Argyris & Schön, 1996; Champoux, 2006; O'Leary, 2006) a study on behaviour in a development organisation would illuminate a deeper understanding of how values are demonstrated, whether in organisational planning (strategic and operational), or in relationships (inter-personal, internal and external to the organisation).   Such a study would require the expertise of behavioural scientists.

The gains of researching behaviour could offer an answer to the question "Do they practice what they preach?" and/or assist NGDOs to become more congruent and consistent in their practice, especially in external relationships.   The flow-on effect would accrue benefits to primary stakeholders and to donors and supporters, and in the articulation and process of political campaigns.

8.6   Conclusion

My exploration of development values started out with a destination in mind.   I wanted to find out how values are expressed by NGDOs, with reference to a single organisation and to individuals within the organisation.   I have considered why values are important, tracing the history of paradigms, values and NGDOs to illustrate themes and their variations and implications for development and possible future trends.   I undertook a case-study with Oxfam New Zealand to test

Chapter 8 – The Expression of Development Values: Conclusions

findings in the literature. This chapter has reviewed the journey and the discoveries of my research, and surveyed my conclusions. There are no last words on a study of values or development, but the following summary presents the key findings relative to my primary research question on the expression of development values.

- How are values expressed?

Padaki (2000) finds the sources of values in beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. Of course this is so, but the *expression* of values, what we mean and what we do in the name of development, is dependent on the *language* of values, the *words* and the *meanings* we attach to them. In order to understand development values better we need to give more attention to the way we interpret development value-words.

- Why are values important?

Aside from moral and ethical considerations, articulated values add integrity to what we say and do. 'Integrity' is used here in the sense of wholeness as well as accountability, and is applicable to both organisations and individual behaviour. Expressed values offer a unique place and function in development.

- How do values relate to NGDOs?

There is an interdependence between individuals, the organisation and its functions that is tied to the expression of values. However, nothing is absolute! There will always be different shades of meaning and interpretations for different people, organisations and circumstances.

- What are the implications for NGDOs?

Each organisation has to formulate its own values, its objectives and strategies. Living up to its values will be dependent on the extent to which values are articulated and incorporated in all phases of organisational operations, and in its external and internal relationships.

The ultimate prize for a development organisation like Oxfam New Zealand is to 'Make Poverty History'. Globalisation and communications technology are working to their advantage, helping to create a power bloc of NGDOs. Articulating explicit values and harnessing them to organisational operations will enhance this power.

Chapter 8 – The Expression of Development Values: Conclusions

Appendices

Project Title:

The Expression of Values in Non-Governmental Development Organisations: a Case-Study of Oxfam, New Zealand

Context:

This study will attempt to outline, within the frame of a single organisation case-study, how articulated (or implicit) development values are woven into organisational processes and individual behaviours. I am curious to find out how development values are translated into operations, especially as development practice is 'value-laden' and there is limited research which addresses the nature and place of values in development.

Objectives:

- To explore the range of 'values' and their meanings within the context of development and the organisation;
- To identify behaviours associated with these values; and
- To assess the degree of integration (congruence) between personal and organisational values.

Key assumptions:

- Values are expressed in personal attitudes and behaviour;
- Values will be evident in staff motivation and commitment, policy procedures and communication processes, organisational structure and relationships, and in conflict / ethical dilemmas that may arise; and
- The congruence of organisational and personal values adds to the integrity and strength of the organisation.

Note: While I may have some pre-conceived views on the constitution of 'good' development management and practice, this study will *not* examine the relative merits of Oxfam NZ's approach. Instead, reference will be made to literature on Development Ethics and various writers on NGO development organisations to illustrate the normative spectrum of values. On this basis the outcome of the research will reflect the fit between Oxfam NZ and theoretical perspectives and development discourses.

Methodology:

A four-phase case-study process is planned:

- A review of written material, relative to organisational history and structure, strategic plan, policies and publications (a 'values-scan');
- Semi-structured audio-taped individual interviews with a selection of up to ten staff members, and two Trustees for 30 minutes each;
- Attendance at a management meeting as an observer; and
- Focus-group meetings involving (1) Interns and (2) Volunteers.

Anticipated Outcomes:

- Clarification of the values vocabulary used by staff and within the organisation;
- Illustration of how values operate in organisation structure, policies, processes and behaviours; and
- Indications for possible enhancement of values expression.

Time-frames for research:

- By end of May, 2007   "Values scan" of documentation
- By mid-June   Interviews, and focus-group meetings completed
- By end of June   Observer attendance at a management meeting,
- By end of August   Presentation of results.

Research will be carried out at the Auckland and Wellington offices of Oxfam NZ, using own computing and audio equipment (as well as pencil and paper!).

The standard consent and confidentiality forms will be available for all participants. All information and tapes will be secured in a locked filing cabinet.

Massey University
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Information Sheet for Participants

The Expression of Development Values: a Case-Study of Oxfam, New Zealand

Introduction

This research project forms a major contribution to a student thesis to complete requirements for a Master of Philosophy (Development Studies), Massey University. The project will attempt to outline, within the frame of a single-organisation case-study, how articulated (or implicit) values are woven into organisational processes and individual behaviours in development management.

Objectives:

- To explore the range of 'values' and their meanings within the context of development and the organisation;
- To identify behaviours associated with these values; and
- To assess the degree of integration (congruence) between personal and organisational values.

(*Note:* There is no intention to 'evaluate' or pass judgement on expressed values, or to compare Oxfam NZ with any other organisation.)

Researcher's background

I have had 30 years' experience in New Zealand as a social worker / community worker (both as a volunteer and employee) in the health and disability sectors. My interest in development stems from travel experiences in Southeast Asia, together with a recognition of the value-base of NGO development practice and a curiosity about the limited research on this topic.

Participant Recruitment and Involvement

Invitations to participate in this research are open to all staff of Oxfam NZ, and it is hoped a representative cross-section will be available. A semi-structured 30-minute audio-taped interview will be conducted with up to 10 individuals. Two focus-group discussions with Interns and Volunteers would be appreciated.

Project Procedure

- Information obtained from audio-tapes will contribute to a 'mapping' of organisational and personal values and to enlarge understanding of how development values operate in and contribute to Oxfam NZ as an organisation.
- All personal information will remain confidential to the researcher, and no participant will be identified by name or by organisational role without prior permission.

- Audio-tapes and notes will be securely stored to protect privacy and confidentiality.
- Project findings will be presented at an open meeting with Oxfam NZ and a written summary will be available to all participants.

Participants' Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate you have the right to:
- Decline to answer any question;
- Withdraw from the study at any time;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used without prior permission; and

Ask for the audio-tape to be turned off at any time during the interview. **Contact details**

Researcher: Sue Hine, 26 Pelorous Street, Newlands, Wellington
                Ph (04) 477 1724
                Email: shindig@slingshot.co.nz

Supervisors:
Katharine McKinnon, Department of Development Studies,
Massey University, Private Bag 11-222, Palmerston North.
Ph (06) 356 9099 x 7235; Email: k.i.mckinnon@massey.ac.nz

Regina Scheyvens, Department of Development Studies,
Massey University, Private Bag 11-222, Palmerston North.
Ph (06) 356 9099 x 2509; Email: r.a.scheyvens@massey.ac.nz

This research project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher is responsible for the ethical conduct of this research. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher, please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), ph (06) 350 5249, or email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

S D Hine

Massey University
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

The Expression of Development Values: a Case-Study of Oxfam New Zealand.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand I may ask further questions at any time.

[Please strike out one of the alternatives in the following statements]

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio-taped.

I wish / do not wish to have the tapes returned to me.

I wish / do not wish to have data placed in an official archive.

[For Focus Group participants only]
I agree to not disclose anything discussed in the Focus Group.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: .... Date: ....

Full Name (please print) ....

The Expression of Development Values:
a Case-Study of Oxfam New Zealand.

Report on research undertaken, June 2007

Preamble and caveats

1. My analysis draws on development theory, literature on values and Development Ethics, on the place of NGOs in development practice, and includes reference to organisational development.

2. My personal position on development is based on a human development paradigm, resonating well with Oxfam New Zealand's approach.

3. The big question is "what are values?" A value is something that is cherished and prized; something that is derived from beliefs and culture, from a personal world view; something that shapes actions (behaviour) and relationships. Values are denoted by words and the meanings we attach to them; values are context-based (personal, organisational, political) and can therefore shift according to changing circumstances.

4. A second question is "why are values important?" In brief, values for development organisations are 'pegs on which to hang reasons for being', a platform that guides planning, practice and processes, and which contributes to accountability to donors and primary stakeholders alike, and especially to legitimise Oxfam New Zealand's advocacy function. Fowler (1997) comments that NGDOs[96] are very good at saying *what* they do but not *how*: what should be added here is the question of *why*, a justification that is reflected in organisational values.

5. A 30-minute interview is a very brief time frame to explore the issues of values, and thus there may be many gaps in the information gathered. Research of Oxfam New Zealand's publications was also somewhat limited. However, the findings of this 2-stage methodology fully support Oxfam New Zealand's development approach.

6. Reference to Oxfam International Change Goals, or to beliefs and values declared by other Oxfam organisations is excluded from this report.

Analysis Process

1. My approach is based on the work of Rokeach (1973) and a model of values clarification offered by Padaki (2000) for development organisations, particularly relevant for NGOs. Values may be 'terminal' as in intrinsic ends, or 'instrumental' as in means or process. If these concepts sound complicated they are illustrated in the tables below.

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[96] Non-governmental Development Organisation

2. The starting point for examining values was the web-page "How we work". In the absence of any clear statement of organisational values I assumed the words of 'partnership', 'linking global and local', 'building a movement for change', 'inclusive' and 'rights' represented important principles that appear to form the core values for Oxfam New Zealand's operations.

3. The key interview questions were about Oxfam New Zealand's Rights-Based Approach, and responses were assumed to reflect both personal and organisational values.

Publications Review

Research of Oxfam New Zealand's publications covered a random selection of publications, position papers available on the website and articles published in Dominion Post (see References for full list). These publications were reviewed with the principles of Oxfam's Rights-Based Approach in mind, attempting to identify underlying values. Although there are differing purposes – accountability to supporters, advocacy and education, and critiquing government and institutional policy – the primary messages overall were promoting Poverty Reduction, Universal Human Rights and Global Change[97]. The values associated with these goals, derived from words and phrases used in the publications, could be represented as in the table below.

Table 1: Summary of value-words in relation to goals

Goals	Terminal Values (ends)	Instrumental values (means/process)
Poverty Reduction	- Security / Peace - Sustainable Livelihoods - Essential Services	- Capacity building - Sustenance (water and food) - Livelihood - employment - Basic health and education services
Universal Human Rights	- Social justice - Dignity and freedom - Security / Peace - Identity - Being heard - Equality / equity / gender justice - Humanitarianism	- Sustainability - Power-sharing - People-centred practice - Capacity-building - Participatory monitoring and evaluation / participation - Transparency - Reciprocity - Sustenance (water and food) - Livelihood – employment - Basic health and education services

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[97] It is important to recognise these words are my personal constructions, open to modification.

Global Change	• Structural and social integrity and integration • Inclusiveness – everyone counts • Solidarity • Humanism (not Economism)	• Collaboration (with local and international NGOs) • Partnership / Power-sharing • Participation • People-centred – men, women & children • Accountability • Capacity building • Education on Poverty Reduction • Advocacy – speaking out; stand up and be counted • Empowerment • Peace-building

Of course there is some overlap and duplication, and some words might be construed as both terminal *and* instrumental values. At this point the table provides indicators for clarifying Oxfam New Zealand's primary values.

Summary Analysis, derived from interviews
Three themes emerged:
1. Passion and commitment – personal belief in the organization, its principles and practice, and ultimate goals.
2. Organisational features: horizontal structure, matrix style; disparate functions; 'cross-cutting teams'/ teamwork; rapid growth and attendant growing pains.
3. Consistency in words denoting values, relating to the Rights-Based Approach.

Table 2: Abridged Summary of interview statements and comments.

Passion and Commitment		
Exciting place to work; interesting challenges; experience with overseas partners gives meaning to office work; living a life that *means* something; intra- and inter-personal type of job; broadening experience; making a contribution to change; belief in the Oxfam brand and its approach to development; being part of making the difference; being engaged in the issues; compassion for developing countries; direct contribution to improving life for people on the planet.		
Organisational Issues Concerns for work environment and workloads. Incipient silo mentality vs claims for good communication. Practice focus on economic and social rights, less on political freedoms and security. Sometimes an executive decision could be better than committee consensus.	*Values* (Elaborated in Table 4 below) Clear preference for humanist values and human development paradigm.	*Values in Action (Behaviour)* "We walk the talk"; "bit of silo-mentality"; "really good communication with other teams"; "don't know what x team does". Good examples of empowerment offered. No examples of value conflicts arising, nor difficulty in resolving personal or professional issues.
What could Oxfam New Zealand do better (in terms of values), and how?		
Strengthen communications, respect between teams; develop advocacy across the organisation; more development education for supporters; be more service oriented; more transparent in marketing; orientation for new staff; commitment to Treaty of Waitangi.		

> ***What Oxfam New Zealand does really well!***
> Sets an example in use of Fair Trade products within the office; promotes a common sharing of morals and values; a shining light for other NGOs in terms of accountability.

Table 3: Denotations of Rights-Based Approach

Responses	Frequency
Human Rights (universal), humanity, inclusiveness, dignity and respect, trust, honesty, non-judgemental	10
Partnership, collaboration	7
Livelihoods, sustainability, capacity building, security	7
Empowerment	6
Accountability (to partners, donors, public and Oxfam affiliates), credibility, results-driven	2
Holistic approach, gender justice/equity, participation, process (not solution focus), structural analysis of poverty.	Each got a single mention

While many of these words may sound like development jargon, which some acknowledged, most people were able to articulate what they meant and to offer practical examples. The following table re-aligns responses as terminal and instrumental values. The distinctions are arbitrary and some words are transferable, however there appears to be a demarcation between *human qualities* and *process values*. The absence of 'advocacy' is noted, and while 'sustainability' can incorporate environmental concerns there is no explicit mention of environmental degradation or climate change as substantive developmental issues.[98]

Table 4: Responses realigned as Terminal and Instrumental Values

Terminal Values (Ends)	Instrumental Values (Means)
Dignity and respect	Partnership
Trust	Collaboration
Honesty	Livelihoods
Non-judgemental	Sustainability
Human Rights (universal)	Capacity building
Humanity	Security
Inclusiveness – gender justice / equity	Empowerment
	Accountability
	Credibility
	Results-driven
	Participation
	Holistic approach

People were asked to rate the importance of their selected words: "Not really – they come as a package" reflects a general consensus. This view confirms the rights-based approach as the foundation of Oxfam New Zealand's values and goals.[99]

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[98] But is the focus of Mary Wareham's article, Dominion Post, July 6, 2007.

[99] These findings will be analysed more fully in my thesis.

Reflections

1. Rapid organisational growth in recent years presents some challenges for internal processes, particularly for internal communication and for a common understanding of primary objectives and purposes.

2. The 3-D function of Oxfam New Zealand, (i) fundraising and marketing, (ii) advocacy (both of which include educational elements) and (iii) programmes are not incompatible, yet the necessary support functions within New Zealand have the potential to separate from development practice which is 'out there'.

3. Although Passion and Commitment (see Table 2) is the life-blood of an NGO, there are comments that suggest such motivation is driven by divergent personal interests rather than being harnessed to organisational goals, strategies and processes – and to articulated values. Of course 'singing the same song' needs harmonic variations, but what is the song-sheet for Oxfam New Zealand?

4. Expressing development principles in behavioural terms was a really difficult question for participants. Nevertheless it is still an important question in formulating organisational values and consequent organisational practices such as recruitment and performance appraisal.

5. Not everyone had a sound understanding of what is meant by the rights-based approach (or Change Goals, if this is more appropriate). An induction/orientation process for new staff could be instrumental in getting 'the horse before the cart'.

6. The website www.oxfam.org.nz provides a wealth of information on the organisation and development practice in action. Access to published papers is really useful to enlarge understanding of what Oxfam New Zealand does, and its significant role in advocacy (particularly in relation to Pacific Nations) and international campaigns on development. The links to other Oxfam organisations lead to an appreciation of Oxfam's global role and functioning, and to its origins. This resource could be promoted within Oxfam New Zealand to enhance appreciation of the realities of development and iteration of values.

7. I have to confess the absence of any reference to the Treaty of Waitangi in Oxfam literature had escaped me till it was pointed out by during an interview. Given the Treaty's principles on rights and sovereignty, and Oxfam New Zealand's membership in the New Zealand Council for International Development, whose Code of Conduct includes adherence to the Treaty, it seems more than appropriate to include some acknowledgement or reference to the Treaty in Oxfam policies. In essence, the Treaty principles encapsulate the fundamentals of 'development' and human rights.

8. Work pressures and a task focus can inhibit inter-team communication and a general sense of partnership and collaboration on common goals – hence the references to 'silo-mentality'. Developing a matrix-model structure that can incorporate the multi-functional and multi-disciplinary components of a development organisation is a challenge, for many organisations and not exclusive to Oxfam New Zealand.

9. The common ground for all team functions is establishing and maintaining *external* relationships (with primary stakeholders, partner organisations, donor/supporters, other international development organisations). Relationships are equally important *within* the organisation. The terminal values identified above could be the foundation for enhancing 'walking the talk', for creating an organisation that is greater than the sum of its parts.

Publications reviewed

- Briefing Note: *Vanuatu: The 2006 Land Summit* -- February 2007
- Oxfam New Zealand's evaluation of the Pacific EPA negotiations - January 2007
- Coates, Barry (2006) *Reorienting Economic Growth in the Pacific Plan: towards Equitable and Sustainable Growth.* Presentation to Pacific Civil Society Forum, Fiji.
- Braxton, Nick. (2006) *Fishing for a Future: the Advantages and Drawbacks of a Comprehensive Fishing Agreement between the Pacific and European Union.*
- Slatter, Claire. (2006) *The Con/Dominion of Vanuatu? Paying the Price of Investment and Land Liberalisation - a case study of Vanuatu's Tourism Industry.*
- Oxfam New Zealand & Oxfam Australia. (2006) *Bridging the gap between state and society: New directions for the Solomon Islands*
- Coates, Barry & Lennon, Shuna (2005) *Re-visioning trade and development in the Pacific.* Oxfam's report highlighting the gap between development aspirations and trade policy in the Pacific.
- Public Consultation on draft Pacific Plan (undated)
- Oxfam New Zealand Annual Report, 2006
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Newspaper Items, Dominion Post

- 2005, February 28, A6: *Oxfam labels response to crises stingy.*
- 2005, July 5, B5: *Let's also make corruption history.*
- 2006, August 2: *World Trade talks on Life Support.*
- 2006, August 7: *Dark underside of World Cup glitz.*
- 2007, April 5, A8: (Michael Field): *NZ well down in the ranks in giving aid.*
- 2007, May 9 : (Keri Welham) *Dancing toward a free trade deal.*
- 2007, May 21: *NZ increases its fight against global poverty.*
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