

### 3 LOCAL OWNERSHIP: INCREASED IMPACT AT A COST

In the autumn of 2005, three communities from the south-western shore of Madagascar approached Alasdair Harris of the *Partnership for Community-Run Marine Protected Areas in Madagascar*. They had observed the re-opening of the first no-take zone for fish and octopus in Andava-doaka. The octopi they caught were much larger and so abundant that fishermen from neighbouring villages asked for an expansion of the partnership's activities to their communities.

Stories like this have made local ownership a credo of most of the development community in the last two decades. Multi-stakeholder partnerships have been embraced by many because they promise strong local ownership. But many of the partnerships created around the Johannesburg Summit have been found to be donor- rather than locally driven.<sup>14</sup> The Seed Initiative therefore set out to support locally driven partnerships and to promote them at the international level.

Our analysis of partnerships that applied for the Seed Awards shows that most of them have strong local ownership, albeit in different forms. Local ownership promises lasting and effective impact. But it can also handicap a partnership, making processes slower and more costly. In partnership practice, it is often associated with a lack of access to experience and know-how available at the international level.

Support measures can alleviate these drawbacks: Social venture capital funds can help bridge the long and costly set-up phase of participatory international initiatives. Special programmes for local initiatives can facilitate the exchange of experiences between different initiatives and help them to access relevant international knowledge and skills.

#### LOCAL OWNERSHIP IN PRACTICE

What indicators can we use to recognise and evaluate local ownership in practice? Local ownership can be created through the participation of affected stakeholders in:

- identifying the problem
- defining the partnership's goals
- defining concrete targets and activities
- implementing policies or activities
- evaluating the success of the initiative

But formal participation in itself is not sufficient. For real local ownership, the stakeholders must adopt a policy or initiative as their own. For this, they need to be the driving force behind an initiative or become convinced about the merits of the project.

## THE MEANING OF LOCAL OWNERSHIP

Local ownership means that the people intended to benefit from development programmes or projects have significant influence over their design and implementation. The idea enjoyed a brief period of popularity in the 1950s and 60s. It re-emerged in the 1980s and 90s and has since become a guiding concept in most bilateral and multilateral development agencies.<sup>15</sup>

The appeal of local ownership stems from two important trends. Firstly, there was dissatisfaction with traditional models of development: projects designed and implemented from the top down were found to be ineffective and inefficient.<sup>16</sup> They rarely generated the intended benefits for the local population and often led to waste and corruption. To address this crisis of legitimacy, many donor institutions promised to give developing countries and the affected populations a greater say in the definition and implementation of policies.

Secondly, a new concept of development became popular in the late 1990s. The narrow focus on economic development was replaced with a wider idea of human and social development. Armatya Sen's widely received »Development as Freedom« succinctly expresses the underlying rationale. According to Sen, development should be as much about the empowerment of individuals and their ability to make meaningful choices as about economic growth.

In this situation, local ownership seemed like a magic bullet. By giving people a say in the policies that affect them, it promised empowerment. Studies found that »*increasing beneficiary participation directly causes better project outcomes*«. <sup>17</sup> Thus, interventions that could claim to be »locally-owned« were regarded as more legitimate and effective.

As a result, however, »local ownership« has become something of a buzzword. A vast number of development programmes are now labelled »participatory« or »locally-owned«. But, as a study has found, »*Overall, a naïve application of complex contextual concepts like »participation«, »social capital« and »empowerment« is endemic among project implementers and contributes to poor design and implementation.*« It is not surprising that the authors find that »*projects that rely on community participation have not been particularly effective at targeting the poor.*« <sup>18</sup>

The concept of local ownership should thus be applied carefully for several reasons. First, the effects of local ownership are disputed. It would be wrong to assume that »more« local ownership is always better than »less«. Rather, we should try to analyse what effects local ownership can

### CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS (I)\*

*Local ownership is the capacity, power or influence of stakeholders in development to set and take responsibility for a development agenda and to muster and sustain support for it.*

*Stakeholders are those individuals or groups that are affected by a decision or that influence or can influence a decision or its implementation.*

*Local drive is a more specific form of local ownership that has been coined by the World Bank to denote direct control over key project decisions and the management of funds.*

*Government ownership should not be confused with local ownership. It describes the involvement of national governments, not affected stakeholders, in development policies.*

\* Partially adapted from Saxby (2003), Mansuri and Rao (2003) and Hemmati (2002)

have in which situations and under what circumstances. Ultimately, these considerations should help determine what level of local ownership is most appropriate for what purpose.<sup>19</sup> Second, be careful not to confound local ownership with government ownership.<sup>20</sup> A policy that has been developed with the participation of a national government is not automatically informed and supported by the affected stakeholders. And finally, one must develop criteria for assessing local ownership. This will allow for the distinguishing of genuinely locally owned initiatives from those that use token stakeholder involvement as a figleaf to increase their legitimacy.

This assessment is by no means easy. The *Partnership for Community-Run Marine Protected Areas in Madagascar* offers one example. The idea to establish a marine protected area came mainly from international NGOs and the affected fishing communities are not formally members of the partnership. Yet concerned fishing communities are now asking for support to implement their own protection areas. Local stakeholders have thus adopted the project as their own initiative and one can speak of a strong degree of local ownership.

The definition of local ownership, then, cannot simply rest on the formal composition of a partnership. Rather, different types and degrees of local ownership exist. They depend on the degree to which affected groups are involved among others in: identifying a problem; defining the goals of a project; choosing concrete targets and activities; implementing these policies and activities; and evaluating the results of an initiative.

## **DIFFERENT TYPES OF LOCAL OWNERSHIP**

As previously discussed, the Seed Initiative set local drive as a criterion for the Seed Awards. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that on the whole the award applicants have a high degree of local ownership. Based on the varying degree of local ownership, roughly three categories of partnerships can be distinguished:

### **o Local partnerships**

Local partnerships display the strongest level of local ownership. In this arrangement, local groups identify a problem, develop ideas for its solution, initiate the partnership, and determine its main goals. The founders also continue to play an important role in the partnership throughout its development.

*Agua para Todos* is a good example of a local partnership. The partnership began with local communities who, deprived of access to good and affordable sources of drinking water, started to build their own water networks. Initially, they cooperated with a company that builds water networks and with charities providing microcredits. Over time, the partnership came to include the main water company, the municipal government and the United Nations Development Programme. With more partners, decisionmaking processes have become more complex, but local communities retain decisive influence. For example, the partnership can only pursue its activities if the concerned communities demand and finance the construction of water networks.

## SEED PARTNERSHIPS STRONGLY INVOLVE LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Presence of types of organizations in partnerships (Multiple answers possible)



Of all Seed partnerships, 63 percent are local partnerships, where local groups took the initiative and defined the main goals of the partnership.

### ◦ **Participatory international partnerships**

In international partnerships, international partner organisations take the initiative, identify the problem and define the main goals of the partnership. Participatory international partnerships add substantial efforts to ensure the meaningful participation of local stakeholders. The *Global Marketing Partnership for SRI Indigenous Rice* is an example of this often attractive combination between international expertise and local participation. CIIFAD, an institute at Cornell University, had been working with groups of rice farmers around the world to promote a set of environmentally friendly rice growing techniques. It identified the lack of access to markets for this rice as one of the main problems. As some farmer organisations were beginning to experiment with marketing, CIIFAD selected these organisations to share their experiences and build a common marketing strategy. CIIFAD now continues to act as a coordinator and driver behind the partnership, but the local organisations decide on concrete initiatives and influence all major decisions of the partnership.

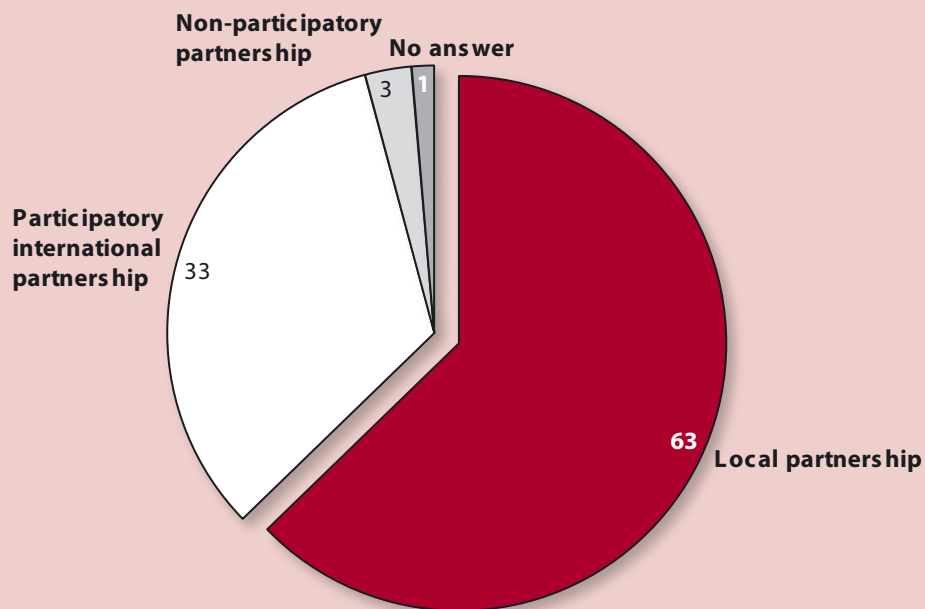
*Harvesting Seabuckthorn at the Top of the World* is a little more difficult to classify as a participatory international partnership. Here, the Nepal-based charity that is the driving force behind the partnership was founded and is led by a foreign anthropologist. The charity now works with local

groups in the remote Mustang area. These groups develop concrete activities and their interests are paramount to defining the partnership's strategy.

One third of the Seed partnerships are participatory international. They involve the affected communities in setting concrete targets (35 percent), in implementing the partnership's activities (74 percent) and / or in evaluating the partnership's results (39 percent).

### MOST SEED PARTNERSHIPS WERE INITIATED BY LOCAL PARTNERS

Percent of partnerships



#### • Non-participatory international partnerships

Finally, there is a group of partnerships that have little or no significant local ownership. In these partnerships, international partners dominate the process at each step. If local organisations are involved at all, this happens only sporadically. Thus, international partnerships often solicit information or feedback on very specific and limited issues from local groups or see them mainly as contractors.

Because ›local drive‹ is one of the selection criteria for the Seed Awards, there are no purely international partnerships among the finalists or winners. Only two of the award applicants are non-participatory international partnerships, both of which failed. One, for example, is a group of

international NGOs and businesses providing the funds for implementing a reforestation project. Local cooperation partners were only sought for planting the trees, but not involved in the design of the initiative. Despite the fact that this partnership had substantial start-up capital, it failed. Since the Seed partnerships provide very little evidence on non-participatory partnerships, however, one cannot conclude from this that all partnerships without local ownership are condemned to failure. Partnerships that do not want to change the behaviour of local stakeholders and that do not depend on complex local knowledge, for example, may well be effective without local ownership.

## THE BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF LOCAL OWNERSHIP

*»Ultimately, only the people of Mustang can preserve the biological and cultural riches of their region. Of course it takes a lot of time, money and effort to work with the local communities. But it is worthwhile because awareness will be created and in the long run the local communities will benefit from these efforts.«  
(Susanne von der Heide of HimalAsia, Harvesting Seabuckthorn at the Top of the World)*

Local ownership can create specific benefits as well as costs. For some purposes, these positive effects are simply indispensable. For others, they are not and the costs may outweigh the benefits. To begin thinking about what level of local ownership is most appropriate for what kind of partnership, it is necessary to examine the impacts of local ownership in detail.

### LOCAL OWNERSHIP HAS THE FOLLOWING POSITIVE IMPACTS:<sup>21</sup>

- Local ownership tends to increase compliance, make development projects more sustainable over time and increase their scalability. Traditional top-down development projects have often run into a series of related problems. For instance, they face difficulty in enforcing compliance with new rules; achievements are reversed when the development agencies withdraw; and projects were unable to expand or reach a larger number of people.

The Marine Protected Area Partnership shows local ownership addressing all three aspects. Local fishermen needed to comply with the installed no-take zones for fish and octopi. At first, they met the idea with scepticism. Intensive information and communication convinced them to experiment with one no-take zone. Then, the fisher communities directly experienced the results of this experiment and saw the overwhelmingly positive benefits for them. This not only means that the communities will be more likely to comply with no-take zones in the future, but also that they are likely to do so even once the international NGOs refocus their attention on other projects. In addition, other local communities have now taken the initiative to extend the marine protected area to their fishing grounds. Expanding the partnership's activities to other areas has thus become much easier for the international partners involved.

The Harvesting Seabuckthorn at the Top of the World partnership seeks to achieve a similar effect. To stop soil erosion in Mustang, an NGO works with local communities on ways to harvest the forests in a sustainable manner. As in Madagascar, this partnership uses an experimental

phase to demonstrate to villagers the benefits of growing and harvesting seabuckthorn. It trains villagers in creating seabuckthorn nurseries as well as in harvesting and processing the produce. If the experiment proves successful, villagers will be able to sell their produce to European cosmetics producers at good prices. This will create a strong incentive for local communities to protect existing forests and plant new bushes on a sustained basis.

A strong degree of local ownership, then, is crucial for initiatives that aim at changing the behaviour of people, such as those trying to create compliance with norms.

- Local ownership ensures that development projects fit local circumstances, increasing the likelihood of designing high-quality, feasible projects. Traditional top-down approaches to development often have difficulty gathering sufficient information to adapt policies to changing local circumstances. Those who are affected by a problem are usually the ones who know most about it. Demand-driven development projects are therefore more likely to address actual local problems. Responding to demand increases the quality of development projects and makes them more effective.

As indicated above, *Agua para Todos* is a partnership that developed out of very specific local circumstances and is therefore optimally adapted to them. Communities take the initiative to create their own water distribution networks, relying on the technology and know-how of local companies. Since the city expands in a relatively uncontrolled way, water networks built on the initiative of local users are much more likely to meet a real demand.

In conclusion, partnerships that want to deliver services to communities can benefit from local ownership. This is all the more relevant when a project's success depends heavily on locally specific information. By contrast, local ownership may be less important for partnerships oriented toward gaining international market access.

- Finally, local ownership empowers people. Local ownership can have an effect that goes beyond the immediate goals of most partnerships. Through their involvement, local actors increase their knowledge and capacity. For example, they may develop the confidence and skills to act politically and become empowered to articulate their demands and needs more assertively.

One way to empowerment consists of mobilising groups and creating new organisational structures. In Nepal, new women's groups for the collection and processing of seabuckthorn berries make decisions and work together to generate income. For most women, this is a new experience that is likely to make them more assertive and autonomous in other areas of their lives as well.

Another important component of empowerment is the transfer of skills, knowledge, and technology. In the *Cows to Kilowatts* partnership, Nigerian engineers are trained in how to design and run a bio-gas plant. This knowledge will be a lasting asset that the engineers can put to other uses. When empowerment is seen as the ultimate goal of development, local ownership is an indispensable ingredient of any development initiative. But some projects also rely on empowerment

to reach their more immediate goals. For instance, many of the Seed partnerships aim to transfer knowledge and technology. If an initiative involves local stakeholders, this transfer can serve as a form of empowerment.

But empowerment also raises a very critical question, especially for participatory international partnerships. Who selects the stakeholders that participate in the project? On what grounds are some groups selected for empowerment, while others are not? Studies often find that participatory development projects privilege existing elites.<sup>22</sup> In the *Seabuckthorn Partnership*, underprivileged groups participate. But even for this kind of intervention, the question of its legitimacy with regards to selection remains open.

Taken together, these effects create a powerful case for local ownership for many types of partnerships. However, strong local ownership is also associated with a number of *downsides*. The costs arise no matter what goal or focus a partnership espouses, but they differ depending on whether a partnership is local or participatory international.

- Local partnerships may lack access to internationally available expertise. The potential for exchanging knowledge and experience is one of the features that make partnerships such attractive instruments of sustainable development. In partnerships that remain purely local, different partner organisations can learn from each other, but it is often difficult for them to benefit from the special skills and knowledge held by many international actors.

The *Agua para Todos* partnership, for example, started as a purely local partnership. It constructs water networks with the available technologies and materials. Before joining international programmes and partners, it had few opportunities to learn from the specific experiences of water and sanitation projects elsewhere.

Of the local Seed partnerships, 30 percent now include international actors. Thus, the Seed partnership data highlight the importance of international links. Still, many partnerships perceive a deficit in their ability to exchange experiences and to access technology and knowledge as well as management and administration skills. 95 percent of the local partnerships state the creation of more platforms for the exchange of experiences as one of their priorities for support (compared to 48 percent among international partnerships). 87 percent would appreciate additional expertise on the issue they focus on (compared to 80 percent among international partnerships). It is important to note that the lack of access to internationally available expertise is a practical problem with which purely local partnerships are confronted with. It is not a negative consequence of local ownership as such.

- For participatory international partnerships, including local actors can cost a great deal of time and money.<sup>23</sup> Alone, the increased communication and coordination inherent in a participatory partnership require vital time and resources, especially during the early phases of their development. In addition, logistical problems can multiply these costs. High costs and time requirements

often conflict with donor demands for quick results. For international partnerships, this problem is inherent in local ownership. Finding the right balance between inclusion and efficiency can pose a major challenge for them.

The *Global Marketing Partnership for SRI Indignous Rice* illustrates this problem. As the partner organisations are spread across three continents, arranging a face-to-face meeting between farmers groups or even just between the coordinators has so far exceeded the financial means of the partnership. In addition, language barriers make it almost impossible to include members beyond the local coordinator in each country in telephone or electronic communication. Fundraising efforts for such meetings or for financing a part-time coordinator for the partnership have proven difficult as donors prefer to support activities or equipment producing tangible outputs.

- Finally, international actors may find a disconnect between local priorities and globally defined development goals problematic. In recent years, the international community has invested significant efforts to define common, measurable deliverables for development policies. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the goals contained in the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation are the most relevant examples in the context of partnerships.

International actors subscribing to these common priorities often support partnerships as effective means for implementing the goals. As seen in the beginning of this section, locally owned partnerships do promise to achieve more lasting and often more cost-effective impacts than top-down approaches. But genuine local ownership means that stakeholders pursue their own goals and priorities. These do not necessarily mirror the priorities defined at the international level.

The Seed partnerships all share the basic goal of sustainable development. In that sense, they are much less problematic than, for example, initiatives that oppose the international order. Still, the Seed partnerships set their own mark. As the graph on Page 17 in Chapter 2 shows, they overwhelmingly focus on poverty eradication and environmental sustainability. Issues such as the fight against diseases, child and maternal health, or gender equality, by contrast, only receive marginal attention.

Local ownership, then, creates many important benefits as well as costs. The experiences of the Seed partnerships hint at some areas where strong ownership is more, and others where it is less, important. But much more research is necessary to determine in greater detail what level of local ownership is best for which type of development initiative.

## **MITIGATING THE COSTS OF LOCAL OWNERSHIP**

*»As a local NGO in Nigeria, it has been difficult to find investors for the slaughterhouse waste treatment and biogas production plant we want to build. The Seed Initiative helped us establish a contact with UNDP Nigeria. Their agreement to provide a substantial part of the necessary start-up capital has proved critical for taking our initiative forward.« (Joseph Adelegan of GNEEDR, Cows to Kilowatts).*

What can be done to address the downsides of local ownership? Some international programmes already address these issues<sup>24</sup> and the experiences of the Seed partnerships help illustrate what kinds of interventions partnerships deem most helpful.

First, as seen above, many of the Seed partnerships—particularly the local partnerships—express a strong desire for more opportunities to exchange experiences with other local initiatives. In the area of sustainable development, a host of internet-based information portals and exchange platforms exist. They are often useful and cost-effective means of bundling information on certain issue areas. But electronic means of communication often pose technical difficulties in developing countries. In addition, their ability to transmit complex information is often limited.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the Seed finalists and winners as well as many other local initiatives express much greater appreciation for face-to-face encounters. As part of the Seed Initiative, all twelve finalist partnerships participated in workshops and presented their initiatives at the 2004 IUCN World Conservation Congress in Bangkok. One participant commented: *»In Bangkok, we had 5000 conservation activists in one place. I have never been able to gather so many new ideas and get so much inspiration before.«*

Unfortunately, very few local initiatives can cover the costs of attending such meetings. Many also require logistical assistance, particularly concerning visas. Arranging exchange workshops at the global level thus easily becomes a very expensive and time-intensive undertaking. Regional meetings might present a more feasible option, although the breadth of experiences represented will be smaller.

Second, partnerships with strong local ownership can benefit from programmes that facilitate access to knowledge and technology. Rather than a general exchange of experiences and ideas, these partnerships seek very specific advice or tools for implementing their activities.

One avenue for facilitating access to specific knowledge and technology includes highly specialised conferences or trade fairs. The *Harvesting Seabuckthorn at the Top of the World* partnership, for example, draws much of its motivation from an international seabuckthorn conference held in 2003. Experts discussed the healing and cosmetic properties of seabuckthorn oil from different locations. Company representatives made clear that they would use more high quality oils if they could find reliable supply of them. As a result, the partnership now focuses on testing the quality of Mustang-grown seabuckthorn in cooperation with international businesses. The partnership, however, had to rely on its international partner to be able to attend and only the German-born anthropologist Susanne von der Heide was in a position to travel to the meeting and follow the proceedings.

For the *Global Marketing Partnership for Sri Indigenous Rice*, a food fair in Italy was similarly inspiring. With financial and logistical support from the international partner, a Malagasy organisation participated in the Salone del Gusto in 2004. There, it presented a special and organically grown rice variety. The product won an award for its superior taste and quality. As a result, Italian restaurants

have placed initial orders for the rice. For the farmer associations, it was an opportunity to learn about processing, packaging, and labelling requirements in the EU. It also allowed them to test their assumptions about the demand for indigenous varieties of eco-rice in Europe. A lunch organised in 2005 by Seed supporter Swiss Re introduced a further group of potential rice-buyers to different varieties of SRI rice.

Specialist knowledge and technology can also be made accessible to local partnerships through individual consultations or support services for local partnerships. The Global Innovative Project Competition of the World Bank Development Marketplace provides one example. Expert committees select a number of promising entries and present them with individual advice. The *Cows to Kilowatts* partnership was selected as a finalist in the competition and the committee's suggestions have been fully adopted by the partnership.

The Seed Initiative Support Services provide award winners with advice and services as agreed with the partnerships. The *Global Marketing Partnership for SRI Indigenous Rice*, for example, most urgently needed access to trade and marketing expertise. A consultant thus visited the farmer associations in all three participating countries over a period of three months. The resulting marketing strategy paper with its action plans for individual partner organisations now forms the backbone for further activities and planning. In several cases, the initiative has also facilitated contacts between partnerships and relevant regional or international actors. Thus, UNDP regional offices have become partners in two partnerships and a range of contacts with potential business partners or donor agencies were established.

Finally, partnerships with strong local ownership could benefit greatly from the existence of more social venture capital funds to finance set-up and process costs.<sup>26</sup> Despite their compelling plans and ideas, the Seed winners have all experienced difficulties in gaining financial support for communication and coordination. The *Partnership for Community-Run Marine Protected Areas in Madagascar*, for example, relies on volunteers to conduct research and engage the local fishing communities. These volunteers not only work without remuneration and cover their own travel costs, but they also contribute financially to enable coordination and communication. While the *Agua para Todos* partnership in Bolivia found microcredit organisations and government entities willing to support the installation of local water distribution networks, they would benefit from the creation of a coordination office that would make it easier for new communities to find out about and join the partnership. This idea, however, has not yet been able to attract support.

Changing existing donor policies or creating new funds to support the establishment of new social ventures would help remedy this situation.

## LESSONS

### LESSON 4

#### THE SEED PARTNERSHIPS HAVE STRONG LOCAL OWNERSHIP OF VARYING KINDS

Partnerships for sustainable development have been criticised as being ›donor-driven‹. The Seed partnerships demonstrate that a wealth of partnerships with strong local ownership and drive exist. Local ownership can take different forms:

- In ›local partnerships‹, affected communities or national organisations are the main drivers behind the partnership. International partners are included to deliver specific contributions.
- In ›participatory international partnerships‹, international actors take the initiative and define the main goals of the partnership. Affected communities are involved in concrete planning processes, project implementation, and evaluation.

### LESSON 5

#### LOCAL OWNERSHIP INCREASES IMPACT BUT CREATES SHORT-TERM COSTS

Partnerships with local ownership have better chances than top-down initiatives for achieving effective, lasting and scalable impact. But strong local ownership can also be associated with costs:

- Local partnerships can suffer from a lack of access to internationally available knowledge and technology. They also frequently lack opportunities for exchanging experiences with other initiatives.
- Participatory international partnerships often suffer from increased initial costs for coordination and logistics. Few donors are willing to finance these higher start-up costs.

Partnerships therefore need to determine the right level of local ownership, which largely depends on what benefits the partnership hopes to derive from local ownership.

## LESSON 6

### PROGRAMMES CAN ALLEVIATE THE DOWNSIDES OF LOCAL OWNERSHIP

Most downsides of local ownership can be addressed by specifically designed programs. Most important are:

- ▷ initiatives facilitating access to internationally available knowledge and technology
- ▷ platforms enabling local organisations to exchange experiences
- ▷ social venture capital funds covering start-up costs for participatory projects

<sup>14</sup> Analysts who have come to the conclusion that the ›type II‹ partnerships created during and in the wake of the Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 are ›donor-driven‹ include Hale and Mauzerall (2004) and Andonova and Levy (2003). Their concerns have been echoed by political actors, for example during the pertinent discussions at the 12th session of the Commission on Sustainable Development in 2004, United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (2004). A more recent update from the Division on Sustainable Development, however, found that »Many [partnerships] employ a bottom-up approach, using projects with local community-level participation to create plans and strategies, which are then replicable at national, sub-regional and regional levels.« United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs (2005, p. 5)

<sup>15</sup> See for example OECD Development Assistance Committee (1996); United Nations Development Programme (2001); Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (1999); Jerve (2002); High Level Forum (2005); Wolfensohn (1999).

<sup>16</sup> Rehman Sobhan for example speaks about a »deep disillusion with three decades of development assistance«, which »lies both in the persistence of poverty and its juxtaposition with the affluence of a few in many Third World countries«, Sobhan (2002, p. 541). Reality of Aid summarises the discontent as »On the eve of the UN Special Conference on Financing for Development, there is no doubt that the global system has failed the poorest countries and people wherever they reside«, The Reality of Aid (2002, p.4). The World Bank finds that »foreign aid has also been, at times, an unmitigated failure«, World Bank (1998, p. 1).

<sup>17</sup> Isham and Narayan (1995, p. 175)

<sup>18</sup> Mansuri and Rao (2004, p.1)

<sup>19</sup> Some studies exist that focus on individual policy functions. Morrissey and Verschoor for example find that for the adoption of a policy reform by a government, ownership may be desirable, but it is not necessary. Morrissey and Verschoor (2006). Asim Khwaja focuses on technical vs. non-technical projects and concludes that

while »community participation improves project outcomes in nontechnical decisions, increasing community participation in technical decisions actually leads to worse project outcomes.« Khwaja (2004, p. 427)

- <sup>20</sup> In the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, for example, »ownership« exclusively refers to developing countries exercising leadership over their development policies and coordinating their development actions. High Level Forum (2005).
- <sup>21</sup> On the positive and negative impacts of local ownership, see for example Mansuri and Rao (2003) or Klugman (2002).
- <sup>22</sup> Thus, Mansuri and Rao find that »Most CBD [community-based development] projects are dominated by elites«. Mansuri and Rao (2004, p. 1).
- <sup>23</sup> Börzel and Risse find that a trade-off can exist between a partnership's inclusiveness (and therefore legitimacy) and its effectiveness. Börzel and Risse (2004).
- <sup>24</sup> The Equator Dialogues, a part of UNDP's Equator Initiative, for example, create spaces for community dialogue at international and regional conferences. The World Bank Development Marketplace awards competitive grants to small-scale, innovative and economically viable programmes. It also offers expert advice and opportunities for initiatives to exchange experiences: Finalists meet in person and present their proposals to development experts. The Global Knowledge Partnership tries to use web-based information technology to facilitate the exchange of experiences and knowledge among sustainable development practitioners.
- <sup>25</sup> For a discussion about the technical possibilities for and the up- and downsides of electronic means of communication, see e.g. Creech and Willard (2001). John Christensen has cautioned that »talk about internet portals for the Least Developed Countries [...] is a contradiction in terms«, quoted in Schmid, Stadermann, et al. (2004, p. 144)
- <sup>26</sup> Cf. e.g. Latham (2003). For a critical perspective on social venture capital, see e.g. David (1998).