



**Global Social Policy Issues 2009 and beyond:
Challenges and steps forward**

**Globalization: Benefit or aggravation?
The perspective of ICSW**

Denys Correll
Executive Director
International Council on Social Welfare



ICSW C/O MOVISIE - Netherlands Centre for Social Development
Telephone: +31 30 789 22 26
P.O. Box 19129
3501 DC Utrecht
The Netherlands
Fax: +31 30 789 21 11
Email: dcorrell@icsw.org
Internet: www.icsw.org

ICSW recognises the contributions of Swedish International Development Agency (Sida) and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland that make the work outlined in this paper possible.

Introduction

Social and economic policy is played out at three levels: global, regional and national. To have an effective influence on economic and social policy, including development policy, ICSW needs to operate at those three levels. Thus in this paper, *Globalization: Benefit or aggravation*, I will trace ICSW's perspective on issues not just at global level but also at regional and national levels.

Our present era offers more challenges than anyone could have imagined two years ago. I will talk more about the challenges of the global financial crisis later in the paper but for the moment let me say just one thing. This is not the time for the developed countries to withdraw or lessen their support to the over 150 countries that are eligible for Official Development Assistance. Already the rich countries of the world are reducing even their most basic commitment to food aid. This is not the way to go but more on this later.

Governments repeatedly make commitments in international forums. The World Summit for Social Development in 1995 had an incredible outcome. At the end of the Summit, 117 world leaders signed the Copenhagen Declaration. The Declaration contains 10 commitments each of which contain considerable detail (United Nations 1995). A minimalist version of the commitments was agreed to at the 2000 Millennium Summit. Since then there have been numerous occasions including the "G" meetings where rich countries have made commitments to the developing world. Few countries have met these undertakings. There are always excuses. Finland sits at 0.43 of GDP well short of the 0.7 goal and well below Finland's Nordic neighbours.

ICSW shares its origins with the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW). The origins lie in the International Conference of Social Work held in 1928 in Paris France. The main purpose of the organisation created in 1928 was to conduct international conferences of social work. Over time, IASSW, ICSW and IFSW went their separate ways and developed their own structures. Early in the 21st century the leadership re-established the link between the three organisations. The initial move resulted in combining the three biennial conferences. For the first of these combined conferences in Hong Kong in 2010 IASSW, ICSW and IFSW are working to develop common policy agendas.

The themes of cooperation and strengthening civil society are central to this paper. I learned from my days as a lobbyist for older people in Australia that achieving great change comes from having strong member based organisations and forming alliances. Organisations acting alone rarely succeed in major outcomes.

Why Strengthen Civil Society?

ICSW seeks to strengthen the capacity of civil society, through its national member organisations in order to achieve better outcomes and standards for vulnerable people all over the world who live in poverty and disadvantage.

ICSW has as its base national councils or as they are sometimes known, national umbrella organisations. The core membership of national councils is a distinguishing feature of ICSW. A member national council of ICSW is indigenous to the country in which it operates. We are an organisation that is built from the national level up. We are not an international organisation that is controlled from a central point as most of the big service delivery INGOs are. ICSW is not a mass membership organisation. Generally, ICSW admits to membership only one national council from each country. Each national council brings together at the national level a wide variety of organisations across the whole service delivery and policy advocacy spectrum. They seek to work together to

identify and advocate best practice and best policy in social welfare and social development. National councils are potentially an enormous force for influencing governments.

While ICSW has sought to strengthen civil society through its national member organisations as a long term aim and activity, this has become more important and immediate under current global development policies.

The UN Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action (United Nations, 1995) established a new consensus to place people at the centre of concerns for development (United Nations 2007). More recently the Paris Declaration of 2005 (OECD 2005) and the Accra Agenda for Action of 2008 on aid effectiveness are recognised as significant junctures in the history of development assistance and cooperation. The concept of General Budget Support gives recipient country governments more scope to make decisions based on their own priorities. The principle is national ownership. More responsibility is placed on governments to encourage and enable civil society input to policy and budget processes. But this is in the context of a civil society that is not powerful and organised. For example, Hyden in 2008 commented that: *Civil society tends to be weak across Africa* (Hyden 2008).

Thandika Mkandawire who until recently was the Director of the UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) outlined his perspectives on why we need to strengthen civil society in a paper: *Disempowering New Democracies and the Persistence of Poverty* (Mkandawire 2006).

Private capital is strengthened in new democracies undergoing market-oriented reforms. Mkandawire maintains that private capital *wields tremendous veto power over macroeconomic policies*. The consequence is a weakening of the *state's capacity to regulate the economy and to mediate class and sectoral conflicts* (Mkandawire 2006 p.18). The state and business have established new deliberative mechanisms but the same cannot be said of the poor due to *their lack of institutionalised channels that service their needs*.

There is a contradiction in all this. Mkandawire refers to the *dramatic increase in funding for (service provider) NGO's* (Mkandawire 2006 p.19). Mkandawire then comes to the conclusion that *with their focus on service delivery at the micro level, NGO's are, as such, unlikely to constitute a major political force in combating poverty*. The major obstacle to mobilising democratic institutions for poverty alleviation: *are the organisational weaknesses of the poor themselves*.

In another section of the paper (Mkandawire 2006 p.22) Mkandawire returns to the problems created by institutional deficits. *For all the talk about participation and consultation in PRSP's, (Poverty reduction strategy papers) there are neither institutional arrangements for, nor political understanding of, the role of democratic institutions*. Mkandawire suggests *there has been a systematic attempt to circumvent elected bodies in the consultative process of drawing up PRSPs*. So much has been said about empowering the poor at the micro-level but at the same time the poor have been disempowered at the macro level.

I have referred to the large Northern based service delivery agencies. Our members in the South have commented that the Northern NGOs are effectively disempowering local civil society in the South. They employ local people at salaries higher than the local organisations can afford. These people often move from the local civil society organisations to the higher paying foreign NGOs. To compound the disempowerment our members have reported that the foreign NGOs set up their own network within the country of other foreign NGOs and do not involve the local NGOs. This disempowerment

is effectively aided and abetted by the donor countries that support the Northern based NGOs. There is a poor record of support to local national councils by the donor countries.

ICSW works to strengthen the capacity of civil society to participate effectively in poverty reduction and social development programmes. Strengthening the capacity of national member organisations and national councils is the major component of this and is a central part of the ICSW programme over the next four years.

National Councils

Strong national member organisations and national councils are an essential part of any society and are the major avenue for civil society to influence government policy, government budgets and poverty reduction strategies. They are also powerful agents for strengthening civil society through their capacity to strengthen and support their own local and national level member organisations.

From the very early days of ICSW national councils have been the base of the ICSW. In 1948 the Executive Committee noted that *several countries had requested information that could be used by them in the organisation of National Committees* (EC 1948 p.2).

A perennial issue is the degree to which a *National Committee was truly representative of social welfare interests within a country* (EC 1955 p.7). This was further addressed in 1957. And in 1969 the Executive Committee debated questions relating to national councils including whether there should be government representation on boards and what the function and structure of national councils should be (EC 1969 p.4).



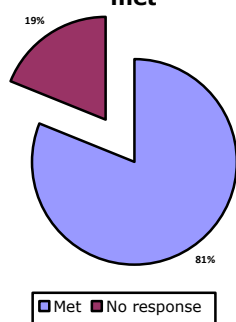
Providing training programmes to strengthen the capacity of national member organisations is the major component of the ICSW global programme. The first was held for executive directors of East and Southern Africa member councils in October 2007.

In July 2009 ICSW conducted the second capacity building workshop in East and Southern Africa. The principle underlying this capacity building is that our members can learn from each other. The workshop held in Johannesburg covered:

- Cooperation with the Southern African Development Community Council of Non Government Organisations.
- Aid and development effectiveness following the Accra Agenda for Action.
- Mobilising resources for a national council. This proved to be the most popular session. We did not bring in experts. We asked each participant before the workshop to provide us with their sources of income. This session exhibited true South-South cooperation.
- The policy process - how to develop policy and in the end influence government policy and budgets. This is in line with the Accra Agenda for Action which advocated the involvement of civil society in making decisions on government priorities.

- Project planning and management including log frameworks.
- An introduction to the African Union report on social protection that was commissioned by the African Union in 2008.
- Finally each participant prepared a strategic plan for their organisation based on the learning of the workshop. This they took back to their boards for discussion and adoption. The process does not stop there. At the beginning of each of the capacity building workshops we ask each participant to report on progress in the implementation of their strategic plans.

Whether participants expectations were met



The evaluation from the capacity building workshop was very positive.

A curious phenomenon has been the rise in membership and activities of national councils in the global South which rather overshadows the activities of a static membership in the global North. The European and North American membership dominated the Council until late in the 20th century. At the present time our North American membership is next to non-existent and we are missing members from major countries in Europe.

It is hard to find documentation on the cause of the diminution of membership and activity of national councils in the global North. One possibility is the rise and entrenchment of the welfare state in many European countries and in North America. Civil society was fundamental in the growth of the welfare state but as the range of services became increasingly state owned and controlled the need for civil society intervention diminished. Some national councils reinvented themselves and found new roles in bringing together service providers and professionals. They have worked to preserve service quality and fought the attempts by neo liberal states to corrupt the principle of universalism. Others have been unable to reinvent themselves and have become hollow shells without a mission and membership relevant to this century.

On the other hand the growth of national councils in Africa is characterised by enthusiasm in the face of inadequate resources and corruption within many states. It is possible to draw a parallel between the growth of national councils in Africa to the growth of the European national councils at the time of the creation of the welfare state. While countries of Europe developed social protection systems a hundred years ago, the African Union only adopted a common understanding to the introduction of social protection in the African states in 2008. While they now have a common understanding of social protection, the African states are still light years from introducing even the most basic universal social protection.

However let us have no illusions about the problems that civil society faces in the Global South. Quoting the President of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe, *We have a new phenomenon of NGOs ... I don't know whether this creature is for the better or for the worse, but in our country we have seen a situation where they have exceeded their terms of reference, and perhaps we might have to reconsider the advisability of having NGOs* (Mugabe 2009). Please do not think that this type of attitude is the exception. Unfortunately many of our members face day to day harassment by governments who

do not like being questioned on their corruption or inappropriate uses of government resources.

As I was writing this paper I learned that the President and Chief Executive Officer of our Zimbabwean National Member Organisation had been arrested following their annual NGO Directors' Summer School. The agenda for the Summer School included HIV and AIDS, humanitarian relief and rights issues. The police said the President and CEO had violated the Public Order and Security Act by supposedly addressing political issues at their workshop.

In these last two sections on: "Why strengthen civil society" and "National councils" I have been attempting to demonstrate:

1. Adequately resourced national councils are able to bring the voice of the people to governments and other sectors.
2. The development agenda has moved from donor prescribed programmes to nations deciding their own development priorities. The place of civil society in the process of deciding national priorities has been expanded with the Accra Agenda for Action.
3. Market oriented reforms have changed the balance of power in the global South. Civil society remains weak and has limited influence of government policies and budgets.
4. Large service delivery INGOs have grown in power and operate at national level but are not of the people.
5. ICSW with the help of the Swedish and Finnish governments is working to strengthen the voice of civil society through building the capacity of national umbrella organisations to influence government policies and budgets.

Regionalism

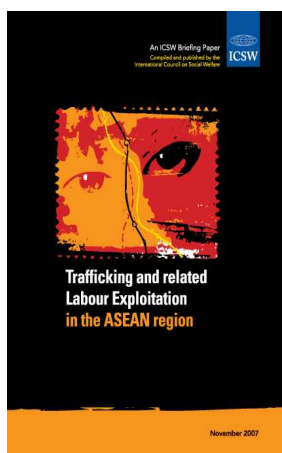


ICSW was ahead of other international organisations in recognising that regionalism was to be the way forward for influencing social and economic agendas. In 1953 the Executive Committee adopted the underlying principle of establishing regional offices to facilitate relations and cooperation between members on each continent (Katzki, 1988).

Debate occurred in 1961 on whether regional activities strengthened or weakened ICSW as an international organisation. The Executive Committee concluded that regional

activities would be encouraged. ICSW regions were given high autonomy in selecting and developing projects (EC 1961 pp.6-7).

Until 2000 ICSW had the traditional European/North American bias in its regional design viz North America, Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. In a truly prophetic move ICSW adopted a ten (now nine) region structure which largely parallels the government membership of regional economic bodies. This structure has enabled ICSW to create dialogue with regional economic entities such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). It is only in the 21st century that the regional economic bodies have evolved their missions to encompass social dimensions of development. ICSW's regional structure has enabled immediate dialogue with these economic entities.



A particular success story is with ASEAN. ICSW now leads a delegation of members to meet with the senior officials in welfare and development from the ten ASEAN countries. The agreement is that ICSW raises subjects for discussion and prepares researched papers for discussion. The first two were on trafficking in human beings and social protection. In the following year we produced a report on disability in South East Asia. For 2010 ICSW has prepared an analysis of the social consequences of the global financial crisis.

The states of the former Soviet Union provide a rich field for analysis. Democracy is still relatively new as are NGOs. Old cross border suspicions are alive and well. Cross border trust comes naturally to the African national councils as cross border conflict is not a major part of the history of that continent. In the former states of the Soviet Union trust is far from automatic. Thus the process of building a regional spirit is a slow process marked with historic suspicion. ICSW was instrumental in establishing the first regional grouping of non governmental organisations in the Black Sea region. This has been a challenge as the concept of a national umbrella did not exist in the former states of the Soviet Union. ICSW continues to support the International Union of Black Sea Non-Governmental Organisations.



Over the last decades regional governmental structures have evolved from a narrow focus on economics and trade to embracing social policy. ICSW has had the right structures to respond to this evolution.

Focus on the global South

It was not until 1964 that the first African member (Ethiopia) joined ICSW (EC 1964 p.4).

In 1968 the German National Committee obtained funding from the German Government to strengthen social welfare in Africa. Three regional seminars were conducted and ten

African national committees joined the membership (Katzki 1988). This North-South arrangement created considerable interest and support within the Executive Committee.

Following the regional seminars the Executive Committee decided unanimously to establish a regional office in East and Central Africa with the location being Addis Ababa Ethiopia (EC 1969 p.9). After a period of strong growth of African membership the situation deteriorated. In the minutes of the Executive Committee in August 1979 it is stated, *ICSW has lost contact with most of its African members, most National Councils have not paid their membership for several years* (EC 1979 p.4). Today, the region of East and Southern Africa has more national member organisation members than any other region including Europe.

The history of activity in the global South has not been consistent. It was not until the World Summit for Social Development in 1995 that a marked change occurred that took ICSW away from the traditional Northern welfare bias. Some European government development agencies were so impressed with ICSW's contribution to the World Summit that they made considerable financial contributions to ICSW to extend its work in the global South. ICSW has maintained this South activity. There is a permanent office in Uganda. South regional presidents, usually from poor organisations, are subsidised from donor funds to undertake the responsibilities of their position. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland has provided financial support to the work of ICSW in the global South. Unfortunately this funding ceases at the end of 2009 as the Ministry has a policy of time limited support to INGOs.

North - South

In 2004 at the 31st ICSW global conference in Kuala Lumpur, the President and I met with members from the global North to challenge them to create partnerships with members in the global South. The idea behind this was to create a further instrument to strengthen the effectiveness of members in the global South. The challenge to the North members was to enter into a long term commitment with the South partner.

The first of these programmes has started with an agreement between the Finnish Federation for Social Welfare and Health and the Tanzania Council of Social Development (TACOSODE). The Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland is supporting the project financially; the project manager employed by STKL works partly in Finland and partly in Tanzania.



When the steering committee met in September 2009 it participated in a seminar on land reform or less politely land grabs in Tanzania.

The North-South project has enormous value and I hope that other North members will enter similar partnerships.

Working with other international organisations

From the early days ICSW has considered membership of international non government organisations (INGOs) important and has given each such international organisation

voting rights in meetings of members. At times ICSW has taken a lead in bringing INGOs together. In 1955 ICSW convened a meeting of 15 INGOs which resulted in seven of them submitting a joint statement to the UN Social Commission (EC 1955 p.5). This leadership continued until after the World Summit for Social Development when new and assertive INGOs appeared on the international scene. The late twentieth century is characterised by the rise of the INGOs specifically constructed to undertake in-country development activities. They are well resourced compared with advocacy NGOs including ICSW that do not provide direct services. With more resources including staff based with the UN in New York ICSW probably would still be much more prominent in global leadership.

United Nations and other international institutions

The ICSW was one of the first NGOs to be recognised by the United Nations and retains the highest level of NGO consultative status. ICSW through its consultative status can attend, submit statements and speak at meetings conducted under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

After World War II in 1946, the Executive Board decided to make immediate contact with the Social Welfare Commission of the ECOSOC and offer *cordial cooperation* (EB 1946 p.7). The Social Commission was active in the 1940s and ICSW contributed to the examination of issues including repression of prostitution, problems of slavery, and care of individuals without citizenship (EC 1949 p.12). In the same period ICSW was granted consultative status with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and sought consultative status with the World Health Organisation (WHO) (EC 1949 p.13). Consultative status with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) was granted in 1952 (EC 1952 p.3). The main focus of ICSW UN work is with the UN Commission on Social Development which has the responsibility of pursuing the commitments made by 117 governments at the Copenhagen World Summit for Social Development.



We went further with the UN Development Programme (UNDP). On 4th July 1997 global President Julian Disney signed a memorandum of understanding between ICSW and UNDP.

While holding consultative status with UN agencies, ICSW minutes note the difficulty of maintaining adequate representation at UN meetings: *While it is possible to participate through volunteer representation, this method has not proven entirely satisfactory because of the unavailability of qualified individuals who have sufficient time and resources* (EC 1953 p.12). The dilemmas of representation were further outlined in the comment that *the International Conference is primarily a forum and therefore cannot take a position on controversial matters* (EC 1953 p.12). Representation was raised again in 1957 with doubts expressed about consultative status being effective if ICSW did not take a position on substantive issues. Further, there was concern that national committees should be involved in the preparation of documents submitted to the UN (EC 1957 p.10). ICSW's way of working has been to develop considered positions and where possible to do this after consultation with members. ICSW does not tend to make quick statements on immediate issues.

There are restrictions placed on civil society in its work with the UN and related agencies. In 2003 a High Level Panel appointed by Kofi Anan was given the task of reporting on UN-civil society relations. The report was in my opinion inept. It lacked understanding of the politics of the UN. Fairly quickly it was relegated to the UN rubbish bin. This was an opportunity lost and the UN has failed to resolve how it can have constructive working relationships with NGOs. There are opportunities for NGOs to participate in UN activities but these are limited and on strict terms.

As the activities of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in the area of social security were within the range of interest of ICSW, the Executive Committee decided in 1959 to apply for inclusion in the Special List of Nongovernmental Organisations (EC 1959 p.8). Sometime between 1959 and 1963 this was approved by ILO (EC 1963 p.6).

Currently ICSW is forging new links with ILO and UN agencies to promote the concept of a social protection floor for all. The Social Protection Floor Initiative (SPF-I) is a great step forward in implementing programmes that will alleviate poverty. The main elements of the SPF-I are:

- Essential services i.e. geographical and financial access to essential services including water and sanitation, adequate nutrition, health, education and housing.
- Essential social transfers i.e. social transfers in cash and kind paid to the poor and vulnerable to provide a minimum income and healthy security.

The adoption of these main elements by many UN agencies, ILO and the World Bank marks a major shift in policy. Until now there has been a schism between the proponents of a social insurance model of social protection and those that support a social transfers model. The SPF-I as adopted by the UN and other international agencies has proposed that all countries can afford a basic level of social protection.

ICSW has adopted the SPF-I as its main agenda for the joint world conference of International Association of Schools of Social Work, International Council on Social Welfare and the International Federation of Social Workers in June 2010. ICSW is organising with the Hong Kong hosts a preconference workshop on the SPF-I. The aim is to introduce the concept to civil society actors at national, regional and global level.

Leadership

There can be little doubt that the common characteristic of the successful years of ICSW has been strong leadership. Leaders need to maintain a balance of leadership and consultation with the committees and members. Leadership of an international NGO is a different challenge to leading a national or regional NGO. Time scales to achieve democratic change are longer than at national level. Achieving democratic involvement is thwart with difficulties. Meetings are only attended by representatives of richer countries unless subsidies are provided to allow members from poorer countries to attend. Electronic communication is generally more democratic but removes the benefit of face to face communication and can be notoriously unreliable in poorer countries. In this environment there is the danger of leadership becoming remote from members.

The rise of English as the major language of international communication has enhanced participation although Spanish and French speakers remain the most disadvantaged in meetings despite interpretation.

The Global Financial Crisis

I said at the beginning of this paper that I would return to the global financial crisis. ICSW has researched this subject in South East Asia. While the macroeconomic impact of the current global financial crisis was felt immediately, the social impact is still unfolding in developing economies. Slowing growth is destroying jobs and driving down

wages, consumption, and welfare of households. Unemployment is up substantially in manufacturing, construction, and services, the sectors greatly exposed to thinning demand abroad and at home. And all this will certainly push more people into poverty, increase child mortality, aggravate hunger and disease and increase school dropout rates and lengthen the odds against attaining the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Already governments are reducing the commitment to funding for development and emergency relief. A current challenge for ICSW as a global organisation is to work with our governments to maintain their commitment to funding development aid.

Conclusion

I have attempted to demonstrate that social and economic policy is created at global, regional and national level. But the implementation is largely at national level. I have argued that if governments are to have a balanced approach to determining policies and budgets there needs to be a strong and well organised civil society in each country. ICSW is convinced that national umbrella organisations that draw together the vast array of non government organisations are the most effective and responsible tool to influence governments. With strong national councils ICSW can influence both regional and global policy as we can confidently claim we have a base that represents those whom are the targets for poverty alleviation.

References

Comité national d'action sociale (CNAS), 2008. *International Council on Social Welfare 80 Years of History (1928 -2008)*. Rennes Cedex, France, Presses de l'EHESP

Executive Committee (EC). (1983). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, July, p. 16

Executive Committee (EC). (1979). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, August, p.9

Executive Committee (EC). (1969). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, August, p. 4 and 9

Executive Committee (EC). (1964). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, September, p. 4

Executive Committee (EC). (1963). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, September, pp. 6

Executive Committee (EC). (1961). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, August, pp. 6-7

Executive Committee (EC). (1959). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, July, p. 8

Executive Committee (EC). (1957). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting, August, p. 10

Executive Committee (EC). (1955). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting September pp. 5 and 7

Executive Committee (EC). (1953). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting July p. 12

Executive Committee (EC). (1952). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting August pp. 3

Executive Committee (EC). (1949). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting September pp. 12 and 13

Executive Committee (EC). (1948). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Committee Meeting April p. 2

Executive Board (EB). (1946). International Council on Social Welfare Minutes Executive Board Meeting August pp. 7

Healy, L. and Hall, N. (2007). International Organizations in Social Work. In L. Wagner and R. Lutz (eds). *Internationale Perspektiven Sozialer Arbeit (International Perspectives in Social Work)* (pp. 223-242). Published in Internationale Organisationen der Sozialen Arbeit

Hyden, G. (2008). After the Paris Declaration: taking on the issue of power. *Development Policy Review*, 26(3), 259-274

Katzki, Kate. (1988). *Sixty Years of ICSW*. ICSW 24th Conference, Berlin, Germany

Mkandawire, T. (2006). Disempowering New Democracies and the Persistence of Poverty Geneva: UNRISD pp.18-19, 22. Available from:
[http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=660234231C9D6710C125717800248890&parentdoctype=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpAuxPages\)/660234231C9D6710C125717800248890/\\$file/mkand-pp-dghr.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/httpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=660234231C9D6710C125717800248890&parentdoctype=paper&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/660234231C9D6710C125717800248890/$file/mkand-pp-dghr.pdf)

Mugabe, R. (2009). So they said. *The Africa Report* No.19 October-November p.9

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (2005). *Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness*. Available from:
<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/11/41/34428351.pdf>

United Nations (UN). (2007). *Participatory dialogue: toward a stable, safe and just society for all*. New York: United Nations

United Nations (UN). 1995. *The Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action: World Summit for Social Development*. New York: United Nations