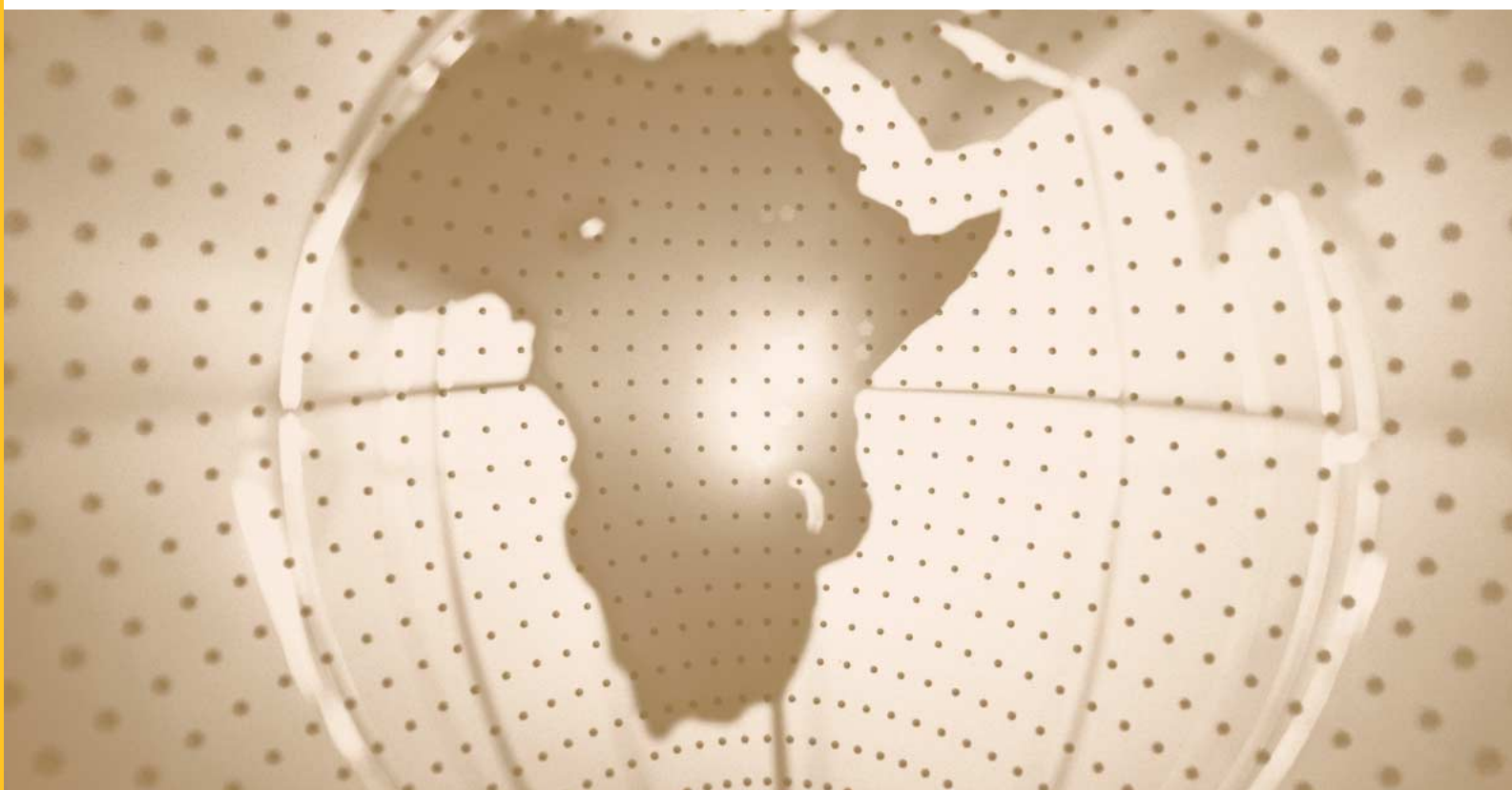


Working Together



A Critical Analysis of Cross-Sector Partnerships in Southern Africa

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Working Together: A Critical Analysis of Cross-Sector Partnerships in Southern Africa

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In some of the languages of
South Africa and Zambia,
the English term '*partnership*'
is translated as
'*working together*'

Kubombela pamo (Bemba)

Kubeleka amoho (Lozi)

Pamodzi (Nyanja)

Kubeleka atoomwe (Tonga)

Tirisano (Tswana)

Intsebenziswano (Xhosa)

Ukusebenzisana ndawonye (Zulu)

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Preface and Acknowledgements

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During the two years of this project, the research team has been assisted by a number of individuals and organisations who have provided invaluable information and support to their work.

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*M. R. & L. S.
Cambridge
June 2005*

Editorial Note

This book represents the work of a research team. Yet, because of the range and variety of input by the various authors of this book, we, the editors, have thought it appropriate to give credit where credit is due; and thus, we have attributed the different parts to their authors in a footnote at the beginning of each chapter or section. Responsibility for the overall editing of the book has been that of Melanie Rein and Leda Stott.

Introduction:

Objectives and Overview: The Partnership Approach¹

This research sets out to offer a critical examination of the phenomenon of cross-sector partnerships and their impact on poverty eradication. They are being used as a developmental model, not only in policy formulation, but also for the structuring, management and implementation of projects. With regard to research, cross-sector partnerships are of particular interest, firstly, because of the role they are playing in development; and, secondly, because of the complex dynamics which operate both *within* the partnerships themselves and *between* the partnerships and the projects they help to shape. The issues raised by these partnerships not only affect the organisations, individuals and groups involved in the partnerships, but, in the wider context, they can also affect the sectors within which they operate and policy at both local and national levels.

Although some work has been undertaken in the study of partnerships, there is not yet a significant body of critical analysis on their impact. Nor has sufficient study yet been devoted to the relationship between the nature of these partnerships and the nature of their effect. At the most fundamental level, the effect of these partnerships on those who are most directly and immediately involved in them is of paramount importance, since such results, however they are identified, provide the partnerships with their *raison d'être*. Therefore, while the dynamics of partnership working are of interest in their own right, the ways in which these dynamics effect the objectives of the partnership are of principal interest to this research.

The research had three main objectives:

- i. to identify how far a cross-sector approach has been effective in addressing development challenges;
- ii. to capture and disseminate lessons learned, so that they may be of use to others in establishing and adapting similar models;
- iii. to make recommendations for companies, governments, civil society organisations and donor agencies working in Africa, in order to assist them in establishing successful cross-sector partnership initiatives for sustainable development.

Since the research was specifically designed around the needs of the funding agency, in particular to identify how the partnerships were impacting on poverty eradication, two hypotheses were formulated. They were:

- i. that cross-sector partnerships have an impact on poverty eradication, through the implementation and management of project initiatives focussing on the development of economically thriving communities which have enabled the promotion of trade and development and regional integration and co-operation within local communities;
- ii. that there are particular models of cross-sector partnerships which are more successful than others.

To these hypotheses, the following explicatory note was added:

The second hypothesis follows directly from the first. If the research identifies that cross-sector partnerships are successful, then the research, through comparative analysis, will identify particular management, relationship or implementation models that enable success.

The research was carried out between October 2003 and September 2005 under the project leadership of the University of Cambridge Programme for Industry. The project partners were: the Prince of Wales International Business Leaders Forum; the Forum for Business Leaders and Social Partners (henceforward referred to as the Partnership Forum), Zambia; and the Leadership Centre of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The project was financed by the UK's Department for International Development, under the EC-PREP funding scheme (European Community – Poverty Reduction Effectiveness Programme).

¹ This section is authored by Melanie Rein, Leda Stott and Stuart Reid. *Editors*.

The project's evidence was produced through two major and four lesser case studies of ongoing partnerships within Southern Africa. All the primary production of research data was carried out by research teams who were selected and managed by the African partners; and these teams worked in close consultation with the various members of the partnerships under study.

The report begins with a review of the literature pertaining to cross-sector partnership and, in so doing, explores issues of the definition, usage and value of partnership as a concept in sustainable development. The research methodology employed by the research team is described and discussed in Chapter 2, including an explanation of the criteria for the selection of the six case studies on which the report is based. Prior to the presentation of the case studies themselves, more general material is presented in Chapter 3, to describe the socio-economic context of Southern Africa within which these partnerships were formed and operate. This broad contextualisation is supplemented by sector-specific data at the beginning of each case study.

There are six case studies in total, of which two (the Chamba Valley Partnership Project and the Amangwe Village Partnership) are presented in much greater detail. While these two provide the richest data related to the workings of cross-sector partnership, all six studies illustrate aspects and facets of the partnership process. The organisation of the case studies within this report is by 'industrial' sector (i.e. agriculture, health and education), in order to simplify the provision of background sectoral information and to afford simple comparisons between initiatives in the two countries. Discussion of generic partnership issues within the case studies is limited, but is addressed in more detail in Chapter 7. The final chapter provides a presentation of the main findings and recommendations, which might be utilised by other researchers, policy-makers and partnership practitioners.

Chapter 1

Cross-Sector Partnership as a Development Model: Theoretical Constructs and Historical Contexts¹

During the last decade, a “partnership boom” has occurred.² Partnership has been described as: ‘the development approach of our time’,³ ‘the mantra for the new millennium’,⁴ and ‘a new and innovative type of environmental governance’.⁵ From its endorsement as an approach towards achieving environmental and developmental change at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit,⁶ partnership has been promoted by large numbers of corporations, governments, international agencies and non-governmental organisations as the most effective way of working towards the achievement of sustainable development.⁷ It is a movement, according to Zadek,⁸ which came of age ten years after Rio, at the 2002 World Summit for Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, where Kofi Annan declared that:

The Summit represents a major leap forward in the development of partnerships with the UN, Governments, business and civil society coming together to increase the pool of resources to tackle global problems on a global scale.⁹

But what exactly is partnership? Who does it involve? What is its attraction? What are the main features of partnerships? Why are they being espoused so widely by different sectors as an answer to development challenges? What research has been carried out on partnerships as a developmental approach; and is there evidence that they make “a meaningful difference”?¹⁰

What is ‘Partnership’?

The sense of some form of joint activity that is mutually beneficial is central to our understanding of ‘partnership’. This is echoed in words and phrases that have been used interchangeably with *partnership*, such as: *alliance*, *association*, *collaboration*, *compact*, *co-operation*, *dialogue*, *discussion*, *engagement*, *forum* and *working together*.¹¹ The concepts implicit in these terms are apparent in the wide range of definitions of the term *partnership* from different sectors and countries:¹²

Partnership is a cross-sector alliance in which individuals, groups or organisations agree to: work together to fulfil an obligation or undertake a specific task; to share the risks as well as the benefits; and review the relationship regularly, revising their agreement as necessary.

International Business Leaders Forum¹³

A thoughtfully created, value-added and mutually beneficial relationship between consenting entities/organisations that is nurtured over time and leads to measurable results.

World Bank Development Forum¹⁴

¹ This chapter is authored by Leda Stott & Melanie Rein. *Editors*.

² Zadek, Hojensgard & Raynard (2001), p. 23.

³ Kjaer (2003i), p. 13.

⁴ Tennyson (1998), p. 3.

⁵ Witte et al. (2003), p. 2.

⁶ Tennyson (1998), p. 4; and Tennyson (2004), p. 3.

⁷ For example: the Department for International Development’s White Paper (Nov 1997); the UN’s *Global Compact*; the World Bank’s Business Partners for Development (BPD) initiative (see Business Partners for Development 1998–2001 (2002)); the *World Business Council for Sustainable Development (WBCSD)*; and the *International Business Leaders Forum (IBLF)* (2004); as well as the global partnership promoted to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, (*World Bank Group (The), the Millennium Development Goals* (2004).

⁸ Zadek (2003), p. 9.

⁹ UNDP (2002).

¹⁰ Nelson & Zadek (2000), p. 21.

¹¹ For a full list of words that are used interchangeably with *partnership*, see UNED (2001), *Multi-stakeholder Communication: Clarification of Terms* and Jupp (2003).

¹² For an excellent selection of definitions of the term, from a range of different sources, see *Partnership Brokers Forum* (December 3, 2002).

¹³ Tennyson (1998), p. 7.

¹⁴ World Bank Development Forum (Nov / Dec 1999).

Partnership involves an agreement to work together to fulfil an obligation or undertake a specific task by committing resources and sharing the risks as well as the benefits.

UK Department for International Development¹⁵

A partnership is an alliance between organisations from two or more sectors that commit themselves to working together to undertake a Sustainable Development project. Such a partnership undertakes to share risks and benefits, review the relationship regularly and revise the partnership as necessary.

Tennyson & Wilde¹⁶

Partnership is commonly understood as a voluntary and collaborative relationship between various parties in which all participants ('partners') agree to work together to achieve a common purpose or undertake a specific task and to share risks, responsibilities, resources, competencies and benefits.

United Nations¹⁷

These definitions of partnership are often given a range of supplementary qualifications to further describe their purpose and the actors involved in them. These terms, which are often used interchangeably, include: *cross-sector partnerships*, *inter-sectoral partnerships*, *multi-sector partnerships*, *multi-stakeholder partnerships*, *new social partnerships*, *public private partnerships* and *tri-sector partnerships*. In addition, a number of partnerships define themselves geographically as *global*, *regional*, *national* and *local* while others are labelled according to the focus of their work: at *operational*, *policy*, *strategy* and *advocacy* levels.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, then, the term *partnership* has been described as "over-used and under-scrutinised".¹⁹ It can describe many different kinds of relationships and activities, from the giving of grants, sponsorships and contracts to joint project management and "arrangements based on mutual need."²⁰ The use of the term *Public Private Partnerships* (PPPs) causes most confusion here, as it has been employed widely in recent years to describe client-contractor relationships or outsourcing arrangements bound by a contract, often with the aim of producing "...a shift in responsibility and risk from one part of society to another, usually from the government to the private sector."²¹ Such relationships have direct commercial implications and, though they may involve some form of financial or managerial collaboration, the central idea appears to be different to the PPP arrangements described by organisations such as the German agency Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit.²² Indeed, the World Economic Forum seeks to move away from this idea altogether with the assertion that:

True public-private partnerships are voluntary collaborations that build on the respective strengths of each partner, optimize the allocation of resources and achieve mutually beneficial results over a sustained period. They imply linkages that increase resources, scale and impact. They usually involve written agreements that specify the purpose and duration of the partnership, the formal governance structure, roles and responsibilities of the various participants as well as exit arrangements. They are not about the narrow plan of any one partner: true partnerships are about shared agendas as well as combined resources, risks and rewards.²³

The much-used term *tri-sector partnership* is also problematic. As Business Partners for Development Water and Sanitation stress, such a triangular approach creates both "expectations and implications".²⁴ Its emphasis on collaboration between the three sectors of government, business and civil society can, for example, be seen to exclude other stakeholders, such as trade unions, donor organisations, academia and the media.²⁵ In addition, the different nuances within each sector and the overlaps between them also need to be taken into account.²⁶

¹⁵ Department for International Development, Business Partnership Unit, (undated).

¹⁶ Tennyson & Wilde (2000), p. 12.

¹⁷ UN definition of partnership from a report to the General Assembly, quoted in Tennyson & Bowman (2003), p. 36.

¹⁸ See for example: the UN's *Global Compact*; the *Global Business Council on HIV/AIDS*; the *LEED programme (Local Economic and Employment Development)*; Tennyson (2004), p. 5; World Economic Forum (2003), p. 4; and Vargas (2002).

¹⁹ Harrison (2002), p. 589.

²⁰ Caplan (2003a), p. 31.

²¹ Global Knowledge Partnership Secretariat (2003), p. 7; and see also Blunkett (1999).

²² GTZ *Public-Private Partnerships* (2004).

²³ World Economic Forum (2003), p. 3.

²⁴ Caplan et al. (2001) 'Executive Summary'.

²⁵ See for example the findings relating to trade union exclusion from local partnerships in Europe: in Geddes (2000), p. 788; and Utting (2000), p. 39; and the need for the inclusion of academia as a separate sector in Magee (2003), p. 29.

²⁶ One issue that is important in this regard, particularly in relation to developing countries, is the need within the business sector to acknowledge the informal sector as a vital key player (Geddes (2000), p. 797).

Core Partnership Features

The central premise of all the interchangeable definitions outlined above is that partnership offers the possibility of achieving some form of added value by working together collaboratively. Its distinctive feature is that a common goal can be reached by satisfying partner needs while sharing risks and rewards along the way:

...unlike contractual relationships or public–private partnerships they seek not to *shift* responsibility and risk from one party to another, but to *share* risks, *pool* resources and talents and deliver mutual *benefits* for each party.²⁷

Otiso describes the reason for collaboration as “augmenting strengths and overcoming weaknesses by taking advantage of other sector strengths”.²⁸ This notion is taken somewhat further by El Ansari et al., who describe the core aim of partnership as being “to mobilise a collective powerbase to promote change, where political and policy processes work smoothly together so that policy changes can be effected.”²⁹

Brinkerhoff summarises the main precepts of the concept as being “to enhance effectiveness and efficiency; to provide multi-actor, integrated solutions; to help move from a no-win to a win-win situation; and to open the decision-making processes”.³⁰ Brinkerhoff focuses her comments on two dimensions that she believes provide the added value for partnering: firstly, *organisational identity* and the unique and distinctive characteristics of each partner; and, secondly, *mutuality*, in which each partner has the opportunity to defend its identity and retain its distinctive advantages through dialogue and flexibility. In her view, the presence of both these dimensions ensures that all members of a partnership are able to take advantage of different perspectives.

Each broad sector thus has “different competencies, aspirations and styles of behaviour” that can be combined to achieve a common vision.³¹ Business, for example, plays a key role in investment and trade through the creation of goods and services, profit maximisation for its investors, employment opportunities and economic growth. The rule of law is upheld by the public sector, which creates the framework for economic, political and social rights and provides regulations and mechanisms for these; while civil society focuses on social development and the creation of opportunities for individual growth, with the provision of support and services for those excluded from the mainstream.³² By working together, these sectors can both identify and move towards various multiple desirable targets, such as: innovative approaches to the challenge of sustainable development; new mechanisms for the more effective achievement of goals, by drawing on core competencies; access to more resources; the creation of new networks; and the possibility of arriving at a greater understanding of each sector of society.³³ Naturally, there are risks involved in this process, such as: loss of autonomy; conflicts of interest; reputational impact; implementation challenges; and implications for the investment of resources and time. Even so, when these are carefully assessed, the common and individual benefits for partnership engagement will outweigh these concerns.³⁴

Caplan warns that cross-sector partnerships are “by their very nature unnatural relationships” because they “bring together very disparate groups”.³⁵ He stresses that, in order to work effectively, they must be based on need and some end result that could not be achieved by one organisation on its own.

...the outputs and outcomes have to be critical to the way each organisation operates or its core business, regardless of the kind of organisation – public, private or civil society. The most effective partnerships would thereby be tied with no uncertainty to the core business, or core interests, of each organisation that comes to the table. This pertains equally to the communities or beneficiaries – the partnership project has to be a priority for them too. Put more crudely, if a ‘business’ case for each partner (more broadly than in strict financial terms) cannot be made convincingly, then forget it.³⁶

²⁷ ODI/IBLF (2004).

²⁸ Otiso (2003), p. 225.

²⁹ El Ansari et al. (2004), p. 279.

³⁰ USAID (2000).

³¹ Tennyson (2004), p. 5.

³² Tennyson & Wilde (2000), p. 9.

³³ Tennyson (2004), p. 10.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Caplan (2003a), p. 32.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

Otiso neatly summarises this point, stating that “...each sector is drawn to the partnership by specific benefits that must exceed the cost of participation.”³⁷ As Tennyson affirms, it is also crucial that both the needs and the benefits that accrue from partnerships are understood by all partners, and, furthermore, that a set of core “partnership principles” are accepted.³⁸ These include: *equity* (the equitable valuing of each partner and the resources that they bring to the partnership); *transparency* (ensuring that no partner has a ‘hidden agenda’ within the partnership); and *mutual benefit* (all partners accepting that individual partner benefits are derived from the collaboration).³⁹

Changing Sector Roles and Relationships

Partnerships, it is acknowledged, are not new.⁴⁰ Different sectors of society have often joined together to work collaboratively but in recent years they appear to have been “re-discovered”⁴¹ due to a “fundamental shift”⁴² in traditional perceptions of co-operation.

This fundamental shift can be attributed to globalisation and the birth of the New Economy, in which new market formations and political structures have emerged.⁴³ They have done so in response to such factors as: the development of advanced technologies; enormous changes in the speed and scale of global communication; increased privatisation; and heightened economic competition. Moreover, as environmental degradation and social exclusion have increased dramatically, so concern has risen about the need for action to ensure that stability is guaranteed through better environmental management, improved governance and the reduction of poverty. These changes have effected “the way each sector defines and carries out its core role.”⁴⁴

In the face of high levels of competition and international uncertainty, as well as reduced public trust and investor confidence, businesses have begun to adopt corporate social responsibility agendas and to address issues such as accountability, transparency and integrity. The growing backlash against globalisation has meant more active corporate engagement with stakeholders, and the management of the wider contributions by business to society.⁴⁵ Governments, meanwhile, have had to “rethink the means and ends of governance” in response to pressures for improved performance, cost reductions and greater freedoms.⁴⁶ Many governments are under pressure to devolve power and include other actors in the process of governing. Both business and non-profit organisations, it seems, are encroaching on territory once considered to be the domain of the state and, thus, engaging in activities that increasingly blur the lines of public-private responsibility. Expectations of the non-profit sector, for instance, have changed, as they seek to meet a rising demand for services and social action, particularly in the developing world. Their accountability has also come under scrutiny and the business sector is expanding into arenas once considered to be their domain.⁴⁷

Sustainable Development

Development approaches themselves have also changed in focus and direction.⁴⁸ In the 1960s, the emphasis of development programmes was on assistance to newly independent governments in ‘the South’ through donor-supported national development plans and nationalisation. This began to change owing to the perceived failures of national governments to achieve development quickly or effectively enough; with the result that donor organisations began to manage projects directly. During the 1980s, governments began looking increasingly to the private sector, by returning the ownership of many state industries to business. This trend was reinforced by the World Bank/International Monetary Fund’s emphasis on Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs): these sought to improve a country’s competitiveness through increased investments and privatisation. SAPs are widely acknowledged to have led to deterioration in social services and the quality of life of “the poor”;⁴⁹ so that, during

³⁷ Otiso, (2003), p. 225.

³⁸ Tennyson (2004), p. 6.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁰ See, for example, Tennyson (1998), p. 3; and Zadek et al. (2001), p. 23.

⁴¹ Zadek et al. (2001), p. 23.

⁴² Nelson (1998), p. 17.

⁴³ Zadek et al. (2001), p.23.

⁴⁴ The Independent Sector (2002), p. 3.

⁴⁵ Nelson (2002).

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ See The Independent Sector (2002), p. 3.

⁴⁸ See Foster (2000).

⁴⁹ See for example SAPRI (2004).

the 1990s, donor agencies began to adopt 'sector programmes', which involved direct budget support to governments, along with the encouragement of partnerships between development agencies and national governments, and across sectors. This approach has continued into the 21st century, with an increased emphasis on accountability to domestic institutions through improved governance and participation.

Central to the new changes in 'development' thinking since the 1990s has been the concept of 'sustainable development'. The Brundtland Commission's report, *Our Common Future*, in 1987, stated that critical global environmental problems were primarily the result of the enormous poverty of 'the South' and the non-sustainable patterns of consumption and production in 'the North'. The report called for "sustainable development", which it defined as a "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs".⁵⁰ The term has since become identified with a vision of development that demands "a long-term perspective and broad-based participation in policy formulation, decision-making, and implementation at all levels."⁵¹ It has also largely coincided with moves towards more participation and the importance of entrusting local people with the responsibility of shaping their own future.⁵² Such approaches include Community Driven Development; Rights-Based Approaches; Sustainable Livelihood Approaches (SLA); and Asset Based Community Development (ABCD).⁵³

The term *sustainable development* (SD), like *partnership*, is ambiguous. It has served as an umbrella for addressing what Wilenius describes as "the basic conditions of human long-term survival".⁵⁴ He goes on to suggest that "the problem is how to define the concept of SD in a meaningful way; it must not be too narrow, yet not too broad either, so as not to encompass everything under the sun, thus forfeiting its analytic power."⁵⁵ This observation serves as a useful reminder that, as a term, *sustainable development* is open to different interpretations which, as Harrison reminds us in her commentary on "participatory partnerships", obviously "reflect the power and position of the interpreter."⁵⁶ Thus, while it might be agreed that partnerships for sustainable development have emerged as a response to the changing nature of the global political economy and to the failure of previous development interventions,⁵⁷ partnerships themselves are liable to widely differing interpretations. On the one hand, they are perceived as positive and inclusive mechanisms for promoting solutions to pressing social and environmental issues on a global scale:

The hypothesis underpinning a partnership approach is that only with comprehensive and widespread cross-sector collaboration can we ensure that sustainable development initiatives are imaginative, coherent and integrated enough to tackle the most intractable problems.⁵⁸

On the other hand, partnerships can also be interpreted as a "phase of policy experimentation" that has emerged in response to new global changes that might more accurately be viewed as "a form of fragmented crisis management" or a "search for a fix".⁵⁹

The Shortcomings of Partnerships

The optimism that permeates much of the literature on cross-sector partnerships is reflected in statements that describe them as central to "a new way of governing the global commons"⁶⁰ that is, integral to the promotion of a more plural and democratic society.⁶¹ The concept has "positive, aspirational overtones" and "fits with the movement towards inclusion, consultation, listening, respect for opinions and opening up."⁶²

⁵⁰ World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), p. 8.

⁵¹ Political declaration, Heads of State, Johannesburg Summit, quoted in Witte & Streck (2003), p. 2.

⁵² See for example the work of Chambers (1994), & Chambers (1997).

⁵³ For details of the different approaches listed here, see *Institute of Development Studies: Livelihoods Connect* (2000).

⁵⁴ Wilenius (2005), p. 136.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Harrison (2002), p. 607.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 590.

⁵⁸ Tennyson (2004), p. 3.

⁵⁹ Geddes (2000), p. 797.

⁶⁰ Witte et al. (2003), p. 2.

⁶¹ Evers (2004), p. 49.

⁶² Jupp (2003), p. 6.

Such positive connotations have been the subject of both questions and criticism:

The notion of 'partnership' is in and of itself an ethically loaded concept. It implies that there is a good to be achieved in establishing a relationship based on a commitment between people.⁶³

This implication has been challenged by those who view partnerships with mistrust.⁶⁴ Williams questions them in relation to the concept of sustainable development itself, suggesting that it enables continued intervention by the West into the developing world:

The negotiating framework between donors and recipients maintains the dominance of the donor community but new actors (NGOs⁶⁵ and CBOs⁶⁶) have been added to the recipient community. Governments are increasingly being forced to compete with civil society organisations, and in the distribution of aid, Western NGOs have been allocated a greater role.⁶⁷

This view is reinforced by Harrison, who believes that the value-laden nature of policies that promote partnerships for sustainable development obscures the power to define debate and, "...at its most insidious level reflects the advancement of particular perspectives and worldviews."⁶⁸ Poncelet further suggests that partnerships for sustainable development emerge from a particular "sociohistoric context" that prescribes the worldview of the actors within them. His findings, from ethnographic research into four environmental partnerships in Europe and America, imply that the non-confrontational behaviour that they exhibit risks "the delegitimization of conflictual approaches to environmental action" and radical new ways of working.⁶⁹

Others believe that partnerships are simply an avenue for greater corporate control of our lives and serve as corporate marketing and public relations tools that promote "greenwashing":⁷⁰

The phenomenon of socially and environmentally destructive corporations attempting to preserve and expand their markets by posing as friends of the environment and leaders in the struggle to eradicate poverty.⁷¹

Fig elaborates on this with the suggestion that,

Business is powerful enough to construct discourses of its own, even within the terms of 'sustainability' (itself a highly elastic concept). It has used important global moments (Rio, WSSD⁷²) to set up irresistible notions of partnership, accommodation, win-win situations, synthesis and compromise. The discourse overemphasizes the extent of its voluntary contribution to socio-economic and environmental progress, while continuing to mask malpractice...⁷³

Partnerships are also seen as weakening state regulation and public institutions by enabling the state to abdicate responsibility for basic needs, such as education and health; and by allowing corporations to influence priorities in favour of deregulation, privatisation and the dismantling of publicly funded services.⁷⁴ In developing countries, lack of aid and donor agency funding has led governments to turn increasingly to the private sector to finance development projects. This tendency has raised concerns about the corporate direction of local priorities, as well as about public service capacity to cope with large programmes in externally selected areas.⁷⁵ At the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development, according to critics, 'voluntary partnership initiatives'⁷⁶ evidenced a lack of political will to negotiate effective and legally binding solutions to urgent world problems.⁷⁷

⁶³ Hardman (2004i), p. 5.

⁶⁴ For a summary of key arguments against partnerships with the corporate sector, see Stott (2003).

⁶⁵ Non-Governmental Organisations.

⁶⁶ Community Based Organisations.

⁶⁷ Williams, M. (1998).

⁶⁸ Harrison (2002), p. 590.

⁶⁹ Poncelet (2001), p.22.

⁷⁰ In the case of business partnerships with UN bodies, companies also "bluewash" themselves by using the UN flag to improve their public image, according to Bruno & Karliner (2000), p. 3.

⁷¹ CorpWatch (2001).

⁷² World Summit on Sustainable Development.

⁷³ Fig (2005), p. 617. Fig's arguments pertain to the South African context and are highlighted in more detail on p. 51.

⁷⁴ Rundall (2000), p. 10; and Buse & Waxman (2001), p. 750.

⁷⁵ Utting (2003).

⁷⁶ WSSD set out plans for programmes with what were termed 'Type 1 outcomes' (fully negotiated and agreed by all governments) and 'Type 2 non-negotiated partnerships' (agreed upon only by those directly involved). See UN: *Johannesburg Summit 2000* (2003) and *Linkages*.

⁷⁷ Bruno & Karliner (2002).

The boundaries of governance also preoccupy Slaughter, who puts forward the argument that cross-sector partnerships and transnational networks have the potential to become dangerously unaccountable:

...we need global rules without centralised power but with government actors who can be held to account through a variety of political mechanisms. These government actors can and should interact with a wide range of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), but their role in governance bears distinct and different responsibilities. They must represent all their different constituencies, at least in a democracy; corporate and civic actors may be driven by profits and passions, respectively. 'Governance' must not become a cover for the blurring of these lines, even if it is both possible and necessary for these various actors to work together on common problems.⁷⁸

Partnerships are also faulted for enabling corporations to weaken the power of their traditional foe, organised labour, and thus marginalising labour organisations and trade unions,⁷⁹ as well as for diluting the power of NGOs and civil society protest, by creating dependency and stifling criticism.⁸⁰

Questions are also raised about how far cross-sector partnerships can realistically be expected to deal with pressing economic, social and environmental issues on a large scale, when fundamental issues relating to global economic and power relations remain unchallenged. Even if cross-sector partnerships offer possible solutions to some development concerns, the sceptics state that these macro issues will ultimately be those which determine the prospects for sustainable development.⁸¹

Kjaer points out that partnerships can ultimately be looked at in two distinct ways.⁸² On the one hand, they may be regarded as "part of an ongoing democratic development", in which a culture of participation and dialogue is seen as the precondition for political decision-making, and in which partnerships are one of several ways to integrate a variety of interests directly into the general system of governing. On the other hand, partnerships are seen to be "undermining democracy", by moving political decisions from "proper" representative democratic institutions into a variety of policy networks, populated by non-elected actors, who claim to represent the common interest. Such networks may eventually become closed, elitist coalitions that take control of society.

In order to examine partnerships from both these aspects, Zadek elaborates on two possible future scenarios for partnerships.⁸³ The first, 'Grey Dawn', sees partnerships being subsumed by personal, political and commercial interests; whereas the second, 'Civil Governance', offers a suggestion of how partnerships might play a central and positive role in promoting civil society relations with the UN. Zadek suggests that working systematically through such projections can help us to reveal the relationship between systemic change and the specific point of desired intervention and, in so doing, provide us with the possibility of working more effectively in the present, and doing so with renewed energy and vision.

Partnership Research

Zadek's choice of using future scenarios to explore the potential of partnerships for development is prompted by the fact that there is, as yet, sparse evidence upon which to judge them. They are, he claims, "...little more than a glimmer of what is to come. For this reason, one cannot usefully assess partnership futures on the basis of their current performance."⁸⁴ Indeed, much of the research on cross-sector partnerships has been anecdotal: it has been concentrated on business involvement and has been advocated without an objective analysis or understanding of process and outcomes. While a number of case studies have been profiled to demonstrate the working of partnerships, these have been largely descriptive rather than analytical. In recent years, a number of organisations have sought to examine partnerships more rigorously and provide deeper and more illustrative case studies, to show how development issues have been tackled through working in this way.⁸⁵

⁷⁸ Slaughter (2004), p. 10.

⁷⁹ Utting (2000), p. 34; and Frank (2002), p. xiii.

⁸⁰ Richter (2002), p. 12; Rundall (2000), p. 11; and Bruno & Karliner (2002).

⁸¹ Utting (2000), p.34; and Stott (2003).

⁸² Kjaer (2003ii).

⁸³ Zadek (2004), p. 11–19.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸⁵ For example, see Kjaer (2003ii); Plummer (2002); The Partnering Initiative; International Business Leaders Forum (IBLF) (2005); The Copenhagen Centre; BPD in Water and Sanitation; and BPD Natural Resources. See also the journal, Partnership Matters, Current Issues in Cross-sector Collaboration; The Asia Foundation, Partnerships,; and Partnership Resources, The Southern African Grantmakers Association (SAGA): Partnership Resources. Some interesting individual case studies are also provided by Otiso (2003); Vargas (2002); and Yakovleva & Alabasterb (2003).

What emerges from these studies is that partnerships are not static entities but organisms that change over time and can be expected to be dynamic.⁸⁶ Building partnerships is thus a complex process and involves working carefully through a number of key phases and processes.⁸⁷ Tennyson identifies twelve different phases involved in partnering:⁸⁸ these encompass *scoping, identifying, building, planning, managing, resourcing, implementing, measuring, reviewing, revising, institutionalising and sustaining or terminating*. Stott and Keatman⁸⁹ have drawn these categories together into the five broad phases of: *scoping, initiating, implementing, consolidating and sustaining/terminating*. In each one of these phases, monitoring and evaluation processes should occur.

The processes involved in these different phases are interwoven with contextual and thematic issues that relate to the work of particular partnerships and thus encompass perspectives from a variety of different disciplines. It has been asserted, for example, that partnerships within the health sector, to take just one example, are spread thematically and contextually across such fields as organisational management, health promotion, psychology, public health, sociology and public administration.⁹⁰ Thus, the perspectives and standpoints of a vast range of different disciplines need to be taken into account when examining partnerships if their work is to be fully understood and appreciated.

Themes which are particular to the partnership processes identified above are raised throughout the literature pertaining to each of these different knowledge bases.⁹¹ The following summaries indicate some of the main issues, identifiable as notional categories, which have been extracted from the available case study material.

i. Understanding the Context

Partnerships are conditioned by the particular economic, political, cultural and social environments in which they work. That is to say: "Their nature and operations may be tinted by indigenous, traditional or asymmetrical societal patterns."⁹² It is therefore helpful, as Caplan et al. point out, to analyse partnership approaches in relation to particular contexts, in order to understand them more deeply.⁹³ El Ansari et al., reinforce this approach and suggest that a realistic partnership picture can best be gained by asking: "...how does this intervention make a difference in this particular situation? (rather than just asking, 'does it work?') and why might it work over here and not over there."⁹⁴ The need for a "nuanced understanding of both social and political context" is also regarded as necessary by Harrison, in order to disentangle the differing concepts of partnership which tend to be attributed by different audiences.⁹⁵

Nelson and Zadek note that all partnerships are conditioned by their particular historical contexts and environments; and they draw attention to the existence of "systemic drivers" and "specific triggers".⁹⁶ Partnerships appear to be most successful where there is a local enabling environment that encourages their development.⁹⁷ This may include positive government policies, supportive legal and regulatory frameworks and the existence of intermediary organisations and/or key individuals capable of bringing different institutions together.⁹⁸ It has also been posited that certain themes may lend themselves more easily to partnerships than others.⁹⁹ This has been apparent in global partnership initiatives which are meant to address environmental, educational and health issues, particularly HIV/AIDS, where crisis has been a strong catalyst for collaboration.¹⁰⁰ According to Nelson and Zadek,

...partnerships established in response to a crisis often attract more active engagement and resources from participants because the stakes are high and costs of failure more severe than in periods without crisis.¹⁰¹

⁸⁶ Caplan et al. (2001), p. 5.

⁸⁷ Tennyson (2004), p. 4; Tennyson & Bowman (2003), p. 38; Kjaer (2003i); and Stott (2004i), p. 11.

⁸⁸ Tennyson (2004), p. 4.

⁸⁹ Stott & Keatman (2005), p. 2.

⁹⁰ El Ansari et al. (2001), p. 217 and El Ansari et al. (2004), p. 277.

⁹¹ See sources listed in Footnote 85, p. 15 for examples.

⁹² Vargas (2002), p. 1543.

⁹³ Caplan et al. (2001), p. 5.

⁹⁴ El Ansari et al. (2001), p. 218.

⁹⁵ Harrison (2002), p. 607.

⁹⁶ Nelson & Zadek (2000), p. 33.

⁹⁷ Caplan et al. (2001), p. 5; Kjaer (2003i), p. 33; and Nelson & Zadek (2000), pp. 33–35.

⁹⁸ See Nelson (1998), p. 102.

⁹⁹ World Economic Forum (2003), p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Philips (2004).

¹⁰¹ Nelson & Zadek (2000), p.33.

They caution, however, that such partnerships may, over time, be destabilised by over-politicisation.¹⁰²

ii. Governance and accountability

Because most partnerships are voluntary and “there is no central authority that co-ordinates or oversees partnership activities”, there are serious concerns about both their governance and accountability.¹⁰³ Magee stresses that accountability should be at the core of all partnership structures.¹⁰⁴ This is echoed by Zadek, who believes that addressing the accountability issue is key to whether or not partnerships have the potential to make a lasting impact. He suggests that “honesty, leadership and innovation” are needed, “in facing the matter of their accountability.”

Without this, partnerships for development will go the same way as other ‘unaccountability initiatives’, not only deemed illegitimate but ultimately ineffective. With robust and credible accountability at their core, on the other hand, partnerships could establish their legitimate place in an effective development process.¹⁰⁵

Both Vargas¹⁰⁶ and Tennyson¹⁰⁷ argue that this issue is complicated by different degrees of partnership accountability: to beneficiaries, to donors and to partner organisations themselves. Conflicting loyalties, demands and power relations can all influence both the manner and the extent of a partnership’s accountability to its stakeholders; and all of these aspects need to be explored carefully during the development of a partnership’s activities.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, the structures that partnerships adopt are crucial to accountability. These may range from formal, legally registered entities, to more informal structures and loose networks.¹⁰⁹ Partnerships also face choices between a centralised management system, usually with one of the member organisations acting on behalf of the partnership as a whole, and a more flexible and decentralised system in which different partners carry out different management tasks. Governance procedures are reflected in the establishment of strong systems for decision-making, communication, accounting, reporting, conflict resolution and monitoring and evaluation.¹¹⁰ Tennyson stresses that partnerships with clear decision-making protocols work best: she favours structures in which only major decisions are brought to the whole partnership, but regular and accessible information about these is available to all.¹¹¹ Ultimately, of course, the choice of management and decision-making processes for a partnership depends crucially on the context in which it is working and the identities and interests of the different partners involved.

In relation to the wider context, there are more fundamental questions to be asked about partnerships. Do they, for instance, offer a more flexible form of “networked governance”,¹¹² or:

...are they destined to become stable, permanent governance fixtures? And if so, on what basis and on whose terms? And how do they relate to each other? Some seek to reinvigorate and reinvent our Bretton Woods institutions in pursuit of effective global governance. But are we in practice seeking a new civil governance emerging in partnership form?¹¹³

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Witte et al. (2003), pp. 2–3.

¹⁰⁴ Magee (2003), p. 29.

¹⁰⁵ Zadek (2004), p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Vargas, (2002), p. 1542.

¹⁰⁷ Tennyson (2003), p. 15.

¹⁰⁸ Vargas (2002), p. 1542 believes that this is particularly so for the for-profit sector, which may not have to answer to the same rigorous standards as some ‘nonprofits’ or government agencies.

¹⁰⁹ Tennyson (2004), pp. 14–15.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 17; and Stott (2004i), p. 40.

¹¹¹ Tennyson (2004), pp. 14–15.

¹¹² Geddes (2000), p. 784.

¹¹³ Zadek (2004), p. 12.

iii. Engagement and participation

According to Kjaer and Caplan, partnerships can encourage attitudinal changes and spur on the more integrated involvement of local citizens in community life, as well as offering a means to enhance democratic representation through more direct involvement in decision-making processes.¹¹⁴ There is evidence that failure to incorporate key stakeholders into the partnership decision-making and communication processes is a barrier to partnership development.¹¹⁵ Research has found that partnerships can marginalise and even exclude some social groups within their processes, even when these are the targets of the partnership's activity.¹¹⁶ Women, in particular, have been singled out for mention in relation to this kind of unwanted and contrary outcome; and gender is frequently indicated as a key factor for examining the issue of participation.¹¹⁷ Basing her argument on evidence from a partnership involving a women's NGO in Costa Rica, Vargas encourages gender analysis in relation to partnerships as a way of exploring whether or not they have the potential to make changes:

“...they can be a vehicle through which women's NGOs can be instrumental in fomenting sustainable development by generating income while protecting the environment and improving the quality of life of their communities through active participation in decision-making and governance.”¹¹⁸

This point is reinforced by Geddes, who suggests that few local partnerships in Europe operate formal or informal equal opportunity policies, or have women in powerful positions: something that he finds surprising, especially in view of the key role played by women in the community sphere.¹¹⁹

However, while it is seen as essential to give “...room or space for negotiation on an equal level”, it is also acknowledged that “...intersectoral partnerships complicate the rules of the game. Multiple jargons, specialised lexicon or conceptual terms are assumed to be understood by all stakeholders.”¹²⁰ Harrison suggests that “...the blanket use of participatory language may hide the complex interaction of history and individual positioning that make the meaning of participation so variable.”¹²¹ In addition, she asserts, the emphasis on widespread partnership participation, though laudable in its reflection of frustration with top-down development approaches, nonetheless emerges in “a context of inequality”.¹²²

There appears to be a need for further analysis of what terms such as *community engagement* and *stakeholder engagement* actually mean within partnerships, so that representation at this level (be it individual or organisational) can be carefully analysed and, thus, different power relations be acknowledged in partnership contexts, processes and strategies.¹²³ In addition, the notion of “participation as empowerment” needs to be thought through, as, according to Kapoor, this can quite easily slide into “participation as power”, in such a way that “community consensus”, stifling plurality, is moulded to fit bureaucratic or organisational needs; so that, ultimately, vested interest groups, be they external or local, become the prime beneficiaries.¹²⁴

Engagement and participation also need to be considered with reference to partners themselves. Through the process of partnering, organisations may develop and learn, and so become more involved in a partnership's development. This often necessitates the confrontation and dissection of existing power relations.

The term partnership suggests collegial equality, but in practice, it often masks deep-seated asymmetries of power. Genuine partnerships must acknowledge power relationships, but also stress the reciprocal and interdependent nature of the collaboration. All partners must recognise that they need each other and remain willing to invest in maintaining the partnership.¹²⁵

¹¹⁴ Kjaer & Caplan (2004), p. 59.

¹¹⁵ See for example Yakovleva & Alabaster (2003).

¹¹⁶ Geddes (2000), p. 787.

¹¹⁷ Harrison (2002), p. 588; and Geddes (2000), p. 794.

¹¹⁸ Vargas (2002), p. 1555.

¹¹⁹ Geddes (2000), p. 794.

¹²⁰ Vargas (2002), p. 1549.

¹²¹ Harrison (2002), p. 593.

¹²² Harrison (2002), p. 591.

¹²³ Ibid; and see also Stott & Keatman (2004).

¹²⁴ Kapoor (2004).

¹²⁵ Engineers Against Poverty.

Hardman further suggests that, although it may not be easy,

Participation in partnerships provides the opportunity for participating organizations to enhance their sense of identity. Their identity does not become 'merged' in the process, but rather amplified and refined. Consequently, the value systems inherent in the organisation will also be honed through participation.¹²⁶

iv. Institutionalising and mainstreaming

Much partnership literature concerns the formalising and institutionalising of partnerships, to enable them to be made sustainable and have wider societal impact.¹²⁷ Tennyson asserts that this process involves the following features:¹²⁸

Institutional engagement – the fuller involvement of member organisations in a partnership, so that the partnership itself is 'internalised' within each of them.

Institutional-building – in which a mechanism is created to sustain a partnership project or approach.¹²⁹

Institutional reform – where partnerships influence institutions, change the ways in which they operate, and enable them to function more effectively and efficiently.

Furthermore, the links that are established between and among institutions in a partnership clearly set in motion a whole sequence of interconnecting events. When these links are positive, they tend to become regular, and regularity in turn leads to consolidation, institutionalisation, and the replication and expansion of the partnership's activities. All these together contribute towards the partnership's ability to have a more powerful effect on the wider community. Broadly speaking, this complex process is what underpins 'mainstreaming'. Thus, mainstreaming partnerships involves working strategically with organisations such as government departments, and both national and private sector bodies, so that public policy frameworks are influenced and partnerships become part of policies and programmes.

v. Time and flexibility

Partnerships, it is often warned, like many development projects and programmes, need time to build and grow.¹³⁰ It is worth bearing in mind that many partnerships have only recently been established and that any demonstration of their impact will take time to show. In addition, partners often have different timeframes: government bodies operate around election cycles; businesses frequently have tight short-term targets to reach within specified deadlines; and NGOs emphasise longer-term participatory approaches to their work.¹³¹ All of these time-related constraints, exigencies and pressures can create different expectations and priorities, and thus effect and condition partnership development.¹³²

As partnerships develop, they are inevitably subject to both internal and external change: for example, staff changes occurring within both the partnership and partner organisations; wider contextual influences, such as political and economic disturbances; and the issues related to securing wider stakeholder involvement. Partnerships therefore need to be flexible enough to withstand, manage and adapt to change over time; and their success or failure will inevitably depend upon their ability to do so.¹³³ For this reason, partnership agreements and structures that accommodate the possibility of changing circumstances are of especial interest. The formulation and documenting of these agreements can be influenced by solid review and monitoring systems.¹³⁴

¹²⁶ Hardman (2004i), p. 10.

¹²⁷ See for example Kjaer & Tennyson (2003), pp70–87.

¹²⁸ Tennyson (2003).

¹²⁹ Tennyson (2004), p. 29. Tennyson suggests a range of possible partnership institutions that might emerge through this process such as local and global alliances; dispersed, temporary, consultative, intermediary and learning partnerships.

¹³⁰ See Caplan et al. (2001), p.17; and Vargas (2002), p. 1554.

¹³¹ Vargas (2002), p. 1554.

¹³² Caplan et al. (2001), pp. 16–17.

¹³³ Caplan et al. (2001); and Kjaer & Tennyson (2003), p. 79.

¹³⁴ Caplan et al. (2001), p. 23.

vi. Measuring the impact of partnerships

It has been observed that, in spite of calls emphasising the need for measuring the effectiveness of partnerships, “the nature of the evidence to assess effectiveness is less clear.”¹³⁵ Because collaboration is built upon “multiple interlacing facets”, the identification of exactly what to measure and with what indicators is complex.¹³⁶ Tennyson attempts to address this difficulty by suggesting that partnerships might define success by the use of the following criteria: that the partnership is doing what it set out to do; that it is having an impact beyond its immediate stakeholder group; that the partnership is sustainable and self-managing; that the partnership has had ‘added value’, so that partners have gained benefits; and that it has made a useful contribution to the global partnership movement.¹³⁷

Effective monitoring and evaluation of partnerships is crucial to ascertaining whether such targets have been reached. Such evaluation must address whether there have been changes not only for partners but also for beneficiaries and stakeholders, and, where relevant, donors.¹³⁸ Because partnerships grow, adapt and change, measurement indicators need to be, firstly, broad enough to reflect those elements of a project that will remain constant throughout its lifespan and, secondly, flexible enough to allow for change and adaptation of project strategies.¹³⁹ Partnerships involve stakeholders who may use different evaluation indicators. Indicators should therefore be as simple and clear as possible, while demonstrating some measure of progress or magnitude of change. In this respect, it is necessary to ensure that there is a common understanding of three distinct considerations, namely: what the assessment is for; whose objectives are being served; and how the data will be used.

Naturally, choices need to be made about both internal and external evaluation strategies that respond to different aspects of a partnership.¹⁴⁰ Formative evaluation systems that assess the worth of a process or project during its formation and development are likely to offer the best option for partnership measurement; and, furthermore, such systems can enable the re-designing of approaches if and when necessary. In addition, a cross-disciplinary approach to partnership monitoring and evaluation is to be encouraged: this kind of strategy tends to involve “mixed-methods investigations and observational studies” that take diverse standpoints into account, in order to obtain an overall picture.¹⁴¹

Conclusion

A review of the literature clearly demonstrates that partnerships are not quick and easy solutions to development problems. It also shows that particular combinations of partnership tools, structures and mechanisms are likely to work for specific contexts and, conversely, that the “partnership approach” is not a model that will work in all situations.¹⁴² For these reasons, a thorough assessment of whether partnership is indeed the right strategic approach in a particular situation is, to say the least, highly advisable:

Partnerships for sustainable development are no panacea. Early in the process of developing these agreements their value must be weighed against the alternatives. There are also significant obstacles to negotiating the optimal division of roles between parties; parties who at a minimum view the world differently, and on occasions harbour mistrust or even hostility. A partnership, like any new relationship, also needs regular maintenance to respond to external commercial and political realities.¹⁴³

Certainly, the need to exchange, evaluate and research partnership experiences in a more concerted fashion is vital. Tennyson calls for the promotion of a partnership “learning culture” with open exchanges of experience that share what works, and what does not, so that partnerships are offered options for replicating and/or adapting successful

¹³⁵ El Ansari et al. (2001), p. 215.

¹³⁶ Evans, McMahon & Caplan (2004), p. 23; & Stott (2004ii).

¹³⁷ Tennyson (2004), pp. 33–35.

¹³⁸ Tennyson (2003), p. 15.

¹³⁹ Stott (2004ii).

¹⁴⁰ Tennyson (2003), p. 15.

¹⁴¹ El Ansari et al (2001), p. 223.

¹⁴² Business Partners for Development 1998–2001 (2002), p. 4.

¹⁴³ OD/IBLF (2004).

models and processes in their work.¹⁴⁴ Only through rigorous information gathering and sharing can clearer insights be gained on the suitability of the partnership approach as a successful development model, and on its potential for achieving wider impact.¹⁴⁵



For the research project which is the focus of this book, the strategy adopted in relation to the conceptualisation and use of the term *partnership* has been to eschew any narrow or rigid definition and to aim, rather, at viewing each collaboration within the context of its particular foundation and operation. All of the projects presented here have indeed been established, or promoted, as 'partnerships' in both fact and practice; but, as the research demonstrates, their structures, membership and collaborative processes differ markedly. As researchers, our primary task has been to recognise, appreciate, understand and account for these differences in direct relation to the contexts within which each of the partnerships has to operate, and only secondarily and latterly, to relate our observations and findings to conceptual frameworks. By consciously adopting this kind of broad and pragmatic approach, while at the same time recognising the major theoretical considerations and historical backgrounds outlined above, we consider that the case studies generate interesting, useful and even searching questions about what constitutes *partnership*.

¹⁴⁴ Tennyson (2003), p. 21.

¹⁴⁵ Tennyson (2004), p. 34.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology: Creating the Recipe¹

Introduction

Various research approaches have been applied to the study of partnerships, including: *action research*,² *ethnographic research*,³ *communicative theory*,⁴ and *comparative analysis*.⁵ Models and instruments have also been developed to provide frameworks from which to evaluate various success criteria.⁶ However, as previously discussed in Chapter 1, cross-sector partnership is a complex phenomenon because of the many different influences on it. These influences include both external factors, such as political, economic and social contexts, and internal factors, such as: individual partner organisation needs and expectations; partnership dynamics; dynamics between individuals within a partnership; and the pressures that these individuals may be experiencing, from their own organisations as well as from the partnership. Chapter 1 has also illustrated that, by definition, the study of cross-sector partnerships never falls simply and neatly into just one area of the social sciences. Indeed, the complex form of a partnership, plus the complexity of the relationships within it, means that no single theory is ever likely to be capable of providing the framework or data needed to understand either the effectiveness of cross-sector partnerships or the factors which influence their effectiveness. As Flood has illustrated through his metaphors of “four windows” and “prismatic thought”, the ways in which a view is perceived vary from one individual to another.⁷ However, bringing different views together does allow more opportunity to comprehend the whole. With regard to the evaluation of partnerships, El Ansari et al. state:

Clearly the challenges confronting the evidence on collaboration can be overwhelming. The diversity of perspectives, multiplicity of conceptual facets, and difficulty in measurement of the notions involved can pose methodological difficulties. In parallel, the choices of macro or micro evaluation, of proximal or distal indicators, of short and long-term effects, or of individual level or collective community-level outcomes might create technical snags. In addition, the importance of context cannot be minimised in undertaking evaluations, especially of collaboration, partnerships and schemes to develop joint working. Hence, the value of mixed-methods investigations and observational studies need (*sic*) to be highlighted.⁸

Thus, while this research has used an eclectic approach to arrive at its results, it has also intended, wherever possible, to foster on-going dialogue with the research subjects themselves. However, because the outline design, and therefore the objectives and hypotheses, had to be defined in advance in order to obtain funding, it was not possible in practice for the research team to engage in full preliminary discussion or definition concerning objectives or hypotheses together with the partnerships whose work and operations might be the potential subjects. Nor was it clear at the proposal stage which partnerships would become involved in the project as research subjects. Therefore, the research was designed with three stated aims and objectives, which led to two main hypotheses (see p. ii).

The team also had to bear in mind the overall requirements of the funding agency, whose aim was to fund projects which would “...generate results that will contribute to improving the effectiveness of the European Community’s development assistance.”⁹ Therefore, the research methodology had to focus primarily on providing data to facilitate this process.

¹ This chapter is authored by Melanie Rein & Leda Stott. *Editors*.

² Kjaer (2003).

³ Poncelet (2001), pp. 13–25.

⁴ Scott (2004), pp. 49–59.

⁵ Buchert, L. (2002), pp. 69–84.

⁶ For example see Caplan (2003b); Schulz et al. (2003), pp. 249–262; and Mitchell et al. (2001), pp. 1–16.

⁷ Flood (1999), p.178.

⁸ El Ansari et al. (2001), p. 223.

⁹ European Community’s Poverty Reduction Effectiveness Programme (EC-PREP) (July 2002).

Two major components of the research were: firstly, to identify and examine the complexities of the interrelationship between the different partners involved in the cross-sector partnership; and secondly, to understand whether the cross-sector partnerships were meeting their own objectives and targets in relation to poverty eradication. In order to research these complexities and to provide an analysis that was comprehensive rather than reductive, the case study approach was used. Yin has demonstrated the value of case study research in the context of organisational complexity, especially "...when the phenomenon under study is not readily distinguishable from its context."¹⁰ Verschuren illustrates the differences between the "reductionistic" research and the more "holistic" qualities of the case study approach, indicating that the latter is capable of bringing together a wide range of research methods, and of achieving a multifaceted set of perspectives.¹¹

The initial plan had been to provide in-depth case studies of six partnerships. However, it soon became apparent that, owing to financial and temporal constraints, this would not be possible. Therefore, while six case studies were worked on and written, only two were selected for in-depth research. This more intensive and detailed work included both semi-structured, in-depth interviews with partners and focus group interviews with beneficiaries. The evidence for the remaining four case studies was based on partnership documentation and discussion with relevant partnership representatives. All partnerships had the opportunity to comment on the case studies and this was a process which became an integral part of the research (see below).

The two partnerships which were studied in depth were: The Chamba Valley Partnership Project, an agricultural partnership in Zambia; and Amangwe Village, a health partnership in South Africa. Selection of these two partnerships was made after the second research meeting in Zambia and, also, after the country-resident members of the research team had had an opportunity to visit all six partnerships and to assess the viability of undertaking in-depth research with each of them.

In these ways, then, and with the aim of researching the complexities of cross-sector partnerships, a number of methodologies were used to generate the data for the case studies presented in this publication.

A priority throughout the research was to ensure that ethical issues were addressed in the research design and throughout the research process. This issue is discussed in the next part of this chapter, followed by a discussion of the specific research methodologies which were used.

Ethics

The subject of ethics in social science research has extensively been discussed elsewhere, for example, by Brown et al.¹² Work is currently in progress by a number of organisations to develop ethical guidelines and frameworks for social science researchers.¹³

While it is not our purpose to undertake a wide ranging review or general discussion of the literature concerning ethical issues in social science research, reference does need to be made to the subject in relation to research that takes place in "poorer regions" and developing countries, as discussed in Brown et al.,¹⁴ especially since this issue impinges on our own work here. The relevant issues include: wealth disparity between the researcher and the research subject;¹⁵ international power issues within research teams, especially those relating to the 'North / South' divide;¹⁶ and the links between ethics and methodology.¹⁷ Each one of these issues has manifested itself in this project and has had an effect on the research itself.

Issues of power are particularly pertinent to any research in which there is a marked economic difference between researchers, as well as between researchers and those being researched. Goudge,¹⁸ who submits her own motives to scrupulous analysis, demonstrates that investigation both of the development worker's role and of its

¹⁰ Yin (2003), p. 4.

¹¹ Verschuren (2003), p. 137.

¹² Brown et al. (2004).

¹³ See for example: *Developing a Framework for Social Science Research Ethics* and *The Centre for Social Science research (CSSR)*.

¹⁴ Brown et al. (April 2004), p. 2.

¹⁵ Benatar (2002), p. 1132.

¹⁶ Jentsch & Pilley (2003).

¹⁷ Brown et al (2004).

¹⁸ Goudge (2003), p. 9–15.

reinforcement of existing power structures, is reminiscent of discussions which have taken place in certain schools of psychology since the early 1970s. These discussions focus, in part, on the unconscious projections of those working in the 'helping professions' and the effects of these projections in reinforcing power relationships between 'the helper' and those 'being helped'.¹⁹ This line of thinking is concordant with that in more recent discussions about research methodology: in these, the emotional effects of the research *on the researcher* have been examined, which, it is argued, ultimately have implicit effects *on the research results* themselves.²⁰ Further attempts by researchers to redress power issues and psychological projections through the use of participative research, which has also been called *collaborative enquiry*, have been discussed by Rowan & Reason.²¹ However, the use of collaborative enquiry in developing countries and regions has in turn prompted its own debate about power and ethics. In writings relevant to this debate, the criticisms, doubts and questions have been focused primarily on: (1) the implied assumption that 'poor people' are unable to effect their own change;²² (2) the autonomy of the researcher;²³ and (3) the validity of the research.²⁴

With this background in constant perspective during this project, ethical considerations and issues of 'power' were continuously borne in mind as being integral to all aspects of the research process. Thus, the team endeavoured to devise a research methodology which would: (1) engage those being researched; (2) accurately reflect comments made by research subjects; and (3) facilitate active discussion between team members, in order to challenge any personal and collective assumptions or perceptions which might impact on the research analysis and findings themselves.

Selecting the Countries

The selection of South Africa and Zambia as the countries to focus on was partly governed by the requirements of the funding agency. However, the selection process was also influenced by other factors, most notable among which were: the contrasting contextual backgrounds (see Chapter 3); the access that was available to relevant partnerships; and the existing relationships between the researchers.

Selecting the Partnerships

Six partnerships were selected, three from South Africa and three from Zambia. Selection of these research subjects was made from a wide range of partnerships, all of which were familiar to members of the research team who were resident in these two countries. Although requests for the research did not emanate from any specific partnership, the research team did set out to facilitate dialogues with selected partnerships, firstly, so that there would be an opportunity for the researchers to check their findings with the partnerships themselves; and, secondly, so that the findings could be presented to the partnerships, and thus be of value to them. For the latter reason, the existence of previous and even established relational links between the local research team and 'candidate partnerships' needed to be included among the criteria for selection. However, the potential for bias in the selection process, which might arise from any previous 'connections', was mitigated by the final decision for inclusion in the project being made by those members of the research team who had had no prior connection with the partnerships under consideration.

To provide a sampling of different types of partnerships, the following selection criteria were used:

i. Sector Specific

The research focussed on three particular sectors: education, agriculture and health. One partnership per country was selected from each of these three sectors, thus enabling a possible comparative study between countries.

¹⁹ For further discussion about this issue see, for example, Guggenbühl-Craig (1971).

²⁰ Hubbard et al. (2001).

²¹ Reason & Rowan (1981); and Reason (1988).

²² Brown et al. (April 2004), p. 8.

²³ David (2002), p. 16.

²⁴ Campbell (2002).

ii. Type of Partnership

The chosen mechanisms for delivery included:

- public sector led partnership initiative;
- business coalition for social development;
- business working as a partnership intermediary;
- NGO working as an intermediary;
- academia led cross-sector initiative.

iii. Phases of Partnership Process / Length of Time Operating as a Partnership

The length of time that partnerships had been operating was applied as a selection criterion although, as the results indicate, length of time does not necessarily reflect a partnership's maturity or impact.²⁵

iv. Operational Environment

The operational environment of a partnership is relevant to the contextual analysis. For this reason, this factor was taken into consideration in the selection criteria, with specific reference to whether the partnerships operated within a rural, urban or peri-urban environment. This factor would thus remain open to analysis in the findings.

v. Number of Partners

To broaden the research, so that data might be useful to a wide range of recipients, selection included partnerships of varying sizes: from one to five, five to ten, ten to twenty and more than twenty partners.

vi. Involvement of a Broker

Partnership brokering has become an increasingly important part of the partnership process: it has an effect not only on the setting up of the partnership, but also on the way in which the partnership operates. For this reason, although broker involvement was not the main focus of the research, it was considered worth including at least two partnerships where a known broker had been involved.

vii. Involvement in previous research

There was some concern that the selected partnerships might include one or more partners who had already been part of a previous research project, indeed, who might even be selected because they were 'known' to have been 'successful'. Therefore, a decision was made to choose partnerships about whose impact there existed little previous data. With regard to the selection of rural partnerships, the low likelihood of their having been involved in any previous research project, due to such factors as distance from major towns, was also borne in mind as a favourable criterion.

viii. Resources and Agreements

Resource considerations were balanced against researching partnerships in rural areas and the time needed to travel to particular partnerships. In addition, consent had to be sought from each of the partnerships involved, through their Director or Co-ordinator, who needed to consult with the different partners before an agreement could be reached for the research to go ahead.

²⁵ See p. 106.

Research Design

In accordance with the principles of the case study approach, seven distinct and interrelated methods were adopted:

i. Literature Review

A review of relevant published literature was undertaken at the outset, in order to ground the subsequent work in accepted theories and knowledge, both recent and current. This methodological principle was adhered to throughout the research (see Chapters 1 and 3). During this process, partnership documents such as reports and proposals, as well as websites, were reviewed. Considered together, these materials provided a body of invaluable background data, against which specific aspects of the partnership could be explored and tested.

ii. Observations

It was intended that partnership meetings would be observed by members of the research team who were resident in the countries concerned; and that, as part of the ongoing research process, they would report their observations back to the whole team. In practice, however, this proved to be hard to achieve, for the following reasons: firstly, a number of the partnerships did not have regular meetings and, when such meetings were held, some partners tended not to attend; secondly, partnership meetings were often informal and occurred spontaneously or at short notice, without planning or pre-formulated structure; and thirdly, some partnerships were too far away from the researchers' home towns to allow them to attend regularly. However, once these difficulties had been recognised, strategies were employed to enable dialogues among partners to be observed wherever and whenever feasible. These strategies included observing informal discussions between partners during, for example, the delivery of produce by farmers to the wholesaler.

iii. Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were undertaken with members of the Chamba Valley Partnership Project and Amangwe Village. The themes and questions for the interviews were generated from initial site visits (see v. below) and from preliminary discussions about the research project, which country-resident members of the research team conducted with the partnerships.

The themes focussed on three main topic areas: context, governance and the broker/intermediary role. An opportunity was also provided for interviewees to present their thoughts on what, in hindsight, they might have done differently as far as the second and third of these topic areas were concerned (i.e. governance and the broker/intermediary role). They were also invited to comment on what they considered were vital ingredients for partnership working. All interviews were conducted by research assistants in one or more of the three languages, Zulu, Bemba and English, followed by debriefing sessions with the country-resident researcher. All interviews were written up by the research assistant, who also provided his / her separate written impressions.

iv. Focus Group Meetings

Focus group meetings were held with the local communities and individuals who were potential beneficiaries of the partnership activities: two such meetings were held with the local community in which Amangwe Village operates, and four meetings (two with male groups and two with female groups) with the members of the Chamba Valley Co-operative and the Mwamfumba community in Liteta. The larger number of focus group meetings in the Chamba Valley was to enable members of the Mwamfumba community to give their perceptions of the project, even though they were not directly involved in the Partnership's activities. This was because it was intended that, later, the project would be extended to them too.²⁶

v. Site Visits

Site visits to all six partnership projects were made by all members of the research team, in order to enable them, as a group to: (1) develop an understanding of the external influences on the partnerships and projects; (2) view at first hand, the workings of the project; and (3) begin to identify the dynamics of the partnership. These visits were formative both in consolidating professional cooperativeness among the team members and in facilitating, moulding and developing an articulately self-critical research group.

²⁶ See p. 40.

vi. Writing up of Case Studies

The writing up of the case studies itself became an integral part of the research process, not only because drafts were checked by the partnerships themselves, but also because they themselves generated new data, in that the objectification and self-distancing provided by the printed documents gave the partnership members an opportunity to review their own work. Each partnership met with the country-resident researcher to discuss the draft versions of the case studies, so that their comments and thoughts could be included in subsequent revised versions. It was also agreed that if there were strong disagreements between the research team and the partnership over any aspect of the case study, then both sets of views would be stated. In practice such disagreements did not occur.

vii. Critical Analysis

The research team endeavoured to maintain a continuing critical and analytical dialogue on the work they were doing. This focussed not only on the research but also on ways in which the assumptions and judgements of the research team might influence decisions, both collectively and individually. The critical dialogue was embedded into the research proposal through planned research meetings, although the ability for true critical analysis of assumptions and judgements emerged over time, as the research team got to know each other better during site visits and the subsequent discussions. In this way, criticisms made by individual team members of one another's assumptions and judgements had the practical effect, firstly, of keeping the research goals and methods under steady review, and secondly, regularly monitoring the ethical issues discussed above.

A panel of *Critical Friends* was also engaged to contribute to the sum of experience of the research team. This panel consisted of three academics, each of whom brought a different educational, cultural and disciplinary perspective to bear on the research. Each had a strong background in partnership research in various countries, including Zambia, South Africa and Canada. Their roles were to offer advice and guidance and to act as sounding boards for the findings that emerged from the data collection and analysis.

The final draft of this document was sent out to those directly involved in the research, as listed above: the three critical friends, the six partnerships, selected partnership practitioners, and all the contributing writers, in order to obtain further critical analysis from each of them, and to incorporate these in the final write-up and publication.

Research Limitations

This research was originally intended to provide examples and data which could be transferable to other geographical and cultural contexts. However, from the results obtained, it has become apparent, firstly, that these partnerships are themselves embedded in their own contexts; and, secondly, that these contexts are a significant factor in the success of a partnership's activities. For this reason, the following chapter is specifically related to the South African and Zambian contexts.

Of course, while it remains debatable whether partnership activities which may be apposite in their own contexts and able to achieve results in their given environments are indeed 'transferable' in any true and meaningful sense, the research methods applied here are nonetheless intended to draw out lessons and difficulties which may be relevant, salient, and even applicable, in other contexts.

Chapter 3

The Sub-Saharan African Context for Partnership¹

Africa has reached a critical turning point in its history. After an era of decolonization and a period characterized by civil wars, military rule and economic stagnation, a third wave is beginning in Africa – one of peace, democracy, human rights and sustainable development. This is indeed an opportune time for us and our partners to co-ordinate and harmonize our programmes and mobilize support for the development of Africa and increase aid effectiveness.

Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General, 1998²

A new development discourse is emerging from Africa. This has been manifested in the establishment of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD),³ the establishment of the African Union⁴ and of the Pan African Parliament.⁵ Furthermore, this theme is central to Thabo Mbeki's call for an "African Renaissance".⁶ These initiatives signal a desire by African leaders to consolidate their energies and reclaim an agenda for development that, until recently, has mostly been framed from outside the continent. In this regard, there is a growing recognition that post-colonial development practices have generally failed⁷ and that there is a need to re-connect in new ways with the dominant global community:

What is required... is bold and imaginative leadership that is genuinely committed to a sustained human development effort and poverty eradication, as well as a new global partnership based on shared responsibility and mutual interest.⁸

Such a 're-connection' necessitates a review by 'developed countries' of their terms of engagement with Africa, especially in the age of globalisation where the fault lines in relation to poverty and access to resources are so stark.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development calls for the reversal of this abnormal situation by changing the relationship that underpins it. Africans are appealing neither for the further entrenchment of dependency through aid, nor for marginal concessions.⁹

In this context, a partnership approach between Africa and the rest of the world is seen not as an option but as an imperative.

This notion of an international partnership between nations as part of the solution to Africa's development challenges has been put forward by international agencies and commissions as well as by African governments themselves.¹⁰ Yet it has not been without its critics. Academics, civil society organisations and NGOs in Africa, for example, many of whom feel that their voice was excluded from the NEPAD planning process, have expressed the view that NEPAD reflects the interests of a small group of politicians setting Africa's development agenda rather than wider representation from the continent as a whole.¹¹ They stress that equal partnership with 'developed

¹ This chapter is authored by Leda Stott, Kawwanga Yambayamba, Melanie Rein & Stan Hardman. *Editors*.

² *Africa Together Online*, A United Nations Publication (March 1998.)

³ NEPAD (2001).

⁴ See the *African Union* (i).

⁵ See the *African Union* (ii).

⁶ *United Nations University* (i); and see also p. 28 below.

⁷ Since the 1960s, when most African countries gained independence, in each decade the promotion has occurred of much acclaimed continental development programmes that have resulted in little more than rhetoric. These have largely followed the focus outlined in Chapter 1: they range from aid packages to structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), and from privatisation programmes to more recent strategies that incorporate partnerships. See for example: UNECA's 'Revised Framework of Principles for the Implementation of the New International Order in Africa' (1976); the 'Monrovia Declaration' (1979); the 'Lagos Plan of Action'; and the 'Final Act of Lagos' (1980).

⁸ NEPAD (2001).

⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰ See for example: Commission for Africa (2004); Oxfam Briefing Paper 19 (2002); and the *UN System Partnerships: Africa* (2004).

¹¹ For critiques of NEPAD from various perspectives, see the *Inter-Church Coalition on Africa* as well as Tandon (2002).

nations' requires an analysis of existing power relations and how to change them, as well as 'partnership with the people' as the first prerequisite for development. These arguments are salient, both because they highlight the concerns about partnerships that have been reflected in Chapter 1 and because they have implications for the manner in which a cross-sector development approach is seen to be managed and owned, particularly with regard to moving away from the more traditional 'donor-suppliant' mindset. According to Oxfam, however, NEPAD should be welcomed as a starting point for "a different kind of engagement at global, regional, and national levels between the international community and African leaders, underpinned by a new commitment to accountability from both."¹²

The widespread image of Africa as a continent marked by poverty, long-running armed conflicts, civil unrest, environmental disasters, the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and poor governance, is not an easy one to dispel.¹³ The colonial legacy of weak states and dysfunctional economies, the divisions created by the Cold War, inadequate reform efforts and the lack of international support for sustainable and more equitable development strategies have all contributed to a situation that led the renowned Kenyan academic Ali Mazrui to remark that "Africa is the earliest habitat of man but is in a sense the last to become truly habitable."¹⁴ However, while it is important that systemic and structural issues that influence Africa's development as a whole are addressed through international and continental frameworks, Ali Mazrui's aphorism does not take account of the huge contextual variations between countries and regions; for precisely the range and subtlety of these variations make it necessary for development approaches and interventions to be rooted in the "concrete social reality" of all these diverse societies.¹⁵

Against this background, the importance of acknowledging the specific contextual experiences of cross-sector partnership is crucial to an understanding not only of their effectiveness but also of lessons that might be learned from them, which could in turn inform wider development frameworks. The two countries that are the subject of this research, South Africa and Zambia, are indeed impacted by all the global issues affecting Africa; but they also have markedly different country contexts, and these influence both their approaches to development and their uses of partnerships as mechanisms for achieving change.

In South Africa, the apartheid regime created the backdrop for cross-sectoral connections that began to develop even before its downfall and, which have contributed to the widespread adoption of 'modes of working' conducive to partnerships. This enabling environment included the development of alternative forms of service delivery, such as 'public-private' and 'public-community' partnerships, as key elements in the government's transformation priorities for 1999–2004. In Zambia, by contrast, the concept of a cross-sector approach to development issues is more recent, though different sectors are now beginning to recognise that there is much to be gained by addressing social, economic and environmental issues collaboratively. In Zambia, The Partnership Forum has taken the lead in developing a series of projects which use corporate governance, economic and business development, education, agriculture and the environment as their core themes for development activities.¹⁶

In order to present a clear picture of the development of these partnership approaches and the difficulties that they have faced, a more detailed examination of the particular sociohistoric contexts of South Africa and Zambia is offered below.¹⁷ These portraits are necessarily brief. They are included here for two main reasons: firstly, to provide a broad retrospective overview of the main factors underlying the emergence and adoption of cross-sector partnerships; and, secondly, to indicate the relevance and potential of the partnership approach in addressing poverty eradication, and related development issues, in future.

¹² Oxfam Briefing Paper 19 (2002), p. 27.

¹³ See for example Oxfam (2002) and the Commission for Africa (2004). In relation to this pejorative image, Sachs makes a pertinent point about the emphasis of many 'pat answers' to Africa's plight, focusing on governance, which he refuses to accept as an explanation for Africa's situation. Sachs (2005) pp. 311–313.

¹⁴ Mazrui (1980), p. xv.

¹⁵ Onimode (1988), p. 42.

¹⁶ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners *Project Document* (1999).

¹⁷ For more on sociohistorical contexts and its relationship to partnerships see Poncelet (2001), pp 13–25.

South Africa

South Africa is a country of some 1,219,090 square kilometres at the southern-most tip of Africa.¹⁸ Its population numbers approximately 44.8 million people of diverse races, cultures and religions. This is reflected in the eleven national languages protected by the South African Constitution.¹⁹

The history of South Africa has been marked by the apartheid era, when a policy of 'separate development' divided society on a racial basis. Black people were denied the vote; and their economic, political and social exclusion was enshrined in law and practices relating to industrialisation, urbanisation, commercial farming and rural dispossession:

Our social fabric has the deep imprints of colonialism and apartheid. The 20th Century has left us with a heritage that has deep fault lines indelibly etched in social, environmental and economic ecologies making equity and sustainability one of the most challenging responsibilities of the first democratically elected government in 1994.²⁰

During the decade prior to 1994, civil society was particularly strong. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs), although inadequate in terms of scale, provided voice to the dispossessed and disenfranchised and, in so doing, offered an articulate commentary on the consequences of apartheid in education, housing and economic participation. The NGO movement also offered the training ground and platform for many who, in the democratic government, would later move into senior government positions.²¹

Changes Since Apartheid

When Nelson Mandela became President of South Africa in 1994, South Africa entered a new phase in its history. The Government led by the African National Congress (ANC), called for reconciliation and the pursuit of democratisation and socio-economic change to improve the lives of all South Africans, in particular the poor. South Africa's new Constitution (1996) emphasised the values of dignity, equality and freedom:²² discriminatory laws were repealed; land reform was addressed;²³ and new measures to prevent social exclusion were introduced.

The new Constitution and the establishment and work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission²⁴ began a process of promoting and inculcating a commitment to accountability and transparency in South Africa's public life. This lead was followed by the establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Forum and the Code of Conduct for the Public Service.²⁵ Meanwhile, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) aimed to meet basic needs, build the economy, democratise the state and society, and develop human resources and nation-building.²⁶ It was followed by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic strategy in 1996.²⁷ An integrated Public Service was set up, to include a National Planning Framework, provincial co-ordination and integrated local government development plans.²⁸ In the field of employment, the Labour Relations Act was ratified in 1998: this included the Employment Equity Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Skills Development Act.²⁹ These laws sought to ensure that there would be no discrimination in the workplace and that employers would promote employment equity. Skills development was promoted through Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs) for each sector of the economy: these bodies were financed by a skills levy on the pay roll.³⁰

¹⁸ *South African Government Information*, 'The Land'.

¹⁹ *South African Government Information*, 'The People'.

²⁰ Hardman (2004ii), p. 237.

²¹ Naidoo (2001).

²² See *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996.

²³ See Lyne & Darroch, who outline the ANC's three-pronged approach of: land restitution (a legal process offering financial compensation or return of land to those able to demonstrate dispossession after 1913); land tenure reform (addressing tenure in the former "homelands", and land redistribution (dealing with the racial dimensions of rural land ownership). Lyne & Darroch (2003), p. 1.

²⁴ "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)... was set up to help deal with what happened under apartheid". Its official website continues: "The conflict during this period resulted in violence and human rights abuses from all sides. No section of society escaped these abuses." *The Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. See also Krog (2002), p. 385, who asserts that the TRC successfully created "...a forum for victims to bring some form of balance to the political ideal of amnesty" as "...the experiences of victims did indeed become part of the national psyche and part of our country's acknowledged history for the very first time."

²⁵ GCIS (2005), p. 51.

²⁶ *The Reconstruction and Development Programme A Policy Framework* (1994).

²⁷ *Growth, Employment and Redistribution, A Macroeconomic Strategy* (14 June 1996).

²⁸ See *Ministry and Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG)*, South Africa, for relevant documents.

²⁹ See *South African Department of Labour*.

³⁰ See *South African Government Information*, 'Education, training & skills development'.

The government's main economic objectives have been "job creation, poverty eradication, reduction of inequality and overall growth".³¹ Economic empowerment is an integral part of the transformation process in South Africa. The focus is on communities and individuals who are black, female or disabled. Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is seen as essential to the creation of lasting change and part of an ongoing process designed by government to redress the economic imbalances in South African society created by apartheid.³² As part of this, sector charters have been developed in core industries.³³ These charters include targets for business ownership, management and entitlements to contracts. The following ten year quotas are recommended by the BEE Commission:

- 30 per cent of productive land in black hands;
- 25 per cent equity in each sector of the economy;
- 25 per cent shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) listed companies;
- At least 40 per cent of non-executive and executive directors on JSE should be black;
- At least 50 per cent of state owned enterprises and government procurement should go to black-owned companies;
- At least 30 per cent of private sector should be black-owned companies;
- At least 40 per cent of senior and executive managers in private sector companies with over 50 employees should be black.³⁴

Although change in all these areas has been slow,³⁵ there has been general progress in rebuilding the economy: economic growth since 1994 has averaged an annual 2.94 per cent.³⁶ During the same period, resources for social expenditure have been freed up by reducing interest on debt payments.³⁷

The South African government has placed an emphasis on meeting basic needs through programmes that provide housing and shelter, water and sanitation, electricity, education and healthcare.³⁸ As a result, an increased proportion of South Africans now have access to basic services.³⁹ Statistics show that R24.22 billion was spent on housing between 1994 and 2003; access to clean water increased from 60 per cent to 83.5 per cent; and, while in 1992 only 32 per cent of houses were connected to electricity, this rose to 70 per cent in 2001.⁴⁰ Achievements in education and health have also been impressive, with literacy rates increasing from 85.9 per cent in 1996 to 89 per cent in 2001, and primary education enrolment rates remaining at a high 95.5 per cent over the ten years between 1995 and 2005.⁴¹ The healthcare system has been improved by expanding primary healthcare, building and upgrading clinics and providing free healthcare for everyone in the public health system.⁴² Meanwhile social grants are available to those in need. They have been targeted at the poorest 20 per cent of the population, and enabled 5.1 million people to receive benefits in 2003 as compared to 2.6 million in 1994.⁴³

A key priority for the South African government has also been to address security and the social dimensions of crime.⁴⁴ For this reason, a National Crime Prevention Strategy has been established.⁴⁵

³¹ *South African Government Information*, 'History: The first decade of freedom'.

³² See *South Africa: Alive with Possibility*, 'Black Empowerment'; and Black Economic Empowerment Commission presentation prepared for the Portfolio Committee on Trade and Industry'. (September 13, 2000) At Parliamentary Monitoring Group, South Africa.

³³ *South Africa: Alive with Possibility*, 'Key empowerment charters' (October 29, 2004).

³⁴ *South Africa: Alive with Possibility*, 'Black Empowerment'.

³⁵ For example, in 2000, Black Africans controlled only 1.7 per cent of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange's total capitalisation: see Chua (2003), p. 100.

³⁶ GCIS (2005), p. 56.

³⁷ See speech given by Trevor A. Manuel, MP, Minister of Finance, National Assembly on October 30, 2000, 'The 2000 Medium Term Budget Policy'.

³⁸ GCIS (2005), pp. 53–55.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53–55.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴³ The South African Yearbook (2003/4), Chapter 3, Overview – 10 years of freedom, p. 53.

⁴⁴ GCIS (2005), p. 60.

⁴⁵ Department for Safety and Security (1996).

Critical Issues

The legacy of apartheid has left huge disparities in living standards, which are complicated by a range of factors including race, gender, age and rural/urban background.⁴⁶ Although South Africa is regarded as a middle-income country,⁴⁷ it has one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world, with approximately 50 per cent of the population living below the poverty line.⁴⁸ The racial dimensions of poverty are stark and reflect the country's apartheid past: 61 per cent of Africans and 38 per cent of mixed-race 'coloureds' are poor, compared with 5 per cent of Indians and 1 per cent of whites.⁴⁹ Race and class are also cross-cut by gender, with the poverty rate among female-headed households standing at 60 per cent in 2000, compared with 31 per cent for male-headed households.⁵⁰

Unemployment is high and exacerbated by the growth of the economically active population.⁵¹ According to the *South African Human Development Report* (2003), produced by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), between 1996–2001 unemployment rose from 23.9 per cent to 41.6 per cent.⁵² At the same time the informal sector has expanded and underemployment has risen, with a prevalence of "low-quality jobs" with poor working conditions and wages.⁵³ These factors have reinforced the duality of South Africa's economy: with an advanced, skilled and globally competitive sector on the one hand and a largely informal, marginalised and unskilled sector on the other.

South Africa has also had to deal with the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In 2003, according to UNAIDS, 21.5 per cent of the adult population in South Africa were infected with HIV/AIDS.⁵⁴ This has placed enormous pressures on the government, which has earmarked a massive increase of funding for prevention and treatment programmes, from R342 million in 2001/02 to R3.6 billion in 2005/06.⁵⁵ A number of policy and legal instruments are in place to protect the rights of people with HIV/AIDS.⁵⁶ However, these do not appear to have made much of an impression in practice; and poverty, stigma and poor access to legal resources are cited as deterring many South Africans from seeking recourse to them.⁵⁷ NGOs and community groups have taken on much of the burden of HIV/AIDS, and also have lobbied for stronger responses to it.⁵⁸

Added to the inheritance of the apartheid era, consideration of these social and economic trends goes some way towards explaining the scale of the difficulties facing South Africa and the limitations on progress.

Partnership History

Because of South Africa's turbulent history, even before 1994 a theoretical 'partnership approach' to development was implicit as a potential model for inculcating a sense of unity across races and sectors. Sections of the business sector, which were deeply associated with supporting and maintaining the apartheid system, and which were a target for consumer boycotts and calls for disinvestment, began to question the costs to their operations of doing business in such an environment⁵⁹. In order to "ward off pressure"⁶⁰ US multinationals operating in South Africa, for example, began to espouse the six fundamental principles of the Sullivan Code.⁶¹ These were:

⁴⁶ The definition of 'rural' in South Africa is highly problematic.

Estimates of the proportion of the population of South Africa who live in rural areas vary widely, because no legal definition exists, and there are no formally accepted definitions in use. In apartheid South Africa, many areas were defined as 'rural' that were essentially 'urban without services' as they had high concentrations of people living in an area whose economic base was some distant city where many people worked. We might now term such places 'displaced urban' or even 'displaced suburban'.

'The Rural Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity – A discussion document' (12 October 1995) Rural Development Strategy.

⁴⁷ Department for International Development (2004).

⁴⁸ UNDP (2003i), p. 70.

⁴⁹ Makino (2004), p. 1; and see also UNDP (2003i), p. 44.

⁵⁰ Everatt (2003), p. 78.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See UNDP (2003i), Chapter 7, p. 144.

⁵³ See UNDP (2003i), pp. 144–147 and Everatt (2003), p. 78.

⁵⁴ UNAIDS *Geographical Area: South Africa*.

⁵⁵ *South African Government Information*, 'Health: HIV/AIDS'.

⁵⁶ Garbus (2003i), p. 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁹ Kollapen (2004). Narandran Jody Kollapen, Chairperson of the South African Human Rights Commission states: "There is little doubt that the white minority government would have been unable to sustain apartheid for as long as it did without the support of the business community, both at the national and the international level. However just as that support was vital for the lifeblood of the apartheid machinery its absence would deal a telling blow to apartheid's sustainability." Kollapen (2004) p.1. See also the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2003) who state: 'Business was central to the economy that sustained the South African state during the apartheid years'.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Murray J. (undated). See also *Global Sullivan Principles of Social Responsibility*.

- non-segregation of the races in all eating, comfort and work facilities;
- equal and fair employment practices for all employees;
- equal pay for all employees doing equal or comparable work for the same period of time;
- initiation of and development of training programmes that will prepare, in substantial numbers, Blacks and other non-whites for supervisory, administrative clerical and technical jobs;
- increasing the numbers of Blacks and other non-whites in management supervisory positions;
- improving the quality of employees' lives outside the work environment in such areas as housing, transportation, schooling, recreation and health facilities.⁶²

Against the background of growing disinvestment, poor economic performance, international condemnation of the apartheid regime, heightened African resistance and an acceptance of the inevitability of political change, business-funded organisations also began to adopt an approach of working with other sectors and addressing social issues⁶³. After the Soweto riots in 1976, the Urban Foundation was set up to encourage private sector solutions to socio-economic problems in urban areas; and, in 1988, the Consultative Business Movement was established to foster better understanding between the business and different political and economic factions in South Africa.

As apartheid came to an end, various political parties in South Africa worked together to negotiate the process of transition through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNP). These mechanisms relied on the local reach of different political parties in order to engage the public in the transition process.⁶⁴ The business sector also supported this process and became involved in mediation and "peace-building initiatives".⁶⁵

In these ways, consensus-building with other sectors of society became part of the government's approach both to developing programmes to eradicate poverty and to addressing the consequences of the social transition that followed the end of apartheid. In February 1995, the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) was launched. This body brought government, business and labour together with NGOs and CBOs.⁶⁶ These groups have engaged in what has been described as a "social dialogue" to gain consensus on social and economic policy issues.⁶⁷ NEDLAC has also convened cross-sector meetings and exchanges to address key issues. These have included the Presidential Jobs Summit in 1998 and the Growth and Development Summit in 2003.⁶⁸

Government and Civil Society

In 1990, the South African government launched the Independent Development Trust.⁶⁹ This was concurrent with the release of Nelson Mandela from prison and was part of the last major initiative of the Nationalist Government towards socio-economic development by making funds available through the NGO sector. It led to a surge of more co-ordinated NGO activity immediately prior to the 1994 elections; and signalled the acknowledgement and attempted official validation of their anti-apartheid socio-political infrastructure.⁷⁰

Since 1994, partnership between the government and civil society has been promoted through working groups which meet on a regular basis. These include representatives from: government itself, trade unions, academia, faith-based organisations, youth and women's groups, and the private sector.⁷¹ One particular example is the Moral Regeneration initiative, under whose auspices government meets with both business and communities as part of its crime reduction strategy.⁷²

⁶² Murray J. (undated).

⁶³ Kollapen (2004).

⁶⁴ Barnes & De Klerk (2002).

⁶⁵ Kollapen (2004).

⁶⁶ NEDLAC.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ IDT.

⁷⁰ Nuttall (1997), p. 11.

⁷¹ *South African Government Information*, 'History: The first decade of freedom'.

⁷² For details of this initiative and the Moral Regeneration Movement (MRM), see Rauch (2005).

Partnerships and the Corporate Sector

The drivers for business engagement in partnerships, 'Corporate Social Investment' (CSI) and 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (CSR), in South Africa are debated between those who perceive such activity as a necessary 'payback' by business for their role in supporting apartheid, and those who assert that business is simply conforming to growing national and international trends that push for such an approach.⁷³ Certainly, it is clear that "...the negotiation process and the events since then has seen business inextricably linked with other players in initiatives aimed at giving effect to the challenges that a new nation faces".⁷⁴

The formation of the King Committee on Corporate Governance by the Institute of Directors (IOD) in 1992 had considerable influence.⁷⁵ This was followed two years later by the publication of the King Report on Corporate Governance, which stressed the need for a more inclusive approach to corporate governance particularly through the involvement of wider stakeholders.⁷⁶ Such thinking has been demonstrated in the efforts of a range of business groupings which have been working to achieve development goals. The National Business Initiative (NBI), an NGO with a membership of 150 companies, describes itself "...as a leading non-profit organisation using business leadership and resources to meet the challenges of a country and a nation in transition".⁷⁷ Formed from the Urban Foundation and Consultative Business Movement, it has assisted business to contribute in the areas of skills provision, housing, employment creation and the delivery of basic services as well as input into policy change in South Africa. It has also supported the public sector through national programmes that address education, local economic development and crime.

Established in 1999, the Business Trust also espoused the aim of supporting the development process in South Africa. "By so doing it was hoped that the commitment of business and the value of the business/government partnership would be demonstrated."⁷⁸ 145 participating companies have committed 2 per cent of their after-tax profits to programmes addressing education, tourism and crime reduction. The Trust was due to complete its work in 2004, but has extended its activities for a further five years.⁷⁹

However, while these developments and initiatives all appear positive, the picture is not entirely rosy, and there are concerned and dissenting voices. Support for the Business Trust, for example, has not been uniform. The Reparation and Reconciliation Committee of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission reported that, while some business leaders saw the Business Trust as "the vehicle through which business, in agreement with government, would honour its responsibility to the victims of apartheid", concern was expressed that most "organised business" remained uncommitted to it.⁸⁰ Another dimension is provided by Fig, whose paper, while illustrating some of the situations where business engagement has proved to be making a societal impact i.e. in the sphere of HIV / AIDS, discusses the limitations of CSR without a regulatory framework to 'push' businesses into acting.⁸¹ He concludes: "From most of the evidence presented, it seems there are few grounds for confidence that firms will carry out a more equitable post-apartheid transformation voluntarily."⁸²

⁷³ These different arguments are discussed by Kollapen (2004) and are reflected in the 'Reparations and the Business Sector', Report of the Reparation & Rehabilitation Committee for the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, see Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2003) and the CSI Handbook (2002) respectively.

⁷⁴ Kollapen (2004).

⁷⁵ The work of the King Committee has been internationally recognised and the two King Documents are core texts on the theme of Corporate Governance. See for example *Global Reporting Initiative (GRI): Sustainability Reporting Guidelines 2002, Part D: Glossary and Annexes*.

⁷⁶ See IOD (Institute of Directors) (1994); and the updated version in 2002.

⁷⁷ NBI (April 7, 2005).

⁷⁸ Business Trust (2005), p. 5.

⁷⁹ *Business Trust, About the Trust*.

⁸⁰ Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2003), p.142.

⁸¹ See also p. 6.

⁸² Fig (2005), p. 616. Fig also suggests that the CSR discourse of South African companies, "...overemphasizes the extent of its voluntary contribution to socio-economic and environmental progress, while continuing to mask malpractice, and seducing South Africans into forgetting, absolving, effacing old scars, and – most resonant here – reconciling." (p. 617).

Traditional Notions of Partnership

In the South African context, 'partnership' can also be viewed in yet another way, for it may be claimed to be an implicit element in the traditional Zulu concept of *ubuntu* or 'humaneness', which promotes co-operation between individuals, cultures and nations. The vision underlying *ubuntu* has linked with other traditional values, to play a role in the encouragement of partnership approaches in the new South Africa. An example in practice is that of *imbizo* (from the Xhosa language): this is a traditional gathering of people which meets to discuss and celebrate, when government members engage directly with the public around the implementation of programmes, including those for reconstruction and development.⁸³

Promotion of Partnerships at Policy Level

Developmental initiatives in South Africa are increasingly adopting more partnership modes. Government-funded institutions such as the National Development Agency⁸⁴ are being commissioned to work as partnership brokers and the active promotion of a range of partnerships has taken place including *public-private partnerships*,⁸⁵ *municipal-community partnerships*,⁸⁶ and *business-community partnerships*.⁸⁷ However, there is no clear or coherent policy to guide government departments and provinces in this regard, even though a number of innovative partnership initiatives are emerging. One such example in South Africa is the Boipatong-Bophalong integrated pilot project, a public-community partnership initiated by the Department of Public Works.⁸⁸ Another example is the Tshwane HIV/AIDS programme, which illustrates the role that local government can play in promoting partnering.⁸⁹

The Wider Partnership Arena

Isolated during the apartheid period, South Africa has sought to build wider international political and economic links, with a particular emphasis on ties within Africa. As has already been mentioned, the South African government has announced its leadership of a new "African Renaissance"⁹⁰ to overcome the 'politics of boundaries' established by colonialism.⁹¹ In order to catalyse economic development, it is argued that South Africa, must recognise the value of wider investment in Africa.⁹² The continent cannot enjoy a growth of ideas and democracy if the majority of its population lacks a basic quality of life. Addressing the aspirations of the poor is a fundamental principle of the African Renaissance.⁹³ South Africa has also been active in promoting a New Africa Initiative (NAI), which was the basis for the emergence of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the African Union (AU).⁹⁴ Thabo Mbeki has emphasised that the New Africa Initiative and NEPAD embody a new approach: "... we are saying that instead of depending on handouts, let us build partnerships that will bring about sustainable development."⁹⁵

⁸³ *South African Government Information*, 'Imbizo'.

⁸⁴ The National Development Agency was established through an Act of Parliament of the Republic of South Africa (NDA Act No. 108 of 1998).

⁸⁵ *South Africa: Alive with Possibilities*, 'Public-Private sector partnerships'.

⁸⁶ Cranko et al. (August 1999).

⁸⁷ For example a number of partnerships against crime have been developed. See Oppler (1997).

⁸⁸ UNDP (2000) Chapter 4, p.110.

⁸⁹ 'Best Practice Case Study. City of Tshwane HIV/AIDS Programme' (2003).

⁹⁰ *United Nations University* (i).

⁹¹ See Griggs (undated) and also 'The African Renaissance, South Africa and the World', speech by Thabo Mbeki at the United Nations University, 9 April 1998 (*United Nations University* (i)).

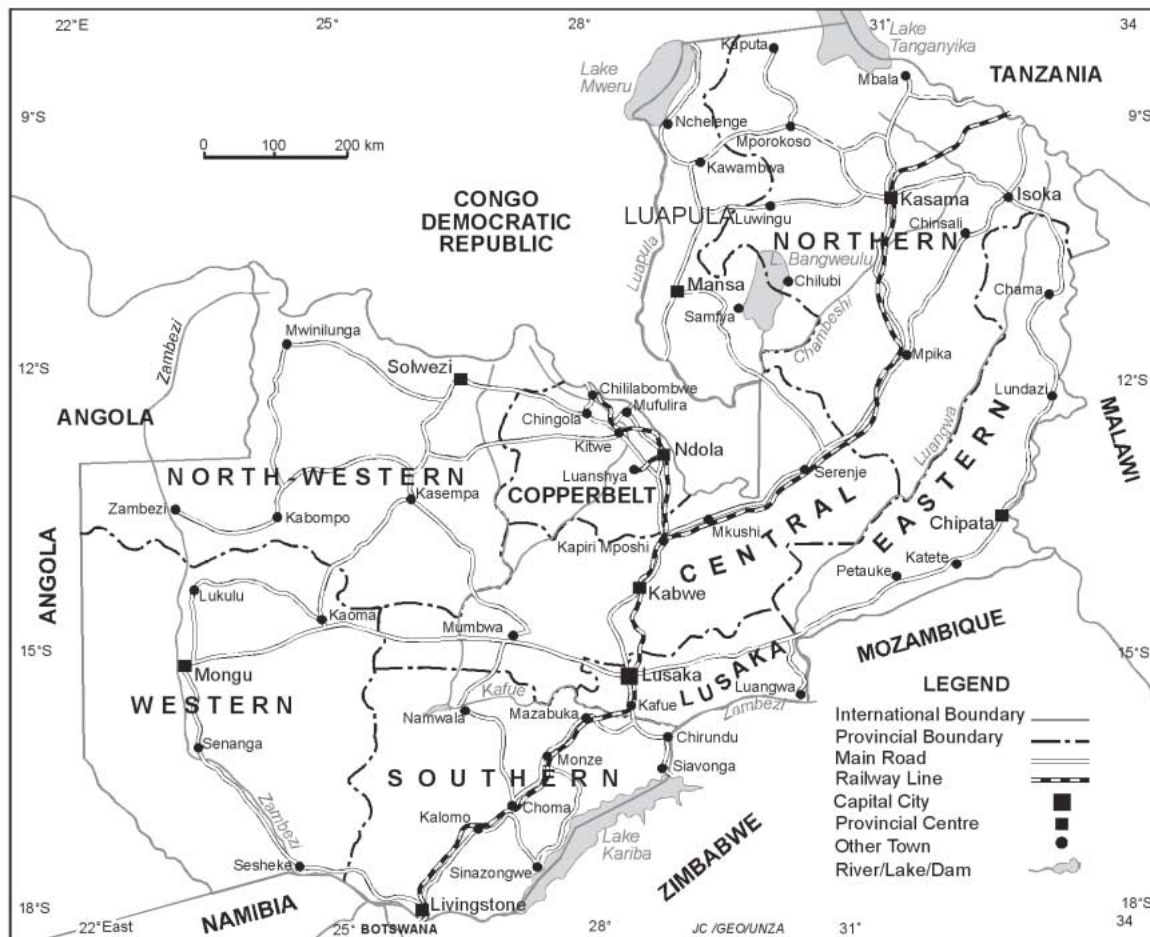
⁹² 'The African Renaissance, South Africa and the World', speech by Thabo Mbeki at the United Nations University, 9 April 1998 (see *United Nations University* (i)).

⁹³ "We must succeed to meet the needs of the people so as to end poverty and improve the quality of life by ensuring access to good education, adequate health care, decent homes, clean water and modern sanitation, and so on, again a process on which we have embarked." Ibid.

⁹⁴ NAI (2001).

⁹⁵ 'Speech by The President of South Africa, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, at the United Nations University, Tokyo, Japan, October 2, 2001', (*United Nations University* (ii)).

Zambia



Provincial Map of Zambia with Major Urban Centres⁹⁶

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa with an estimated population of 9.88 million people,⁹⁷ 36 per cent of whom now live in urban areas.⁹⁸ The economy has been dominated by the copper industry and is characterised by a modern and urban-oriented sector on either side of the railroad to the Copperbelt, and a vast rural agricultural sector.

The Copperbelt has been a major influence on Zambia's history. The exploitation of its mineral resources largely defined the attitude of the British colonial regime towards Zambia; and its single interest in this area alone was to the detriment of the country as a whole. However, this had contrary consequences: it contributed to the development of a nationalist conscience among the Africans who migrated from across the colonial territory of Northern Rhodesia to work there.⁹⁹ At independence, however, the results of colonial neglect were clearly apparent: only a minority of the population had attended school and were able to take public sector positions in the new government. This meant dependence upon international company development of the country's mineral resources for the national income.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ All Zambian maps have been designed by Joseph Chalila, Department of Geography, School of Natural Sciences, the University of Zambia.

⁹⁷ Central Statistical Office, Zambia (2003), p. 1.

⁹⁸ This is a decline from the previous figure of 42 per cent before 1990, and is mainly due to high rates of return migration to rural areas, especially from the Copperbelt, which has progressively recorded low economic activity (Central Statistical Office, Zambia 2003, p. 7).

⁹⁹ Holmes (2004).

¹⁰⁰ US Department of State 'Background Note: Zambia'.

Post-independence Changes

After Zambia's independence from Britain in 1964, the country was ruled by Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP). Kaunda developed his own brand of 'African socialism',¹⁰¹ which he called 'Humanism': this was based on traditional values before colonialism, when every member of society had a place in the community.¹⁰² It called for equal opportunities for all, fairness, non-exploitation and the promotion of self-reliance and hard work with a communal spirit.¹⁰³

Economic activity was dominated by the state; all major businesses were nationalised; and government became directly involved in their management. Prices were also fixed and controlled by the state. By the late 1980s, 80 per cent of the Zambian economy was dominated by the public sector.¹⁰⁴ From 1964 on, during the first ten years of independence, Zambia's economy was relatively strong, with money in reserve;¹⁰⁵ and this wealth was based mainly on the export of copper. Kelly, citing the *GRZ Financial Report* of 1974, noted that the dramatic fall in copper prices due to the world economic recession, together with the closure of traditional export and import routes and rampant world inflation, contributed to a gross deficit of K379.1 million in 1975.¹⁰⁶ Combined with this, Zambia was also affected by the rise in oil prices that precipitated the world economic crisis in 1973. At that time, however, Zambia's foreign assets still exceeded its external public debts; but the government did not assume that the sharp downturn in the price of copper would continue for long; and it confidently expected a substantial recovery in the demand for and price of copper. Unfortunately, this recovery never came; so the government resorted to short, medium and long-term borrowing from multilateral and bilateral agencies to finance major public projects and for general budgetary support. Moreover, although major public industries were set up in most provinces, with the aim of producing items locally and subsequently decreasing spending on imports, there was no capacity to produce these goods in an efficient manner.¹⁰⁷ The new industries did not do well and the government poured in subsidies to keep these industries going.¹⁰⁸ Zambia therefore borrowed funds from donors to maintain living standards and to develop new industries, but these loans were not repaid. Thus today US \$6.5 billion worth of debt repayment is owed by Zambia,¹⁰⁹ making it "one of the world's most heavily indebted low-income countries".¹¹⁰

Meanwhile, heavy state involvement in the economy discouraged private sector initiatives and entrepreneurship. This resulted in an apparently distorted full employment labour market, an over-large civil service and a mismanaged nationalisation scheme, the combination of which eventually led to the virtual collapse of the economy. Even so, despite these grave economic problems, advances were made in the provision of social services, especially in the areas of health and education. For example, the government committed itself to building at least one general hospital in every district of all the eight provinces that existed at that time.¹¹¹ Furthermore, rural health centres were established in several selected rural areas within each district. In education, at least one secondary school was built in every district; and primary schools were established in several rural areas. All these services were provided to the public free of charge.¹¹²

Nevertheless, as economic problems continued throughout the 1980s, the state's capacity to provide even basic services was constrained. The government thus accepted advice from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to stabilise the economy.¹¹³ Economic policies at the time, however, did not favour development of the private sector; and the 'Structural Adjustment Programme' (SAP)¹¹⁴ that had been imposed resulted in greater hardship for the population, leading in turn to the government's abandoning of this strategy in 1987. Little change was gained by any of these measures. By 1991, 69.7 per cent of the population were living in poverty.¹¹⁵

¹⁰¹ The use of the term "African socialism" is somewhat misleading, as it was espoused by different African countries, following the achievement of independence, to describe quite different political approaches and systems.

¹⁰² See Kaunda (1967).

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Kangwa J. (2001), p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ Kelly (1991), p. 16.

¹⁰⁶ Kelly (1991), p. 16.

¹⁰⁷ Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (2004), p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Saasa (2002), p. 26.

¹¹¹ There are now nine provinces.

¹¹² Zambian Ministry of Education – Personal communication.

¹¹³ Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (1994), p. 6.

¹¹⁴ See p. 4.

¹¹⁵ International Monetary Fund (2002), p. 21.

The Privatisation Programme

A new government under former trade union leader, Frederick Chiluba, came to power in 1991, with the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD); and this party retained power in controversial elections held in 2001, with a new leader, Levy Mwanawasa. The MMD sought to re-establish economic stability and an effective market economy through structural reforms. As part of the reform, a SAP was reintroduced and accelerated, and the government launched an ambitious privatisation package. The Privatisation Act was passed in July 1992 and the Zambia Privatisation Agency was established to oversee the programme. Subsidies were removed, prices were deregulated and various forms of trade liberalised. The aim was to make the nation shift resources from consumption to production.¹¹⁶

After a cautious start in 1992, when small assets such as dry cleaners and travel agencies were sold to local investors, the privatisation programme gained in pace and was soon hailed as Africa's most sweeping privatisation programme.¹¹⁷ By early 1997, the government had privatised 197 of the 276 companies and units that had been earmarked for this process.¹¹⁸ By 2003, 259 companies had been privatised, with a new target of 314 public units to follow them.¹¹⁹ The government also began the process of privatising the huge Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines conglomerate (ZCCM). The company's assets were sold in pieces, with leading international mining companies purchasing some of the units.

Since the start of the reforms, poverty in Zambia has grown and social problems have increased. Reports from various institutions show that economic reforms have left the majority of people in both rural and urban areas with precarious livelihoods and inadequate incomes to meet the basic needs of life (see Table 1).¹²⁰ In urban areas, measures used to liberalise the economy, especially privatisation and public service reforms, have worsened the already high unemployment levels through lay-offs ('retrenchments') and company closures. For example in the formal sector, between 1992 and 1998,¹²¹ some 81,000 jobs were lost due to liberalisation policies; by December 1999, ZCCM alone recorded over 8,329 employees who had lost jobs due to the privatisation of their companies.¹²²

In rural areas, particularly in remote parts of the country, the liberalisation of the agriculture sector, coupled with a poor road network, inadequate storage facilities, lack of access to extension services and market information, has had a negative effect upon the livelihoods of most rural farmers, and especially women farmers, who also have to contend with social and cultural prejudices.¹²³ The unavailability or lack of access to agricultural credit and the rising price of fertilisers have worsened the situation.¹²⁴

One of the conditions set by the IMF and the World Bank for continued support to SAP is that the Zambian government must significantly reduce public spending.¹²⁵ Consequently, the social sectors have been affected: government cutbacks have been enforced on essential services and on subsidies for education, health and other basic services, all of which have adversely affected people's access to them. As a consequence, the positive gains in health, education and other basic services which had been achieved in the years following independence in 1964 have been reversed (see Table 1). Although the nominal budget allocation to the social sector has risen, for instance, from 20 per cent in 1991 to 34 per cent in 1996 and 38 per cent in 1998, in real terms the allocation has not done so and in some cases has either stagnated or declined.¹²⁶ This decline reflects the overall cutbacks in government expenditure, in accordance with the requirements of SAP.

Meanwhile, social problems in Zambia have been compounded by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Although a 2003 report shows a decline in the infection rate in Zambia to about 16 per cent,¹²⁷ this is still enormously high. The links

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (1999), p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Ministry of Finance & National Planning (2003), p. 66.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ GRZ/UNDP (1996); LCMS (1996); LCMS (2004); UNDP (1997, 2003ii); USAID (2004i).

¹²¹ Kangwa, J. (2001), p. 13.

¹²² Kangwa, J. (2001), p. 16.

¹²³ FASAZ (2003), p. 1.

¹²⁴ USAID (2004ii).

¹²⁵ CID (2004) Box 5, p.14. See also Table 1 for further background on Zambia's situation.

¹²⁶ Kalungu Banda (2000).

¹²⁷ Ministry of Finance & National Planning (2003), p. 80.

between health and poverty have been well documented,¹²⁸ and the impact of HIV/AIDS has clearly exacerbated an already complex economic situation in Zambia.¹²⁹ At the end of 2001, 21.5 per cent of the adult population in Zambia were infected.¹³⁰ The social and economic effects mean enormous pressures upon national health services to provide adequate care and support for those with HIV/AIDS and its related illnesses.¹³¹ For Zambia, the lack of funding and political will have been cited as weakening the country's ability to deal with HIV/AIDS.¹³² Much of the response to HIV/AIDS in Zambia has come from NGOs and community groups, particularly with regard to the effects of the pandemic on children and young people.¹³³

Indicators			
Formal sector employment (percentage)	24 (1980)	10 (1990)	15 (2000)
Infant mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	92 (1986)	109 (1996)	108 (2002)
Under-five mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	174 (1986)	197 (1996)	192 (2002)
Maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births)	49 (1992)	649 (1996)	650 (2002)
Low birth weight (percentage less than 2,500g)	12 (1991)	25 (1996)	10 (1998–02)
Stunted children (percentage)	39 (1991)	48 (1996)	47 (2002)
Access to safe water (percentage of urban population)	50 (1991)	49 (1996)	47 (2002)
Access to sanitation (percentage of urban population)	76 (1985)	66 (1990)	
Life expectancy at birth	51 (1980)	45 (1996)	35.3 (2003)
GNP per capita in US \$	500 (1964)	250 (1996)	
Annual inflation rate	5 (1964)	100 (1991)	
Per capita calorie availability (in calories)	2,100 (1964)	Less than 2,000 (1991)	
Annual GDP growth rate	3.7 (early 1970s)	1.0 (1974–80)	–1.2 (1990–02)
Incidence of poverty	60 (1974–75)	67 (1991)	72.9 (1998)
Primary school teacher-pupil ratio	47 (1990–93)	44 (1996)	
Primary school enrolment rate	97 (1990–93)	93 (1996)	78.2 (2000)
Adult literacy rate (percentage ages 15 and above)	68.2 (1990)	79.9 (2001)	
Public expenditure on education (percentage of GDP)	2.4 (1990)	1.9 (1999–01)	
Number of doctors per 100,000 people	8.4 (1992)	7 (1995)	
Number of nurses per 100,000 people	119 (1994)	76 (1995)	
Female headed households (percentage)	20 (1991)	24 (1996)	

Sources: GRZ/UNDP (1996); LCMS (1996); LCMS (2004); UNDP (2003ii); USAID (2004i).

Table 1 – Negative Trends in Basic Social Indicators in Zambia

¹²⁸ See: Center for International Development (2003); Cohen (2003); Garbus (2002) & (2003ii); International HIV (AIDS Alliance) (2003); Siamwiza & Kapwepwe (2001); and WHO (2003i).

¹²⁹ Kalungu Banda (2000).

¹³⁰ AVERT (2003).

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² AVERT.

¹³³ Ibid.

Partnership History

Although the concept of 'cross-sector partnership' is new to Zambia, the actual practice of forms of partnership is not. Traditionally, people of different backgrounds have worked together 'in partnership' to achieve a common objective. Local terms such as *pamodzi* (Nyanja), *kubombela pamo* (Bemba), *kubeleka atoomwe* (Tonga), and *kubeleka amoho* (Lozi), actually refer to 'working together', regardless of where one comes from. This evidence may be compared with that relating to similar traditions in South Africa.¹³⁴

Kenneth Kaunda's own philosophy of 'Humanism' and the motto of 'One Zambia One Nation' aimed to draw on this concept of togetherness.¹³⁵ In the 1970s, for example, 'Humanism Week' was set aside every year so that people, both young and old, worked on particular projects in order to manifest the spirit of oneness and demonstrate the value and benefits that could be gained from this for all participants. Although it was popular at the time, as economic hardships worsened Humanism Week gradually lost its appeal.

Great uncertainty followed the liberalisation of the economy in the early 1990s, but people soon began to develop creative and innovative responses to the situation in order to survive. As the NGO sector and business sectors grew and developed while government rolled back, and in spite of old antagonisms, the two groupings started pressurising each other to deliver on specific areas of interest. At the same time, donor agencies began changing their ways of operation in order to maximise the resources that each was bringing into the country.

The deterioration in the social services, particularly in education and health (see Table 1), caused great concern among civil society organisations and the church. Mounting pressure upon the government to improve these services led in turn to the realisation that the government could not do it alone. The government therefore went into partnership with international co-operating partners and NGOs to deliver on specific aspects of these social services.

Partnership and the Private Sector

The privatisation programme has put pressure on business to justify the massive transfer of assets to it, by increasing its responsibility for activities previously handled by the government. In the current liberalised environment, the role of the government has been reduced to that of providing a framework for development to take place. Equally, a few organisations such as the Partnership Forum and Global Compact Zambia are demanding greater accountability and greater community involvement from business.

Private sector firms in Zambia have not demonstrated a strong capacity to deliver social benefits. Although many companies have social investment policies and programmes, their patterns of expenditure have traditionally favoured the sponsorship of activities such as sports programmes.¹³⁶ As pressure upon companies to deliver societal benefits increases, philanthropic activities are being eschewed in favour of more long-term and sustainable engagement with communities, necessitating greater collaboration with other sectors of society.

The Wider Arena of Partnership

Although a number of civil society organisations in Zambia are currently engaged in activities that are intended to promote well-being, especially of the poor, their successes have been minimal, mainly due to the lack of capacity by these organisations that were previously provided by government. This lack of capacity can be attributed to inadequate funding and the fact that these organisations have not placed themselves in a position that compels the government to listen to them and learn from their activities and initiatives. Those NGOs that have a presence on the ground through a well-defined constituency, and/or have acquired legitimacy by demonstrable expertise and competence on issues that they handle, are still few and far between; and there is a growing realisation that they need both to build their capacities and make their voices heard by linking with other sectors of society.

The promotion of a partnership approach internationally has had an effect on Zambia. International agencies, such as the British Council, DANIDA, UNDP, USAID and the World Bank, began to promote cross-sector collaboration in

¹³⁴ See 'Traditional Notions of Partnership', on p. 28 above.

¹³⁵ Kaunda (1967).

¹³⁶ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (2004), p.4.

the late 1990s, and this began to be felt locally through their offices. In addition, the NEPAD programme has coincided with growing efforts to build new partnerships between North and South, and between the public and private sectors. Furthermore, donor governments from the G8 group to multilateral and bilateral development agencies are recognising the value and necessity of new types of partnership as a tool to achieve development objectives. At a local level, the competitive socio-economic environment has also been a major driver.

In 1999, following a visit to the United Kingdom, sponsored by the British Council, to examine partnerships between business and society, the Business Ethics Course Co-ordinator at the University of Zambia met with a number of business leaders and government and civil society representatives, and proposed the formation in Zambia of the Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (the Partnership Forum).¹³⁷ The objectives of the Partnership Forum are to:

- promote the adoption of economically, environmentally, and socially responsible business practices that benefit both business and society;
- synergise the distinctive competencies of business, government and civil society in order to maximise the benefits that accrue to each of the three sectors;
- facilitate the initiation of innovative and practical interventions by business, government and civil society in order to promote sustainable human development;
- facilitate the sharing of experiences and lessons on good business practices so as to increase shareholder value and societal value;
- conduct research into practices of business, government and civil society for the purpose of continuing the improvement of the existing good practices that underline social responsibility.¹³⁸

Conclusion

Consideration of the context in which cross-sector partnerships are being developed, and an appreciation of the fact that this is not static, is needed for a full understanding of them. In the African continent, this context necessarily involves a two-way interaction: between the wider 'global context' in which the continent is situated (and in which it is treated and perceived by those outside it), and its own diverse internal regions and localities, in which widely differing cultural, social, political, and economic formations exist. The understandings gained from the operation of cross-sector partnership experiences within their own local and regional contexts can serve to inform broader developmental frameworks too.



The next three chapters are case studies which are devoted, respectively, to agriculture, health and education. Each of these begins with a short introduction which sketches out a broad outline of the sector across Africa as a whole. Each chapter then explores the particular sector in relation to its contexts within South Africa and Zambia. In this way, it is intended that a picture will be drawn of at least some of the complexities of international, regional, national and local dynamics affecting these two countries, as a way towards achieving a fuller perspective on the processes of change in the continent as a whole.

¹³⁷ Forum for Business Leaders and Social Partners (1999), p. 3.

¹³⁸ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (1999).

Chapter 4

The Agricultural Case Studies

Agriculture in Africa provides livelihoods for about 60 per cent of the continent's labour force. It contributes 17 per cent of Africa's total gross domestic product and it accounts for 40 per cent of its foreign currency earnings.¹ In sub-Saharan Africa, since some 200 million people, constituting 33 per cent of Africa's population, are chronically hungry, it is hardly surprising that agricultural development has been described as central to poverty reduction.² This situation has been documented starkly for Southern Africa, where, since 2002, owing to drought, floods, weak agricultural policies and civil conflict, food shortages have made the region particularly vulnerable.³

Increasing agricultural productivity to feed a rapidly growing population and to support agri-based manufacturing and exports, without destroying the natural environment, is one of the greatest tasks in Africa today.⁴ The agricultural sector in Africa, however, is under-funded; and the domestic resources allocated do not match its importance for poverty and hunger eradication.⁵ The sector is marked by declining productivity, with an expansion in output that is less than half the rate of population growth in many countries. The result is famine, malnutrition and dependence on food imports and aid.⁶

The many diverse reasons for this situation include: climatic factors; nutritional deficiencies in Africa's soils;⁷ small and dispersed farms and domestic markets; lack of organisation among farmers; poor rural communication systems; neglect of the particular needs of women farmers, who produce most of the continent's food; and the spread of HIV/AIDS.⁸ The situation has been further exacerbated by: the global impact of agricultural subsidies for developed countries; the instability and decline of world prices for African agricultural exports; and the dumping of cheap agricultural commodities. All of these factors have undermined the livelihoods of African farmers.⁹ Furthermore, government agricultural policies have been ineffective: not only have they provided weak economic incentives to rural producers, but they have been adversely affected by changes such as privatisation and structural adjustment policies, which have led to the "over-hasty withdrawal" of the state from direct production.¹⁰

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) states that "improvement in agricultural performance is a prerequisite of economic development on the continent."¹¹ The Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) that has emerged from NEPAD, calls for a crisis response to address the situation. This includes the four 'investment pillars' of: "land and water management"; "rural infrastructure and trade-related capacities for improved market access"; "increasing food supply and reducing hunger"; and "agricultural research, technology dissemination and adoption".¹² Cross-sector partnerships are specifically mentioned as being crucial in assisting this process:

Partnerships exist not only at the national level; and indeed one of the areas in which NEPAD can add value is in supporting the development of two-way or larger partnerships across the continent – among national governments, sub-regional organisations, national farmers (*sic*) associations, and NGOs and private sector organisations in different parts of the continent. Such partnerships can provide the opportunity for lessons learnt in one location to be applied in another; the exchange of technologies, approaches and institutional arrangements; and the promotion of investment within and across the continent.¹³

¹ Harsch (2004), p.13.

² Diouf (2003).

³ von Braun et al. (2003), p. 2.

⁴ Nelson, Stott and Dunford (2002), p. 100.

⁵ According to Diouf (2003), rich countries provide \$318 billion a year in subsidies to their own agricultural sectors, while developing countries earmark \$8 billion. Indeed, many African governments devote less than 1 per cent of their budgets to agriculture.

⁶ Nelson, Stott & Dunford (2002), p. 100.

⁷ Harsch (2004), states: "About 16 per cent of Africa's soils are categorized as 'low nutrient,' compared with just 4 per cent in Asia." (p. 13).

⁸ Ibid., and see also *SD Dimensions, HIV/AIDS and agriculture: an FAO perspective*.

⁹ Oxfam Briefing Note (March 3, 2005).

¹⁰ Harsch (2004), p.13.

¹¹ *The New Partnership for Africa's Development* (NEPAD) (October 2001), p. 30.

¹² FAO & NEPAD (2002i).

¹³ FAO & NEPAD (2002ii)

Central to such partnerships are small-scale farmers who, it is acknowledged, are “the main players in ensuring broad-based economic growth.”¹⁴ As von Braun et al. emphasise with reference to Southern Africa: “Poverty in the region – far greater in rural areas – has continued to exist because policies have not been directed at fostering an agricultural and rural development centred on the small producer.”¹⁵ To address this situation, Kydd et al. suggest that governments and development agencies need to promote measures that develop market access for poor farmers while also supporting farmer/trader relationships which promote local solutions to agricultural challenges.¹⁶ Such an approach stresses the need for greater co-operation and convergence of goals between the large scale commercial sector and small scale peasant farmers, so that mutually beneficial co-operative ventures can be explored.¹⁷



The case studies outlined below show how cross-sector partnerships are influencing the work and lives of small-scale farmers in South Africa and Zambia. Clearly, people in each country have responded to their situations in different ways. In Zambia, in recent years, small-scale farmers have had to grapple with enormous obstacles which have necessitated new and urgent solutions. In South Africa, new models and approaches are being explored in order to safeguard against future crisis.

¹⁴ FAO & NEPAD (2002i); and see also Farm Africa (2004).

¹⁵ von Braun et al. (2003), p. 1.

¹⁶ Kydd et al. (2000), p. 20.

¹⁷ Nelson, Stott & Dunford (2002), p. 100.

The Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP), Zambia¹⁸

The Wider Context

The majority of Zambia's population earn their living from agriculture.¹⁹ Small-scale farmers produce about 80 per cent of food crop production in the country, mostly for their own consumption but also for sale to the local market.²⁰ The majority of these farmers live in conditions of poverty because lack of capacity makes it difficult for them to expand their businesses. The quality of the produce is generally poor, because there is no financial support or access to loans. Returns are also low and farmers cannot afford all of the agricultural inputs they need for the production of quality produce. They also face food insecurity, as it is hard for them to diversify agricultural activities and, at the same time, preserve production.

Before the 1990s, when 80 per cent of the economy was state-controlled, prices of all agricultural inputs and products were determined by the state and subsidies were readily available.²¹ Following the election of a new government in 1991, a shift towards private sector driven initiatives and free market policies resulted in price liberalisation, the privatisation of parastatal organisations and the withdrawal of state subsidies. In 1996, the government initiated the Agriculture Sector Investment Programme (ASIP) in order to co-ordinate local and foreign investment and ensure the efficient utilisation of resources in the agricultural sector.

In line with the broad national policy of liberalising the economy, and within the framework of the ASIP, new agricultural policies were aimed at promoting complementarity between the government and the private sector, so that government participation in commercial and business activities would be substantially minimised while private sector initiatives and participation would be enhanced. The policies also sought to broaden the exploitable agribase through diversification. According to the Economic Report of the Ministry of Finance and National Planning, in order to achieve these aims and to stimulate agricultural production among small-scale farmers, the government took steps to correct market failures in private sector delivery of agricultural credit.²² Thus, it allocated large sums of money for agricultural credit and committed itself to supporting the establishment of viable co-operatives. The government also put aside funds for the purchase of agricultural produce in order, firstly, to limit shortcomings in agricultural marketing; and, secondly, through the effective management of strategic food reserves, to contribute to food security at a national level. By the year 2000, the main achievement of this approach was the diversification of crop production from maize to drought-resistant crops such as cassava and sorghum.²³

However, because of low investments in the agricultural sector, these changes failed to increase productivity, and they resulted in little or no growth and poor utilisation of machinery and fertilisers.²⁴ This failure, in turn, led to the design of another programme which this time focused primarily on promoting the development of small and large-scale commercial agriculture. Its intention was the achievement of sustainable and broad-based agricultural growth. In order to achieve rapid and sustained broad-based economic growth and ultimately reduce poverty, the programme was developed in line with the overall objective of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper.²⁵

The Luangeni Partnership

Following its establishment in 1999, the Partnership Forum chose agriculture as one of its focus areas. In order to enhance production, it sought to create partnerships among large commercial enterprises and agri-based businesses, small-scale operations, government and the donor community. Its central aim was to improve the productivity of small-scale farmers, since it recognised that, as a result of changes in government policies, this group faced particular difficulties.

¹⁸ This case study is concerned with an agricultural partnership in Zambia. It is one of the two in-depth case studies in the book. It is authored by Kawwanga Yambayamba, Leda Stott and Melanie Rein. *Editors*.

¹⁹ Central Statistical Office (2000).

²⁰ Ministry of Agriculture Food & Fisheries (1999/2000).

²¹ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners Project Document (1999).

²² Ministry of Finance and National Planning (2001).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ministry of Finance and National Planning (2003).

The Partnership Forum's first agricultural partnership was the Luangeni Project, which began in 2000 in Eastern Zambia. Here, it sought to capacitate the rural communities of the district of Chipata and enable them to improve their living standards by working through a co-operative society which produced high quality vegetables that could be marketed directly to Shoprite.²⁶ Shoprite is a South African supermarket chain that began working in Zambia in 1995.²⁷ The Catholic Organisation for Relief and Development (CORDAID) became interested in the Partnership between the Luangeni Co-operative and Shoprite, and over a three-year period, provided grants to implement the project. The partners in the project worked to facilitate and promote:

- the increase in the capacity of the community to produce large volumes of agricultural products on a monthly basis;
- the forging of viable economic links between Shoprite and the community through regular discussions on new opportunities for increased business volume;
- the enhancement of the ability of households in the community to increase their earnings in a given period;
- increased access to health services of households in the community by earning enough to be able to pay health user fees;
- access to education of children in the community through increased household earnings, in a given period;
- gender equality by ensuring equal participation in production activities and economic empowerment of both men and women in all participating households, and also ensuring that female-headed households were given an equal chance in this empowerment.²⁸

The partner organisations formed a steering committee that defined the specific roles of each partner and ensured that everyone participated accordingly. Training and capacity-building sessions were held and, within a year of this partnership's establishment, the average monthly income had increased from US \$1.67 to US \$48.55.²⁹ The ninety three participating farmers were able to pay for social services such as education for their children and health facilities. At the same time the project was perceived as breaking cultural barriers because men and women were encouraged to participate equally.

The Luangeni Partnership generated interest both locally and internationally and was showcased at the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in South Africa.³⁰ Because of the Project's success, the Partnership Forum was keen to replicate this Partnership elsewhere in Zambia. This opportunity arose in 2002, in the Chamba Valley area around Lusaka.

The Local Context

The Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP) is situated in Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia. Current statistics show that there are approximately 1.4 million people in Lusaka,³¹ with the majority living in high-density residential areas (commonly referred to as *komboni* or compounds). These areas generally lack basic amenities and services, particularly clean water and sanitation facilities. A small proportion of the population lives in what are known as 'the suburbs', low-density areas with good access to social services. In addition, there are several peri-urban areas surrounding Lusaka where titled smallholdings are located. These are mainly granted for agricultural production.

²⁶ Yambayamba and Kalungu-Banda (2000).

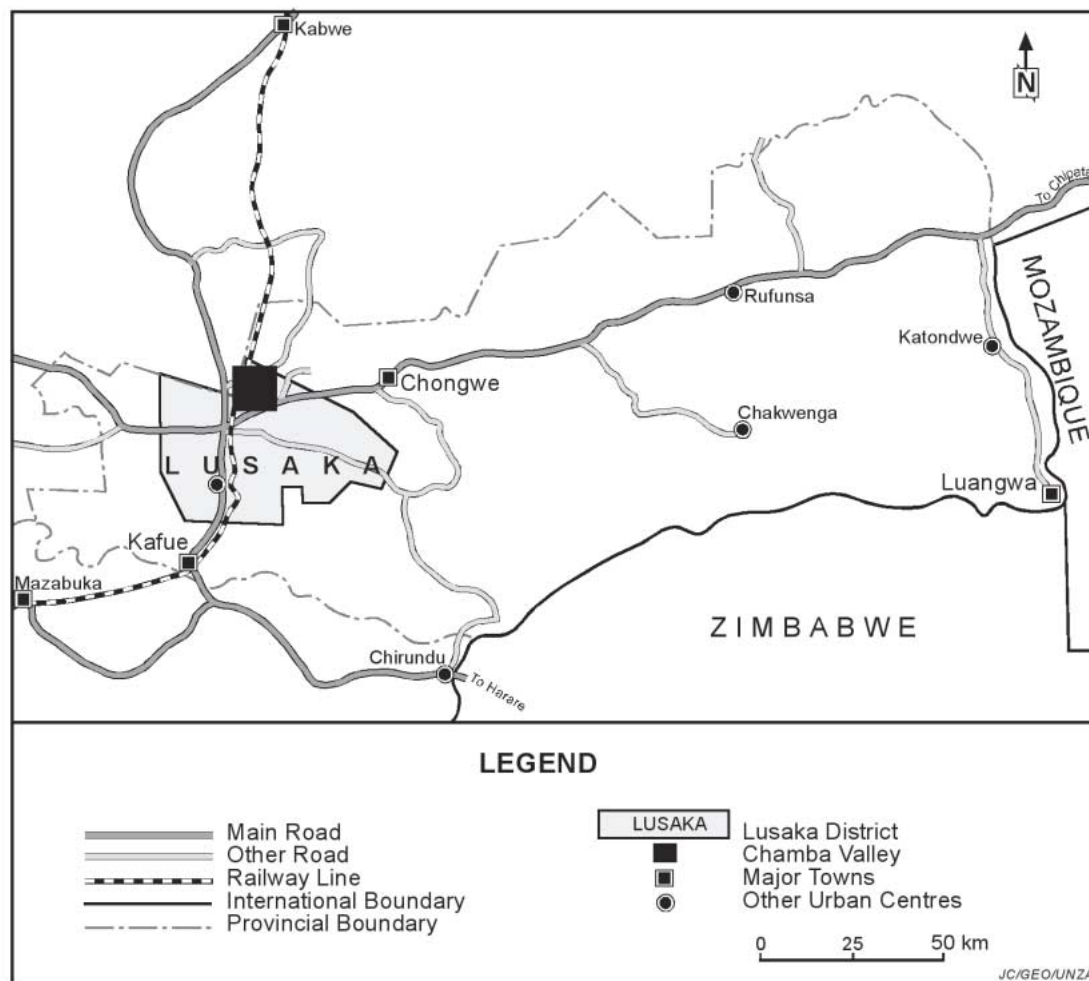
²⁷ For fuller details on the role of Shoprite in the Chamba Valley Partnership Project, see 'The Partners in the CVPP', on p. 41 below.

²⁸ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (April 2001), p. 3.

²⁹ Forum For Business Leaders & Social Partners (2002ii).

³⁰ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (2002i).

³¹ Central Statistical Office (2000), Zambia.



Location of the Chamba Valley in Lusaka District, Lusaka Province

The catchment area of the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society falls into the category of titled smallholdings. It comprises over four hundred small scale and emergent farmers on various sub-divisions of formerly large farms, ranches and surrounding compounds. The total area covered is approximately 3,237.556 hectares. The road network is relatively undeveloped and, although parts of it have all-weather gravel roads, its general state is poor. Ineffective drainage systems are responsible for waterlogging, which makes roads impassable during heavy rains. Flooding has also damaged crops and contributed to health concerns that include diseases such as cholera, dysentery, diarrhoea and malaria. Furthermore, the impact of HIV/AIDS is also being felt in the area, due to its high prevalence all over Zambia, and particularly in large towns such as Lusaka.

The Chamba Valley area is poorly serviced by schools and health facilities. There is only one public basic school in the area and children may walk up to more than three kilometres to get there. The only other school in the area is privately owned and the cost is beyond the reach of community members. As for health facilities, the nearest clinic for the Chamba Valley residents is some five kilometres away.

The changes from a single to multi-party system in Zambia in the early 1990s meant that a large number of civil servants and employees of parastatal companies lost their jobs when their organisations were privatised. Losing both status and benefits, many of them were forced to take up small-scale farming around Zambia's cities and towns in order to support their families. However, because of the high costs of agricultural inputs (for example, seed, chemicals, fertilisers and implements) and their lack of access to markets, it was hardly an easy task for them to make the initial transition to farming and, still less, to make a success of it. Thus, in 1999, residents of the Chamba Valley, who fell into this category, established the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society. The aim of the society was

to promote and enhance agricultural production activities among both its members and the general public, in order to contribute towards household and national food security and to eradicate hunger and poverty. It sought to encourage income and employment generation activities among member farmers and neighbouring communities, who, in turn, provided labour as farm workers. Practical community objectives have included addressing such problematic conditions as: the poor state of the roads and drainage systems; farm flooding; and the spread of communicable diseases. The promotion of gender equality and the girl child were also emphasised as matters of concern.³²

Formation of the Chamba Valley Partnership Project

The Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP) was initiated in 2002 by ex-civil servants who were members of the executive committee of the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society. They approached the Partnership Forum to learn more about the Luangeni Project in Chipata, which they had heard about from one of its members. The Chamba Valley Co-operative Society had already been engaged in an 'out-grower' scheme, which had involved growing horticultural products that were sold to a foreign company at a price dictated by that company. Their feeling was that they had obtained no profit or benefit from the scheme and had even incurred losses as a result of it. They were therefore looking for an opportunity to increase their income from farming on a fairer basis. At this time, the Partnership Forum was also keen to replicate the Luangeni model. Thus, subsequent discussions between the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society and the Partnership Forum led to the establishment of a new partnership on September 20, 2002.

The overall purpose of this partnership is described as: "...promoting a mutually benefiting relationship among all the partners involved".³³ Its aims are to:

- create links between various sectors of the economy;
- enhance the co-ordination of members involved, to work towards achieving certain objectives;
- assist the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society with inputs, as well as markets for their produce;
- generate income for both business partners and the Co-operative Society;
- create employment in the Chamba Valley community;
- create a source of produce for the buyer.³⁴

The Partners in the Chamba Valley Partnership Project

There are five partners in the Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP). They are:

The Chamba Valley Multi-purpose Co-operative Society

As a member of the Partnership, the Co-operative in turn has a membership of ninety-eight farmers of its own, each of whom has a piece of land (ranging from 8–20 hectares) as well as title deeds. The smallholdings undertake a range of activities, including horticultural production, high value crop production, livestock production and food processing. In addition, women and young people have formed clubs which focus and address specific concerns to the community. The Chamba Valley Co-operative Society also has a satellite co-operative in Liteta, which is known as the Mwamfumba Co-operative Society. These farmers have their own administrative structure and are not represented on the Chamba Valley board.

³² Following the *Fourth World Conference on Women*, held in Beijing in 1995, it was recognised that in many countries, the status of girls is significantly worse than that of boys. Discrimination against the girl child and the violation of her rights was identified as one of the twelve critical areas of concern that required urgent attention by governments and the international community. Awareness-raising about this issue in Zambia has been widespread; and the Zambian government has begun to provide scholarships to girls and to adopt affirmative action programmes to encourage female students to take up science and technology and other non-traditional subjects. For more details, see UN (2000).

³³ Chamba Valley Memorandum of Understanding (Oct. 2002), p. 2.

³⁴ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (2002iv).

The farmers within the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society agree with one of the partners, Freshmark (see below), which fruit and vegetables they will grow. These products include: rape, pigeon peas, okra, *katapa* (cassava leaves), *chibwabwa* (pumpkin leaves), and pawpaw. Freshmark then markets these products to another partner, Shoprite (see below). Naturally the Co-operative is keen to improve the income of its own members and also to develop the potential for widening productivity and profit in the community as whole. The advantage of the partnership to the farmers in the Co-operative is that it enables them to have access to a ready market for their vegetables plus easily available seed and extension services. Thus the partnering arrangement gives them a sense of security and provides them with a guaranteed market and income.

Shoprite Zambia

Shoprite is a South African private company chain of supermarket stores that began operations in Zambia in 1995 and now has eighteen supermarkets situated across the nine provinces of the country. However, pressure from the government to obtain produce locally, combined with the cost benefit of reducing imports of fruits and vegetables from South Africa, provides a more-than-adequate incentive for Shoprite to participate in the CVPP. Furthermore, the company takes a long term view of its involvement, bearing in mind that its business is reliant upon a healthy economy, in which purchasing power is enhanced through gainful employment and wealth creation. Thus, this company provides a ready market for the quality fruit and vegetables produced by the farmers in the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society.

Freshmark

A subsidiary of Shoprite Zambia, Freshmark specialises in the provision of fresh fruit and vegetables, which it obtains from a variety of sources and supplies to Shoprite. Currently 95 per cent of its supply is obtained locally, with only items such as apples and grapes being imported from South Africa. Freshmark, which often enters into formal arrangements with producers to supply products, plays a critical role in the Partnership, in that it is the starting point of market provision for the Chamba Valley farmers. At agreed times, the farmers take their produce to Freshmark for selection before it is sent on to Shoprite. Freshmark's main incentive for being involved in the Partnership is to ensure a constant supply of quality local produce, without having to import this from South Africa at higher cost.

Zambia Seed Company (Zamseed)

Zamseed is a company which specialises in seed production. It engages farmers, firstly, to produce specialised types of seed and seedlings for specific customers and, secondly, to grow seed for commercial production. Through the Partnership, Zamseed supplies seed for commercial production to the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society. This arrangement is beneficial to Zamseed in several ways. Firstly, the company has a guaranteed market for some of its seed, because it is assured of a reliable quantity of its stock being bought by the Chamba Valley farmers, who are members of the Co-operative. Secondly, the Co-operative in turn produces seedlings that Zamseed can sell on to its other customers. During the first planting season (November 2002 to April 2003), when the Partnership was just beginning its work, Zamseed supplied seed to the Co-operative at concessional rates, in order to enable the farmers to get started.

Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives (MACO)

The Ministry has a pool of professional and technical staff that offers professional expertise and extension services to farmers in different parts of the country. The operational unit of MACO is carried out at the district level through the office of the District Agricultural Co-ordinator (DACO). The DACO office in Lusaka provides extension services through its professional and technical experts, in order to help the farmers achieve the quantities and quality of the products that meet the expectation of the market. The Chamba Valley Partnership Project offers MACO a useful model for community farmers. The gaining of knowledge and accessing of financial help on the part of the farmers is also beneficial to MACOs work.

The Role of the Partnership Broker

Both through its specific work in Luangeni and its connection with the management of Shoprite, as well as its overall reputation throughout Zambia, the Partnership Forum has played a formative and constructive brokering role in the Chamba Valley Partnership Project. It has undertaken a number of administrative functions on behalf of the Partnership, for example, calling for meetings so that partners can share their views on the Partnership's work and identify ways of moving forward. The Partnership Forum has also played a role in facilitating training for the Chamba Valley farmers and mobilising and managing resources for this purpose. Furthermore, in the event of a misunderstanding between or among partners, the Partnership Forum has been called upon to 'broker peace'. The Partnership Forum has also taken on the twin obligations of monitoring how the Partnership develops and providing advice when necessary.

Structures and Systems

In October 2002, at the outset of the Partnership, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed by all partners in order to establish a working arrangement for the Partnership. The MoU states:

We understand that this is a partnership where there is mutual understanding, respect and benefit to each of the partners involved and that the relationship can be reviewed from time to time depending on the circumstances. We further understand that there are no legal implications in our partnership, but that this partnership is meant to create wealth and increase economic activity for the benefit of all.³⁵

The MoU goes on to specify that the Partnership is to be run on an informal basis, but with a commitment on all sides to adhere to clearly defined specific roles and responsibilities. The Memorandum is also subject to review as and when necessary, in order to maximise benefits to all the partners. However, within the Partnership itself differing opinions exist about the MoU and its value: some partners accord it the status of a document which both "enables the partners to know their roles" and serves "to hold them" to the Partnership, while others, in particular Zamseed, view the MoU as being less helpful, saying: "the partners do not really regard it as binding."

To date, no management and administrative structures *per se* have been put in place to co-ordinate the activities of the CVPP. The reasons for this include the fact that the Partnership has not been made formal. Furthermore, the partners themselves do not have formalised internal structures within their own organisations for managing partnerships.

Thus, there are no formal meetings which are regularly attended by partners. Communication is carried out through discussions on an *ad hoc* bilateral basis; and this arrangement reflects the way in which the partners view both themselves and the others in the Partnership. The main points of contact for such communication are individuals within the different partner organisations, such as: the General Managers at Shoprite and Freshmark, the District Agricultural Co-ordinator at Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, the Board Secretary of the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society and the Sales/Production Manager at Zamseed. However, it is interesting to note that, when interviewed, the Zamseed respondent stated that there was "no communication" within the Partnership.³⁶

When problems arise, partners deal with these through bilateral meetings or by approaching the Partnership Forum. As has been indicated above, the bulk of the process work that the Partnership requires in order to operate effectively, tends to be carried out by the Partnership Forum; and this is the main reason why there has been little incentive to develop structures and systems within the Partnership for the management and running of its operations. The Partnership Forum 'keeps the partners on track'. In the words of a Shoprite respondent:

Because we have a lot of different suppliers and do a lot of different things in a day, it is very easy to forget a small part of the business, but the Partnership Forum, in a very constructive way, does a good job by keeping the small parts at the top of our minds so that we don't lose sight of them.

³⁵ Taken from the Chamba Valley Memorandum of Understanding (October 2002).

³⁶ The lack of communication was also commented on by a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, after s/he had read through the first draft of this case study.

Community Connections

Through the Chamba Co-operative Society, the CVPP is linked to two communities: the Chamba Valley community and its satellite, the Mwamfumba community in Liteta. Through these connections, the benefits of the Partnership are expected to filter from the Chamba Valley through to Liteta, and so to have a knock-on effect on members of the latter community who are not necessarily delivering produce to Freshmark.

The communities in both areas are aware of the Partnership and acknowledge that it is intended to benefit them by enabling them to make use of the resources and opportunities produced by the partners. Through the Partnership Forum, the communities have received not only advice and information about the Partnership project itself, but the direct additional benefit of support from the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives. Furthermore, training has been offered to both communities on how to produce higher quality products.

Because the Mwamfumba community is not yet involved in the Partnership, its members tend to see the Partnership mainly in terms of its potential for them in future. Men from the Mwamfumba community single out an increase in income as the major potential benefit from the Partnership. In contrast, the Chamba Valley male farmers indicate that training and advice from the Partnership Forum are of more importance. In the Chamba Valley, among those who are delivering vegetables to Freshmark, the problem of disposing of their produce is no longer an issue because farmers are able to deliver produce to Freshmark immediately. Previously, due to the absence of storage facilities in the community, vegetables would go to waste and have to be discarded. In the Chamba Valley, there is also agreement among these male farmers that prices for produce are competitive and stable: this makes it possible for them to project what they will get out of their farming activity and thus enables them to grow crops all year round.

Women farmers from the Chamba Valley community are aware of the general objective of the CVPP, but still want more information about the role of each partner and also about the Partnership Forum, whose role they feel was not explained in enough detail to the partners at the beginning of the project. As one farmer said: "More information about the roles of the partners must be told, as the real reason behind the Partnership was not clear."

For the women farmers a key benefit is the ability to deliver their produce directly and in one go, to Freshmark, whereas previously they had had to sit at the market all day trying to sell. One woman farmer said:

This Partnership is good because we can supply to Freshmark and not import from South Africa. When you go to the market you sit there the whole day but at Freshmark the same day you sell.

Another benefit is that the standards set by Freshmark are teaching the farmers about quality improvements to their produce. As one farmer put it: "It is helping in having a market and improving on the quality of the produce." They are now able to supply high standard cucumber and *brinjals* (aubergines) and have learnt how to produce the required size and quality to be able to fetch a good price at Freshmark. They have also learned how to grade existing products and to pack them more effectively, as well as how to grow new products, such as coloured peppers. The women emphasise the improvements they have seen and experienced in terms of the household rather than the general community. Moreover, they have formed a women's club, and they describe how their club is beginning to deal with malnutrition through the production of peanut butter. They say that before the Partnership project, malnutrition was not being tackled at all. They also say that the training given to farmers during a workshop organised by the Partnership Forum has helped them to understand how to farm using manure rather than inorganic fertilisers.

Although the women from Mwamfumba are waiting for farming inputs and equipment to help them to get started in the production of fruit and vegetables for Freshmark, they still consider that the CVPP is empowering women, because women have the potential to sell products from their farms and therefore, not to have to rely on money from their husbands. Through the formation of the Partnership, it will also be possible for these women to apply for grants or loans for equipment, based on evidence that they will have a market for their products. Having seen that women in the Chamba Valley have already started organising themselves more effectively as a result of their involvement in the Partnership, by saving money and sending their children to school, the Mwamfumba women also believe that they will gain benefits from the Partnership project in similar ways.

Men and women in both communities emphasise that they do not have adequate resources to meet the production demands of Freshmark. They indicate that they would have done better and benefited more if Co-operative members had had the irrigation infrastructure and farming machinery to enable them to produce the quantities to meet Freshmark's demands. In the words of one of the farmers:

The impact of the project has not been felt as it should, because of slow implementation resulting from lack of irrigation equipment. Only those supplying to Freshmark appear to be having a better life.

They also say that the Partnership has not been helpful in sourcing funds either for irrigation systems or for the mechanisation of farms. Furthermore, there has not yet been any intensive training in entrepreneurship, in effective utilisation of land or in the types of labour and inputs needed to maximise profits. They would also have appreciated exchange visits to farms that were already doing well and were producing the types of produce wanted for similar or international markets, so that they could learn from them.

Moreover, members of the community do not feel that the government partner, the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, has adequately performed its role of providing extension services, or that Zamseed has fulfilled its obligation to supply them with the type of seed that would give the right quality of product, as demanded by Freshmark. The improved quality of farm produce, they believe, has been due to the efforts of individual farmers. Those who are not supplying vegetables to Freshmark say that they themselves get nothing out of the project, even though they do acknowledge that those who are supplying are benefiting, particularly because the produce is no longer left to rot. In addition, they say that suppliers have expanded their farming hectareage and that they employ more labour on their farms. This is viewed as a positive benefit to the wider community.

Critical Issues

Over the two years of the CVPP's existence, the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society has visibly become more cohesive: people have begun to organise themselves more effectively in making improvements in their daily lives. However, currently, fewer than ten farmers are delivering produce to Freshmark. Low production also means that the Co-operative is not able to consistently meet the deliveries required, with the consequence that the Partnership risks being 'forgotten' by the business partners. Alongside these concerns, are the Partnership's other main challenges which include:

Lack of public sector engagement

The lack of both an enabling environment and political support for cross-sector partnership approaches to development issues has made it difficult to include the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives as a partner in a proactive manner. Lack of resources, particularly at the District Agricultural Co-ordinator level, and a general lack of government policy on new and innovative forms of public sector collaboration, have hampered the development of the CVPP to a significant degree. A further factor is that, despite liberalisation, the economy of Zambia has remained poor.³⁷

Business Scepticism

Under such circumstances, many large companies feel there is no incentive to enter into business arrangements with poor local communities that do not have the potential to make an impact on their profit margins in any large or significant way. Many businesses would prefer simply to make donations to the community than have long-term or permanent links with them.³⁸ In addition, the very idea of connecting small-scale producers to the mainstream economy has met with lack of interest and even resistance. Small-scale farmers are generally not considered to be worth working with, especially in the more competitive urban setting where product quality is prized much more highly than in a rural setting. In cities, expectations of food quality are generally higher and companies concentrate on working with those suppliers who have the capacity to achieve the required quality, as well as quantity. Despite this, however, Freshmark says, "There are many small farmers but this is a bigger base market and therefore it is better."

³⁷ This is evidenced by the fact that Zambia is one of the world's most highly indebted poor countries.

³⁸ Yambayamba (2003), p.16.

Understanding the Concept of Partnership

The concept of cross-sector partnership still appears to be new to the partners and there is no common understanding of what it means and what it involves. The Chamba Valley Partnership Project partners variously define cross-sector partnership as follows:

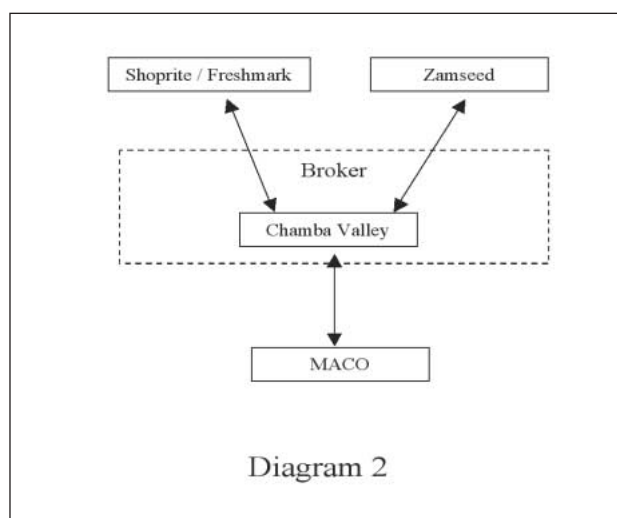
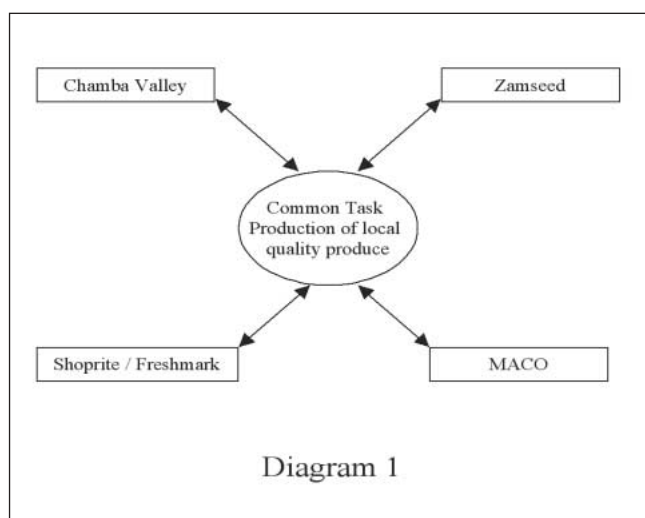
1. This is where various stakeholders come together to do various things to achieve common objectives. In this Partnership, there is mutual interest and benefit. (the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society);
2. There is no difference between this type of partnership and any other partnership. Partnerships are partnerships. All partners work to achieve a similar aim based on the fact that there must be value added for every person in the Partnership. Otherwise it is not going to work. (Shoprite);
3. It means the Agricultural sector partnering with two different sectors. (Freshmark);
4. It means different sectors coming together; for example the seed sector partnering with the farming industry and the consumer. (Zamseed);
5. This is a partnership that involves sectors that have cross-cutting characteristics. This partnership involves a lot of sectors to meet certain objectives such as enhancing food security and reduction of poverty. (Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives).

However, despite these different perspectives on the actual collaboration, all partners have a similar understanding of what they see as the key characteristics of a partnership. They describe these as "mutual trust", "mutual respect", "coexistence", "communication/dialogue", "common understanding of objectives" and "mutual benefit". Few, if any of these generalised and abstract ideas, however, appear to translate into actual partnership practice. Community spokespersons, in particular, have complained about this lack of common understanding: they believe that the Partnership Forum should have been more rigorous in offering guidance to all partners and stakeholders at the start of the CVPP. The fact that this kind of preliminary training, or even briefing, has not taken place has had effects on the Partnership in terms of wider issues, such as those outlined below.

Understanding Who the Partners Are

Although all the organisations mentioned are indeed partners, there are discrepancies of perception among them concerning who actually has the status of membership in the Partnership and who is partnering with whom. For example, while Freshmark employers and staff consider their firm to be partners with the Chamba Valley Co-operative, they do not consider themselves to be partners with Zamseed, even though they recognise that Zamseed are partners with the Chamba Valley. This means that the Freshmark representatives do not consider that Freshmark has a direct relationship with Zamseed. As one of the partners said: "There is no need to be involved with other partners, since they are all just partners with the Co-operative."

To clarify the differences between these conceptions, Diagram 1 illustrates the model of the Partnership as it was originally perceived by the Partnership Forum. Here, each partner, with its individual incentive/s, is part of a many-sided partnership which has common tasks and outcomes (i.e. the production of local quality produce). Furthermore, as envisioned, this model implies *multilateral* sets of interconnecting relationships, in which each one of the partners recognises its interdependent connection with *all of the others*. By contrast, Diagram 2 illustrates the Partnership as it has come to be perceived, after its actual inception in practice, by at least two of the practising partners. Here, it is recognised and agreed that while partnerships (in the plural) do take place directly with the Chamba Valley, they do not occur between or among other partners. Thus, the Partnership is not perceived as *multilateral* or *interdependent* but rather as a sequence or series of *bilateral* relationships.



This view of individual partnerships taking place with the Chamba Valley has ramifications for communication between and among the different partner members and, ultimately, implications for the likelihood of achieving both the objectives of individual partners and the common objective of the Partnership as a whole. Even though members have signed an MoU which mentions the names of all other members, only two of them are clearly aware who the other partners are. Indeed, one partner was not able to identify any other partners at all. Moreover, the exact role of the Partnership Forum as broker (i.e. with a catalytic and bonding function rather than being a member in its own right) is rather unclear to partners. One common misconception is that the Partnership Forum is indeed a member of the CVPP; and some even regarded it as the Partnership's lead member.

Over-reliance on the Broker

As is implicit in the previous paragraph, there is great dependence by all partners on the Partnership Forum. This has meant that the partners work through it rather than with one another. Their doing so militates against the Partnership becoming consolidated, in terms of the development of the qualities of mutual understanding, benefits and trust that the partners themselves have stated that they recognise as being central to partnership.

Partnership Engagement and Institutional Engagement

Although most partners agree that they are equally valued in the Partnership, the degree of their commitment to it varies. The partners generally perceive themselves as active, but admit that some are more active than others. The Chamba Valley Co-operative Society members, for example, believe that the Co-operative has been single-handedly driving the Partnership, with only minimal interest from the business partners. They assert that they have not been able to meet the demand targets from Shoprite and Freshmark because of their own lack of productive capacity and that they have not been supported adequately by other partners towards achieving the ability to do so. They state that the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives lacks resources to provide the services they need and that Zamseed is sometimes unable to supply the right type of seed to produce the quality required. They also believe that Shoprite and Freshmark could be more accommodating in the partner relationship and give them a "better chance". Shoprite itself plays a hands-off role, as Freshmark is the recognised entity to which the farmers deliver their produce and with which they have greater interaction. Moreover, Freshmark respondents, in their turn, view the collaboration from a perspective which strongly emphasises the business angle, asserting that they need to maintain standards and consistency of supply. Nonetheless, they consider that they are especially keen to "help" the Chamba Valley farmers; and that they generally give them more advice and feedback on their produce than other producers, while also allowing the staggering of repayments for the supply of packaging materials.

None of the partners have structures or individuals within their organisations that have a remit for working on partnership matters. There is, for example, no Community Affairs Unit in Shoprite or Freshmark. Although individuals in some of the partner organisations have been trying to advocate the concept and value of cross-sector partnerships within their own organisations, in the hope that the structures to promote partnerships will eventually

be established, this has not been an easy task. Shoprite's head office in South Africa has a social investment programme, but this has not yet permeated the Zambian branches to any great extent. Indeed, at present, Shoprite in Zambia works with only the two partnerships brokered by the Partnership Forum, in Luangeni and the Chamba Valley; and, although this makes "good business sense" to the General Manager of Shoprite, Zambia, he is nonetheless aware that substantial efforts need to be made to institutionalise such approaches within the company. Meanwhile, in the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society itself, capacity-building workshops and lectures on farm and business management, sponsored, organised and delivered by the University of Zambia and the Partnership Forum, have helped promote the CVPP within the community. However, there still remains a clear division within the Co-operative between those farmers who supply Freshmark and those who do not.

Staff changes and restructuring have also had an impact upon institutional engagement. A new District Agricultural Co-ordinator official took office in mid-2004; and because no proper hand-over or briefing about the Partnership took place, a gap in information and communication has now occurred within the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives (specifically, that is, in the DACO's office) with regard to the Chamba Valley Partnership Project. The effect of one such simple staff change is amply illustrative of the fragility of the links that currently bind the Partnership. However, similar changes taking place at the very top level at Freshmark, have indeed involved effective hand-over and briefing procedures; and these have enabled the new management to continue to relate to the farmers of the Co-operative in the same way as before.

Lack of Structure and Systems

As already indicated, the Partnership has been perceived, understood and interpreted in different ways by its constituent partners. Major contributing factors are: that the Memorandum of Understanding is not comprehensive; and that agreement was not reached on a partnership structure or on processes for management and administration. This "loose arrangement", as one of the business partners describes it, has meant that the Partnership has not been treated with the seriousness it deserves. Most partners would like to see the Partnership formalised, in order for it to become more effective. The respondents at Shoprite, in particular, have indicated that they would like to see a formalisation of the CVPP, so that it fits into their business plan.

The absence of an effective communication system has also had an enormous impact upon the CVPP, as it has meant that partners have not met regularly to review progress and discuss problems and issues in any kind of centralised forum. This too has contributed to partners having different interpretations of what the Partnership is about and different understandings of who is partnering with whom. Taken together, all of this has in turn inevitably affected the ways in which communication is practised. For example, when specific issues have arisen, the Chamba Valley Co-operative Society has found itself having to attempt to raise these quite separately with individual partners: issues about marketing constraints with Shoprite/ Freshmark; about seed availability and quality with Zamseed; and about extension services and irrigation infrastructure, mechanisation, land and other issues with MACO. However, the Co-operative admits that, ultimately, it has relied upon the Partnership Forum to sort out problems between or among partners, as and when they arise.

Lack of Resources

Although this factor was not anticipated at the start of the Partnership, all the partners, except one, now strongly believe that an injection of external resources is necessary to capacitate the Chamba Valley farmers. The Chamba Valley farmers point to the fact that the Luangeni Partnership, upon which theirs was modelled, received a large grant from Cordaid to assist its development. In their eyes, this is why Luangeni has been more successful. However, the Chamba Valley partners do not see it as their own responsibility either to try to source such funds externally or to contribute to funds from their own resources. Rather, they perceive the Partnership Forum as being responsible for leading the effort to mobilise the sourcing of a backer or backers. The Partnership Forum has indeed approached a range of donor institutions for this purpose. However, resources needed to implement the irrigation system, to give larger capacity to the farmers, have not yet been forthcoming.

Conclusion

The partners within the CVPP have already confronted many challenges and are in agreement that some revision of their original agreement is necessary, so that future challenges can be addressed more appropriately. All partners are positive about the future and optimistic that the Partnership can, and will, work more effectively and productively. They see the vital ingredients for a more effective working partnership as the formalisation of the Partnership and more constant communication between partners.

Hindsight has given partners different views of what they would like to do differently in future. Zamseed indicates that it is important, firstly, to identify where failure originates and, secondly, to ensure that partner meetings are held at least once every quarter. Similarly, Shoprite sees formalisation of the Partnership as vital, since this process removes “unrealistic expectations and instead enables partners to deal with the actual things agreed upon, so that its goals could be achieved.” The Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives believes it would be of value to identify other organisations that could provide a supporting role in the Partnership, so that, overall, the partnership approach would be truly multi-disciplinary. The Chamba Valley Co-operative Society’s point of view is that, although its own productive capacity needs to be improved, other partners should also fulfil their roles more effectively in the Partnership.

The Partnership Forum now believes that all partners, as well as the Partnership Forum itself, need to change strategy if the Partnership is to be effective. For this reason, the Forum has decided both to review its own position within the Partnership and to encourage a more systematic communication system, with properly timetabled meetings designed to encourage and build working relationships, so that partners can more clearly define partnership objectives and specific partner roles. This, it is hoped, will also help reduce reliance on the Partnership Forum. The Forum also strongly believes that a more scheduled planning system is needed.

Interestingly, as a result of the process of research for this case study, greater awareness has been generated about the challenges that face the Partnership and how they might be addressed. This ‘infecting’ of the research process back into the workings of the Partnership project has itself pointed to the importance of weaving regular effective systems of monitoring and evaluation into the Partnership.

The Small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities' Partnership, South Africa³⁹

The Wider Context

'Transformation' is central to the background of this case study; for this concept underlies several features of change in agricultural policy and practice in South Africa, including: the challenges that followed the end of apartheid and the first free elections in 1994, which involved the need to redress inequalities in land ownership; the promotion of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE); and the inception of sustainable 'Local Economic Development' (LED). 'Transformation' also provides the guiding principle within recent patterns of thinking within the sugar industry, especially in relation to stakeholder relationships: for, in a rapidly changing political environment, and couched within the frame of reference of 'sustainable development', a new conceptualisation of partnerships has come about. The resulting 'transformation strategy' is aimed primarily at improving the livelihoods of small-scale cane farmers.

Land and Agriculture in South Africa

During the colonial and apartheid eras, political processes were utilised to enforce the very significant dispossession of the majority of South Africans from land ownership, except in the form of communal land. The Union of South Africa took place in 1910 and the 'Natives Land Act', passed in 1913, defined areas for African occupation.⁴⁰ During the apartheid era (1948–1994), such areas were designated as 'homelands' or '*Bantustans*'; and in order to create racial separation, forced removals of the African population. These areas eventually occupied about 13 per cent of South Africa's land. It was intended that each of them should serve to group together Africans of the same ethnic origin.⁴¹

In 1976 the government proclaimed the Transkei an independent nation-state and followed this move by granting independence to Bophuthatswana in 1977, to Venda in 1979, and to Ciskei in 1981. Citizens of these states, including the half who lived outside their borders, were then deemed aliens in South Africa. Another six ethnically based homelands were granted limited self-government in preparation for eventual independence: they were KwaZulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, KaNgwane, and KwaNdebele. None of these states received international recognition.⁴²

Owing to the poor quality of their land, these 'homelands' were incapable of supporting the people who lived there. Lack of employment opportunities meant that families had to rely upon the wages of those working in towns, where they were accommodated in townships adjacent to white areas. Farmland outside of the homelands was designated for 'white agriculture'. Present-day KwaZulu-Natal was divided into a 'white Natal' and a 'Zulu KwaZulu', with boundaries intended to ensure that the most productive farmland remained in white hands. While, this commercial farming traditionally drew on black labour and provided housing and very limited access for farm labourers to own livestock and grow their own crops, communal land was only able to maintain traditional livestock and subsistence farming. Food security continues to be a problem both for those occupying communal land and those living in conditions resulting from resettlement.

For those millions of residents – half the rural population – who reside in ex-Bantustans, overgrazing and inefficient farming methods on peripheral land have contributed to erosion, desertification and degradation of wetlands. Women are the majority of those adversely affected by environmental problems in these areas. Dependence upon migrant labour remittances has only increased in the wake of more than a decade of political liberalisation.⁴³

³⁹ This chapter looks at an agricultural project in South Africa. It is one of the four case studies in the book that provides an explorative approach rather than an in-depth analysis. It needs to be stated here that there were some doubts in the editors' minds as to whether this project could properly be considered a 'partnership', since several aspects of its modes of operation did not fulfil the generally accepted models. Furthermore, the study is presented predominantly from the viewpoint of one of the project instigators, namely, that of South Africa Sugar Association, but it excludes the perspectives of other participants and stakeholders, such as the small cane sugar farmers. Despite these reservations and drawbacks, however, we finally decided to include it because it represents a top-down partnership which is being developed from government policy, and which is still in the scoping phase. For further discussion please see pp. 109, 110, & 119. This case study is authored by Stan Hardman, Melanie Rein and Leda Stott. *Editors*.

⁴⁰ 'Legislative Implementation of Apartheid (May 1996).

⁴¹ *South African Consulate General* (May 9, 2005).

⁴² 'The Contradictions of Apartheid' (May 1996).

⁴³ Bond (2002), p. 41.

Land Reform

In post-apartheid South Africa, land redistribution started quite quickly, with the reintegration of the Bantustans into a unified South Africa and the redefinition of provincial boundaries.⁴⁴ Instead of the previous divisions into ten Bantustans and four provinces, post-1994 South Africa was re-patterned into nine provinces. This redefinition had to deal with the realities of land ownership within the new provinces; and restitution began with a case-by-case approach rather than blanket redistribution. A land claims process and the market-related re-purchasing of land by government has been the norm, with the proof for the legitimacy of claims depending upon verdicts in the land claims court. Alternative forms of financial compensation have also been allowed for. Although this process has been a slow one, it has progressed with few incidents to date.⁴⁵ The government's intention is that this process should be completed by the end of 2005.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, each of the new nine provinces has been divided into local authorities.⁴⁷ It is the responsibility of local government districts to develop plans for their own infrastructure and social development; and municipalities prepare a five-year strategic plan which is reviewed annually with communities and stakeholders. These Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) are intended to facilitate inter-sectoral and inter-governmental co-operation, but are not intended to compromise the integrity or the institutional capacity of implementing agencies.⁴⁸ The approach has been designed to improve awareness of integrated development planning, in order to alleviate poverty and improve the quality of life of local people.

The Sugar Industry

Sugar is grown in fourteen cane-producing areas extending from the Eastern Cape, through KwaZulu-Natal to the province of Mpumalanga. Sugarcane cultivation covers 412,000 hectares of land, with some 68 per cent being grown near the coast and 17 per cent in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands, where rainfall is highest.⁴⁹ The history of sugar goes back to 1848, when the first cane was planted in KwaZulu; and this led to the practice of indentured labour that resulted in Indian settlers moving to South Africa from the 1860s to work on sugarcane farms.⁵⁰ In 1913, the responses of these labourers achieved international attention through the work of Mahatma Gandhi, who led the movement towards a fairer form of labour practice in the area and, in so doing, confronted colonial racial practices in South Africa.⁵¹

The sugar industry in South Africa is small by world standards and vulnerable to global markets and competition from other cane-growing countries. This is of concern to all who make their living in the industry and is exacerbated by the variations of international demand and supply for the product, the variability of the South African Rand and the marginality of the rainfall. Sugarcane is subsidised and supply is controlled through the world's number one producer, the European Union (EU). In its briefing report on EU sugar policies, Oxfam states:

Heavy export subsidies and high import tariffs are a consequence of the wide gap between EU guaranteed prices and world prices. Domestic prices are maintained at levels three times those prevailing on world markets. Shorn of diplomatic niceties, the CAP⁵² sugar regime has the appearance of a price-fixing cartel operated by governments on behalf of big farmers and sugar-processing companies. The regime maintains a system of corporate welfare, paid for by EU taxpayers and consumers, with the human costs absorbed by developing countries.⁵³

⁴⁴ Lyne & Darroch (2003).

⁴⁵ 'Fair Price for Land Reform', 8 December 2004.

⁴⁶ Finlay (2004).

⁴⁷ For detailed information on relevant legislation and policy, see the *Ministry and Department of Provincial and Local Government*.

⁴⁸ See *Integrated Development Planning for Local Government*.

⁴⁹ *South African Sugar Association*.

⁵⁰ Bhana (2000).

⁵¹ See *South African History On-Line: Mohandas (Mahatma) Karamchand Gandhi 1869 – 1948*. For a critical analysis of this period see Welsh (1998), p. 354.

⁵² Common Agricultural Policy.

⁵³ Oxfam Briefing Paper 61 (2004), p. 1.

The report continues:

In Kwa Zulu and other parts of the South African sugar belt, the industry provides a market for smallholder cane farmers, who in turn employ rural labourers. Worldwide, international sugar markets directly or indirectly impact on the welfare of millions of people, with price changes transmitted back through rural product and labour markets.⁵⁴

There are 50,000 registered cane growers in South Africa, of whom 48,000 are small scale farmers responsible for 13 per cent of total sugar production.⁵⁵ However, as Oettle et al. stated in 1998, in their report on sustainable smallholder agriculture in South Africa, the sugar industry depends on the cane produced by the small-scale growers.⁵⁶ “Since 1970s the smallholder cane sector expanded considerably”, largely, Oettle et al. suggest, because the “white dominated industry provided small scale producers the opportunity to enter production in a sector which would not involve them in complicated input supply and marketing arrangements.”⁵⁷ At the same time, in the 1970s, the Small Grower Financial Aid Fund (FAF) was established. The FAF, underwritten by the South African Sugar Association (SASA), provides access to unsecured loans for smallholders. “Repayment is easily administered because it takes place by cession on cane delivered. With no alternative markets for cane, the FAF has enjoyed excellent repayment rates.”⁵⁸

In the 1990s, change began to take place in SASA, particularly in relation to representation; and a new development agenda, managed by SASA itself, was instigated towards the 48,000 small scale farmers. This agenda includes: programmes which offer infrastructure development; financial support services training; and, together with the Department of Agriculture, extension services.⁵⁹ Examples include: the Small Grower Development Trust, managed by cane growers to facilitate their organisation and training and the expansion of their enterprises;⁶⁰ and the Cane Growers Programme, which focuses on training, technical and institutional support, and includes contractors as well as farmers.⁶¹ Another programme is the *Inkezo* Land Reform Initiative which through the *Inkezo* Land Company, aims “to promote sustainable agricultural land reform in support of national transformation goals”.⁶² It also seeks to promote the land transfer process on a more rapid basis and to develop systems for doing so, with the redistribution of 78,000 hectares of land from private hands.⁶³

The headquarters of the sugar industry is in the Mount Edgecome area, twenty-five kilometres north of Durban; and here the industry has also developed an integrated programme with the Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs in KwaZulu-Natal. Employees of both SASA and the Department share office space; and they work hand-in-hand on development programmes in the sugar industry communities. Integrated approaches that draw on the competencies of a wide range of stakeholders are essential features of these programmes.

Formation of the Small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities' Partnership

SASA's small-scale growers' development agenda of post-apartheid South Africa conforms to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) regulations, which demand that 30 per cent of productive land should be in black hands.⁶⁴ SASA positions the sugar industry as a valuable contributor both to the economy and to a vibrant, healthy and skilled civil society in which all have an equitable opportunity to participate. It declares that its agenda is to:

- act with integrity, purpose and responsibility;
- play a facilitating role in forging co-operation for development within the sugar producing countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC);

⁵⁴ Oxfam Briefing Paper 61 (2004), p. 6.

⁵⁵ *South African Sugar Association: Sugar Industry*.

⁵⁶ Oettle et al. (1998), p. 69.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Historically the sugar industry had its own extension services, although out of the sixteen extension officers employed, “one was devoted to smallholder Indian farmers, and one to smallholder black farmers” Oettle et al. (1998), p. 69.

⁶⁰ *South African Sugar Association: Sugar Industry*.

⁶¹ For full information, see *Canegrowers*.

⁶² An *inkezo* is an instrument made from a hollowed out calabash which is used to transfer beer or water from one container to another and to quench one's thirst. See also *Inkezo Land Company*.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ See *Inkezo Land Company* and also *The South African Sugar Industry and Sustainable Development: Economic Transformation – Black Economic Empowerment*.

- promote SADC sugar interests in relation to global competitiveness;
- promote emergence of small-scale growers on freehold land;
- create opportunities for revenue generation in subsistence areas;
- promote socio-economic development in under-resourced areas.⁶⁵

Within this context a new project was launched in 2004.⁶⁶ This was intended to take the form of a partnership which focused on the development of livelihoods among the small-scale cane growers. In initiating this new project, the industry recognised the changed circumstances that promoted local government to become a partner alongside the industry itself and the Department of Agriculture. Moreover, through the democratic process, small-scale farmers were expected to exercise their political rights and entitlements to government-funded but entrepreneurially-driven initiatives for development. These initiatives provided for, and required, a new partnership paradigm which was intended to empower rather than support. Thus, the sugar industry committed itself to a partnership with central and local government and other stakeholders, to support "...sustainable small-scale cane farming communities as a means to rural development, empowerment, poverty alleviation and improvement in quality of life in rural sugarcane areas".⁶⁷

In working towards these targets, SASA has researched appropriate development methodologies and adopted an approach which appreciates the importance of social capital as an asset to community development. The main mechanism for the Partnership is the development of business plans within the frame of reference of a Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). This is based in turn on an Assets Based Community Development (ABCD) methodology, which basically means mobilising community skills and assets and encouraging local rather than externally-driven development.⁶⁸

It is intended that business plans should emanate from the cane growers' co-operatives and that these should be framed within the Integrated Development Plans (IDP) promoted by local government. SASA presents itself as a partner that will bring its various resources to bear on the IDP. This will include: (1) the facilitation of forums for negotiation; (2) adding voice to issues and articulating them into policy statements; and (3) providing seed funding for initiatives that can grow into the continuous funding streams of both government and the private sector. Both the policy approach of IDP and the theoretical approach to development embedded in ABCD and operationalised through SLA were formulated in order to provide the basis of an enabling environment for a new partnership approach. A rural development agency, the Institute of Natural Resources (INR), was commissioned to conduct the preliminary research for the implementation of the new strategy, through community consultation.

The Partners

The South African Sugar Association (SASA)

As indicated above, SASA is an integrated body created by the sugar industry to balance the interests of the various stakeholders.⁶⁹ It crosses the corporate boundaries of the main milling companies and involves a large number of growers. As an organisation, SASA provides agricultural development finance to small-scale growers.⁷⁰ It has also provided technical assistance to the growers since 1973 and runs a development desk with a particular concern for small cane growers and their integration into the industry. The two main priorities of this desk are: (1) the development of new entrants into the industry through training; and (2) the relationship between the operations of the large-scale sugar farmers and the promotion of the small-scale farmers, with reference to the latter's sugarcane and other small scale produce. Thus, SASA's partnerships concern the sugar industry and those affected by it. It describes these partnerships as *Ukusebenzisana Ndawonye*, translated from the Zulu language as 'working together'.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Memorandum from J.C. Mills-Hackmann on 'Feedback on Public Hearing on Private Sector Role Towards Agricultural Development', June 18, 2003.

⁶⁶ *South African Sugar Association: Press Release*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ See *Institute of Development Studies (IDS): Livelihoods Connect* (2005).

⁶⁹ Millers include: Tongaat-Hulett Sugar Limited; Illovo Sugar Limited; Uskhukela Milling (Pty) Ltd; and Transvaal Suiker Beperk and Union Co-Operative. Grower structures include: South African Cane Growers Association; Mill Area Local Councils; Local Planters Associations; and Mill Group Associations. See *The South African Sugar Industry and Sustainable Development*.

⁷⁰ See p. 51.

⁷¹ *The South African Sugar Industry and Sustainable Development: Economic Transformation – Emerging Growers*.

The partnership project, which is the focus of this case study, incorporates a number of strands, not least of which are the issues of agriculture and land reform; in particular, the need to make land available for small-scale black farmers and to provide them with the infrastructure and support required to make a success of their ventures. This partnership is an attempt by the sugar industry to manage the change process on a number of different levels. These include ensuring:

- on the macro-political level: that the industry as a whole transforms itself to meet BEE requirements;
- on the micro-political level: to develop good relationships in the context of diversity and also to support the Integrated Development Plans and Local Economic Development;
- the survival of the industry in global markets.

Large-Scale Cane Growers

The large-scale growers are predominantly white farmers with quite extensive farms which have remained in the same families for a number of generations. As a group, they play a dominant role in the cane growers' association. These growers have begun to acknowledge and promote the cause of the small-scale farmers through mentorship programmes which are aimed at developing subsistence sugarcane farmers into viable and successful cane growers.⁷²

Small Cane Growers' Co-operatives

The small-scale sugar cane growers form part of three major blocks of growers. These are in the three areas of Sezela (KwaZulu-Natal, South Coast), Maidstone (KwaZulu-Natal, North Coast) and Komati (Province of Mpumalanga). They are self-organised into co-operative groups which are able to negotiate with the industry in relation to crop issues such as the purchase of implements and fertilisers and the cutting and transporting of the sugarcane. The co-operatives also collectively access financial assistance, which is important for their members, because collateral is a major problem in situations where there is no personal land ownership. The Intembo Bank, which is specifically dedicated to addressing this situation, advances loans using crop as collateral. The Small Cane Growers Co-operatives have grown used to support from SASA, particularly in the form of training and finance facilitation. This historical relationship motivates the co-operatives to remain involved, even though the recent strategy adopted by SASA for working with them changed significantly.

The Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs⁷³

The Department is responsible for supporting farmers through its extension services in the form of both advice and the facilitation of liaison between the various stakeholders. Since 1994, when SASA developed its new strategy, extension officers, who are professional agriculturalists either working on secondment from SASA or jointly funded by SASA and Provincial Departments of Agriculture in KwaZulu-Natal, have provided technical advice to farmers.⁷⁴ The relationship with SASA has given the extension officers access to the local communities as well the opportunity to feed information back into SASA regarding community training and facilitation requirements. Their primary contribution to the Partnership is in the form of the technical support they give to farmers. Since they work from premises provided by SASA and share office space with them, knowledge is also shared and complementary resources are provided.

District Municipalities

The District Municipalities are the third tier of government in South Africa and fall under the second tier of the Department of Traditional Affairs and Local Government, a Province-wide Ministry.⁷⁵ Since 1996, they have been charged with planning for, and managing, local development initiatives under the IDP. While the municipalities are not proactive in partnership-building, they favour a participatory approach as advocated by IDP policy. Thus they are amenable to being approached by the sugar industry and include the latter's insights in development plans.

⁷² *South African Sugar Journal* (2003/4).

⁷³ For more information, see *Department of Agriculture & Environmental Affairs, South Africa* (2004).

⁷⁴ Oettle et al. (1998), p. 69.

⁷⁵ See *Department of Local Government and Traditional Affairs (South Africa): Capacity Assessment Reports 2004/2005 for KZN Municipalities*.

Traditional Leaders

Traditional leaders are not presented specifically as partners but are presented as a very influential stakeholder group. They are central to the traditional form of governance among black communities in KwaZulu-Natal and form part of an infrastructure whose hierarchical apex is the Zulu King.

The Role of the Partnership Broker

SASA, as initiator of the partnership approach, has acted as the main intermediary between the various partners and stakeholders. It has also drawn on the services of the Institute for Natural Resources (INR) to work with the small-scale farming communities through an intensive process of dialogue involving the gradual clarification and articulation of SASA's approach. While SASA is adamant that the INR is not a broker, on the grounds that it provides them with a research service, it appears that in fact INR does operate in a similar manner to a broker.

Structure and Systems

It is the desire of those in SASA for the small cane growers eventually to become the champions of the partnerships and to take on ownership of the process of using the IDP. It is believed that this will be part of an empowering process, through which, within the dynamics of democratic governance, people will take charge of their own destinies, both individually and collectively. For this reason, the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is advocated as "an appropriate vehicle for addressing small scale grower issues".⁷⁶

It is acknowledged, however, that the Partnership is in its formative stage and that the process is going to take time if small-scale cane farmers are eventually to take full ownership of the process. To this end, SASA staff are facilitating a process of defining broad guidelines and sets of indicators, to demonstrate progress towards goals. The communities that are directly affected by this change in strategy are seen as 'marginal' in relation to the viability of their farming operations. The communities' major concern is about their own survival; and the implication of this concern is that the time-frames which the communities adopt for planning and regulating their daily lives tend to be considerably shorter than those in the minds of the strategists, who are considering a longer-term perspective.

At the commencement of this initiative, none of the participating organisations had structures for partnership. The farmers' co-operatives had specific structures designed for their needs; SASA had a particular approach based on needs assessment and the provision of services; government departments had been through extensive policy review; and local government was in the process of becoming a dominant player in Local Economic Development through the Integrated Development Plans. While a partnership approach is advocated by the government, it is up to local communities to create local understanding and expertise in what partnership means. Although the government provides financial regulations for partnerships and advocates partnerships indirectly in social development, there are no blueprints. Therefore, in this situation, SASA is taking the lead by initiating an approach which they expect local communities not only to support but also to energise.

There are no formal partnership agreement documents. However, SASA has provided guidelines for the local grower communities to submit proposals that will form the basis of written agreements.

Community Connections

Current community involvement with SASA in relation to the new partnership initiative is predominantly through the Institute for Natural Resources' researchers, who are sent into the community to convene focus groups and meetings, through which the changes in strategy can be presented. Because of SASA's promotion of a sustainable livelihoods approach, the INR researchers have used an assets-based approach to their community enquiry work. This way of doing things is acknowledged by SASA staff as being slow and laborious, but they remain convinced that it is proven best practice.

Those aiming to develop the partnership approach have also had to take account of gender as a relevant issue, because the farmlands are populated mainly by women and children. The small-scale farmers are mainly women,

⁷⁶ Murphee & Hay (2003).

who are responsible for maintaining both the home and the rural lands allocated to the family, while men take up employment opportunities, often away from home, in the large-scale agricultural and industrial sectors.

Although key staff from SASA and the South African Sugar Research Institute⁷⁷ have met with the communities and presented their new strategy to them, they have found that the communities are slow in responding. The communities have been requested to compile proposals within the broader Integrated Development Plan framework which would facilitate their access to government funding for the development of infrastructure, services and training. This seed funding would be provided by the industry as a contribution towards their more permanent access to ongoing government funding.

Conclusion

This case study illustrates the efforts within a large industry, which has a long history in South Africa, to attempt to respond to changes in the political and economic environment. It is an industry, which, in dealing with the historical baggage of apartheid, is now focussing on building and maintaining relationships among a number of stakeholders. Initially, the main salient development in relationships occurred between millers and growers; but, increasingly, the government has also become involved with the result that, since 1994, ongoing negotiations with the government have focused on both the sustainability and the transformation of the industry. The first communities to be involved were workers on farms and in mills and, latterly, participation has extended to the small-scale sugar cane farmers and the communities in which they live and work. This latest initiative has led to a programme in which the industry is attempting to integrate the affected communities into the political processes of post-apartheid South Africa. SASA appears to be resolved to maintain this integrative approach, even though it will take time for it to become embedded in the varying modes of responses of partners and stakeholders to the challenges and opportunities in their environments.

⁷⁷ See *South African Sugarcane Research Institute: Unlocking the Potential of Sugarcane*.

Chapter 5

The Health Case Studies

Southern Africa faces enormous and urgent health problems, particularly vis-à-vis the effects of illnesses such as HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. Statistics show that children in the region are at higher risk of death than they were ten years ago and that life expectancy has shrunk by as much as twenty years for both men and women in the region.¹ According to the World Health Organization, current life expectancy in Zambia is about 37 years for both men and women, and 47 and 50 years in South Africa for men and women respectively.² These shocking figures are attributed mainly to the HIV/AIDS epidemic.³

The links between health and poverty are well documented.⁴ The World Health Report describes the fragile health situation in sub-Saharan Africa as directly related to poverty.⁵ The Center for International Development stresses that malaria and poverty are intimately entwined. It outlines the direct costs of the illness in terms of: lost wages and worker productivity; the loss of investment caused by childhood mortality; and the costs to national health systems.⁶ In examining indirect costs, the Centre suggests that malaria may pose a barrier to human population mobility and, therefore, to commerce and trade. Cohen provides a telling analysis of “two bi-causal relationships” between poverty and HIV/AIDS, in which he convincingly extrapolates the ways in which each nourishes and feeds off the other.⁷ On the one hand, he indicates not only the socio-economic distribution of HIV infection but also the socio-economic factors which affect “household and community coping capacities”. On the other, he examines HIV/AIDS and poverty, elucidating ways in which the poverty of households and communities is intensified as a result of the epidemic. This analysis is supported by Rosen et al:

Often, the virus strikes the only breadwinner in a large family, and the family is forced to spend its meagre savings on medical treatment for the victim and is left impoverished. In addition to creating a generation of orphans, the epidemic forces many children to drop out of school, which erodes the country's skills base. As more and more families drop out of the economy it slows down. According to the recent report *AIDS and Macroeconomic Impact*, from the Botswana Institute of Development Analysis, AIDS could reduce GDP growth rates by 0.5 per cent to 2.6 per cent a year in several African countries. When AIDS mixes with poverty, the humanitarian problem becomes an economic crisis as well.⁸

In order to address these concerns in ways that are as effective and equitable as possible, the promotion of partnerships and cross-sector alliances appears regularly in the relevant literature. For example, the World Health Report calls for new approaches to deal with health inequalities both between and within countries, by means of stronger government-community relationships.⁹ Other international organisations working in Africa, such as the Global Fund to fight HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria, have been established specifically “as a partnership between governments, civil society, the private sector and affected communities”.¹⁰ Central to such approaches is the need to improve public health by building upon existing poverty-reduction strategies and sector-wide approaches. This message is re-echoed at regional and national levels.¹¹

¹ WHO (2003i); WHO (2003ii); and AVERT (2003).

² WHO (2003ii).

³ AVERT (2003); Siamwiza & Kapwepwe (2001); UNAIDS *Geographical Area: South Africa*; and WHO (2003i).

⁴ Center for International Development (2003); Cohen (2003); Garbus (2002), (2003i) & (2003ii); International HIV/AIDS Alliance (2003); Siamwiza & Kapwepwe (2001); and WHO (2003i).

⁵ The World Health Report (2003i).

⁶ The Center for International Development (2003).

⁷ Cohen (2003), p. 1.

⁸ Rosen et al. (2003), p. 6.

⁹ The World Health Report (2003i), see Chapter 7 pp. 105–128.

¹⁰ *Global Fund* (i).

¹¹ Equinet (2003); Kaiser Family Foundation (2003); Oxford Analytica (2002); Stop TB (2003); and USAID (1998).

With regard to HIV/AIDS, the emphasis on partnership as a viable way forward is particularly strong. The Global Business Council on HIV/AIDS emphasises the importance of cross-sector partnerships to identify new and innovative opportunities for the business sector to work against the disease.¹² The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, UNAIDS, lists partnerships among stakeholders as central to its commitment to combat the epidemic. It calls for a “complementation of government efforts by the full and active participation of civil society, the business community and the private sector” to increase the capacity to respond effectively to the epidemic at all levels.¹³ The International HIV/AIDS Alliance states that HIV/AIDS cannot be addressed in isolation and requires cross-sector collaboration at community, national and international levels, with an understanding that “effective partnerships require each participant to respect differences while seeking common ground”.¹⁴

However, material that documents partnerships in detail and identifies whether or not they have been successful in dealing with health issues in Southern Africa is more limited. Daly offers a selection of case studies from across the globe, indicating where different sectors have worked together to deal with HIV/AIDS issues.¹⁵ The same study also provides an examination of factors that appear to assist the creation and maintenance of successful partnerships in response to HIV/AIDS. These include: clarifying barriers and benefits to engagement; keeping purpose and a results-focus; finding champions to front the partnerships and intermediaries to steer the process; mobilising non-cash resources to support partnership-building; and using stakeholder-based research as a feedback mechanism for keeping on track.¹⁶ Many of these issues find an echo in the two case studies presented below, in each of which a partnership approach has been selected to address the HIV/AIDS crisis: the two studies reflect both the common and varying dimensions of the crisis itself and of approaches to it, in the distinct contextual environments of South Africa and Zambia.

¹² *The Global Business Council on HIV/AIDS: Our Partners.*

¹³ The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, *UNAIDS: About UNAIDS, Partnerships.*

¹⁴ The International HIV/AIDS Alliance (2004), p.18.

¹⁵ Daly (2000).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–40.

Amangwe Village, South Africa¹⁷

This case study focuses on Amangwe Village, a holistic health care centre which was established in 2002. Amangwe Village works with and for people suffering from HIV/AIDS through a partnership mechanism initiated by the private sector.¹⁸

The Wider Context

The Context of South Africa

According to a recent South African statistical report, between 1997 and 2002, the total number of deaths in South Africa increased by 57 per cent, with those for people aged 15 years and above increasing by 62 per cent.¹⁹ As the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) notes, "...while some of this increase is due to population growth (10 per cent) and improved death registration, most of the increase can be explained only by an HIV epidemic."²⁰ UNAIDS asserts that South Africa has the highest number of people living with HIV in the world, at an estimated 5.3 million (that is, averaged between the figures of 4.5 million and 6.2 million).²¹ Approximately 2.9 million (averaged between 2.5 million–3.3 million) of these are women. Furthermore, the premature adult death rate is reflected in the increase in the number of orphans and vulnerable children.²²

Pressure has grown from civil society groups for: greater government action in the treatment and prevention efforts in South Africa; the need to address the crisis in the public health system; a focus on the inequality between private and public health care; and a focus on rural-urban inequalities.²³

The Context of KwaZulu-Natal

These variables are clearly manifested in one of the poorer provinces of South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), where the incidence of HIV/AIDS is particularly high.²⁴ Badcock-Walters et al. state that "...with an antenatal prevalence rate above 35 per cent for several years, KZN is (also) South Africa's worst HIV affected province."²⁵ According to the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), this situation is aggravated by at least four further factors: firstly, few hospitals and clinics provide antiretroviral (ARV) treatment, especially in rural areas and at primary level in urban areas; secondly, drug supply is irregular and uncertain, largely because the procurement process has not been finalised; thirdly, generic competition on essential antiretrovirals is absent; and, fourthly, there are not enough paediatric antiretroviral formulations available.²⁶ TAC also stresses that the public health system needs improving, particularly in terms of the provision of greater numbers of health workers, to cope with the demands being put upon it by the HIV/AIDS epidemic.²⁷

¹⁷ This case study is concerned with a health partnership project in South Africa. It is one of the two in-depth case studies in the book. It is authored by Stan Hardman, Melanie Rein and Leda Stott. *Editors*.

¹⁸ Terms used in this case study include:

'Amangwe Village': the name of the holistic health care centre.

'Project': the entire endeavour associated with Amangwe Village and all its on-site and off-site activities.

'Community': the people located in the region which Amangwe Village serves.

'Clinic': The Ethembeni Clinic. This constituted the original *Stage 1* of the Project, which was located on a different site from Amangwe Village. *Stage 2* began with the relocation of this Clinic to Amangwe Village itself, where it continues to function under the same name, 'Ethembeni Clinic', as one among a number of the Village's activities. The name Ethembeni means 'place of hope' in the Zulu language. See Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (May 2003).

'Amangwe Village Partnership' / 'the Partnership': this is the body which includes organisations involved in both funding Amangwe Village and also in providing some of its services.

¹⁹ Statistics South Africa (2005), p. 9.

²⁰ TAC (2005).

²¹ UNAIDS (December 2004).

²² TAC (2005).

²³ See for example, 'Thousands march to parliament demanding "Treat 200,000 by 2006"', (TAC, 2005).

²⁴ Badcock-Walters et al. (March 2003), p. 2.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 7. See also Department of Health 'National HIV and Syphilis Sero-prevalence Survey in South Africa 2003', (September 2004), which shows a 37.5 per cent prevalence rate in antenatal clinics in KwaZulu-Natal in 2003, compared to a national average of 27.9 per cent, *Avert: South Africa HIV/AIDS statistics*.

²⁶ TAC (2005).

²⁷ Ibid.

Against this background, in order to address the consequences of a crisis that shows little sign of abating, a whole range of approaches and models continues to be tried and developed by different sector groupings.

The Context of Richards Bay and uMhlathuze

Amangwe Village is located 20 kilometres from Richards Bay in KwaZulu-Natal, where HIV/AIDS and poverty are particularly acute. Richards Bay is situated 160 kilometres north east of Durban and 465 kilometres south of Maputo, on the eastern seaboard of KwaZulu-Natal. Until 1976, Richards Bay was a small fishing village, situated 25 kilometres from the town of Empangeni. However, in that year, Richards Bay Minerals began mining operations in the region, which possesses rich coal reserves; and this started a period of continuous and significant growth, from the development of a deep-water harbour to the establishment of a major railway network into the hinterland of KwaZulu-Natal, where the main coal reserves are located. The area has now become a major locus of economic development, mainly through the processing and exportation of raw materials.

As a consequence of the reshaping of local government, boundaries have been redrawn. Richards Bay is now part of the metropolis of uMhlathuze and is integrated with the Uthungulu District Municipality, with its six municipalities of uMhlathuze, Umlalazi, Mthonjaneni, Mbonambi, Nkandla and Ntambanana. After Durban and Pietermaritzburg, in terms of economic production the uMhlathuze area is the third most important in KwaZulu-Natal. Manufacturing provides the largest sector, followed by transport and finance.²⁸

Politically, the Richards Bay area has been dominated by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), a party associated with the traditional culture of the Zulu people. The IFP was the dominant party in the province of KwaZulu-Natal until the national elections of 2004, when the African National Congress (ANC) took control of the province. The ongoing rivalry between these two parties has been a feature of political life in the province through an uneasy alliance that has required significant efforts to keep it in place. The significance of this combination and, indeed, of the intertwining of political influences within it, is that traditional structures informing and maintaining the Zulu monarchy have remained resilient in their interaction with the more democratic processes associated with the ANC. Thus, while the areas possess strong tribal networks, they also have boundaries of local government into which infrastructures and services have been inserted.

In the urban areas around Richards Bay, the pattern of distribution and habitation largely reflects the apartheid past, with traditional 'white' suburbs and 'black' townships and the remaining districts being dominated by South Africans of Indian descent. However, in these areas, the continuing process of political change has meant that emergent economic-based patterns have slowly begun to overlay this model. Hardly surprisingly, the customs and cultural life of the urbanised tend to be dominated by practices associated by management and labour in industrialised contexts. Thus, the languages they speak, English and Afrikaans, are more associated with industry and commerce. By contrast, the language and customs of the rural areas reflect the deep history of the Zulu nation.

These contrasts are reflected in the 'new-town' of Richards Bay itself, where the architectural layout separates it into distinctive areas: residential, commercial and, most visibly, industrial. The chemical smells emanating from the smelters and other huge processing plants in the industrial area sometimes infuse a distinctively unpleasant atmosphere throughout the town. By contrast, the surrounding area consists of forest plantations which, as one travels North and West, change into rural areas of tribal land; and here, communal ownership is the norm and land occupation and usage are organised under the patronage of local *indunas* (headmen). These rural areas are associated with subsistence farming, small cattle and goat-herding.

In a real sense, the entire area of uMhlathuze is a microcosm of post-apartheid South African society. Physical movement across it involves passing rapidly and dramatically between extremes of affluence and poverty; and the borders separating these areas from one another are still conditioned and marked, even if not wholly determined, by the heritage of racial definitions and divisions.

The intensive growth of the Richards Bay area began during the height of National Party rule in South Africa; and the local companies involved in this expansion were associated and identified with the economic development policies of the nationalist political movement. However, that position was balanced to some extent by multinational

²⁸ 'Municipal Demarcation Board, Categorisation Report – uMhlathuze Municipality (kz282)' (October 2002).

influences, particularly by that of the signatories to the Sullivan code, which advocated progressive social policies for American-linked companies operating in South Africa.²⁹ The role of the Sullivan signatories is well recorded by O'Brien, a leading Corporate Social Investment (CSI) practitioner in the Richards Bay area. He claims that:

...because the RDP³⁰ focus areas mirrored the focus areas of the Sullivan and SOPSAs³¹ codes, the latter have become the de facto models for corporate social investment involvement throughout the country. Corporate social investment programmes are inevitably concerned with education, health, rural development, housing and job creation, usually with the greatest expenditure on education.³²

Here, O'Brien is apparently suggesting that neither the RDP nor its successor GEAR³³ have succeeded in delivering in these key areas and, therefore, that corporate social investment programmes are more able to provide delivery, by adhering to and applying the original guidelines and directives of the Sullivan and SOPSAs codes. Indeed, these guidelines and directives have already proved their usefulness and made an impact on the process of building a new nation. In so doing, they have influenced the particular ways in which a number of companies have worked together over a period of time in Richards Bay, through the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation.

Historical Information about the Partnership and Amangwe Village

The Role of The Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (ZCBF)

The Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (ZCBF) was registered in 1995 as a 'Section 21 Company'.³⁴ As an organisation, it developed from the business community's co-ordination of the disaster relief at the time of the Demoina floods in 1985, when a number of rural communities were devastated. Under the guidance of the Zululand Chamber of Business, the original organisation, the Rural Foundation, was re-conceptualised and re-launched as the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation. This body was designed as the collective arm of business which was to be involved in community development.

The aims of the new organisation bore the marks of the heritage of the Sullivan Code, which (as outlined above) had influenced Richards Bay Minerals and the local discourse on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).³⁵

One of the activities of the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation has been the development of the ZCBF Community Park, and this later provided the template for Amangwe Village. In 1993, a second aluminium smelter was built in Richards Bay by Alusaf;³⁶ and at this time, the previous 'contractor's village', which had housed the various professional offices and workers' facilities, was handed over to Mhlatuzi Council. At this point, the Council dedicated its use as a community park. The buildings were refurbished so they could be used as a base to provide facilities for community projects and NGOs, as well as to generate an income for the community park itself. Over time, this site has developed to become a substantial community facility.

The first Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation took on the responsibility of the Community Park, on the understanding that it would eventually become self-sustaining. Under this leadership, an integrated approach to community support and development in the area was promoted, so that different initiatives on the emerging Community Park were supported by different companies. Business strategies and models also emerged as part of this process, with essential core competencies being established to maximise the potential for development. These core competencies, which the ZCBF also presents as 'partnership brokering' include:

²⁹ For details of the Sullivan Code, see page 25 above.

³⁰ Acronym for the 'Reconstruction and Development Programme' of the post-1994 Government of National Unity.

³¹ Acronym for the 'Statement of Principles Signatory Association', which took over from the Sullivan code.

³² O'Brien (1998), p. 140.

³³ Acronym for the 'Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy', which followed the RDP.

³⁴ This is a not-for-profit company.

³⁵ At the time of this research, the ZCBF has become a separate trust operating under the auspices of the reformed 'Business Zululand', formally the Zululand Chamber of Business.

³⁶ This company later became Billiton, and then BHP Billiton Aluminium (Hillside and Bayside).

- the development on the park of competitively priced serviced accommodation for development organisations wishing to work in the area;
- the definition of key development projects and the solicitation of funds for them;
- the strategic communication of the Park and its objectives to the local business community and the national and international donor community;
- aligning the work with the development initiatives of government;
- good governance and financial accountability for projects;
- project management for development projects.

The Formation of Amangwe Village

Initial Momentum and Motivation: The Role of the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation

Early in its development, the ZCBF Community Park put on an educational and information exhibition on HIV/AIDS, to signal the organisers' concern about the pandemic. But as the situation worsened, more and more local people were being directly affected and it was necessary for the ZCBF to become engaged in concrete action. Therefore, in 1996, to confront the crisis, a disused farmhouse on a plantation was adapted and converted into a medical clinic named the Ethembeni Clinic. This, in turn, became Stage 1 of the Amangwe Village Partnership. When the Clinic relocated to its present position in 2002, a disused labour village, Stage 2 was inaugurated. Fuller details on the background and formation of Amangwe Village follow.

Stage 1: the Ethembeni Clinic (1996–2002)

A story repeatedly told by interviewees about the history of the initiative, is that when the effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic first began to be felt among the industries in the Richards Bay area, the medical practitioners, under the leadership of clinic sisters in the various industries, became increasingly concerned about the inadequacy of their facilities for dealing with those whose health was deteriorating so dramatically because of infection by the HIV virus and the onset of AIDS.³⁷ One of the problems that the clinic sisters identified was the need for a more holistic approach, including testing, counselling, recuperation and palliative care, especially for those who had been shunned by their families. Furthermore, these concerns started to be raised at a time when it was no longer possible for companies to continue a 'business as usual' policy in relation to the pandemic. HIV/AIDS was very much on the national agenda and, as the government was seen to be slow to react, some leaders in the private sector realised that they had to look to their own interests and take independent action. Moreover, it made business sense for companies to co-operate on a problem that was affecting them all. Thus, the decision was made at the ZCBF Board, which included senior representatives from supporting companies, to work together on finding ways of addressing the situation.

The core problems faced by the large companies were that: firstly, workers were already exhausting their medical aid benefits; secondly, provincial hospitals were refusing to take HIV/AIDS patients both because of lack of facilities and out of concern that they would be swamped by patients; and thirdly, HIV/AIDS patients themselves were perceived to be at risk in hospitals, because of the high concentration of germs. Furthermore, workers with HIV/AIDS were reluctant to use the occupational health clinics: they felt even more vulnerable because they did not want to be stigmatised by colleagues discovering that they were sufferers.

In a concerted attempt to address the problem, the companies decided to replicate the model that had already been adopted at the ZCBF Community Park: refurbishing and re-commissioning redundant buildings 'for complementary community development services'. This time, however the complementary services were related specifically to HIV/AIDS. In other words, the donation of facilities was an essential component. Just as in the previous Community Park, it was intended, firstly, that these facilities should be developed for specific individual services and utilised by them; and, secondly, that each of them would gradually become self-sustaining.

³⁷ It is common practice for industrial sites to have an on-site clinic, specifically for injuries occurring on duty and for medical monitoring of staff with chronic conditions.

Mondi, a member of the Anglo American Group of companies at Richards Bay, was approached by the Chairman of the Board of the ZCBF, with the result that Mondi initially agreed to donate a farmhouse in the forest to the Project, which was then converted into the Ethembeni Clinic. In this way, the area's first HIV/AIDS clinic was set up at this site in 1996; and was based there until 2002. One of the aims of the Clinic was to provide a discreetly located environment for testing and counselling. However, the Ethembeni Clinic also provided care for particular categories of people who were suffering, especially: those who had been deserted by their families; those who had been stigmatised by their families and local communities; and those whose families required assistance with palliative care for relatives in the final stages of their lives. Therefore, two further aims were: to provide holistic care and disease management for positive living; and, under the heading of palliative care, to provide facilities which would enable people to die with dignity outside of their own homes.

This is how a senior manager of one of the companies involved described the way in which the Clinic was set up:

At that stage we approached Mondi forest. They had a farmhouse out there and they offered it to us. The problem was that it was run down. We decided to refurbish the house. We got our own people in there and we spent about R100,000 to put water and electricity in and then the people came to the table, got beds and everything, and then we appointed a sister and we got the first indigent patients in, but they were paying patients. On 3rd December 1997, the Clinic was opened by the then Minister of Health and the Premier of KZN, Ben Ngubane. The Project started growing and growing, and eventually there was a greater need from the community than the businesses. We changed our business plan to allow for the community and we charged them a small fee, but we soon found they could not pay. They came in as indigent patients and could not pay. Eventually the Project became so successful and the corporates didn't give any money further, so that we had R500,000 left. We capped it and used the interest on that. We ran that thing and we were about one third short on running expenses and needed subsidies. We got enough money to turn over, to get it going, because our operating costs were very low, but as things changed and government started putting more pressure on us, we had to get a licence, and bureaucracy made it difficult to operate. We realised we could not continue like that. We were also bursting out of our seams.

However, after its establishment, it gradually became clear that the Ethembeni Clinic was both inadequate and inappropriate. Reasons for this included the size of the Clinic, as described by the above interviewee, and also the Clinic's location: patients were often attacked and robbed as they walked the long distance to the Clinic from the point where the taxis dropped them off. These difficulties led to a management review by the ZCBF, which agreed that the Clinic should be moved and that its management should become more directly responsible to the ZCBF. In 2002, under the leadership of the ZCBF, Mondi offered Amangwe Village as a new site for the Ethembeni Clinic (Stage 2). Thus, the Clinic relocated entirely from its first farmhouse location to Amangwe Village.

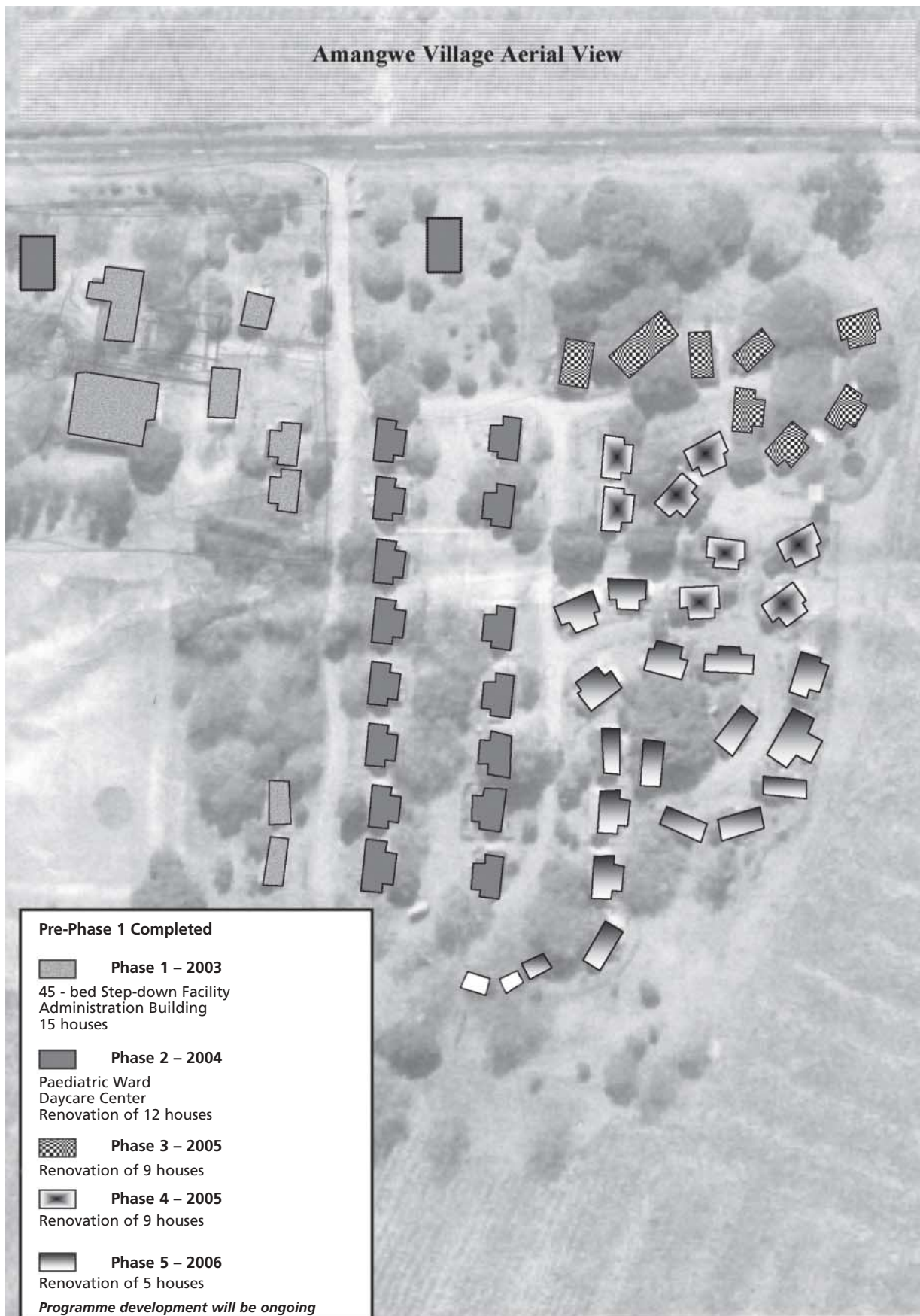
When the move to Amangwe took place, a new Project Manager was employed by the ZCBF. Her brief was to develop the model that had been in operation at the first Ethembeni Clinic site into an integrated but broader group of services. However, this change of management and aims was not without its difficulties and problems, because the original staff had become independent; and they resented the intrusion of new directives. One senior manager said:

There was immediate resistance from the sisters. They did not want to accept her and got aggressive and I had to intervene. There I learned another lesson about how people get affected and resist change tremendously... Eventually I had to step in, disciplinary action was taken and people were offered an out. They later tried to take legal action against me but I realised, for the benefit of the Project, I had to clean up the place. I then took it right back into the ZCBF fold and put it into our systems.

Under the new management structure, a comprehensive strategic plan was developed for Amangwe Village, in consultation with thirty-five stakeholder groups from NGOs and government departments, including the Department of Health. The strategy, referred to as a "one-stop shop", was a co-ordinated approach for a number of services to be offered from one location. These services would address the various dimensions of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. One interviewee said:

The main aim of Amangwe Partnership was not to reinvent the wheel but to identify gaps and offer services needed in the area. To get all NGOs in the area to decide what can the Project of Amangwe be used for. The idea is to strengthen the existing services in the area not by Amangwe only but by other NGOs in the area as well.

Amangwe Village Aerial View

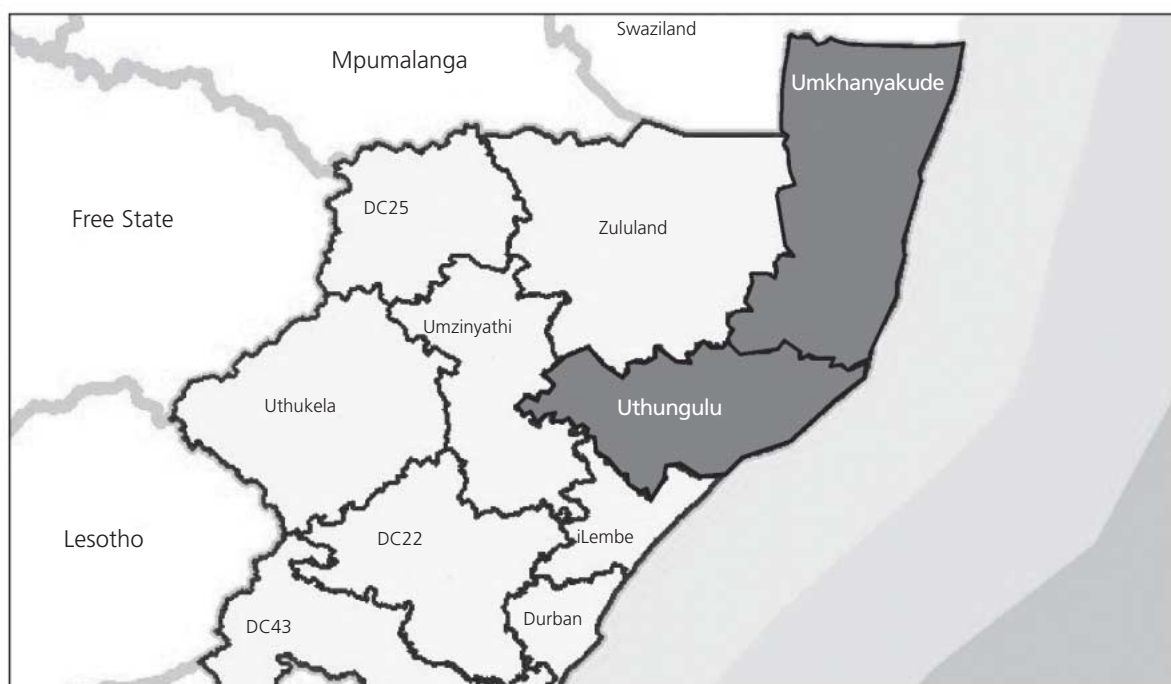


This strategic plan, developed in consultation with the Board of the ZCBF, is largely attributed to the Project Manager, who brought to it an interdisciplinary knowledge of integrated health systems from her studies in social work, business management and health care. Under her leadership, an integrated understanding of the systemic nature of HIV/AIDS was advocated to the local community which, in turn, was translated into a strategic plan to guide business in their investment. The Project Manager also consulted with the various NGOs and government partners and won their support for the strategy. The new strategy, in turn, fed into a repertoire of funding proposals to initiate and maintain the various elements of the “one-stop shop”. The first major task faced by the Partnership was to raise funding for the refurbishment and extension of the buildings. To do this, three groupings were established: the Ethembeni Clinic; Orphans and Vulnerable Children Services; and Community Outreach, Education and Training Services.

Stage 2: Amangwe Village: the Current Partnership Project

Location

“Amangwe Village is physically situated in the Uthungulu District Municipality (population of 762,791 and 122,784 households), within one of its six local municipalities, namely Kwambonambi (population of 92,613 and 13,024 households).”³⁸ The Village is about 30 kilometres past the Richards Bay/ Empangeni motorway, which makes it both accessible to the local communities and also hidden from the public gaze.



Regions covered by Amangwe Village³⁹

The new site at Amangwe Village was generally perceived to be in a more convenient and safe location, being situated less than a kilometre off the N2 highway. This appeared to be more suitable for the development of an integrated set of services in relation to HIV and AIDS, which could cover Districts 27 and 28 of KwaZulu-Natal, namely the Umkhanyakude and Uthungulu District Municipalities. The combined population of these two municipalities is 1,266,665.⁴⁰ Moreover, in 2001, the Village was no longer in use and was being taken over by informal settlers. Its location was commented on by two people involved with the Village:

³⁸ Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (November 2003), p. 9.

³⁹ Taken from Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (November 2003), p. 9.

⁴⁰ Statistics obtained from IDP (Integrated Development Plan) documents of Umkhanyakude (DC 27) and Uthungulu (DC 28) District Municipalities – as indicated in the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (May 2003).

A lot of people think it is way out because people from Richards Bay and Empangeni don't travel that way... there are so many surrounding communities there, which people don't see because they are off the N2.

There is a big, big local community around that area. It's accessible to them. It's on route, actually, to wherever they need to go. The thing is that it's a bit of a distance to walk from the town of Kwambo. Everyone from Sokhulu has to virtually come to the N2 to get anywhere. They have to pass Amangwe. So I believe the spot is excellent...

The village occupies an area of eight hectares. It originally consisted of fifty-four cottages, a recreational hall, crèche, clinic, administrative facilities, soccer fields and gardens. At the time of writing this report, the health facility, administrative block and eighteen houses have been renovated and a paediatric ward has been built. The total cost of R13,000,000 was provided mainly from the corporate sector.

The Services at Amangwe Village

As indicated on page 65, Amangwe Village has three groups of services; the Ethembeni Clinic, Orphans and Vulnerable Children Services and Community Outreach, Education and Training.

The Ethembeni Clinic

The new Ethembeni Clinic is located in Amangwe Village itself and keeps its name after the original site. It consists of a 45-bed step-down facility for patients who do not require intensive hospitalised treatment and a 16-bed paediatric ward designed for:

- inpatient and outpatient care;
- voluntary testing and counselling;
- bereavement counselling;
- anti-retroviral therapy;
- vitamin immune boosters and indigenous herbal therapy;
- a formal link to home based carers for ongoing monitoring and support.

The Ethembeni Clinic was described by the matron as providing hope to patients, by giving them a second chance in life. It is not a hospice for the terminally ill, but a place to rebuild lives around the reality of infection. Thus, there is an emphasis on proper care and nutrition, and the planning of family-related issues. Legal information is also offered in relation to children and possessions in the event of death.

Orphans and Vulnerable Children Services

This is a range of on-site and off-site services, administered from Amangwe Village, which are aimed at mitigating the impact of increased orphans and vulnerable children in the region.

The services include:

- a database used to identify, monitor and evaluate service provision;
- a day-care facility and toy library for rural use;
- programmes that promote access to health and nutrition, education, shelter and care, counselling, subsidies, property and inheritance rights, succession planning, memory boxes, children's rights, trained care-givers, and safe houses within communities;
- HIV/AIDS education programmes for schoolteachers (life skills) and young people (peer educators);
- co-ordinated services among all key stakeholders.

The Orphans and Vulnerable Children Services has a number of houses in Amangwe Village which, as an interim measure, are being used to set up foster families to care for children left destitute, until they can be reunited with their communities. It also has a crèche which provides training for crèches located in the community.

Community Outreach, Education and Training Services

This service co-ordinated from Amangwe Village includes:

- education and training for industry (employers and employees);
- positive living support groups in the community;
- home-based carers;
- a tool kit of services for Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME's);
- a self-sustainable organic vegetable and herb garden training, and a health food store;
- special conferences, camps and events.

The Partnership claims that it seeks to provide a node for a network of service providers operating HIV/AIDS projects in its field of operation. It was intended that links would be made with civil society organisations and with government departments in order to build the initiative into a tri-sector approach. In relation to civil society organisations, this has been achieved; and there are now strong links with a number of NGOs who operate together, in partnership, under the Amangwe banner, to provide a number of services to the community. As one interviewee explained:

The main aim of partnership is to strengthen the services that we can give out to the communities. To share resources, as NGOs have limited resources... we need to identify different areas where we have partnerships; we need to identify strengths from each partner. We hope to reach more people, especially from those partners where we are doing similar programmes instead of competing against each other. LifeLine has similar interests with Amangwe and similar areas of activities. We are in the crisis intervention business as we are the crisis counselling organisation. This goes hand in hand with what Amangwe is doing in the area of HIV/Aids. Like Amangwe, LifeLine cannot be all things to all people. Each of us has a role to play, each brings different expertise into the Partnership.

The Partners

The partners in Amangwe fall into three groups: the private sector; the public sector; and civil society organisations. There is also a fourth group of organisations that have provided funds for services; however, these are not represented as partners, but rather as "Friends of Amangwe".

Business Partners

Private sector involvement with Amangwe Village is seen by business partners as part of their corporate social responsibility portfolios. It develops out of their involvement, at board level, in the ZCBF. In addition to this, they perceive Amangwe Village as a shared service which provides HIV/AIDS support for employees. A former CEO of the ZCBF made reference to the "outsourcing of CSI"⁴¹ as a strategy to keep the corporates involved and to work together to enhance their impact. This CEO also commented on the nature of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSI) funding as "a shifting target" and as "soft money", which was used to create a fund that undertook the initial renovation of the Village.

The Business partners are Mondi, BHP Billiton Aluminium (Hillside and Bayside), Richards Bay Coal Terminal, and Richards Bay Minerals.

Mondi's operations are divided into two businesses, namely Mondi Business Paper and Mondi Packaging.⁴² The company operates in forty-six countries and has a current annual turnover of US \$7 billion. The company owns forests in the Richards Bay area and runs a large industrial plant in the vicinity. It is part of the Anglo American Group of companies. The operations in uMhlathuze focus on pulp and paper and woodchips for export.

⁴¹ Corporate Social Investment.

⁴² See *Mondi, South Africa*.

BHP Billiton Aluminium (Hillside and Bayside) is an amalgamation of BH and Billiton, which took place in 2001. The amalgamation created the world's largest diversified resources company, and the world's fourth largest producer of aluminium, operating in twenty countries. In Richards Bay, the company operates two smelters in Bayside and Hillside. Over the years, BHP Billiton Aluminium (Hillside and Bayside) has operated an extensive social investment programme in the area, with a specific interest in education and job creation.⁴³ BHP Billiton Aluminium (Hillside and Bayside) has remained the key business partner in Ethembeni. Along with Mondi, this company helped to fund the initial relocation of Ethembeni to Amangwe. It has also funded the building of the entire new forty-five bed clinic as well as that of a sixteen bed paediatric ward and the renovation of two houses. BHP Billiton Aluminium (Hillside and Bayside) is keen to ensure that the Ethembeni Clinic provides a service not only to its employees but also to the poor and indigent communities.

Richards Bay Coal Terminal is the single largest coal exporting terminal in the world, with an open storage area of 6.7 million tonnes and the capacity to export 72 million tonnes per annum.⁴⁴ The Richards Bay Coal Terminal has funded several features of Amangwe Village, including: the establishment of the crèche and the renovation of a house; the renovation and equipping of the toy library; the renovation and first year operating costs of the tuck shop; and the renovation of a number of foster houses.

Richards Bay Minerals is a leading producer of titanium minerals, high purity iron rutile and zircon. It supplies most of South Africa's needs in relation to these minerals and meets about a quarter of the world's demand. The company employs about 1,800 permanent staff and about 800 contractors at any particular time. It has a comprehensive social investment programme focusing on a 50 km radius of operations.⁴⁵ Richards Bay Minerals has paid to renovate four of the houses in Amangwe Village and since then has shifted its focus to the development of the health food shop and the community vegetable and herb gardens.

The Zululand Observer, a regional newspaper, has taken a lead role in promoting the corporate contribution to social development in Zululand. In particular, this publication has made a determined effort to ensure that the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation and Amangwe Village have had a high public profile.

Government Partners

In considering the role of government partners, one needs to take into account the extensive changes to government since 1994. The comprehensive policy and government infrastructure that had maintained separate and discriminatory provisions had to be dismantled and replaced by democratic policies and infrastructures. This has involved not only the rewriting of all policies but also the reconstitution of the country into nine provinces and three levels of government.

The Department of Welfare⁴⁶ is responsible for a range of welfare issues and, in particular, the paying of social grants to specific groups. These include pensions and child grants. It is a known fact that in many households the old age grant of about R700 is the main form of income to the family. In 1996, grants became available for everybody, including children, who were "unable to support themselves".⁴⁷

The ZCBF set up an advisory committee which the Department of Welfare and other stakeholders were invited to sit on. As a result, the Department of Welfare became interested in a number of aspects of Amangwe Village. One interviewee describes this as follows:

The plan at that stage was to start to cluster foster care where foster parents would look after the children. The foster children were planned to receive care and support from the services offered by the Centre. Management also wanted to start a database for all orphans, children and child headed households and to run a crèche. The broader concept of Amangwe was targeting the children of Sokhulu area, that is close to where the Village is located, with the crèche facility. The other service was to train the neighbouring crèches and empower other crèches to be able to run their services in terms of early childhood development. They also started the toy library that is operating now, and visit other crèches from time to time to share ideas.

⁴³ See BHP Billiton.

⁴⁴ See Mbendi, *Information for Africa: Richards Bay Coal Terminal Co. Ltd.*

⁴⁵ See Richards Bay Minerals.

⁴⁶ See Department: Public Service and Administration, South Africa.

⁴⁷ Department of Social Development (2004).

In order to ensure maximum coverage of their services, the Department of Welfare funds five posts at Amangwe Village: two social workers, two development workers and one supervisor. These posts focus on the orphans and vulnerable children. The Amangwe village crèche is now registered by the Department and receives a subsidy of R6 per day per child. The Department also takes ongoing responsibility for the crèche's needs, and this includes providing supervisory services.

The Department of Welfare's work with Amangwe is through a service level agreement. In essence, this means that Amangwe works as a sub-contractor for the Department. A member of the Department said:

In respect of Amangwe, in the HIV/AIDS Project, the Centre is supplementing what the Department can do and it offers a specialised service. It is giving and taking service delivery in partnership. For example, the Department can also use the information available in the database.

The same Department representative also said that they viewed partnerships as a group of people having an interest in providing services with similar focus areas and target groups, and with shared goals or ideas. Expectations of the Partnership are, to summarise in the words of the same interviewee:

- working out the Terms of Reference (ToR);
- understanding the ToR;
- looking at the legalities of the Partnership;
- outlining the roles of each partner up front;
- sorting out management and accountability issues;
- planning before implementation – this has happened with Amangwe Village Advisory Board.

The interviewee acknowledged further:

We are now starting to grow in partnership and we are still experiencing the teething problems of partnership. We are seeing the benefits of partnership. At the same time we need to grow and keep on improving partnership.

The Department of Education is responsible for public education throughout the province.⁴⁸ KwaZulu-Natal has the largest department of education in South Africa. It operates in four regions, with each one being broken into school districts. The Department of Education takes a specific interest in HIV/AIDS issues, specifically in relation to:

- educator mortality and the implications for teacher supply and demand;
- teacher productivity;
- sex education for learners;
- learner welfare.

The Department of Education does not contribute directly to Amangwe, but could be described as a 'social partner'. It shares the concern for HIV/AIDS, and uses the facilities and programmes to strengthen its own capacity. It bestows on Amangwe a political legitimacy in the field of education.

The Department of Health's policy of primary health care, through the building of community health clinics, has been paramount; health policy has been severely affected by the real health needs of the poorer and more rural communities. While the Department of Health is listed as a "partner", the perspective offered by Amangwe staff is that its partnership is more symbolic than operational. They indicate that the Department wants to be consulted and informed, but are not involved in day-to-day activities. However, the Department has influenced Amangwe significantly, mainly through its requirement for the original Ethembeni Clinic to be registered, in order for it to operate a service for which medical aid claims may be submitted. Thus, the Department of Health has maintained contact with Amangwe mainly by means of symbolic attendance at functions and through its medical compliance

⁴⁸ See KwaZulu Natal Department of Education.

inspections of Ethembeni. There is a strong movement within Amangwe Village and the ZCBF to get the Department to “join the party” and “get on board” more deeply.

Civil Society Partners

A number of civil society organisations are involved in Amangwe Village, including some small voluntary groups, such as the Women’s Institute, which donates clothes and other items to the village. The main civil society organisations involved in the Partnership are Zululand Lifeline and the Empangeni Justice Centre.

Zululand Lifeline was initially established as a telephone crisis response service and has developed into an organisation that offers crisis counselling for HIV/AIDS victims and their families. Its staff perceive their participation as strengthening the services offered to the community. In particular they see this to be the result of sharing resources, information and knowledge and the integration of various forms of expertise. Their perception is that their relationship is one of integrity and openness. One interviewee said:

We are able to spread our service to a broader community, reaching more companies, running more intensive programmes. I initially regarded communities as beneficiaries but now see it as helping people to help themselves.

The Empangeni Justice Centre is a parastatal organisation, funded by government, which provides basic legal services to the rural poor. This includes legal advice to individuals who have been affected by HIV/AIDS. The role of the Justice Centre staff within Amangwe Village includes regular monthly visits to deal with legal issues which have emerged for patients. They said of their work with Amangwe Village:

The legal service works with Amangwe. They have identified the legal needs of their beneficiaries. We work with them because it helps us both meet our goals. It is a stable relationship.

The Rotary Club of Richards Bay is a significant civil society partner. The Club has funded the renovation and furnishing of two visitor accommodation houses as well as providing ongoing support through the Richards Bay Round Table.

The Role of Partnership Broker and Champion

As previously discussed, the Zululand Chamber Business Foundation has been the catalyst organisation for the development of Amangwe Village. With its Board, management infrastructure and advisory committee, the ZCBF is the convener for the stakeholder group that originally shaped the Project. The ZCBF has also fulfilled the roles of both broker and leader. Through its Board of Governors, this organisation is responsible for the management and financial administration of the Partnership; and, operating from this position, it has negotiated a number of one-to-one agreements between itself and the partners. This strategy, which has been driven largely by the management team of the ZCBF, needs to be understood within the context of the business strategy of that organisation.

Community Connections

Amangwe Village is referred to in its promotional literature as “a flagship intervention between business, government and communities to address HIV/AIDS.”⁴⁹ In the interviews with Amangwe Village staff, it was commented that Amangwe’s purpose was to bring hope to HIV/AIDS patients and their families by assisting them to rebuild their lives around the reality of their infection.

Initiating and maintaining the necessary links with the community and providing a service to its members have both involved considerable challenges for Amangwe Village, as well as providing benefits for its work. The Village’s links with the community can be divided into at least two distinct categories. These are as service providers for those affected by HIV/AIDS and those infected with HIV/AIDS.

⁴⁹ Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (May 2003) and (Nov. 2003).

Volunteers associated with Amangwe claim that they receive practical assistance from the staff at the crèche in the form of letter writing to the authorities. One interviewee said, “I was introduced by the area councillor to the Social Worker of Amangwe Village. I am currently receiving food and clothes for the children.” Another said:

I am looking after four children who were left by my parents when they both died. Amangwe assisted me in looking after these children. They are 11, 13, 18 and 20 years old. All four children are attending school. Amangwe employed me in August as a cleaner and I am very grateful for my job.

Other statements by interviewees described the following benefits:

The Child Care Committee provides the community with information about the activities offered by the centre. We have knowledge of the crèche and services rendered by the social workers.

The patients receive care and medication free of charge at Ethembeni Hospital if they do not have money. Sometimes you only pay after recovery.

At the crèche, the orphans receives education and food without payment. We have been informed that the foster homes are now renovated and being used. Orphans also receive education for their future survival.

Structures and Systems

The Partnership

The Amangwe Village Partnership is a complex one and is itself located within a complex organisation, the Zululand Chamber Business Foundation. The ZCBF, which emerged as a voluntary arm of the Chamber of Business, attracts stakeholder organisations concerned with social development as well as providing a CEO Forum. The ZCBF also manages a number of projects with a considerable amount of cross-subsidising between income generating projects and community development projects. The ZCBF draws on a number of revenue streams including: income from renting office space; providing services to business; and, receiving donations and grants. It also provides services to projects that include: fund raising; financial and organisational management; and, marketing and reporting.

Rather than relying on written partnership agreements or Memoranda of Understanding (MoU), partnership relations are defined by means of a variety of project proposals, which are embedded within the language of partnership. Moreover, key strategic documents are used to provide an overview of the Project as a whole, and also to direct potential funding partners to the particular areas for which funding is required. There is, however, one MoU with the Department of Welfare, concerning staff placements which it has established in the Project's services for orphans and vulnerable children.

Within the Partnership, there are different forms of communication, from informal bi-monthly or tri-monthly management meetings to the more formal quarterly feedback meetings of the major corporate partners. Regular workshops are also held with the NGO partners and volunteers, although one interviewee commented: “The attendance in the workshop has thinned out, maybe due to pressures and workloads. I think the objectives of the meetings need to be redefined.” Stakeholders in the business community also believe that there is a need for better communication channels within the Project; and a number of interviewees indicated the need for a more participatory approach from all those involved. Moreover, it is clearly and consistently expressed that communication with the government needs to be more strategic and better planned. This includes identifying the right persons to whom questions and problems should be addressed.

A government partner indicated that communication is somewhat *ad hoc*:

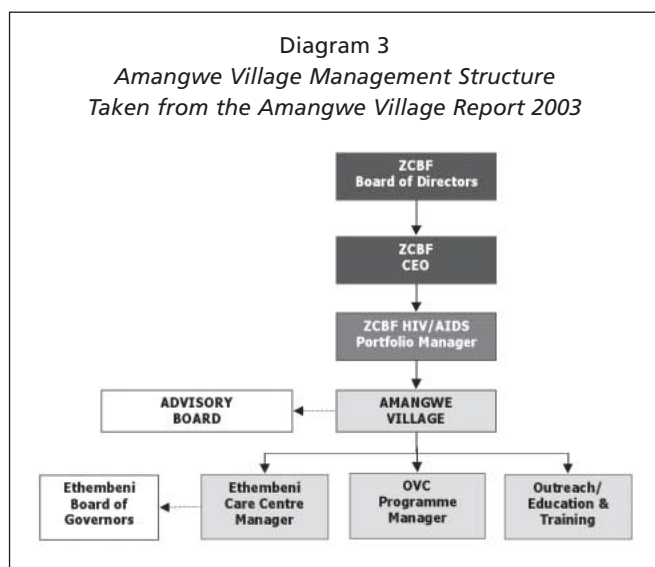
...when the need arises for services Amangwe contact us. In terms of the crèche, it (the communication) is ongoing. In terms of the meetings, it has been a while now that we haven't had a formal and structured meeting with Amangwe.

They also indicated that they would like to see advisory committee meetings being “revived and continued, with meetings on less of an *ad hoc* basis”. The point was added that: “...we also need report backs from Amangwe, as was happening in the planning phase.”

The question of monitoring and evaluation is a sensitive one in the Partnership. One of the strengths that staff in the ZCBF pride themselves on is the quality of their financial accountability. Another is the quality of feedback they give to funders in the form of reports. However, although a developed programme of monitoring and evaluation has been discussed for some time, there does not appear to be any evidence of such a programme at present.

Amangwe Village Management Structure

Amangwe Village has twenty-two members of staff, five subsidised by government and the rest paid for from funds raised by the Zululand Chamber Business Foundation from multi-nationals and donor agencies.



The three groupings that make up the village are managed by on-site staff supported by the ZCBF's service functions. Each manager has an operational plan that is negotiated with the other managers and with the ZCBF. The management structure, which is shown in Diagram 3, indicates the relationship between the Board of Directors and the management of Amangwe Village. In addition to its Board of Directors, Amangwe Village has an Advisory Board that is made up of stakeholders with knowledge and experience of HIV/AIDS. Because of the need for medical expertise, the Ethembeni Clinic, while being the responsibility of the ZCBF Board of Directors, also has its own Board of Governors. Financial management of the Project is controlled centrally through the Commercial Director at the ZCBF. The Commercial Director reports directly to the CEO of the ZCBF, and through him, to the Board of Directors. Staff at

Amangwe are employees of the ZCBF. They are supported by the five staff posts subsidised by the Department of Welfare.

Formal decision-making occurs through the management process illustrated in Diagram 3. This is supplemented by regular one-to-one meetings with Project funders and mediated through a culture of respect for staff working on the ground, so that their analyses and recommendations for action are taken seriously at Board level. In particular, their ideas on how to move the focus of action from the Village to the community are utilised to determine strategy and the allocation of resources.

Critical Issues

Both the Partnership and its management have faced a number of critical issues, which they are continuing to address and work through. Principal among these are the following.

Project Inception

The primary critical issue was to articulate a project that could meaningfully engage with the complexity of HIV/AIDS, and do so in a systemic manner. Implicit in this was the need to engage business in the issues. The second critical issue was the need to understand the complexities of working with various businesses, each of which had its own corporate social investment (CSI) strategy, and to persuade them to take up and maintain involvement in the Project. That this outcome did occur is most probably due to the ZCBF's early and successful development of the Partnership Project into a coherent business plan, with its own goals, targets and budgets. This enabled business partners to identify with it. Thus, support was achieved at a high level within the partner companies. All this

suggests that the critical issues at inception were not so much in the definition of the Project, but rather in the definition of the partnership process and finding the right way to attract and involve potential partners.

Business Engagement

Many of the core business partners are becoming more discerning in relation to their participation, and are beginning to question the centralised approach of the Partnership. They want more autonomy in relation to the individual services in which they are involved and are becoming increasingly concerned about sustainability. Indeed, as one of the major challenges currently facing the Partnership and its management, sustainability touches in turn on a number of related issues, which concern not only costs but also legislation and staff turnover.

Financial Sustainability and Accountability

Amangwe has not yet developed a sustainable financial model. For both infrastructure development and running costs, it is still heavily reliant on business contributions. This is potentially an acute problem in relation to the Ethembeni Clinic. For while sustainability is a concern to the business partners, they have made it clear that they do not want to remain involved with the ongoing operating costs that they are currently subsidising. This type of 'soft funding' is unlikely to provide sustainability if it remains the sole approach, because it relies on the companies' corporate social investment (CSI) budgets, which fluctuate from year to year. As an interviewee from one of these companies said:

We don't have long-term money available to commit to the Project out of the CSI budget. We are now paying for teachers' salaries. That was not our original intention. We are happy in getting things up and running but once you get into operating costs, the Project never becomes self-sustainable... self-sustainable does not mean 'with donations'.

The amount of money that has gone into the Project has raised questions about whether the result of the investment, i.e. the renovation of the Village, must somehow be preserved at all costs, so that it will continue to be viewed as a positive and visible undertaking that has been initiated by the private sector. Moreover, it is thought by some that the substantial funding that has been devoted to infrastructure has been at the expense of specific services. This viewpoint was strongly implied by one interviewee:

It's like Amangwe's got to be this shining star and they must have everything that switches on and off and they must have fancy furniture and fancy gardens and fancy paintwork and fancy buildings. We don't believe this is necessary to make the Project work.

The crèche also raises financial issues. Between six to twenty children attend the crèche each day, and in various interviews with Amangwe Village staff, concern was expressed about the excessive per capita costs. An interviewee from one of the companies stated:

At the moment, if you think we've spent R500,000,⁵⁰ they have 16 children currently in the crèche. That's big money to spend... for the impact. It's pouring money into a pit. Not a hopeless pit. There are some people benefiting, but when you are spending that kind of money you would like to be impacting on more people's lives.

Other critical issues relate to how funding is allocated and the requirements of funding agencies on financial reporting. At present, individual funders require the details of expenditure that are directly related to their own individual financial input. However, the practice of Amangwe Village management has been to maintain an integrated financial management system which allocates funds to projects on the basis of percentage calculations. Because some funders require reporting on actual itemised expenses against specific project budgets, this tends to be seen as an illogical imposition by those who oversee the whole and hence envisage expenditure in a quite different way. As one manager said:

Now they come in with their auditors and ask for a project telephone account. But we say, 'no, we have an integrated approach.' But they insist. They want a separate telephone account.

⁵⁰ This figure includes the refurbishment of the facilities and has to be considered against the daily cost per child, which is in the region of R30.

Staff Issues

Closely linked to the issue of financial sustainability is that of staff retention. Although in interviews with Amangwe staff it was considered important that the Partnership Project should be seen as a career opportunity which would draw in innovative and dedicated staff, this aim has been difficult to achieve when only short-term employment contracts are offered. Amangwe Village has trained and managed a large number of volunteer health care workers who work out in the community. The first cohort of such trained health care workers was paid a small stipend by one of the business partners, but this approach proved to be unsustainable. Staff at Amangwe Village had understood that the local municipality would continue to fund this service, but this has not happened.

For these reasons, among others, there has been a considerable turnover of staff; and this, particularly in leadership positions, has had a significant impact on Amangwe Village and, at times, has even left it floundering. The departure of the Project Manager in early 2003 led to a professional vacuum from which the Village has only recently started to recover, following the appointment of a new Manager. The vision which particular members of staff carried, which may not be entirely shared by their successors, for example, in the change of Project Managers, may have added to the difficulties of sustainability. Carrying previous policies and strategies through is a major challenge for any new manager taking over such a strategic position.

Government Engagement

There is an acknowledgement that the Amangwe Village Project is one which would not necessarily have been instigated by the government; and although there are some who think the Partnership is doing the work of the government, others believe that they may be expecting too much from government by asking them to become partners in a project which they would not necessarily have initiated. One manager commented: "But the problem is, we have done things not normally done by government... and then we want them to come to the party." Setting up a project which has not considered the resources of government is also one which the Partnership is now beginning to address, as one business manager acknowledged: "It becomes a problem in choosing a model..." However, a decision has been made to turn Ethembeni from a Clinic offering step-down facilities which could not be funded under government policy, into a hospital, which may mean there is more room for negotiation with the Department of Health.

In relation to government engagement, the lack of involvement of the Department of Health in the Partnership was raised by many of those interviewed.⁵¹ While management interviewees were frustrated by the lack of involvement, there was an acknowledgement among them about capacity problems within the Department: "I cannot get to the Minister and I cannot get to the Director General. It's just a lack of capacity in the Department of Health." (ZCBF manager). The lack of involvement by the Department, however, may also be due to policy within the Department, because its officials perceive the Ethembeni Clinic as a private health resource. In addition, the ZCBF does not have any Memorandum of Understanding with the Department of Health, as it does with the Department of Welfare. One interviewee felt that this lack of an agreement had had an effect:

We should have gone to the Department of Health and got them to commit. We could have indicated that we would build the facility and initially look after it. Let the Minister of Health agree and sign a Memorandum of Understanding that they are going to take it over. Even then, if they took it over after five years, or even three – but there will be a time line and a budget item.

The Department of Health's distance from the Partnership and Amangwe Village means that there is genuine concern about the survival of the Ethembeni Clinic. The current Manager of Amangwe Village stated: "The involvement of the government for the sustainability of Ethembeni is critical." If the Department were to be more positively involved in the Partnership, concerns about its survival might be alleviated. As another interviewee said: "If Health comes in now and takes the facility over, it will run forever." Suggested strategies for dealing with the lack of involvement included the need to target government officials more strategically:

...it's ongoing communication, it's perseverance, you need to lobby, it's almost a case of putting someone on it 24 hours a day... find out the exact person...

⁵¹ An interview with this Department was rescheduled three times but, unfortunately, in the end, did not take place.

Concern about under-utilisation also affects the way in which the Partnership perceives Ethembeni's effectiveness and therefore its long-term survival. As has been discussed previously, it is questionable whether the Department of Health will ultimately undertake financial responsibility for the Clinic; and therefore, the long-term viability of this part of the Project is a major concern for Amangwe Village.

Ethical Issues

By law, individuals do not have to disclose their HIV status and most statistical analysis on the disease is inferential. This issue of disclosure and non-disclosure of HIV status has had a direct impact on the Project. The public's perceptions of Amangwe Village is that it is a facility dedicated to HIV/AIDS and therefore the patients and users of Amangwe services, by inference and association, must all be HIV positive. This label not only stigmatises patients but, either potentially or actually, alienates them from their community; and this may lead to total rejection. A dramatic example was given in an anecdote related by an interviewee concerning a man who was dumped, from a car, outside the gates of Amangwe Village. The car did not wait, but left the man, slumped, in front of the gates. He died the following day. No family members or friends ever came back to enquire about him. Unfortunately, the issue of disclosure, together with those surrounding it, cannot be easily overcome and the staff of the Village has to work with these difficulties.

The crèche also raises ethical questions about taking children out of their home environment. As a member of staff at Amangwe Village said:

Our concern is taking children out of a rural kind of an environment into a private kind of a standard and then when they come out, putting them back into their own community.

Take-up of Services

Although the Ethembeni Clinic provides nursing care both for the sick and also for patients who are in the terminal stages of their illness, it is apparent that the Clinic is under-utilised. In discussions with staff at Amangwe Village, it was commented on that a perception has grown, particularly in relation to aspects of the Project that relate to social welfare, that the 'real work' happens in the local community. Thus there has been a movement towards seeing Amangwe Village as a place to work *from* rather than a place to work *at*. This may be due to various causes, including:

1. the lack of an operating budget;
2. the issues of patients, and of disclosure and anonymity relating to patients, who by the very fact of *being* patients at the Clinic, are implicitly disclosing their HIV status. Thus, in effect, physical 'admission' to the Clinic means 'admission' of status; and the stigma involved means that individuals, who might wish to become patients if anonymity were preserved, actually prefer to find other 'private' alternatives, such as public hospitals, where they will not be labelled and potentially isolated and stigmatised;
3. the distinction between paying and non-paying patients, which is also becoming an ethical dilemma for some of the partners. One of the Amangwe Village volunteers clearly linked the under-utilisation of resources to payment for treatment: "The hospital is nearer to the community but it is not fully utilised by the locals, as people who have no admission fee cannot be admitted in the hospital."⁵² It is interesting that many of the partners argue that if corporate social investment funds are being used, then the Ethembeni Clinic should provide a free community service, although its management maintains that to do so would not be financially viable because the costs would be prohibitive. Patients on medical benefit funds are, by implication, workers, and should be catered for, at Ethembeni, through the normal benefit procedures. The issue of payment remains an unresolved dilemma within the Partnership, and this appears to create confusion within the local community too.

⁵² It is interesting to note that this comment contradicts a previous observation contained in this case study. The discrepancy possibly indicates confusion in the local community about the Clinic and health fees.

Consideration has been given to other ways of sustaining the work and funding of the Clinic, including offering its services to patients with other illnesses where step-down facilities would be appropriate, for example, for stroke and heart attack patients. However, to date there has been little take-up of these services. It is unclear whether this is because of the Clinic's established association with HIV/AIDS, or whether there are other reasons which the Partnership have not yet been able to identify.

Conclusion

The Amangwe Village Partnership has clearly initiated a project which sets out to address the issues of HIV/AIDS in the community. Although the infrastructure development is ahead of schedule, there is a sense that the vision is taking longer to realise than was first anticipated owing to interlinked factors, both narrowly specific and broadly general, which include: the hiatus caused by the previous Project Manager leaving; a growing realisation of the real human and financial costs associated with managing the pandemic; and the fact that deeply held beliefs, entailing taboos and stigmas, can be resilient to planned interventions. In addition, the lack of a systematic monitoring and evaluation programme has, so far, made it difficult for the Partnership and the managers of Amangwe Village to ascertain the impact that the Project as a whole is making on the wider community.

Clearly, the HIV/AIDS pandemic is too big and too complex to be approached by different sectors separately. Given the span and scale of its physical, psychological and socio-economic manifestations and effects, a response that involves a comprehensive, integrated and aligned strategy is absolutely essential. A programme with the breadth of vision and the heart of Amangwe is both rare and risky, because it relies on the goodwill and dedication of people working together in a common endeavour to meet a crisis situation, and doing so via a multiplicity of strategies and networks, yet not necessarily with the assurance either of a firm overall structure or of long-term backing.

By bringing together a wide variety of discrete partnership projects, and by operating them alongside one another in close physical proximity, the series of partnerships operating at Amangwe may be claimed to draw on distinctive competencies in an integrated way. That is to say, it does so by means of convergent approaches that both presuppose and lead to integration. Indeed, since the intention is not only to assist beneficiaries but also for all stakeholders to interact and learn together, multidisciplinary approaches can develop and be learned through practice. Furthermore, Amangwe Village illustrates some of the ways in which working procedures need to be negotiated and agreed between potential partners, particularly when these concern operational costs of services, and when they relate to different expectations. Above all, Amangwe offers some rich learning as a possible partnership model.

The Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA)⁵³

The Wider Context

Zambia is one of the countries in Southern Africa that has been most affected by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. At the end of 2001, about 21.5 per cent of the adult population in the country was infected.⁵⁴ Statistics three years later show the infection rate at about 16 per cent of the adult population.⁵⁵ Although the figure appears to have decreased, it is still extremely high; and it is widely acknowledged that, in reality, 100 per cent of the Zambian population is affected by HIV/AIDS, simply because no single individual or organisation has escaped the impact of the illness. In addition, the most affected age group in terms of infection, aged between 15–49 years, is also the most productive and reproductive.⁵⁶

The emergence of HIV/AIDS in the country since 1984 has exacerbated an already complex economic situation.⁵⁷ “Zambia is presently one of the world’s most heavily indebted low-income countries”,⁵⁸ with about 85 per cent of the population living on less than one US dollar per day.⁵⁹ The Central Statistical Office in Zambia states that over the past ten to fourteen years, the unemployment rate has increased most in Lusaka, from 13.7 per cent in 1990 to the current 26 per cent in 2004.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, corresponding employment figures vary considerably, but most agree that well over half the population attempt to make ends meet through activities in the informal sector, with women dominating this sphere. A recent *Living Conditions Monitoring* report suggests that 60 per cent of the labour force operates in the informal sector while formal employment (in the private sector, and in government and parastatal organisations) stands at 16 per cent.⁶¹

Throughout the 1990s, information within the private sector on the economic impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic remained limited.⁶² However, from 2000 onwards, reports began to emerge that indicated an increase of HIV/AIDS-related ‘morbidity’⁶³ and mortality cases in the workplace,⁶⁴ leading to a loss of trained and experienced personnel. Many companies were experiencing increasing absenteeism due to illness and attendance at funerals, which resulted in lower productivity, loss of profit and increased health bills and funeral expenses. According to the information available, a number of small companies collapsed following the deaths of key personnel.⁶⁵

As the impact of the pandemic has grown, businesses have felt its effects more deeply. In many Southern African countries, groups of businesses have joined together, often with government bodies and NGOs, to share approaches to HIV/AIDS, in an acknowledgement of the importance of fighting the illness.⁶⁶

Formation of the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA)

Against this background, the Chief Executives of four of the largest leading companies namely, BP Zambia Plc, Barclays Bank, Standard Chartered Bank and Zambia National Commercial Bank met in 1999, to discuss the health status of their workers and the effect of the pandemic on their business. Following this, in the same year, and with the support of the United Nations AIDS Programme (UNAIDS) and Zambia’s UN Country Team (UNCT), a delegation from Zambia consisting of representatives from the business community, young people and UN personnel went to Thailand to study the strategies of the Thailand Business Coalition on AIDS, which involved the private sector in

⁵³ This case study is authored by Kawwanga Yambayamba, Leda Stott and Melanie Rein. *Editors*.

⁵⁴ AVERT (2003).

⁵⁵ *The Post Newspaper* (December 14, 2004).

⁵⁶ Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA) (2001), p. iii.

⁵⁷ Kalungu-Banda (2000).

⁵⁸ Saasa (2002), p. 26.

⁵⁹ FASAZ (2003), p. 1. The links between health and poverty have been well documented by Cohen (2003).

⁶⁰ *The Times of Zambia*, ‘CSO Says 3 Million Educated Zambians Without Work’, October 20, 2004.

⁶¹ LCMS (2004), p. 65. The remaining 24 per cent is accounted for by household employees (2 per cent), unpaid family workers (20 per cent) and piece workers (2 per cent).

⁶² Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (2004), pp. 10–14.

⁶³ ‘Morbidity’ in this context means the ‘rate or prevalence of the disease’.

⁶⁴ Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (2004), pp. 10–14.

⁶⁵ Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (2001), p. iii.

⁶⁶ Oxford Analytica (2002).

HIV/AIDS prevention control programmes.⁶⁷ This led to the founding of Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA) on April 27, 2000. To speed up the process, the UNCT gave initial support to the ZBCA by housing its secretariat and providing it with a seed grant of US \$73,000.⁶⁸

The ZBCA was established as an umbrella organisation whose task was to advocate and promote activities concerned with prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS in the Zambian business sector. Companies were encouraged to join as members and to pay a small membership fee to support HIV/AIDS prevention and care and the provision of policy guidelines for HIV/AIDS mitigation in the workplace. Income from membership was supplemented by substantial donor funding from bodies such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria.⁶⁹

In order to deal with the problem as effectively as possible, the ZBCA adopted the following strategies:

- advocacy and lobbying to increase membership;
- formulation and implementation of policy on HIV/AIDS;
- multi-sectoral involvement in planning programmes;
- informal and formal education about HIV/AIDS;
- training of Peer Educators and counsellors;
- counselling, care and support services;
- condom availability;
- lobbying, sourcing, procurement and supply of drugs and immune-boosters;
- research activities;
- capability building;
- lobbying for enactment of laws on HIV /AIDS.

Standard approaches to programmes in the workplace and policy guidelines for the ZBCA member companies were also developed. Underpinning these guidelines were the issues of human rights and dignity, and the prevention of all forms of discrimination, these being principles articulated in Zambia's constitution.

The vision of the ZBCA was to implement and co-ordinate HIV/AIDS programmes at the workplace in Zambia by bringing organisations together to share experiences, training materials and information, in order to ensure that there was no duplication of efforts and work.

The objectives of the coalition, which were revised in a new constitution in 2005, are as follows:⁷⁰

- to provide technical support to companies to establish HIV/AIDS prevention, care and support programmes through sensitisation, training and workshops, information, education and communication materials, and appropriate linkages;
- to support and promote the development of workplace policies and programmes that are non-discriminatory and that encourage openness about HIV/AIDS;

⁶⁷ This visit took place because the UN Resident Co-ordinator at the time had visited Thailand prior to coming to Zambia in November 1998. She had been impressed by the work of the Thailand Business Coalition on AIDS, a response which she shared with the UN Country Team in Zambia. See Sibanda & Mwaanga (2002).

⁶⁸ Many of the members of the ZBCA are regional or local offices of corporations or large companies which require approval from their head offices for release of funds to support such ventures. Because of the time required for the release of funds, the UN offered early support.

⁶⁹ See *Global Fund* (ii).

⁷⁰ The changes outlined in 2005 demonstrate a more focused approach from the original objectives which were: to prevent and minimise HIV/AIDS infection through the provision of educational programmes, counselling and condom distribution to staff of member companies either at work or other identified location; to promote non-discrimination and encourage openness about HIV/AIDS through sensitisation of staff at all levels; to deal humanely and appropriately with persons with HIV/AIDS by establishing a conducive workplace environment and policies; to complement education with supportive services; and to support HIV programmes outside work places, e.g. youth programmes.

- to provide support to member organisations to establish workplace policies and programmes that are humane and supportive to people affected or infected with HIV/AIDS;
- to support and promote member organisations to establish HIV/AIDS policies and workplace programmes that incorporate the broader community;
- to provide member organisations with best practice guidelines and to actively promote, support and monitor the implementation of best practice workplace policies and programmes;
- to lobby and advocate on behalf of the business sector and aspire to be a high profile organisation by consulting with key decision makers such as the government and other stakeholders on HIV/AIDS issues;
- to source funds for sub-granting for member organisations.

The Partners

The ZBCA has a membership of fifty-four private companies and NGOs, plus a further eight NGO partners which implement various aspects of the ZBCA's activities. These are known as the 'implementing partners'. Generally, the term 'partner' does not apply to the fifty-four members, although three of the implementing partners are also members of the ZBCA.

Implementing partners

The eight implementing partners are:

- the Zambia Health Education and Communication Trust;
- the Comprehensive HIV/AIDS Management Programme;
- Afya Muzuri (a Swahili term meaning 'Good Health');
- the AIDS Workplace Programmers in Southern Africa;
- the Copperbelt Health Education Programme;
- Strengthening the AIDS Response, Zambia;
- KARA Counselling Training Trust;
- the Network of Zambian People living with HIV/AIDS.

The first three listed above are both members and partners of the ZBCA. The remaining five are partners but not members. The activities of all eight are co-ordinated by the ZBCA.

All these implementing partners specialise in different aspects of HIV/AIDS training and care, and their roles in the Partnership are multidimensional. They are involved in: the development of workplace policies; the provision of materials and information on HIV/AIDS; the provision of anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs); and the training of Peer Educators. These are employees of companies who are trained to talk openly to their peers about the issues of HIV/AIDS, and to work at all levels of a business, from senior director levels through middle management to lower levels of the workforce. Peer Educators have become an important factor in the workplace, as they are encouraged to speak freely and share information with their fellow employees on how to combat the pandemic.

The core incentive for the involvement of these NGOs in the ZBCA is that through the connection with the ZBCA, they not only keep in touch with the current trends in HIV/AIDS, but through their own NGO network, they are able to grow and learn from one another. There is also a financial benefit through funds such as the Global Fund, which is accessed through the Zambia National AIDS Network.⁷¹

⁷¹ See p. 78.

ZBCA Members: Companies and Organisations

Members include: firstly, independent companies, such as BP Zambia, Barclays Bank of Zambia, Chilanga Cement Plc, Standard Chartered Bank of Zambia and Zambia National Commercial Bank and; secondly, parastatal organisations such as Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO Ltd.): and, thirdly, local NGOs such as Africare. These organisations pay annual membership fees to the ZBCA, which vary according to the size of the workforce. The membership fees are structured so that for every fifty employees, the company pays K500,000 (approximately US \$100). A company with up to fifty employees thus pays K500,000 while one with between fifty-one and one hundred employees pays K1,000,000, and so on. As the money collected from membership fees is not enough to run the operations of the ZBCA Secretariat, some companies and other organisations also make in-kind contributions, such as office space: the Zambia National Commercial Bank (ZANACO) for instance, currently houses the ZBCA Headquarters; and Total Zambia made a one-off contribution of fuel for transport. UNDP, meanwhile, contributes stationery.

An organisation's membership of the ZBCA enables its employees to receive various services from the ZBCA through the implementing partners. Although membership fees differ, the services provided by the ZBCA remains the same irrespective of the size of the company. Some examples of the services offered are: voluntary counselling and testing; information packs; training of Peer Educators; condom distribution. Anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment is currently being provided by individual member companies which cover their own costs.⁷²

Public Sector Involvement

The National AIDS Council (NAC) is the national government body for the implementation of HIV/AIDS interventions.⁷³ It provides secretarial services to the Committee of Ministers, the supreme policy making body on HIV/AIDS.⁷⁴ The NAC is not a ZBCA partner but plays a co-ordinating role for all HIV/AIDS initiatives in the country, of which the ZBCA is just one.

The NAC's main function is to co-ordinate and support the development, monitoring and evaluation of the multi-sectoral national response for the prevention and combating of the spread of HIV, sexually transmitted infections (STI) and tuberculosis (TB) in order to reduce the personal, social and economic impact of these. It works through eight HIV/AIDS Standing Technical Committees that act as advisory bodies on specific component activities under the intervention plan. These Committees are composed of experts who are not necessarily staff members of the NAC. Each Standing Committee may form sub or special committees to address specific outputs or emerging concerns.⁷⁵

The Standing Technical Committees include those on: the promotion of safe sex practices; the prevention of mother-to-child transmission; safe blood and blood products; the improvement of the health status of HIV positive people with symptoms; the promotion of positive living; the improvement of care for orphans; the HIV/AIDS information network and monitoring systems; and co-ordination. The Standing Committee on HIV/AIDS Information Network and Monitoring Systems is responsible for: the development of the monitoring and evaluation and database; ensuring that programme specific interventions are regularly monitored; supporting operational research, sexual behaviour and sentinel surveillance; and ensuring that technical support is provided to various organisations. Meanwhile the Standing Committee on Co-ordination is responsible for the following: ensuring that the capacity of the NAC and its secretariat is strengthened and consolidated; strengthening the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS in all developmental works, both public and private, and at all levels (national, provincial and district); improving co-ordination of multi-sectoral interventions at all levels; and facilitating the sharing of experiences.

⁷² It is worth mentioning here that the cost of ARV treatment is heavily subsidised by the Zambian government. Currently, it costs K40,000 (slightly less than US \$8.) per employee per month.

⁷³ *National HIV/AIDS/STI/TB Intervention Strategic Plan 2002–2005* (2003), p. 39.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Structure and Systems

The Partnership has been formalised with a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between members and implementing partners. The ZBCA acts as umbrella organisation with an established Secretariat. The Secretariat consists of six members of staff, headed by an Executive Director. The role of the ZBCA is to co-ordinate the whole Partnership. There are three main areas of the ZBCA's operation. These are: firstly, a co-ordinating, networking, collaboration and advocacy function; secondly, the provision of technical advisory services; and thirdly, sub-granting and sub-contracting, including the monitoring and evaluation of the Partnership. Communication to the member companies is mainly through quarterly newsletters, although the Executive Director meets informally with the Chief Executives of the various member companies.

The Secretariat is responsible for: the day to day running of the Partnership; the co-ordination of monthly meetings with the implementing partners; reporting to the partner companies; and the mobilisation, management and disbursement of financial resources from various donors, especially from international organisations such as the Global Fund, the UNDP, The World Bank and other sources. Decisions pertaining to the activities within the ZBCA are made at the monthly meetings with the implementing partners. As mentioned earlier, the Secretariat also conducts self-monitoring and evaluation of the ZBCA's activities, although currently this is not done on a full-scale basis. There are, however, plans to develop a wide range of parameters according to which the evaluation of the member companies will be carried out.

Community Connections

The ZBCA Partnership's links with the wider community are made through those companies which possess implemented workplace programmes. For example, immediate families of HIV positive employees also have free access to information packs and condoms, as well as ARV treatment if necessary. The numbers of families which have received such assistance is not known at present and it was not possible for the research team to obtain figures for this.

Another channel for links with the community is through the media. Some ZBCA members regularly present information on their HIV/AIDS strategies through TV, radio and print media. As a result, the wider community is made aware of the illness and the strategies that may be adopted to manage it.

The issue of gender indicates deeply complex factors in the HIV/AIDS situation and has direct implications for the mission of organisations like the ZBCA to reach out to the wider community, for the following reasons. The ZBCA has observed that many male workers who obtain free access to information in their workplace do not share it with their female partners and immediate families. There is therefore an information gap that discriminates against women; and this especially pertains to the use of condoms. While the ZBCA encourages male workers to bring their partners along for training as well, in reality, this does not happen. As a result, the ZBCA is now addressing the issue of access to information by the family members of male workers.

An Information Education Materials Centre has been established at the ZBCA. This resource centre stocks materials such as pamphlets, videos, audiotapes and reading materials. Employees are able to borrow tapes for use in their homes with their families and also to take pamphlets and other reading materials free of charge.

Development of the Partnership

Increase in Membership

At the time of writing this report, during the more than four and a half years that the Partnership has been in existence, there has been steady growth in membership, rising from the four initial companies to fifty-four, as well as additional local NGOs. According to the information available at the ZBCA Secretariat, more than thirty-two member organisations now have Peer Educators specifically focusing on issues of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.⁷⁶ These organisations have also instigated workplace policies that all members of staff are expected to abide by.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ ZBCA Secretariat – research interview (March 2005).

⁷⁷ Ibid.

Ethical Issues

A number of ethical issues are apparent in this Partnership. For example, the management of a member company has no right to know which of its employees is HIV positive. Even in cases where a company has a policy of paying for ARV treatment (for example, BP Zambia), the company does not know, and is not told, who is HIV positive and who is receiving treatment. Instead, companies are more interested in knowing the total number of HIV positive staff so that they are able to assess the success of their activities. Thus, the company pays without trying to investigate which employees have actually utilised the service. This approach has been necessitated because HIV/AIDS has been viewed by society as a 'disease of shame' and many employees have been victimised once their positive status has become known. In cases where an HIV positive employee openly discloses his/her status, it is equally unethical and against national policy for the company to encourage stigmatisation or to practise discrimination on that basis.

Wider Effects

As previously discussed, one immediate achievement of the ZBCA is that the membership has grown substantially in a period of four years. The implication of this growth is that there has also been a corresponding increase in the number of individuals being reached by the ZBCA's programmes. Information available at the ZBCA Secretariat shows that the total workforce of the member organisations is about 15,000. These employees, as well as their families, are expected to benefit from the information received at their workplaces. Apart from this, the ZBCA, through a sub-granting programme, reaches many other people, including sex workers, farmers in rural areas and sugarcane cutters. For example, some of the funds that the ZBCA mobilised from the Zambia National AIDS Network in 2004 were sub-granted to NGOs which had the capacity to train different groups of people. These NGOs specifically targeted sex workers and sugarcane cutters.

Benefits

Through the ZBCA's lobbying of government, the cost of anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) has significantly come down. This benefits not only employees of the ZBCA members but also the wider community: that is, those outside the private sector. In the meantime, about seven hundred Peer Educators have been trained by the ZBCA. However, not all member companies have Peer Educators at their workplaces and ZBCA information suggests that about twenty companies still have to train these.

The implementing partners see a number of benefits of working in the ZBCA Partnership. These include:

- getting first hand expert information to those partner companies who need it;
- freely sharing equipment (for example, video players, cameras, etc.) and information and therefore, making it possible for all partners to be up-to-date with what is going on in the area of HIV/AIDS;
- financial benefits, by accessing funds such as the Global Fund and the Zambia Response to HIV/AIDS Project;
- growing and learning together as partners within an organisation.

From the point of view of individual employees, free information packs, condom distribution and ARV treatment, where it is available, have undoubtedly been beneficial. Spill-over effects to the wider society are also evident, particularly as companies such as BP Zambia are providing ARVs to the immediate families of their employees.

Critical Issues

Coping with Membership Expansion

Because of the gradual significant growth in the ZBCA's membership there is a need to revise the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), firstly, to include those who have joined later, secondly, to clarify responsibilities, and thirdly, to include newly emerging issues. According to the Information, Education and Communication Officer at the ZBCA Secretariat, guidelines need to be revised on such matters as: the training, who is to be trained, and how much is to be paid.

There is also a need to scale up programming in the ZBCA's three main areas of operation mentioned earlier by increasing the administrative capacity of the organisation.⁷⁸ It is hoped that increasing the number of staff from six to ten may improve the situation. At the time of writing this report (2005), there are five filled work positions at the ZBCA, but only two local staff are funded by the ZBCA membership fees. The other positions are funded by UNDP and the Voluntary Service Organisation (VSO). Meanwhile, the rapid growth in the number of partner companies naturally means that more people and more resources are needed if effective co-ordination is to be achieved and the scheme is to reach out to all those who need it. However, because resources from membership fees are still limited, this may not be easy and further funding may have to be sought from donor organisations.

Inadequate Membership

Despite the growth in membership, one of the strategies of the ZBCA is to recruit many more members, so that the HIV/AIDS problem can be effectively tackled in all workplaces. After four years of the Partnership, there are still fewer than sixty member companies. Bringing on board additional members from the estimated number of more than 2,500 registered companies in Zambia,⁷⁹ as well as from other institutions such as NGOs and government ministries, is part of the ZBCA's long-term mission.

Resource Limitations

As discussed previously, contributions by Partnership members differ, depending on their capacity. However, the total contribution is not adequate to run the activities of the ZBCA effectively. Consequently, the ZBCA has had to look elsewhere for more resources, particularly the Global Fund and the Zambia National AIDS Network.

Workplace Programme Implementation

The ZBCA has observed that some member companies are lax with regard to implementation of programmes and there is a tendency to assume too much. They think that, because they have distributed brochures and condoms, employees know what they should be doing. This impression that companies assume greater awareness than actually exists in practice is reinforced by the fact that not every member company deploys its own trained Peer Educators. This discrepancy between intention and realisation is still a matter of concern to the ZBCA because companies are at different stages of development in their implementation of the Partnership's programmes. The ZBCA is therefore encouraging all member companies to have staff trained as Peer Educators. Other strategies include: condom demonstrations; more information delivery; the intensification of voluntary counselling and testing; and offering refresher training to Peer Educators for those companies that already have such people in place.

Meetings with Chief Executive Officers of Partner Companies

There are currently no scheduled meetings with CEOs of companies, and this lack has meant that an information gap has been created. The ZBCA Executive Director thinks it is absolutely necessary to establish regular meetings in order to make the Partnership more effective. The main method of communication at present is through quarterly newsletters.

Demonstrating that the Partnership 'Makes Business Sense'

Some companies have not fully implemented certain aspects of the HIV/AIDS policy, particularly ARV treatment, because they think it is an unnecessary cost on their part. They have not carried out a cost-benefit analysis to determine whether it is more beneficial to their companies to leave the sick employees as they are, or to provide them (and their families) with ARV treatment. Companies that have carried out such a cost-benefit analysis, such as BP Zambia, are clear about the savings that they gain from investing in a strong workplace HIV/AIDS programme. In 2001, their HIV/AIDS programme cost the company US \$2 million a year. The estimated savings gained from it were US \$800,000 per year and, most importantly, forty-five lives were saved each year. BP Zambia further showed graphically how it was more beneficial to provide free ARVs, since doing so kept the HIV positive employees healthy and productive.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ The three main areas of operation are: firstly, co-ordinating, networking, collaboration and advocacy function; secondly, provision of technical advisory services; and thirdly, sub-granting and sub-contracting, including the monitoring and evaluation of the partnership.

⁷⁹ Judai & Associates (October 2002), p.16.

⁸⁰ BP Report 2001–2002 (2002).

High Costs of Antiretroviral Treatment

One major problem is that of the high cost of ARVs. Although the cost has decreased considerably in the past few years owing to the provision of government subsidies, they still cost K40,000 per month, a sum which the majority of people cannot easily afford.⁸¹ Thus, companies, particularly small ones, will continue to be hesitant about providing free ARV treatment to their employees. The government therefore needs to be lobbied to source cheaper ARVs that can be afforded by the majority of people.

Linking with the National AIDS Council (NAC)

Until recently, the NAC has been faced by resource and staffing difficulties. Through more commitment from both the government and its co-operating partners, this situation is now in the process of change, and will assist the NAC in its main task of ensuring that all organisations dealing with HIV/AIDS issues in Zambia are brought into the organisation's planning and policy processes. This is an arduous process, as there are more than one thousand NGOs working in the area of HIV/AIDS⁸² and, in some cases, these have started to operate without informing the NAC of their activities or co-ordinating with the NAC. Despite the enormous difficulties and dangers posed by a pandemic on the scale of the HIV/AIDS crisis, interaction between the ZBCA and the NAC has been limited. The ZBCA observes that there is a need to strengthen the monitoring wing of the NAC and to put more time and resources into overseeing the work of the various HIV/AIDS initiatives. Since the NAC believes that the situation is changing, it is working on developing a single national strategic plan for all HIV/AIDS initiatives to follow and work through. It is using a grass roots approach in gathering information in order to ensure that this strategy will be relevant, meaningful and helpful to everybody.

Conclusion

The ZBCA's partners see the membership growing even more and they are developing new strategies and objectives to deal with the wide and complex problems posed by HIV/AIDS. Because the central mission of the Partnership is such a strong and obvious one, it is relatively easy to galvanise support for an initiative that seeks to mitigate the effects of HIV/AIDS and empower people to deal with the many problems it brings with it. However, in order to develop wider effectiveness and spread its message more convincingly, it is clear that the ZBCA is handicapped by its small size and the need for new staff. At the time of writing this case study, both the Director and Information, Education and Communication Officer had recently left the organisation. The ZBCA was in the process of recruiting for these posts as well as adopting a new constitution with revised objectives in 2005, in order to adapt to changing circumstances. The new incumbents in these posts, and the new policies will have a marked effect on future directions and staff numbers.

In the meantime, the efforts of the ZBCA to increase and broaden its membership base are likely to be critical in determining the Partnership's future. The sharing of approaches across different sectors is likely to bring about a wider effect on the community as a whole, so that not just those who are formally employed, together with their relatives, will receive the services of the ZBCA, but also those who are informally employed or out of work. Furthermore, business councils that are confronting HIV/AIDS in other Southern and Eastern African countries are expanding rapidly, and if wider regional connections can be established, the lessons learned from their experiences can be shared with those of Zambia, so that the partnership approach to addressing the HIV/AIDS epidemic is co-ordinated more effectively.

⁸¹ Jones (2004), p. 15.

⁸² TV interview with Minister of Health on Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Television, January 11, 2005.

Chapter 6

The Education Case Studies

Education, according to UNESCO, "...is the primary agent of transformation towards sustainable development, increasing people's capacities to transform their visions for society into reality."¹ One of the Millennium Goals states that "Education is Development", because it offers people choices, reduces poverty and disease and gives people a voice in society.²

Africa's educational statistics are generally poor. More than 40 per cent of the world's out-of-school children, some 46 million in total, are in Africa.³ The high proportion of young people in the population, set against situations of poverty in countries which spend an average of 15 per cent of their revenue on debt servicing,⁴ has reduced access to education, eroded teaching capacity and school facilities, and diverted vital resources from schools to other purposes.⁵ HIV/AIDS has also had marked negative effects on education. An estimated 860,000 children in sub-Saharan Africa lost their teachers to AIDS in 1999 alone. As parents fall ill, students (particularly girls) drop out of education. Girls in general are at a disadvantage and the overall gender gap in education in sub-Saharan Africa has widened in the ten years between 1995 and 2005.⁶

Despite the numerous shared and common difficulties that face educational systems in Africa, specific country contexts do need to be acknowledged, particularly in this study, since South Africa and Zambia manifest interesting variations to the general pattern. For example in South Africa, since 1995, primary school enrolment rates have remained at 95.5% per cent.⁷ These positive statistics have been attributed to the fact that primary education is free and compulsory.⁸ Moreover, in 1996, South Africa had the highest statistics for female education in Africa, at all educational levels, with a combined enrolment in primary and secondary schools of 99 per cent, compared with 95 per cent for males.⁹ In Zambia, meanwhile, enrolment rates at primary level have continued to increase since independence and maintained an average of 67% between 1996–2003.¹⁰ According to Carlsson et al., this is an "impressive achievement" when the economic decline of the last decades is taken into account.¹¹ In addition, in 2002, after the Government removed tuition fees, the "...number of out-of-school children has been halved, and completion rates are rising."¹² However, it is worth noting that education in Zambia as a whole is currently perceived as being under threat, as a result of budget ceilings on government spending that have been imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).¹³

Thus, for both these countries, the main needs for educational improvement apply to later stages of education; and the main pressure is experienced at the further and higher levels. This is because the large number of secondary school graduates has reduced tertiary opportunities. In Zambia, for example, the country's two universities collectively have the capacity to enrol fewer than 3,000 students every year, out of the 20,000 who graduate from secondary schools.¹⁴

¹ See UNESCO: *Education for Sustainable Development*.

² See World Bank Group (The), *the Millennium Development Goals* (2004).

³ Basic Education Coalition (2003), p.1.

⁴ SALLA (2005).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ GCIS (2005), p.55.

⁸ *South Africa: Alive with Possibilities, 'SA Becoming More Educated* (July 9, 2003). Free education is also one of the platforms of the Zambian government.

⁹ See Cisco Learning Institute, *Gender Initiative* (2004).

¹⁰ See UNICEF: *At a Glance, Zambia*.

¹¹ Carlsson et al. (2000), p.18.

¹² Global Campaign for Education Policy Briefing (September 2004), p. 2.

¹³ Oxfam & VSO (2004). See also Oxfam (2004) which states "...in 2004, the Zambian government will be forced to pay \$377 million in debt repayments, and spend just \$221 million on education. Repayments to the IMF alone will amount to a massive \$247 million, more than entire annual education budget."

¹⁴ Hanyona (2005).

At tertiary level, it is acknowledged that “the key problems in education in Africa are the poor facilities and inadequate systems under which the vast majority of Africans receive their training.”¹⁵ Many institutions of further and higher education simply lack the resources required to guarantee quality teaching and research. According to the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA):

African tertiary institutions (universities, polytechnics, teacher training colleges) are seeking to redefine their roles and update their missions in response to changing circumstances in the 21st century. The emergence of a global knowledge society, information-driven economic growth, an international market in higher education, and political democracies in sub-Saharan Africa place strong new demands on tertiary education systems. At the same time, these systems are searching for innovations in course provision, revenue generation, quality assurance, institutional governance, and human resource management that address longstanding difficulties produced by rapid enrolment growth, financial constraints, frequent labour strife, brain drain, and uncertain educational quality.¹⁶

At the same time, it is stressed, that higher education institutions in Africa today must also address the following issues: better access for women;¹⁷ better access for the poor; intellectual property rights; research methodologies; the brain drain; and the threats posed by HIV/AIDS.¹⁸

The two educational case studies presented here indicate how partnership models have been adopted to address some of the difficulties being faced in the further and higher education sectors in Zambia and South Africa.

¹⁵ NEPAD (2001), p. 27.

¹⁶ *Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA): Working Group on Higher Education* (November 2, 2004).

¹⁷ It is interesting to note for example that despite excellent female enrolment rates at primary and secondary levels of education in South Africa, women's access to tertiary education is at about 7 per cent, see *Cisco Learning Institute, Gender Initiative* (2004).

¹⁸ *Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA): Working Group on Higher Education* (November 2, 2004); and see NEPAD (2001), pp. 27 & 28.

Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education (SRHE), Zambia¹⁹

The Wider Context

Educational Needs and Growth

At the time of Zambia's independence in 1964, the total population of Zambia was 3,596,000. Kelly reports that only 110,200 indigenous Zambians had completed six years of primary education and only 32,000 had completed the full primary course of eight years.²⁰ Citing the UN/ECA/FAO (1964) report, Kelly further reported that at secondary level only 4,420 indigenous people had passed Junior Secondary Examinations and a mere 961 the School Certificate Examination. At university level, 107 students had graduated. Of these, only four were female.

These figures underscored the urgent need to expand education at all levels. During the first decade following political independence, the government focused on the development of secondary schools, and of university education as well as technical training. The basic objective of all educational programmes was to lay the foundations for the provision of much-needed trained personnel in all fields of technical and economic activity.²¹

In the forty years since independence, Zambia's education sector has grown significantly. The University of Zambia (UNZA) came into being in 1966 through the efforts of the general public, who contributed in cash and kind towards its establishment.²² To date, more than 23,000 students have graduated from UNZA. Owing to the rapidly expanding population in the country, there was clearly a need to expand university programmes and as a result, another university was founded in December 1987, located on the Copperbelt. This is the Copperbelt University (CBU).²³

Education and the Economic Crisis

Since the country has suffered economically since the 1970s, educational growth has not been easy: indeed, finding adequate resources for this kind of social spending has been an extremely difficult task. As has already been noted in Chapter 3 above,²⁴ during the last decade there has been a massive increase in poverty in the country; and this has drastically affected all levels of educational provision. Since education and health are the largest spenders of public funds in Zambia,²⁵ whenever resources become tight, the government has tended to look to these two areas for savings. As a result, the education sector has had to adopt 'coping strategies' that, unfortunately, have been *ad hoc* in approach and detrimental to smooth educational development.²⁶

Universities and the Economic Crisis

At the higher education level, deteriorating economic conditions have made it difficult for the universities to retain the services of qualified local staff, and this has resulted in a marked decline in academic quality. There has been massive exodus of senior staff. The Ministry of Education National Policy document notes that, between 1984 and 1994, UNZA lost 230 academic staff out of an establishment of about 500, 161 of them being PhD holders.²⁷ At the time of writing, information from the Department of Social Development Studies shows that 289 academic staff have left UNZA, 174 of them having PhDs.²⁸ This represents 60.2 per cent of all PhD holders. It has been observed that many of the academics who have left the institution have either joined industry within the country (32.1 per cent) or other universities or research institutions within the Southern African region (32.6 per cent).²⁹ About 3 per cent are in other African countries. The rest have gone either to Europe or North America. Nevertheless, while this

¹⁹ This case study is authored by Kawwanga Yambayamba, Leda Stott and Melanie Rein. *Editors*.

²⁰ Kelly (1991), p. 13.

²¹ Mwanakatwe (1968), p. 59.

²² Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (2002v), p. 2.

²³ Kelly has given the 1980 population as 5.66 million. He has further stated that the average annual growth rate of population was 2.8% between 1963 and 1969, and 3.1% between 1969 and 1980. Kelly (1991), p. 26. The CIA World Factbook gives the estimated population growth rate for 2005 as 2.12 per cent. *CIA World FactBook 'Zambia: People'* (30th June 2005).

²⁴ See pp 29 – 32.

²⁵ Kelly (1994), p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.13.

²⁷ Ministry of Education (1996), p. 99.

²⁸ Lemba (2004).

²⁹ *Ibid.*

exodus has been occurring, the University has managed to recruit more staff, while others have returned from their staff development programme studies. The current number of academics stands at 466.

Apart from these staffing problems, during the fifteen years between 1990 and 2005, a marked dilapidation of the institution's infrastructure due to lack of maintenance has combined with a strong sense of instability and repeated strikes. Even though the Copperbelt University (CBU) is more recently established, it has not escaped the 'calamity' either. Available statistics show that, since its establishment in 1987, of the 296 academic staff recruited by the University, 139 have left the institution, representing a turnover rate of about 50 per cent.³⁰ The figures paint a gloomy picture of this brain drain, especially given the relatively short time in which the institution has been in existence.

National Policy and the Role of Higher Education

Despite these difficulties, the Zambian government, through the Ministry of Education, recognises the fact that education is a right for each individual.³¹ Furthermore, the Ministry is fully aware that education is a means for enhancing the well being and quality of life for the entire society. The National Policy document on education states: "Because of the centrality of knowledge, skills and technology in shaping the organization and productivity of the economy, education is a productive investment."³² Thus the Zambian government has reaffirmed the role that education plays in human resource development as the basis of all other development. The Ministry has also emphasised that higher education is of central importance to the economic and social development of the country. The National Policy document on education clarifies that:

The activities of higher level institutions and recipients of higher education advance and preserve a society's intellectual, scientific, cultural and artistic endeavours. The proper discharge of their functions requires that higher institutions be committed to the highest standards of research in the many branches of learning, and that they enrich society with the knowledge, skills and qualities necessary for integral human development. Their ultimate purpose is the improvement of human lives through enlarging human capabilities to be put to the best use in all fields – economic, social, cultural, scientific and political.³³

As this statement indicates, the University of Zambia and the Copperbelt University continue to be perceived as essential components in Zambia's overall development programme.

The Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership (SRHE)

Formation

The Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership (SRHE) was initiated by the Partnership Forum in its role as a broker organisation. Having graduated from the University of Zambia (UNZA) during what they describe as "better times", and having observed its deterioration, the directors of the Partnership Forum decided to try to devise a partnership which would be capable of attracting and channelling resources into university education.

In 2000, before the Partnership was established, a short survey was conducted among the alumni of the two universities, mainly in order to obtain a general sense of what they thought about the initiative and to ascertain whether they would be willing to make some form of contribution.³⁴ The response was overwhelming: of the 500 respondents, 97 per cent indicated that they would be willing to contribute in cash or kind to the University they had attended. The remaining 3 per cent said they would not contribute because the University had shown incompetence in managing resources. Of the 97 per cent willing to offer some kind of support to the University, 168 respondents responded to one particular suggestion by stating that they would be willing to "adopt" the rooms in which they had lived while they were students, by supplying items such as curtains, a study table, a chair, and having the walls painted.

³⁰ Project document (2002i), p. 2.

³¹ See Ministry of Education (1996), p. 99.

³² Ibid., p. 2.

³³ Ibid., p. 91.

³⁴ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (2002v), p. 2.

Encouraged by the positive response from these respondents, the Partnership Forum set about bringing together different stakeholders, particularly from the business sector, to form a partnership with the University of Zambia and the Copperbelt University. The main argument put forward by the Partnership Forum was that unless there was highly qualified manpower in the country, the future of the business sector would remain under threat, and ultimately this would have a negative effect on the entire economy.

Thus, the SRHE Partnership was founded on November 1, 2000. Since then, its explicit overall purpose has been to reverse negative trends and improve the quality of education at Zambia's higher institutions of learning, in order to produce high quality manpower. The specific objectives are:

The promotion and support of academic excellence through such areas as:

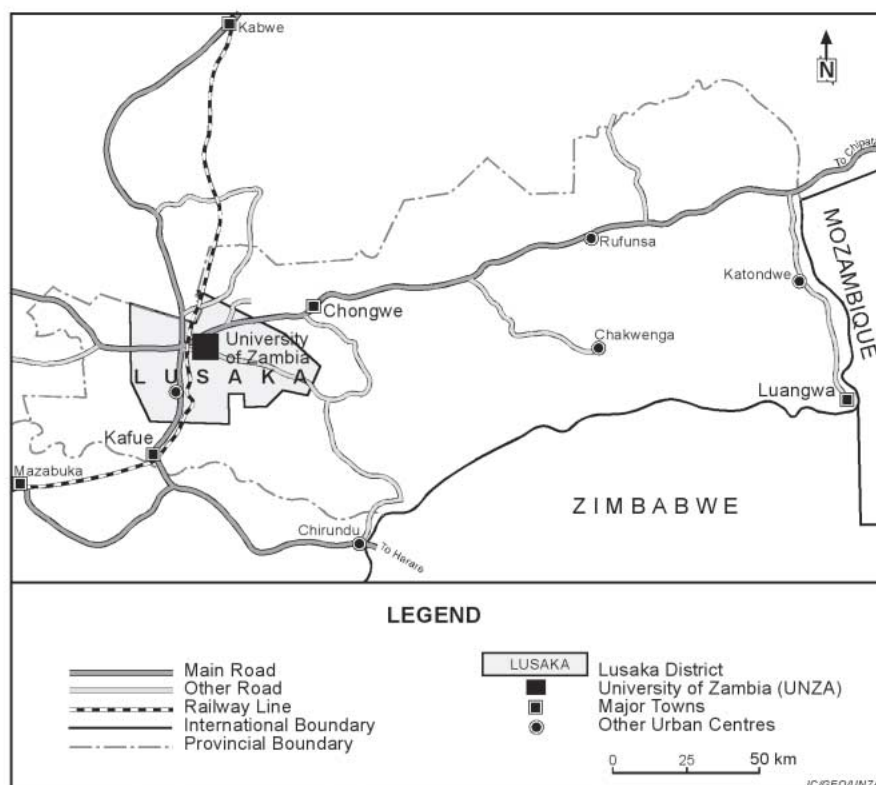
- the retention of academic staff;
- the acquisition of learning and research materials;
- the facilitation of academic exchange programmes;
- the provision of incentives and rewarding creative ideas.

Mobilisation of funds for the following:

- the maintenance of existing University infrastructure;
- partial and full scholarships aimed at helping needy students.³⁵

The Partners

The University of Zambia (UNZA)



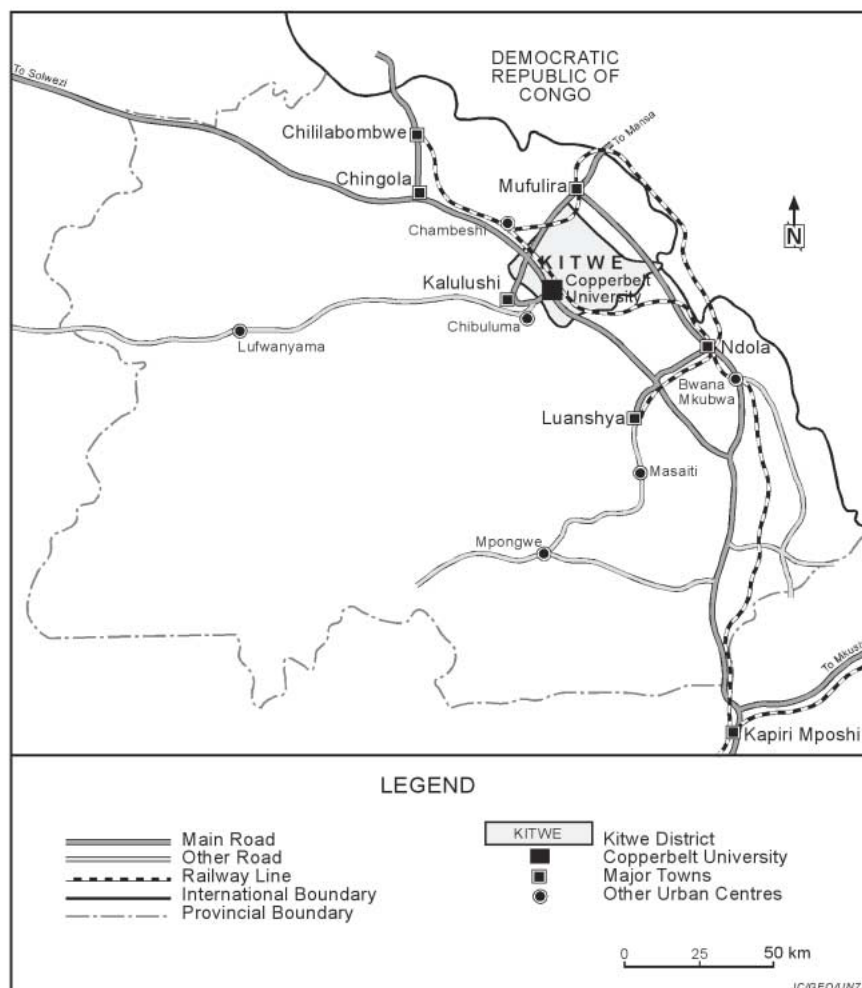
Location of the University of Zambia in Lusaka Province

³⁵ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (2002v), pp. 1–2.

The University of Zambia (UNZA) has a student population of approximately 6000 in regular academic programmes and another 1000 students doing distance education, bringing the total number to 7000. In the decade between 1995 and 2005, about 1000 students graduated each year. UNZA graduates are often recruited into middle and higher management in industry and the public sector. Among those who do not go into formal employment, a significant number start up their own small businesses and produce or provide services that are directly relevant to the well-established corporations that are in partnership with UNZA.

By helping to increase the material and financial benefits that UNZA receives from the private sector, SHRE aims to provide the University with an improved infrastructure and to give it a better chance of retaining its academic staff. According to the University's Vice Chancellor, one of the main benefits of being involved in the Partnership is the fact that students who have benefited from the improved facilities, will be more likely to promote the image of the UNZA once they leave the University and start working. However, a more valuable general aim is that these professionals are able to provide a higher quality service to Zambian industry.

The Copperbelt University (CBU)



Location of the Copperbelt University in Kitwe District, Copperbelt Province

The Copperbelt University (CBU), situated in the district of Kitwe, has a student population of approximately 3000 (about half of UNZA's population). CBU has the following faculties: Business, Technology, Built Environment, Natural Resources, and the Centre for Life-Long Education. Like UNZA, CBU trains students in specialised subject areas and these are absorbed into industry and the public sector. Through the Partnership, CBU has been able to access computers and financial benefits to support its work.

Barclays Bank of Zambia (BBZ)

Barclays Bank of Zambia (BBZ) operates in all provinces of Zambia. It has a number of community projects, one of which is support for education. BBZ contributes financial resources to critical areas such as: the acquisition of learning and research materials; the facilitation of academic exchange programmes; rewarding creative ideas; and provision of partial scholarships aimed at helping needy students. Being part of a multinational company, BBZ relies heavily on qualified personnel and draws on the pool of graduates from both UNZA and CBU for this. Involvement in the Partnership is intended, in the long run, to help the company operate more efficiently by using local personnel rather than more expensive expatriate staff.

BP Zambia Plc

This is a multinational corporation which deals in petroleum products. BP Zambia Plc (BP Zambia) was one of the first companies to join the Partnership and it contributed financially towards the Partnership's launch. BP Zambia's role has been twofold: firstly, the contribution of financial resources; and, secondly, the participation of its senior staff in teaching in the School of Law and in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at UNZA. BP Zambia has adopted the concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR) as a business strategy. The company utilises the Partnership not only to enhance its own reputation and image but also to facilitate the education process for potential employees of BP Zambia, that is, the students of UNZA and CBU.

Chilanga Cement Plc

Chilanga Cement Plc, located in Lusaka, manufactures and distributes cement nationally. Its contribution to the Partnership has been cement to UNZA, which has been used for the construction and renovation of university infrastructure. The purpose of this building work is to create an attractive learning environment for students and academics. Apart from the fact that the company itself recruits qualified personnel from UNZA and CBU, its involvement in the Partnership is motivated by reputation and image.

NCC³⁶ Phønix Contractors International (NCC Phønix)

NCC Phønix Contractors International (NCC Phønix) is another company which was among the first to join the Partnership. NCC Phønix's core business is the construction and rehabilitation of roads in the country. It has made contributions both in cash and in kind. Before the broker for SRHE, the Partnership Forum, had its own offices from which to co-ordinate the Partnership, NCC Phønix donated space at its own office. Several other facilities to set up the office were also made available. NCC Phønix has also made direct cash contributions to the Partnership. Through such contributions and other related activities, NCC Phønix believes that the Partnership has enhanced its public image.

Nkumba Farms

This is the biggest pig farm establishment in the country, producing pigs for both breeding purposes and direct consumption. The company has made fourteen female breeding pigs available to the Schools of Agricultural Sciences and Veterinary Medicine, mainly for the purposes of research but also for commercial production in order to bring in income to UNZA. In this way, research undertaken at the University, provides important data to Nkumba Farms.

Unilever SEA³⁷

This company manufactures detergents, soaps, lotions and other similar products. Unilever SEA provides financial resources for partial scholarships to students pursuing specific academic programmes in the fields of Engineering, Natural Sciences, and Humanities & Social Sciences. In this way, it is able to draw on qualified personnel from the University, mainly from within the academic fields in which the company sponsors students.

³⁶ Nordic Contractors Company (NCC).

³⁷ South East Africa (SEA).

Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO Ltd.)

Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation (ZESCO Ltd.) is a parastatal company charged with the responsibility for supplying electricity to all parts of the country. Until recently, it was the sole company with this responsibility. ZESCO Ltd. has donated materials to carry out a complete renovation of one of the hostels for female students at UNZA. This is part of the renovation of the infrastructure, aimed at creating a more conducive learning atmosphere for students. ZESCO Ltd., is one of the largest parastatal companies still surviving in Zambia: it has a large requirement for qualified personnel, for which UNZA graduates provide a pool.

Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC)

This is a parastatal organisation which is in charge of national radio and TV broadcasting throughout the country. Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) has covered several events pertaining to the Partnership, such as live interviews, discussions and fundraising initiatives. Coverage of the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership and its related activities is helpful also in publicising the ZNBC.

Ministry of Education (MoE)

The two public universities, UNZA and CBU, fall directly under the Ministry of Education (MoE). The Minister of Education has direct influence on the two institutions, and government funding comes through this ministry, in the form of grants. The MoE is a 'natural' partner in the Partnership, providing an enabling environment to attract the involvement of more private companies. With participation from the private sector in the field of higher education, it could be argued that pressure on the MoE has been slightly reduced. For example, through the various contributions from other partners towards such items as the purchase of computers, infrastructure rehabilitation and partial scholarship for students, there has been some easing of pressure on the MoE, which, under normal circumstances, would be expected to be entirely responsible for these.³⁸

The Role of the Partnership Broker

Despite its small number of staff and limited resources, the Partnership Forum has played a central role in bringing the private companies into partnership with the two higher learning institutions, and continues to do so. In part, this is because the Director of the Partnership Forum also holds an academic position at the University of Zambia. All the resources for the SRHE Partnership are channelled to the universities through the Partnership Forum, which maintains a bank account and audited balance sheets for all donations. It has been all the more necessary to keep rigorous accounts since, in the past, the University of Zambia has had difficulties in accountability due to liquidity problems. From the financial resources contributed to the SRHE, the Partnership Forum receives a 10 per cent management and administrative fee for carrying out this work.

Structures and Systems

To date, the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership has remained a loose arrangement, with no management and administrative structures to co-ordinate its activities. Since its inception, the Partnership has been co-ordinated by the broker, the Partnership Forum. Apart from ZESCO Ltd., which has been carrying out rehabilitation works directly, all other financial and in-kind resources have come to the two universities through the Partnership Forum. The Partnership Forum also deals with all follow-up problems and their resolutions as and when they arise.

There is no collective Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) among the partners to guide their operations. Consequently, there is no communication among the partners either through meetings or any such activities. Each partner institution considers itself as a partner with the University only. Thus, SRHE may be regarded as an 'operative partnership', but a rather rudimentary one, which is achieving some successful, if limited, results.

Apart from BP Zambia, the partners do not have internal structures that promote partnerships. BP Zambia also happens to be the only member of the Partnership that has signed a bilateral MoU with UNZA, pertaining to the participation of senior members of BP Zambia's staff in teaching activities.

³⁸ For a critical analysis of some of the tendencies underlying this process, see Chapter 7, p. 118.

Effects on the Community

The Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership is linked to both the university community, that is to say, to its academics, students, management and workers, and to the wider community, through the activities of the broker, the Partnership Forum. Most members of the university community are aware of the Partnership, in particular, the students who have directly benefited from its work, by receipt of partial scholarships. Without these scholarships, many if not all, would probably have had to withdraw from their academic studies. Over sixty students have directly benefited from the Partnership, although only sixteen of these are female. Alongside the scholarships are academic exchange programmes which enable students to have an opportunity to experience other international learning environments.

Computers have also been donated to the two universities. Library staff at the University of Zambia say that before the Partnership began its work, there were only three PCs installed as terminals to access the Internet. In early 2004, ten PCs were donated to the UNZA library by the Partnership, although at the time of the research team's site visit to UNZA there were serious problems with access to the Internet. It was also clear that there are still inadequate computer facilities for the needs and demands of the entire University's population.

The living environment at one of the female hostels has been greatly improved through the renovation of the ablution blocks, rewiring of the hostel and redecoration of the rooms. However, the students have stated that all hostels need to be renovated and that new ones need to be built to ease the severe accommodation problems.³⁹

Involvement in the Partnership has increased, with a number of businesses taking on particular responsibility, both financially and administratively, for specific tasks and activities: for example, the renovation of individual rooms in the hostels; sponsorship of prizes for students who excel; contributions of learning and research materials (CD-ROMs); and contributions of building materials, i.e. cement.

With respect to gender, the Partnership currently does not have a specific policy, and this is reflected in the figures given above of only sixteen out of the sixty scholarships going to female students. However, the Vice Chancellor of UNZA has indicated that this ratio is likely to change, since the University Council has taken specific affirmative steps as a matter of internal policy, so that the intake of female students at first year undergraduate level reaches at least 30 per cent of the total.

Development of the Partnership

The Partnership has just entered its fifth year and despite its unstructured type of management, it has made a significant impression on the University community. More than K1 billion⁴⁰ (in cash and in kind) has come through to the two public institutions within the last two or three years. From brief interviews with all nine partners, it is clear that there is a strong desire to establish a formal platform for communication. They see this as important because they believe it will help to make the Partnership's work more sustainable. As it is, each partner is currently involved with the Partnership only on a one-to-one basis; and each makes whatever individual contribution it believes to be appropriate.

The general impression received is that both university communities consider that they have benefited from the Partnership, in particular the University of Zambia. Students who have gained partial scholarships now have an opportunity of completing their academic programmes without interruption. It is expected that by mid 2005, more than 100 partial scholarships will have been given to needy students.

The Vice Chancellor of UNZA has acknowledged the fact that his University is chronically under-funded by the government, and that the shortfall left by the public sector is now increasingly being filled by the private sector, through the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership. Because of this input, UNZA is deriving benefits in three separate ways: firstly, in material goods and services; secondly, in direct financial input, both to the institution itself and to some of its students; and, thirdly, in terms of 'moral advocacy' among the alumni, through the encouragement to them to pay something back to the institution which has enabled them to establish themselves.

³⁹ At present, six students may occupy a room meant for two or three students.

⁴⁰ Approximately US \$214,000.

As far as benefits to other partners are concerned, all of them acknowledge the fact that UNZA helps to widen the pool from which they draw their qualified personnel. The numbers of staff that they have so far employed as a result of the Partnership are difficult to measure in the short term, but the cumulative long-term future effect is potentially high. Furthermore, the Vice Chancellor of UNZA observes that the other partners also derive 'moral' benefit, because in Zambian society the general expectation is that industrial and commercial enterprises have an obligation to make a contribution to the public domain. He further observes that charitable donations qualify these commercial enterprises for government tax rebate.

Critical Issues

Defining Membership of the Partnership

According to the project document on the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, institutions as well as individuals can become partners.⁴¹ The difficulty is that several individuals as well as some private companies have made one-off contributions; and their involvement has ended there. This has made it hard to define whether such donors should indeed be called 'partners'. It is also unclear whether the Partnership is being viewed merely as a sponsorship programme. Thus, further clarifications may be needed of the distinctions between 'benefactors', 'sponsors', and 'partners'.

Lack of structures and Systems

Due to the non-existence of structures and systems to guide the Partnership, there has been no communication among the partners and, as such, they do not even know one another formally. All communication, if any, is done through the Partnership Forum and there is little sense of cohesiveness among Partnership members.

The Role of the Broker

Many partners, if not all, perceive the Partnership Forum as a partner in its own right as well as being a champion whose role is central in informing the general public about the initiative. Indeed for many members, the Partnership Forum is itself perceived as 'the Partnership' and is identified with it wholly. Moreover, it is interesting that both partners and beneficiaries, such as students and workers, make reference to 'the work of the Partnership Forum' in improving the University as opposed to the work of the Partnership itself. In addition, since all partner contributions are channelled through the Partnership Forum, great pressure is placed upon the Partnership Forum to administer and manage these. Since there is no written Memorandum of Understanding or any formal document to guide the Partnership, resources which are made available to the universities by the Partners, do not contain provision for administrative overheads. However, the Partnership Forum's percentage charge for administrative fees from the total resources contributed (see p. 92), is not considered large enough to make the administration as effective as it could be.

Conclusion

The sense from all partners is that they are glad that they are making a contribution towards higher education. However, at the same time, they acknowledge the fact that a more formalised partnership is desirable, in which communication among them becomes more regular. Many believe that a Memorandum of Understanding is required, so that targets can be set and procedures formalised to meet them. This may assist in gradually shifting both partners and stakeholders away from the conceptual and moral frameworks and expectancies of making occasional 'philanthropic gifts' and 'sponsorship', in the direction of stronger participation, and so enable the business engagement to become deeper and more consolidated. In connection with this last point, this case study presents a strong underlying perspective on how sector roles are changing and, indeed, how rapidly they are doing so, because the lack of government support for higher education has led to the leveraging of private sector resources, both financial and non-financial, to fill this gap.

⁴¹ Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (2002v), pp. 1–2.

Mthashana Further Education and Training College Partnership Programme, South Africa⁴²

Context

This case study needs to be considered within the context of a range of legislative changes and policy frameworks since 1994, especially vis-à-vis their implications for people in under-developed rural areas. These policy shifts have been designed to integrate development planning at municipal level and to provide market-related educational opportunities that integrate entrepreneurial thinking with skills, as the basis for growth in work competency, equity and growth. Partnership has been adopted by staff in colleges as a means of working more effectively both with employers and with the wider community.⁴³

The particular institution which is the subject of this case study has been selected to illustrate this flow of changes. The Mthashana Further Education and Training College aims to increase the number of previously disadvantaged rural dwellers in work and improve the earning capacity of those already in work. While the ways in which it has adopted a partnership approach involve institutional and programmatic dimensions, the output is intended as capacity for flexible, job-related programmes.

Policy Changes in Education

South Africa has a long history of inequity in education, going back to the settlement of the Cape in 1652. The education policy commentator, Hartshorne, makes the following comment.

The roots of apartheid ideas, theories and practices go back to typical colonialist attitudes and actions, both of the Netherlands in using the Dutch East India Company as a mechanism for the economic exploitation of the resources of the Cape, and of Britain, in its imperialist mode, establishing political control in order to exploit the mineral wealth and potential of South Africa.⁴⁴

In the apartheid era itself, such attitudes and imperialist notions were thoroughly programmed into the educational system, where they became not only institutionalised but extreme in their implementation. Separation in education was enforced along racial lines: different norms and standards were used for funding; and black South Africans received an education of inferior quality.

South Africa has gone through a comprehensive process of education and labour reform at all levels. However, since the 1994 democratic election process, the aim has been to integrate the racially divisive and inherently inequitable policies and practices of the apartheid system in both education and employment. This has entailed an orientation towards a values based and an outcomes approach system, better suited to building national culture by developing education within the context of economic development. Moreover, education policy has been firmly grounded in the constitution and, in relation to socio-economic development, has been guided by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) and, latterly, the Human Resource Development Strategy.

The enormity of the task of transforming education in South Africa should not be under-estimated:

The Eastern Cape Administration and Limpopo administrations (for example – two of the nine provinces of South Africa) are bigger than those of many countries, such as Botswana, Namibia, Uzbekistan or Scotland. The population of New Zealand is equal to that of Soweto.⁴⁵

⁴² This case study is authored by Stan Hardman.

⁴³ The policies aimed at integrated development planning at municipal level include the Urban and Rural Development Strategies of the Reconstruction and Development programme, October 1995; the Urban and Rural Development Frameworks of the Departments of Housing and Land Affairs, May 1997; the Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework of the Department of Constitutional Development, July 1997; the Local Government White paper, February 1998; the Policy paper on Intergovernmental Finance; the Draft Regulatory Framework for Municipal Service Partnerships August 1998; and the White Paper on Energy Policy of the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, December 1998. Bond (2002), p.201.

⁴⁴ Hartshorne (1999), p. 17.

⁴⁵ Khetsie Lehoko Deputy Director General of Education speaking at the 2003 Further Education and Training convention. Reported in 'Highlights Of The 2003 FET Convention' (2003).

On coming to power in 1995, the African National Congress (ANC) led government published a policy framework for education and training in order to transform the nineteen operating departments under fourteen different cabinets with twelve education Acts into an integrated system. The introduction of the document declares:

Education and training have a crucial role to play in contributing to social and economic development through empowering individuals to participate actively in all aspects of society, as citizens in the democratic process, and in the economy. The latter requires that the education and training system addresses three issues: first, the need for equity and redress; second, the need to upgrade skills levels continually, in line with the rapidly changing and dynamic nature of the world economy and universal knowledge base; third, to recognise the validity and interdependence of all forms of knowledge and the value of prior learning and experience, by integrating the education and training systems (or general and vocational systems) under a single national credit-based qualifications framework.⁴⁶

This initial policy intention was followed by a total repeal of the Education Acts and the reconstitution of legislation to transform all aspects of education. Such legislation has included: the South African Qualifications of 1995 (Act 58); the South African Schools Act of 1996 (Act 84); the Skills Development of 1998 (Act 97); the Further Education and Training of 1998 (Act 98); and the Higher Education of 1997 (Act 101).⁴⁷

Further Education and Training (FET) received particular attention as that band which integrated education and training most comprehensively. This sector was seen as critical to skills development. Thus the FET sector has been through a radical process of review and restructuring which has led to the amalgamation of 152 technical colleges into 50 new multi-site institutions, spread throughout the country.

The National Skills Development Strategy

Ten years after the inauguration of the new democracy, many policies have been implemented and institutional change has occurred. However, primarily because of the legacy of apartheid, South Africa is not yet equipped with the skills base it requires for economic and employment growth and social development. In the World Competitiveness Yearbook 2004, South Africa ranked 49th out of 60 nations.⁴⁸ This information needs to be interpreted in the context of more requirements for higher skills within the economy of the information age. In the same year, South Africa had approximately 3 million skilled and highly skilled people and 7 million in semi-skilled or unskilled work or trapped in unemployment. Of the 4.8 million unemployed, half are young people who have completed nine years of schooling.⁴⁹ In relation to in-school secondary students 1 per cent are in technical/vocational schools as compared to 50 per cent in schools in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries.⁵⁰

In 2001, the National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS) was established. Its aim was to revitalise skills development by targeting young people, women and the disabled, within the framework of equity stipulated by Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) for the workplace, small business development and job creation.⁵¹ The NSDS has five objectives, namely:

1. developing a culture of high quality lifelong learning, cutting across all sectors and all ages;
2. fostering skills in the formal economy for productivity and employment growth;
3. stimulating and supporting skills development in small businesses;
4. promoting skills development for employability and sustainable livelihoods;
5. assisting new entrants into employment.⁵²

⁴⁶ ANC (1995), p17.

⁴⁷ For details see *Department: Education (South Africa), Documents*.

⁴⁸ IMD (2005).

⁴⁹ Statistics South Africa (25 March 2003), p. i.

⁵⁰ Department of Labour (undated i), p. 9.

⁵¹ Department of Labour (undated ii).

⁵² Adrienne Bird speaking at the 2003 FET Convention.

Various areas of the economy have developed, or are in the process of developing, industry charters which are intended to provide strategic policy to achieve targets related to the National Skills Development Strategy.

The Labour Sector

Within the labour sector there has been a complete restructuring of the policies and practices relating to workplace learning. This complex process has centred around the establishment of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) which comprises National Standards Bodies (NSBs), Standards Generating Bodies (SGBs) and Education and Training Quality Assurance Bodies (ETQAs). These bodies are designed to develop and authenticate learning programmes and relate to the twelve organised fields of learning, namely:

- Agriculture and National Conservation;
- Culture and Arts;
- Business, Commerce and Management Studies;
- Communication Studies and Languages;
- Education, Training and Development;
- Manufacturing, Engineering and Technology;
- Human and Social Sciences;
- Law, Military Science and Services;
- Health, Science and Social Services;
- Physical, Mathematical, Computer and Life Sciences;
- Services;
- Physical Planning and Construction.

The training sector is further divided into twenty-five Sector Education and Training Authorities into which these fields of learning are articulated.⁵³ Formal programmes are designated as 'learnerships': these involve a work-based approach to learning and qualifications, and include both structured work experience (practical) and structured institutional learning (theory). Learnerships are crucial to Further Education and Training colleges because they are funded, partnership-based learning programmes that fit within the National Skills Development Strategy. Each learnership is expected to include a structured learning component and practical work experience which must lead to a relevant occupational qualification. Overall, the "learnerships, which are seen as pivotal factors in skills development, "...are intended to address the gap between current education and training provision and the needs of the labour market", by addressing issues concerned with: the decline in the levels of employment; the unequal distribution of income; the unequal access to employment opportunities; and the removal of the effects of race, gender and geographic location in work.⁵⁴

Learnerships are of direct importance both to FET Institutions, and to higher education: they are a form of contractual partnership between an employer, an employee and a service provider in which a structured on-the-job training programme is provided, with a qualification as the outcome. However, standardisation and regulation of their provision has not yet been achieved:

⁵³ At the time of this research, the Skills Development Strategy was under review, and, as result there are now twenty SETAs. The twenty-five SETAs at the time of this research were: Financial and Accounting Services (FASSET); Banking (BANKSETA); Chemical Industry (CHIETA); Clothing, Textiles, Foot-ware and Leather (SETA CTFL); Construction Education And Training Authority (CETA); Diplomacy, Intelligence, Defence and Trade and Industry (DIDTETA); Education, Training and Development Practices (ETDP); Energy (ESETA); Food and Beverages Manufacturing Industry (SETA FOODBEV); Forestry Industry (FIETA); Health and Welfare (HWSETA); Information Systems, Electronics and Telecom Technologies (SETA ISETT); Insurance (INSETA); Local Government Water and Related Services (LGWSETA); Media, Advertising, Publishing, Printing and Packaging (MAPPP); Mining and Minerals (MQA); Manufacturing, Engineering and Related Services (MEDRSETA); Police, Private Security, Legal and Correctional Services (SETA POSLECS); Primary Agriculture (PAETA); Public Service Sector (PSETA); Secondary Agriculture (SETASA); Services (SSETA); Tourism and Hospitality (THETA); Transport; Wholesale and Retail (W&RSETA).

⁵⁴ *Financial and Accounting Services SETA.*

Some pilot learnership initiatives in colleges have been launched. However, formal guidelines have yet to be provided. Many colleges remain relatively uninformed about learnerships, or confused as to whether they should be introduced into the programme.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, in the provision of these learnerships, education and labour sectors have come together in a form of further education that has been targeted to develop workplace competencies and promote entrepreneurship. This phase has been earmarked as foundational for human resource development and job creation. As a consequence, and in line with major international economies, the further education sector has been targeted extensively for partnership development at various levels. At the macro level, this has involved the National Department of Education and the Business Trust, and at the meso level Colleges that have been *reshaped* within the provincial context, in order to ensure an understanding, national in scope, of the facilities available and their location. This restructuring has led to the redefinition of boundaries: these have incorporated existing infrastructures into groupings that are now aligned to the new provincial boundaries of the country. This merging process has involved: the identification of 'head offices' for each restructured college; the appointment of governing councils and management staff and their training; and, the realignment of curricula. This entire procedure was incorporated within an extensive framework of strategic planning, for which specific contexts and structures were envisaged, including partnerships:

Each college has to establish and maintain strong partnerships and networks with key parties. Most important amongst these will be the industries relevant to the college niche areas, the SETAs,⁵⁶ the appropriate higher education institutions, local community structures, relevant government departments and sister institutions locally, in Africa and abroad.⁵⁷

Various forms of partnership have been recognised in the FET sector. These include not only partnerships in the form of learnerships, but also partnerships that relate to the social agenda within the institution.⁵⁸ These seek to promote solutions to local problems through the collaborative action of local individuals, institutions and organisations and even partner organisations with a broad ambit for development support. At micro level, individual colleges are expected to develop an extensive repertoire of partnerships in order to: enhance the curriculum; extend the resource base; build life skills; establish learnerships; and promote entrepreneurial development. This FET sector has also benefited from a range of projects involving foreign donors.

The Local Context

Mthashana Further Education and Training College is one of the fifty new-generation further education institutions in South Africa, and one of nine in KwaZulu, which have been strategically reorganised under the National Skills Development Strategy. Set up in 2002, Mthashana FET College is located in a very rural part of KwaZulu-Natal, which covers the Abaqulusi and Mkhanyakude municipalities and the Zululand Regional Council. The campuses which became part of this include: two large existing Colleges in Nongoma and Vryheid; the utilisation of a vacated teachers' college in Nongoma, (Kwa Gqikazi); the Emandleni campus (an ex-Inkatha Freedom Party training camp) in Ulundi; a small campus in Babanango; and fifteen other skills centres, with a variety of histories, stretching inland to Paulpietersberg and up the coast to Kosi Bay. This reorganisation has involved merging institutions into an aligned organisational identity and appointing both the governing structure and the core staff who will manage the new mega-organisation.⁵⁹

Mthashana College plays the role of 'initiating' partner both in the creation of partnerships and in the development of a partnership ethos: in this sense, the College may be seen as a local catalyst for action. The College's policy is to advocate the idea that skills development cannot simply be supply driven but, rather, that a healthy interaction between demand and supply is required. In such a context, the College's policy vis-à-vis partnerships is intended, firstly, to stimulate development through being responsive to local opportunity, and then to provide the back-up through innovative training programmes. Furthermore, the provision of such an enabling environment aims explicitly to link with national policy on skills: legislation has been passed to enable the Department of Labour to

⁵⁵ Fisher & Jaff (2003).

⁵⁶ Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs).

⁵⁷ Minister Kader Asmal, speaking at 2003 FET Convention, Department of Education (2003).

⁵⁸ For some examples see Hardman (2001).

⁵⁹ Information given during interviews with members of the College management team.

manage a skills development levy, equivalent to 1 per cent of the pay-role, to be used for employees, prospective employees and new initiatives.

In relation to this governmental approach, the Principal (Rector) is aiming to identify forms of social capital which exist outside the workplace. Indeed, the recognition of such dimensions lies at the heart of national policy. Thus, he proposes deliberate stimulation of economic activity through developing co-operatives and small businesses and building on the social capital of poorer rural communities. He makes the argument that before the 'migrant labour system' and its deliberate disruption of rural economies, there existed a structured way of life in which all issues that related to livelihood were managed through the procedures connected with the traditional notion of *ubuntu* ('humaneness').⁶⁰ Modern manifestations of this include burial clubs and *stokvels* (credit clubs). The Principal sees these as manifestations of 'indigenous' partnership, with the idea of partnership being both tacit and explicit strategies, which inform value-driven social cohesion. He therefore suggests that such rural community social capital might be harnessed for sustainable development.

At the local level, the College aims to develop partnerships with local businesses in order to identify, firstly, participants for learnerships,⁶¹ and, secondly, local micro business opportunities for which skills training can be given. It is intended that the College partnership programme will become the hub of both 'internal' and 'external' transformation. Internal transformation involves making the curriculum more market-related: this means provision of courses that are appropriate to the needs and opportunities of the area and delivering them in a way that is oriented to practice rather than theory. External transformation means the College acting as a catalyst for development, by stimulating opportunities where training can add value to current workers and new opportunities. Thus, the College is expected to develop a particular set of core competencies which:

- articulate policy into practice;
- are inclusive and gender sensitive;
- broker appropriate partnerships;
- add local substance to workplace skills development plans;
- develop entrepreneurial insight;
- articulate skills development and local economic development;
- facilitate business development;
- manage the HIV/AIDS environment.⁶²

Without further consideration of programmes and programme financing, it is acknowledged that these targets are clearly idealistic. The process of financing uses a standard calculation procedure, namely, that of 'full time equivalent' students (FTE). However, this mode of calculation does not take into account the extensive area serviced by the College or the numerous small groups of students it has to service in rural contexts.

In a strategy aimed at creating a new sense of identity, the Mthashana FET College presents itself as "a preferred learning centre of excellence".⁶³ It has espoused a set of values involving: good communication, commitment, transparency, honesty, respect, integrity and excellence, fairness and good planning. However, it will take time for this commitment to translate into achievement and, the set of values needs to be seen in the context of the institution's current work in building sustainable institutional capacity and managing changes in staff job description. The new strategy in the reconstituted College is still at a very early stage of development. While the staff are re-orienting themselves to a major reorganisation, little actual change in curriculum and programme has yet taken place. Thus, Mthashana FET College presents a clear example of the social genesis of a substantial policy initiative intended to facilitate emergent partnerships in all areas of the curriculum, particularly through learnerships.

⁶⁰ See p. 28 above.

⁶¹ Section 18 of the Skills Development Act (No. 97) of 1998 refers to contracts of employments with learners. "A Section 18 (1) learner is a learner who was in the employment of the employer party to the learnership agreement concerned when the agreement was concluded, and the learners contract of employment is not affected by the agreement." NBI (2004), p. 36. Section 18 (2) goes on to state: "If the learner was not in the employment of the employer party to the learnership agreement concerned when the agreement was concluded, the employer and the learner must enter into a contract of employment." Ibid.

⁶² Mthashana Strategic Plan (2004).

⁶³ Ibid.

The Partners

Mthashana Further Education and Training College

Mthashana is situated in Northern KwaZulu-Natal and has its head office in Vryheid. There are four campuses, namely: Vryheid, for engineering studies and skills; Nongoma, for engineering studies, business studies and skills; Kwa-Gqikazi, for business studies, adult basic education, training and skills; and Emandleni, for agricultural studies. This group of campuses is supplemented by a number of skills centres, the main one being at Babanango. Mthashana College has two tiers of partners: firstly, those who assist in developing organisational capacity; and, secondly, those who are involved programmes. Partnerships for organisational capacity building have been initiated by Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA)⁶⁴ and the National Business Initiative (NBI). These initiatives have originated at national level with the Ministry of Education and are the product of negotiations and agreements at that level.

The incentive for engagement in a partnership programme strategy is directly related to the policy imperatives of the current government in relation to skills development. The driving force behind the policy is for the country to have a nationwide and inclusive framework for skills development. Thus public policy plays a key role in driving partnership development.

National Business Initiative

The National Business Initiative (NBI) has managed a Colleges Collaboration Fund (CCF) on behalf of the Business Trust. The Business Trust was a corporate initiative in South Africa to provide funding for strategic projects which were considered essential by both government and business. Business put in the money and appointed managing agents for projects identified from negotiations between government and business to be of critical importance to both parties. One such project was the CCF, which carried through the whole process of policy formulation, landscaping, merging, strategic planning and training. The contribution of NBI was formative rather than operational. The NBI, itself the originator of the Business Trust, was appointed as the project manager for the CCF. Following its work for the Business Trust, the NBI has re-conceptualised the requirements for support of the FET Colleges in the next phase of their development and is now appealing to its business members for participation in partnerships with further education.

Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA)

DANIDA has historically taken a direct interest in skills development projects in South Africa and has been a substantial funder for them. Within the new FET landscape, DANIDA has selected several institutions to work with, such as Mthashana, in order to assist with organisational capacity building within the College. The aim is that the College should provide an example of effectiveness in relation to the policy initiatives of the government. DANIDA's input has taken the form of strategic planning facilitation and support for functional operations. Eight portfolios have been established and developed: the sixth of these is the Linkages and Programs portfolio, which is described as "...one of the first units to be set up at central office working at the cutting edge of curriculum, unit standards and SAQA accreditation of our courses, and creating partnerships with local businesses."⁶⁵

DANIDA, in its written agreement with the Department of Education, has identified seven areas for support:

1. restructuring of the FET colleges;
2. SMME growth and skills development;
3. FET college staff professional development;
4. mathematics, science and technology;
5. inclusive education;
6. HIV/AIDS prevention education development and gender-sensitive practices promotion;
7. system development.

⁶⁴ See *SESD Programme*.

⁶⁵ Mthashana Strategic Plan (2004).

The ZENEX Foundation (Foundation of the Zenex Petroleum Company)

ZENEX Petroleum Company was established when Caltex Petroleum Company was determined to stop operating in South Africa for political reasons during the apartheid era. However, the brand was renamed ZENEX and the company was set up as a feeder to a not-for-profit foundation. All profits of the company go to the ZENEX Foundation, which is dedicated to black advancement projects. One project that ZENEX has undertaken in further education is in supporting service providers for the development of materials for new courses in entrepreneurship. The ZENEX Foundation is a partner at the programme tier, in that it provides for intermediary organisations to develop materials for teaching.

Potential Partner Organisations

In order to fulfil its partnership programme responsibility, Mthashana FET College has to develop partnerships with local organisations in the public, private and civil sectors. The strategic plan lists banks, retailers, post offices, hospitals, schools, mining, telecommunications, forestry, the press, media, NGOs and CBOs. Primary stakeholders are listed as the local municipalities, the regional *amakhosi* (traditional leaders), parents, the general community, churches and other religious groups; and secondary stakeholders include government departments. Niche areas are indicated as forestry, tourism and agriculture. Since these are the businesses represented in the catchment area of the College, these are the sectors in which the College wishes to develop learnership and skills development programmes. The College is also in the process of setting up working relationships with appropriate SETAs, major employers and municipalities to implement learnerships.

The Role of Partnership Broker

As well as being the central initiating partner, Mthashana College, as an organisation, and its rector, in an individual capacity, have undertaken the role of partnership broker in facilitating and developing partnering relationships in line with its own and national policies. Clearly, engaging a wide variety of partners across a large geographical area requires particular skills in negotiation as well as the commitment and energy to see them through.

Structure and Systems

Although national educational policy provides the framework for partnerships, it is up to the College to decide how to implement it within its own context. The College Council is intended to embody the policy for a locally responsive further education and training sector vis-à-vis partnerships. The operational dimension, however, resides with the staff of the 'Linkages and Programmes' function. Their role is to act as brokers on behalf of the various campuses that constitute the College, and to enable them to facilitate partnerships. Partnerships are formalised with the respective parties on a project-by-project basis. The templates for this formalisation are provided by the respective SETAs in relation to learnerships.

Skills development projects are funded by the Department of Labour and require a formal arrangement. However, in most cases, the system is a new one and employees need to be convinced that it is in their interests to participate. A major argument that tends to work in favour of such projects is that participation is seen to be an act of good will in response to the skills development strategy of the government. In this context, then, the task of the College staff is to go out and build convincing arguments to attract and encourage participation. Definition of projects comes through the policy and legislative requirements for employees to participate.

Community Connections

The communities that the College is developing partnerships with at the programme tier are primarily communities of learners. These learners are situated in various organisations, from businesses and government departments to more loosely defined groups established as co-operatives or interest groups. To this end, members of the team at the College have indicated that they have been making significant progress to establish learnerships and skills development with a number of employee groups. These projects are planned in the offices of the Linkages and Programmes Team; and, at present, contracts are being drawn up in the skills areas of sewing, baking, engineering and agriculture. Examples of emergent programmes are: a hydroponics project with Babanango Municipality; a green beans export project with Brio Swiss and the Josini Municipality; and a skills programme in beadwork which is already running for people with physical disabilities.

Development of the Partnership

The initial merger process of previous educational institutions into Mthashana FET College has been completed. Achieving this has involved a long and intensive process, which has been managed through the National Business Initiative working in partnership with the both national Ministry of Education and the provincial Ministry, which has scaled up its FET support and management infrastructure. Moreover, as a consequence of the establishment of governing councils, the appointment of CEOs and Campus Heads, and the technical support and assistance of DANIDA, leadership and management systems are in place. A strategy has been initiated to visit all prospective partner organisations and to explore programme partnership opportunities with them. Early signs of positive encouragement for responsive projects are evident, especially in the placement of innovative and energetic staff in key positions in the Linkages and Programmes sub-section of the College. Nonetheless, the College faces a number of critical issues.

Critical Issues

Geographical Remit

The area of operation of the College is vast. Working over a large geographic region, with limited infrastructure, means that it is difficult to transport staff and thus to develop partnership relationships. Furthermore, there is limited road access and many communities still work at a subsistence level. To reach one skills centre, staff have to travel 326 kilometres North East to the Mozambique border and, to reach the perimeter of its activities in the opposite direction, 152 kilometres South West. As a consequence, the College Rector has bought a van and three cars to facilitate travel for the College staff. Concern has also been raised that while the policy frameworks might work for colleges in areas of dense industrial and economic activity, the lack of a critical mass in more rural areas, combined with the distances between sites, makes the policy non-viable in its present form.

Bringing Together Diverse Institutions

All the institutions in the College have different historic trajectories, with residual cultures that developed within the organisational framework of apartheid thinking. This is viewed by management as a particularly critical issue, since the various campuses do not see themselves as integrated into a multi-site institution. The current Rector of the College has pointed out that the widely divergent cultures of the main campuses have created difficulties in moulding a sense of shared identity. Examples of extremes are the Vryheid campus, with its fairly rigid internal hierarchy, and the Nongoma campus, where the sense of 'community' is stronger than that of campus hierarchy.

Leadership Issues

According to both the current incumbent Rector and an external consultant working for DANIDA, the development of the College's identity and work was hampered by an obstructive approach on the part of the previous acting Rector, who demonstrated scepticism about the process of merging the various campuses into one institution and did not meet the targets clearly set out in the merger manual. Whereas, the ex-acting Rector apparently spoke of "merging to separate", carrying out a paper exercise while in fact retaining the *status quo*, the present Rector has inaugurated a strategy of "integrate to serve", with the aim of weaving the various facilities, both strategically and operationally, to provide a better service. However, if the timelines had been adhered to with appropriate commitment further progress would be evident at the time of writing.

Staff Issues

The approach taken by government and the rapid changes in the further education sector have resulted in a range of relationship and competency issues for staff. For example, there is a big difference between teaching a subject from the perspective of market demand and treating the subject as part of a pre-determined set of offerings without reference to the market. In delivering the training, the current national policy is for colleges to be responsive to the demands of the environment, both in work and in entrepreneurial opportunities. However, not surprisingly, many staff find it difficult both to conceptualise and pattern a new approach to their work in terms of a supply model for education. Lecturers who have been used to the dynamic of being salaried employees do not see the need to be more entrepreneurial in their approaches. This results in a contradiction: there is a different mindset towards employment among the lecturing staff from that which they are trying to convey to their students.

Perceptions of Further Education and Training

The above factors are complicated by the fact that the revitalised system of further education and training is still viewed by many as a provision for those who are not academically inclined, rather than as the basis for appropriate skills development for technological and entrepreneurial opportunities. Members of staff still speak in terms of revamping “technical education”, by which they mean the kind of education that was provided at technical colleges and skills centres under apartheid. Such institutions were perceived as offering an ‘inferior’ form of practical education to those who were not able to cope with academic education.

Lack of Business Engagement

There are no large businesses in the area which is served by the College. The area is one that has no major growth points and no large industries with complex infrastructures and high staff numbers. The main industries are the taxi industry and agriculture, both of which are problematic as generators of new opportunities: the taxi industry because it is located largely in the informal economy and has little opportunity for learners other than as drivers; and the formal agricultural industry because it is one of the slowest to transform and provides only limited opportunities for new employees.

Conclusion

The government of South Africa and the business community have both invested heavily in the skills development strategy of the country, in which the further education and training sector plays a significant role. Thus, this case study explores a partnership based on government policy which is embedded both in a new democracy and in the development of sustainable livelihoods.

The most distinctive feature of the partnership programme strategy of Mthashana College is, indeed that it provides a manifestation and exemplification of government policy, whose development can be clearly traced from the initial preparatory policy documents of the African National Congress, to actual implementation in an area that has been particularly disadvantaged by its political inheritance. In this huge rural area, the residual boundaries of apartheid still resonate and the need to develop sustainable livelihoods is keenly and generally felt. Moreover, the strategy of Mthashana College is particularly focussed on partnerships for enhancing learning and skills development, with the intention of adding value to employment and self employment opportunities.

While this case study touches on some of the complexities arising out of the enabling policy environment, it also indicates the complexities of large-scale change initiatives. Furthermore, it illustrates some of the critical issues that still lie ahead if the policy is to become fully operational and achieve its intended outcomes. In the last resort, it is clear that the affect of government policy at the local level is largely dependent on allowance for strategic choices to be made on the basis of particular contexts and environment. Change cannot be mandated and the real critical issues involve developing appropriate strategies in the context of deep rural poverty.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Key Findings¹

Outline and Method

Parameters and Limitations

A partnership's context invites us to move our focus from 'the organisation' to 'the domain'. The latter is *inclusive* of all stakeholders. In the workings of partnerships, and especially in their search for creative and productive responses to complex problems, the particular shape assumed by the larger domain has a strong and even a determining influence on the partnership's potential both for engaging complementary resources and for involving complementary critical thinking from diverse perspectives.

This chapter offers a discussion of some of the generic issues that arise from the specific case studies presented above, in order to identify how effective a cross-sector partnership approach has been in addressing the concerns relating to development. This is followed by a summary of the key findings of the research.

In the context of such a procedure, two central strands of analysis must necessarily be intertwined. First, since partnerships are emerging in South Africa and Zambia as particular solutions to 'African' problems, each needs to be examined in relation to the *external* issues and dynamics present: this emphasises the wider context, or '*locus*', in which the partnership occurs. Second, examination needs to be focussed on the *internal* mechanisms, structures and processes operating within a particular partnership, in order to understand how and why these affect development. Therefore, the mode of analysis incorporated into this discourse seeks to weave these two strands together. However, the treatment offered here does not purport to be exhaustive: that is, it does not aim to consider all the possible contextual and partnership-building issues and challenges implicit in the case studies. Rather, it seeks to articulate and amplify a selection of the themes and motifs which are most strikingly evident from the case study findings, relating to cross-sector partnerships operating in an African context, and their survival and potential.

At this point, it is helpful to re-emphasise some of the considerations implicit in the research methodology that have been most pertinent to the analysis of findings. While these evidently incorporate the dynamic relationship between the partnerships and their project work, they also necessarily embody and exemplify the different perspectives of the researchers involved. In addition, both the outputs and outcomes of the partnerships and their work have been explored by assessing their practical usefulness, in real terms, with reference to the following three factors and constituents:

- *partner organisations*, i.e. the ways in which different partners have gained or benefited from working together in the partnership;
- *community/beneficiaries and other stakeholder groups*, i.e. the extent to which project activities have succeeded in engaging these groups in a sustainable way;
- *policy level and institutional change*: i.e. the extent to which the partnership and its activities have affected institutions and been 'mainstreamed' into policies to effect long-term change.

It is also helpful to reflect on Tennyson's suggestion,² that the effectiveness of a partnership can be examined by asking whether a partnership is:

- doing what it set out to do;
- having an impact beyond its immediate stakeholder group;

¹ This chapter is authored by Melanie Rein, Leda Stott, Kavwanga Yambayamba and Stan Hardman. *Editors*.

² See p. 12 above; and Tennyson (2004), pp. 33–35.

- sustainable and self-managing;
- 'adding value', so that partners gain benefits;
- making a useful contribution to the global partnership movement.

Partnership Phases and Processes

Any consideration of the effectiveness of the partnerships researched must take cognisance of the fact that they were all at different stages in their development and none of them had 'completed' their work. The case studies reinforce the fact that partnerships are dynamic and change over time, as they work through different phases and processes which have been broadly defined as *scoping; initiating; implementing; consolidating* and *sustaining/terminating*.³ When examining the partnerships, in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of their work, it was considered appropriate and relevant to 'situate' them in relation to the processes that they were undergoing (see Diagram 4 below). Even so, it is equally necessary to stress here that, because the phases and processes outlined might interlink and overlap, or be undergone at different times, the intention here has not been to expect the partnerships to follow any particular 'progression model'.

Each of the studies has addressed partnering in different ways. What has worked well and what has not; the manner in which each partnership has dealt with challenges during particular phases; and how they have moved between one phase and another are aspects that have been taken into account in determining results and effects for partners, stakeholders and the wider society. Moreover, the time-consuming nature of the work involved within each of these phases is often underestimated, particularly when it comes to consolidating relationships, structures and systems and engaging partners and stakeholders. In many cases, the lack of adequate time to dedicate to particular phases combines with a lack of awareness both of the time-frames needed by different partners and of the factors creating pressures on them. Not surprisingly, this combination tends to have a detrimental effect on the ongoing effectiveness of the partnership

As Diagram 4 below suggests, while partnerships develop and move through different time-phases and processes, they intersect with a wide variety of cross-cutting factors that may include, for example, influences, deviations and obstructions. This produces an infinitely variable and constantly changing set of interweaving patterns. Some of the salient factors which have emerged are as follows:

1. the *context* in which a partnership is operating;
2. how a partnership is *governed and organised* and to whom it is accountable;
3. partnering *roles and skills* that are used during a partnership's development;
4. the *engagement and participation* of different sectors, partners and stakeholders;
5. whether, and why, extra *financial resources* are needed to assist a partnership and its work;
6. how a partnership has *adapted* to internal and external change;
7. what monitoring and evaluation processes are in place to *review and measure* the outputs and outcomes of a partnership.

We shall consider each of these factors in turn, drawing on evidence from all of the case-studies to support and illustrate our conclusions.

³ See p. 8 above; and Stott & Keatman (2005), p. 2.

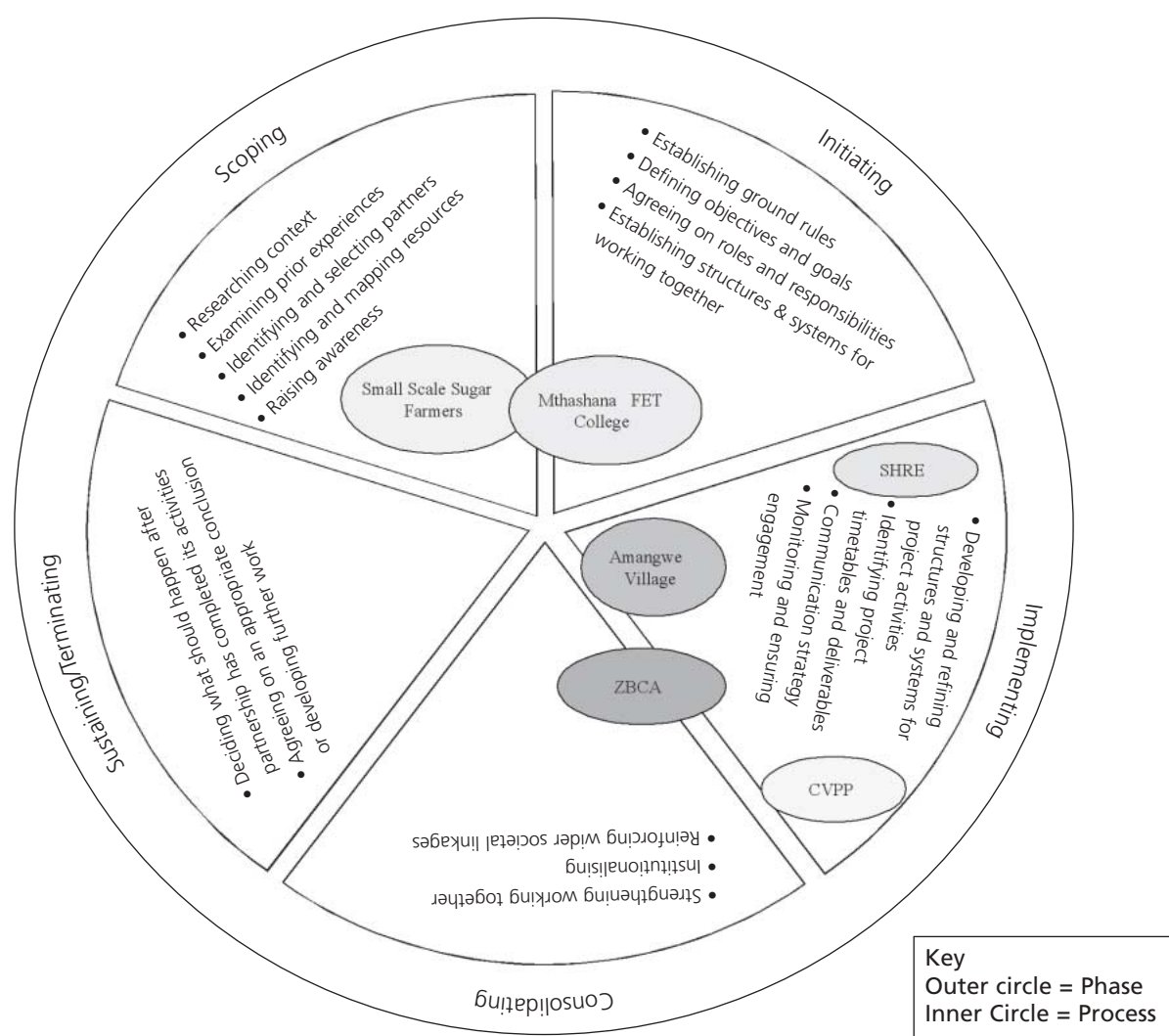


Diagram 4: Partnering Phases and Processes

Findings

Context

The manner in which a partnership unfolds is directly related both to the context in which it is situated and to an understanding by partners and stakeholders that different kinds of developments and responses are necessary. This point is particularly relevant in Africa, where an appreciation is required both of the common background shared by African countries in relation to global systems and structures, and of the diversities of national and local contexts within the continent.

Contextual factors include an extremely wide range of variables, such as: regional, national and local environments; economic, political, cultural and social conditions; linkage with international bodies and with networks promoting partnerships; the presence or otherwise of intermediary organisations and/or key individuals capable of bringing different institutions together; and specific 'drivers' (i.e. factors arising out of wider contexts) that exert directionality and impetus towards partnership solutions. All of these factors interlink and overlap in complex and dynamic ways; and they inevitably have effects on the emergence and development of partnerships, as is evident in the case studies presented. Some of the contextual 'drivers' relevant to these studies are presented in Table 2 below.

PARTNERSHIP Small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities	INITIATOR Private sector	CONTEXTUAL 'DRIVERS' <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy environment • Land/food security issues • Business awareness • Manager's vision and background
Amangwe Village	Intermediary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HIV/AIDS epidemic • Gap in government provision • Local business awareness • Broker organisation • Replication
Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP)	Intermediary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty of local farmers • Replication • Broker push • Company awareness
Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education (SRHE)	Intermediary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broker • Educational crisis • Poverty
Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA)	Private Sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HIV/AIDS epidemic • Business awareness • International linkages
Mthashana FET College Partnership	Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy push • Educational crisis • Poverty

Table 2: Contextual drivers and triggers

As Chapter 3 has made clear, in this age of globalisation, 'partnership' is being advocated by numerous organisations and agencies as being central to a new kind of development in Africa that seeks to redress the imbalances of the past.⁴ Against this background, different countries are espousing partnerships in preference to the 'one size fits all' development solutions that tended to be promoted in the past.⁵

In South Africa, an 'enabling environment' for partnerships is clearly favoured by government policies. For this reason, partnerships have been promoted widely in a number of sectors, for example, in the three 'thematic areas' of health, agriculture and education that have provided subjects for the case studies in this book. However, this favourable attitude to partnerships also needs to be considered in the light of historical (and continuing) local economic contexts. These are most apparent in the Mthashana College case study: in this instance, although the government is actively pressing ahead with promoting the partnership approach, the actual development of the Partnership has also been affected by a wide range of other factors, including, among others, the historical context, rural-urban disparities and party political affiliations. These create the backdrop against which the Mthashana College partnerships will be formed.

In Zambia, a very different context is apparent. Here, the salient conditions are the prevalence of extreme poverty, combined with changes in political and economic structures, from heavy state involvement to the privatisation reforms of the 1990s. The steep decline in the wealth of the country that has plunged so many directly into poverty is clearly the main driver for all of the Zambian partnerships. However, the regulatory environment does appear to have put some pressure on business to make a contribution to development projects. Shoprite, for example,

⁴ See Chapter 3 page 21.

⁵ Altman (2005).

indicate that their assistance to local farmers in Zambia occurred as a result of government pressure upon them demanding that they invest more substantially in the country.

The role of government, both national and local, has been crucial in a number of ways. However, as the case study of Mthashana shows, problems do arise when national policies are formulated across regions where diverse and contradictory factors are present. The small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities Partnership and the Mthashana College Partnership both indicate how difficulties can occur in the implementation of projects when partnerships are instigated from the top-down and undertaken on a large scale.

A related issue is that a number of organisations have been motivated (from within) or prompted (from without) to set up and engage in partnerships, either in order to fill a 'gap' left open by government or to provide services and support in crisis situations – or both. This is evident in the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education (SRHE) Partnership in Zambia, where one of the drivers was to use 'donations' from the private sector, because the government did not possess adequate resources to equip and support the universities. In this particular situation, business had been approached to take over aspects of what would previously have been seen as 'the government's responsibility'. Such a situation is also evident in Amangwe Village, where, it could be argued, business stepped in to support existing, but inadequate, government provision of services. Although the intention of the Partnership was for the government to take over aspects of Amangwe Village, this has not yet occurred.

Apart from government, the other sectors, according to their relative roles and positions, have also functioned as drivers for partnerships. In South Africa and Zambia, as elsewhere, private sector involvement has been augmented by the increasing presence of large multinational and trans-national companies, some of which, like BP, appear to view the understanding and promotion of corporate social responsibility (CSR) as a core business value. In Zambia, for example, BP Zambia has had an influence on the development of both the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA) and the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education (SRHE) partnerships.

In South Africa, on the other hand, it may be argued that CSR has been motivated by the legacy of apartheid which has created a 'push' for private sector commitment to post-apartheid reconstruction. A further argument, which gives a more cynical perspective, is that all this is 'greenwashing', which distracts "the gullible into believing that business has a serious sustainability agenda."⁶ Whichever side of the argument one takes, these contextual factors could help to explain why the member-companies of the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (ZCBF) have been involved in addressing social issues. The South African Sugar Association (SASA) is a similar case, although governmental pressure and policy must also be considered as the primary drivers for change. A further interesting example in this regard is presented by the involvement of the South African-owned company, Shoprite, as a business partner in both the Luangeni Partnership and the Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP), in Zambia. While Shoprite's Zambian management has given a clear message of the importance of corporate social investment (CSI) programmes, this has not yet been translated into practice at its Freshmark division, where the perception of partnership to date has been very much based on business needs rather than on social investment.

One of the legacies of the apartheid era in South Africa is the existence of a strong and highly articulate civil society. Since the end of apartheid, many NGOs and community organisations have seen their roles taken over by government and funding re-directed to the public sector. This has led many of them to take an interest in partnership approaches to development, through which they have been able to offer their skills and knowledge to collaborating and co-operating with other sectors. In Zambia, on the other hand, NGOs have had a lower profile and are less well organised; yet there is a growing realisation among them that they need to build capacity and make their voices heard through links with other sectors of society. This is particularly relevant to HIV/AIDS.

As well as historical factors, there are other specific drivers that build pressure and impetus for a partnership approach.⁷ Crisis is a strong catalyst for collaboration and this is evidenced by the HIV/AIDS pandemic as the driver for both the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA) Partnership and Amangwe Village Partnership.⁸

⁶ Fig (2005), p. 617. See also Fig, p. 27 above.

⁷ Nelson & Zadek (2000), p. 33.

⁸ See p. 8. It is also important to note that although a crisis situation is likely to promote more active and concentrated partnership engagement, this is not a guarantee for greater success. Such partnerships, as Nelson & Zadek point out, may "be rendered unstable by being too politicised, or involve participants that are only engaged so long as the public spotlight remains focused on them." Nelson & Zadek (2000), p. 33.

Although each of these has been started up and developed by the private sector, they have focussed on the issue in very different ways, which have been governed in part by the political and economic context within which they operate. The ZBCA works solely within the formal employment sector and provides services to those who are in employment, and their families. Amangwe Village, although it is also private sector led, offers its services to the wider community. Thus, while each partnership has taken its own unique form and approach, the impact of the pandemic both on the workforce and on the society at large is the driving force behind each of these partnerships.

In the case of the Small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities Partnership, sustainable approaches to land tenure and food security have been a driving factor in the development of a 'Sustainable Livelihoods Approach' (SLA) to poverty alleviation, which has encompassed working in partnership with other sectors. In neighbouring Zimbabwe, the problems associated with land redistribution have influenced the thinking of both the South African government and South African Sugar Association and have been a factor in promoting the adoption of a partnership approach in their work.

Education has been a sector with many unresolved needs and urgent demands in both South Africa and Zambia and, as such, it has been particularly amenable to development approaches based on partnership. In Zambia, education has suffered a serious decline in standards, whose effects have been compounded by the government's lack of capacity to furnish the required resources; while in South Africa, the need for a new approach has been driven by changes following the end of apartheid, within the context of the far wider restructuring processes and resources required to encourage and activate new and more inclusive ways of working through all the country's social institutions.

The existence of organisations and individuals capable of promoting and sustaining a partnership approach and bringing the different sectors together in particular contexts is also clearly evidenced in the case studies. In Zambia, for example, the Partnership Forum has been instrumental in advocating the idea of cross-sector collaboration and establishing the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership and the Chamba Valley Project Partnership. In South Africa, members of the Development Committee for the Small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities Partnership have a familiarity and experience of working in partnerships which has assisted in the promotion of a holistic approach to their work. The Amangwe Village Partnership also demonstrates how indispensable the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation and its staff have been in promoting and developing its initiatives. The building of links with other organisations, nationally, regionally and internationally, has also been a positive factor in several of these formations because many of the initiating partners and brokers were able to draw on the advice and experience of wider connections and networks to support their work.

Another driver is the existence of previous models which can then be adapted or replicated. The Chamba Valley Partnership Project, for example, was based upon the highly successful Luangeni Partnership, in which a large number of farmers provided produce to Shoprite, with spin-offs for the community at large. However the transfer of this model to the Chamba Valley has been hampered by difficulties in the shift from a rural project to a peri-urban project: the fact that the replicated project necessarily involved different partners and resource factors has not been taken fully enough into consideration and this has had a detrimental effect on its effectiveness. Replication or, rather, adaptation, while not the primary force behind the development of Amangwe Village, appears to have been an element in the development of this partnership project too, since it was at least partially based on the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation's previous experience and success in developing a contractors' village, the ZCBF Community Park. Therefore, while the development of Amangwe Village has provided a base or hub for the project's activities, the intended results of the refurbishment and development have not necessarily been achieved.

There is evidence to suggest that, on the whole, the directors and managers of these two partnerships (the Chamba Valley and Amangwe) did not adequately take into account the multiplicity of factors arising out of the contexts within which they work.⁹ Indeed, it is worth considering whether their early contextual scoping may have been

⁹ A methodological point relating to our own research is worth adding here, lest a charge of immodesty or insensitivity be issued precisely when our text involves critical comments; for such observations are always likely to arouse rejection or denial. We have to acknowledge that it is far easier to make analytical and judgemental observations from the safe and comfortable seat of an outsider's retrospectivity. The decision-maker working in the thick of events has no such luxury. Thinking fast, and on one's feet, is often the prime requirement, especially when measures need to be taken during a crisis. Perhaps the best we may hope is that the wisdom of hindsight may ground future foresight: that precedent may impinge on the strategies of tomorrow. *Editors*.

limited for the very reasons that previously 'successful' models were being replicated or adapted and that the assumption that they would therefore work again inhibited a fuller analysis of the operational context. By contrast, the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, which was modelled on the Thailand Business Coalition on AIDS, did not have the same issues to deal with, perhaps because of the development of a membership structure through which to work, which involved the application of a different model from that adopted by the Chamba Valley Partnership Project and Amangwe.

All the partnerships had very clear beginnings: in all cases, these occurred at points when individuals, usually working on behalf of an initiating organisation or broker, discerned or realised a need within a given environment and went on to devise a strategy in which contextual drivers and triggers were central to the establishment of the partnerships. Methods used in assessing contexts and devising strategies included varying combinations of the following: a survey, such as that undertaken by the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership; dialogues with potential partners, combined with various forms of workshops, of the kinds undertaken for the Amangwe Village and the Small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities partnerships; and the exchange visits to examine possible approaches which occurred during the preliminary phases of the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS. However, the complexities and variables involved in this start-up process and the overlap of different environmental factors were not prognosticated in any of the scoping exercises undergone by the partnerships reviewed. With hindsight, it is clear in each case that the combination of insufficiently exhaustive initial analyses and unanticipated contextual interplays influenced the development of each partnership. Thus, while our research has confirmed the assertion made by Caplan et al.¹⁰ that it is important to analyse the partnerships in relation to context, it also reinforces the need for new partnerships to scope carefully and undertake a full and rigorous contextual analysis prior to investing time and money in individual projects.

Governance and Accountability

The case studies clearly show that the organisation, governance and management of a partnership and its projects have a strong influence on its effectiveness. In this respect, salient questions for all the partnerships include: firstly, the degree to which the systems and structures they have developed prove to be transparent; secondly, whether decision-making processes are arrived at through adequate consensus-building; thirdly, how far a partnership is accountable to both its partners and its beneficiaries; and, fourthly, how successfully it works within wider policy and regulatory systems by linking with government. With regard to the issues that involve partnership structures and systems, our research includes the following observations on generalisable patterns and tendencies:

i. Numbers

Partnerships with a large number of private sector partners such as the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS and Amangwe Village have undoubtedly benefited from increased resources. Nevertheless, the presence of many private sector partners tends to have other 'concomitant variations',¹¹ such as a more 'hands-off' relationship among partners and the development of structures that do not encourage deeper relationship-building amongst partners. A large number of partners from varying sectors is also likely to create problems in getting a partnership off the ground, as has been the case at Mthashana College, where it has been difficult to obtain and maintain the involvement of appropriate partners from the wide number of stakeholders marked out by government policy.

ii. Partnership Agreements

None of the partnerships, apart from the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, had defined core principles for working together which might provide 'rules of engagement'. This lack resulted from the manner in which the partnerships were established and to the fact that the initiating partners or brokers did not have time to develop such guidelines with all the partners. Indeed, a sense of urgency combined with the need and injunction to 'get on with the job' appeared to be so prevalent during the set-up and start-up phases, that little time, if any, was spent on getting to know one another more deeply, let alone on negotiating how partners would work together or on clarifying mutual aims and objectives. The partners' lack of awareness of the need for succinct partnership goals and mission statements manifested itself later in the varying interpretations by each partner of what the partnerships actually intended to achieve.

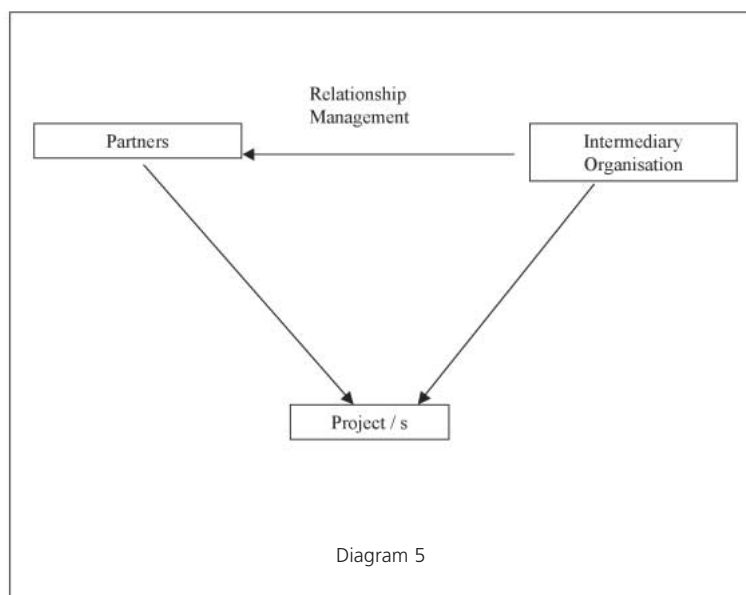
¹⁰ See p. 8 above.

¹¹ A phrase used by John Stuart Mill in 1856, see *Oxford English Dictionary (OED) On-Line*.

Partnering agreements are frequently advocated as being necessary to ensure the accountability, firstly, of partners to each other or one another and, secondly, of partners to their project activities.¹² Such an agreement may take the form of a formal contract or a less formal Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) or informal agreement to co-operate. Developing such an agreement is often the starting point for working together: the process binds partners to specific aims and objectives and also helps to define the roles and responsibilities of each within the partnership. In the case of Amangwe Village, organisations initially received spoken invitations to become partners, whereas written agreements existed only in the form of proposals for the funding of specific projects. The Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership had no collective MoU to guide its operations and only one written agreement with a private sector partner. The Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, acting as the umbrella body for its members, did formalise its relationship with the implementing partners through a MoU. The Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP) is the only partnership with an agreement that was signed by *all* partners, even though, interestingly, the signings did not take place at a joint meeting; and three of the five of the partners were actually unaware who else had signed it. All the CVPP partners consider that the agreement lacks detail and that it needs to be revised to include additional information relating to roles, responsibilities, communication processes and evaluation. Indeed, some of the CVPP partners believe that only as result of such an agreement can current working relationships turn into what they consider to be a properly established and constituted partnership. Yet this last point also raises questions about how effective a written document might really be in regulating relationships, and what else might be needed to make a partnership more effective, particularly in relation to communication and transparency. As Evans et al. emphasise, 'paperwork' is only one aspect of a healthy collaborative relationship: it cannot be a substitute for other aspects such as good communication, aligned goals, transparency and parallel commitments.¹³

iii. Organisational Structure

In most cases, the initiating partners or broker took the lead in establishing the partnerships' structure, systems and project designs. In the Amangwe Village, the Chamba Valley and the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education partnerships, these initiating organisations also envisaged and established the core structures for the management, administration and decision-making of the partnerships. The two private sector led partnerships, Amangwe Village and the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA), work through organisations that were either set up or already in place to manage the partnership relationships and the projects. While the differences between these two managing organisations are differences of type, both structures have in common the function of being an intermediary organisation, either working with the whole partnership or bringing the membership together in order to work with partners. The former model, based on Amangwe Village and the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation, is shown in Diagram 5, and the latter, based on the ZBCA, in Diagram 6. It is interesting to note that large numbers of partners may be more easily managed within such structures. Diagram 5 illustrates the intermediary organisation's role in managing the relationship between the partners, while at the same time managing the projects which the partners are financially supporting.



¹² Evans et al. (2004).

¹³ Ibid., p. 11.

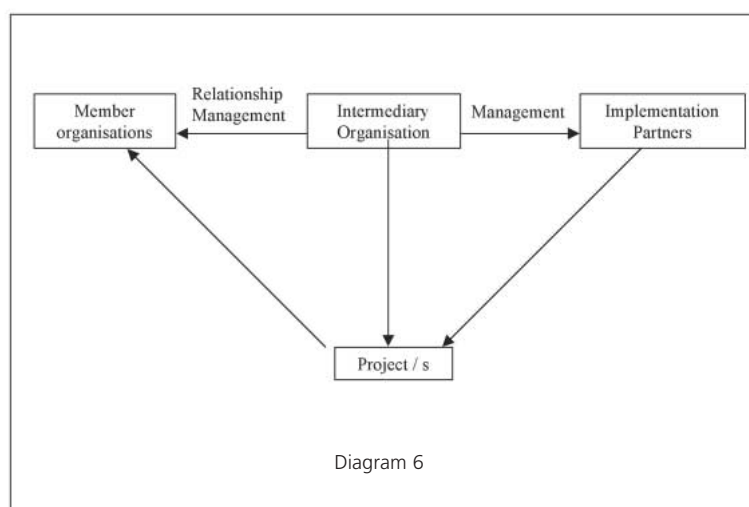


Diagram 6, in contrast, illustrates not only the 'relationship management' of the partners by the intermediary organisation, but also the 'management' arrows both to the implementation partners and to the projects. The implementation partners undertake the projects but do not have managerial responsibility. In contrast to Diagram 5, Diagram 6 illustrates how projects specifically input to the member organisations.

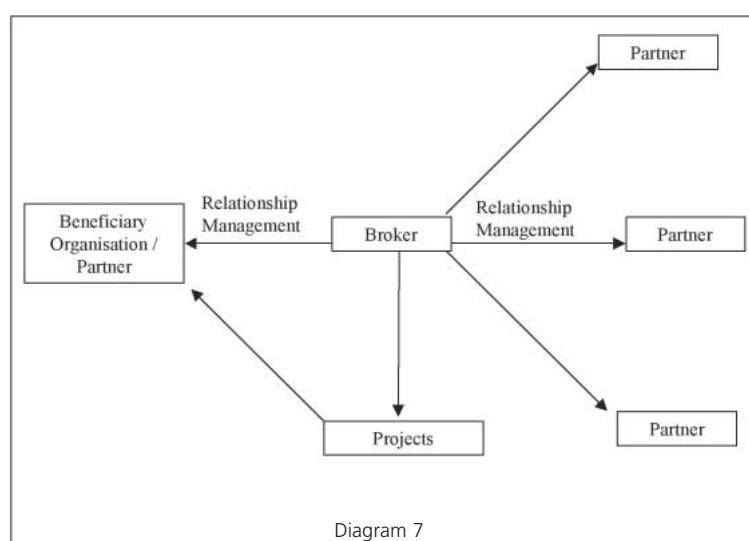
The management of a partnership and its projects clearly derives from the type of organisation or organisations which initiated it. For example, both the private sector initiators have set up clearly defined and demarcated structures which manage

both the partnerships and the projects; while the two other partnerships, both initiated by the broker, are structured managerially either around the broker or around the beneficiary organisation or partner. Although management style and structure depend on the skills and experience of the organisation, in the Chamba Valley and the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education (SRHE) partnerships, both these aspects of management are direct consequences of the lack of resources and funding available to them. Furthermore, in the SRHE Partnership, although the broker takes a commission for managing the financial aspect of the projects, this covers only a small proportion of overall administrative costs. It is questionable whether this Partnership would be agreeable to the raising of the commission to a level commensurate with the amount of work being done by the broker.

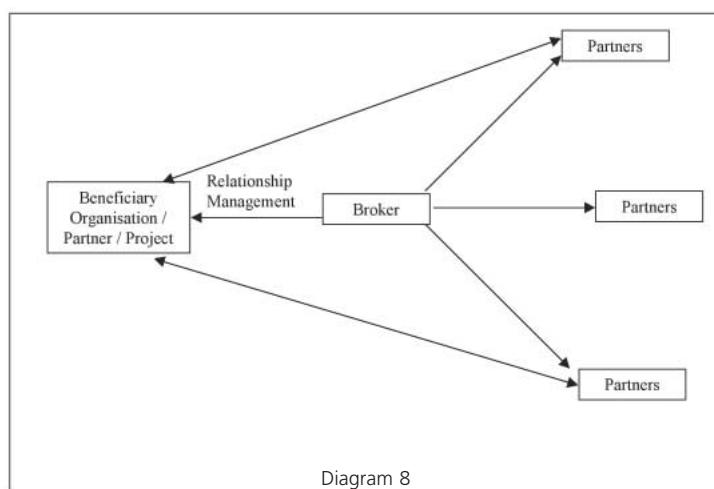
With SRHE, the Partnership has developed through individual relationships and agreements between the universities and the businesses, so that the universities, as the beneficiary organisations, have individual bilateral relationships, conducted via the broker, with each of the partners. These are shown in Diagram 7, where the bilateral agreements are illustrated by means of relationship management arrows to each partner, and also to the beneficiary organisation. Financial management, as discussed previously, is also undertaken by the broker, on behalf of the partners. As with Diagram 6, the projects themselves are specifically designed for the benefit of the beneficiary organisation as illustrated through the 'input' arrow pointing from 'Projects' to 'Beneficiary Organisation / Partner'.

By contrast, in the case of the Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP), the structure is complicated by the fact that although each of the partners is aware of the others' involvement, the relationships among them all

are focussed on the Chamba Valley Co-operative, as the communal 'Project', although input is two-way between two of the partners and the beneficiary organisation / partner, i.e. the Chamba Valley Co-operative (see Diagram 8). Relationships between partners, in a similar manner to the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, are mediated and managed by the broker.



Where there are clear divisions between the partnerships and the partnership projects, there are also two differing types of management structure, one of which covers the partnership and the other which manages its projects (for example, see Diagram 3 in the Amangwe



Village case study, p. 72 above). In the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, the management of the Partnership and the financial management of its projects are both undertaken by the broker, while project management for particular building works devolves to the relevant departments within the universities. However, where partnership and project converge, as with the CVPP (see Diagram 7), the distinction between the management structures relevant to each of these components is inevitably blurred and, indeed, may overlap, integrate and merge.

However, none of the partnerships that have established organisational structures have facilities for collective decisions to be made by all partners together. Thus, a sense of team-working and co-operative building remains generally absent. Relationships are managed bilaterally or through a broker, which limits the potential of the partnerships' members for full participation and hence for the development of any ensuing sense of mutual respect and trust which have been identified as so important for partnerships.¹⁴ The absence of stakeholder involvement in partnership structures is also apparent. In the case of Amangwe Village, this is likely to derive from both the extent and the type of community involvement in clarifying and defining the original parameters of the project work; whereas, in the case of the Chamba Valley Partnership Project, respondents' statements indicate that some community partners consider themselves to be marginalised from the workings of the Partnership. This marginalisation is likely to result from the lack of comprehensiveness in scoping procedures, when not enough was done to engage potential partners and stakeholders more deeply. Concerning that aspect, in view of the lengthy and participative scoping process that the Small-scale Sugarcane Farming Communities' Partnership has been engaged in, it will be interesting to see what structures and systems develop for their work.

In both the Chamba Valley Partnership Project (CVPP) and the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, the lack of structured planning frameworks and targets for the project work of the partnerships has contributed to difficulties as the work of the partnerships develops. In this connection, it is interesting to note, too, that none of the partnerships studied here possesses a well defined problem-solving system to deal with issues that may cause challenges or conflict. The growing sense of frustration shown by the Chamba Valley Co-operative members vis-à-vis the perceived shortcomings of the CVPP, for example, provides clear indication of where such systems may be of considerable value.

iv. Communication

Strong and transparent internal communication strategies are lacking in most of the partnerships studied. This deficiency has had clear repercussions on their work. In the Chamba Valley Partnership Project, for example, the absence of an effective communication system has had considerable knock-on effects for the Partnership, since it has meant that its partners have not met regularly to review progress and discuss critical issues. Among respondents at Amangwe Village, there is an acknowledgement that better communication channels within the Partnership are required; and, indeed, a number of initiatives are being put in place to foster a more participative approach from all partners. Even at the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, where regular meetings are held to manage different aspects of the implementing partners' work, and where it may therefore be argued that communication systems have been established more extensively and effectively, partners still say that more meetings are necessary.

By means of reports, media coverage and links with international agencies and bodies, external communication with both stakeholders and the general public is generally better than internal communication. This wider dissemination of information about the partnerships and their work has been instrumental in raising awareness,

¹⁴ See p. 3 above.

obtaining resources and developing stronger policy linkages. Nonetheless, the view is consistently expressed by respondents that communication with government needs to be more strategic and that this involves identifying and working with the 'right' people, with whose help or intervention issues can be routed more effectively and swiftly.

Partnering Roles and Skills

The case studies demonstrate that as partnerships develop, they rely upon a range of roles and skills. Necessary partnering roles are carried out by both individuals and institutions during particular phases of a partnership's development. Different skills are required at different times.

i. Partnership Brokers

Partnerships often rely upon a person or organisation to act as an intermediary or facilitator during their work, especially in the early stages. In this research, we have used the term 'partnership broker' to describe those who develop relationships between parties and work behind the scenes to create and build the partnership. The brokers in our case studies include the Partnership Forum, the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (ZCBF), the South African Sugar Association (SASA) together with the assistance of the Institute of Natural Resources, and Mthashana College. In the situations of SASA and Mthashana College, both are initiators and primary partners in the approaches that they are developing.

Within each brokering organisation, there have been strong and influential individuals who have acted as leaders, possessed with a clear understanding of the partnerships with which they work and of the context in which these partnerships operate. These individuals have all had a strong commitment to their partnerships.

However, there are issues relating to the dependence of partners on the broker, particularly in the Zambian cases: here, on the one hand, over-reliance on the Partnership Forum has left the Chamba Valley Partnership Project unconsolidated with respect to the development of the mutual understanding, benefits and trust that members have indicated as being central to partnership; whereas, in the case of the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, the same issue of dependence has been complicated even further by the agreement of its partners to channel all their contributions of resources through the Partnership Forum, which has placed considerable pressure upon the latter in terms of administration and management.

These observations indicate that two considerations need to be borne in mind by brokers. Firstly, in the early stages of a partnership, how to work out ways of supporting the engagement and participation of partners, so that the partners take can greater responsibility both for their own work within the partnership and for the work of the partnership as a whole; and, secondly, at a later stage, how to determine when and in what manner to withdraw from particular partnership processes.

ii. Leadership

As suggested in the previous section on brokering, leadership issues have played a key role in the development of the partnerships examined. In all six cases, a particular person or organisation has championed the partnership at its scoping and initiation stages, and has acted as an inspiration, advisor and mediator to bring partners together. In the South African case studies, partnership advocacy and methodology are still dependent on such 'champions' in all three cases; while in Zambia, the partnership broker, the Partnership Forum, plays a central leadership role, through its Director, in supporting and maintaining the partnerships. An interesting case of 'negative' leadership is also provided in the case study of Mthashana College, where an obstructive role was played at a crucial time in the development of the Partnership, which has had ongoing repercussions for its work (see p. 102).

One of the tasks faced in the promotion of partnership as a 'culture of practice' has been to find an appropriate style of leadership for each phase of development. Indeed, there is strong evidence to suggest that in three of the partnerships; Amangwe Village, the Chamba Valley and the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education, dependency on the leadership of one particular individual or organisation (in some cases, a broker) has had a long-term detrimental effect on both the partnerships and their projects. This observation raises a further question: how can diverse leadership competencies be acquired, so that the partnership becomes able to apply an effective collaborative approach to tackling challenges that emerge through the different stages of partnership-building?

It has not been possible in this research to cover all the explicit and implicit issues which are generated by this question, although, reference to existing literature on partnerships does address some of them.¹⁵ The extensive collection of cultural and organisational development literature is also relevant in helping to understand the complicated power dynamics in partnerships. More specifically, further research is required to explore the issues of leadership and brokering in partnerships, and the implicit power relationships which may hinder a partnership's development.

iii. Partnership Skills

In order to work effectively, all the partnerships have relied upon particular sets of skills at different times during their development. As well as 'hard' technical skills, a range of 'soft' skills has been valuable, including: interpersonal and team-building abilities; good communication; leadership; relationship-building, problem-solving and facilitating; planning; and being both persuasive and sympathetic. The partnerships clearly demonstrate that individuals participating in them bring different skills and competencies and these can be drawn upon during the course of the partnership's work.

In Amangwe Village and the Zambian Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS, as well as the Chamba Valley Partnership Project to a lesser extent, the partnerships have had to cope with staff departures and changes which have left quite serious skill and information gaps. Some staff departures which had detrimental repercussions were due to the termination of expatriate contracts.

This in itself raises further issues about the management of short-term external support, particularly the question of finding ways to utilise it more effectively for the longer-term skills development of resident staff. If change is to be managed effectively, active policies and programmes aimed at the capacity-building of new and existing staff are needed, as well as institutional capacity building in partnership member organisations. Furthermore, such programmes need to be designed to train and develop *individuals* working within teams, as well as focussing on the *institutional* involvement of partners. A relevant finding from the research is that partnerships should assess their skills capacity by identifying strengths and weaknesses and then go on to ascertain what kind of training is needed in particular areas to assist the development of the partnership and its work. Establishing this kind of assessment or needs analysis procedure can help, firstly, to ensure that training fulfils needs and, secondly, to determine what combinations of internal and external training are most appropriate.

Engagement and Participation

The degree of engagement of partners, stakeholders and communities in the work of the partnerships reviewed has been central to establishing whether or not the latter have been effective. This issue is closely linked to such factors as external accountability and the internal balance of power. Clarification of the first of these involves identifying the bodies and organisations a partnership is answerable to. Clarification of the second entails an analysis of the modes and directions in which power is exerted and played out within a partnership, where, ostensibly, all partners are 'equals'. Furthermore, any discussion of engagement also needs to be linked to examining a partnership's degree of effectiveness at both macro and micro levels: that is to say, the extent to which it is being 'mainstreamed' into wider society, among and across institutions.

i. Partner Engagement

In the partnership case studies, at least five different kinds of collaborative relationships have been identified. These are:

- 'contractual' relationships (see Amangwe Village and the Department of Welfare, p. 68). In this relationship, the Department of Welfare, while being a partner in the Amangwe Village Partnership, also has 'control' of specific areas of the project through its contractual arrangements with Amangwe. Such contractual arrangements raise issues about power within a partnership and about the effects if a contract, managed by one of the partners, is withdrawn or terminated;¹⁶

¹⁵ See Tennyson, (1998), (2003), (2004); and Tennyson & Wilde (2000).

¹⁶ This may constitute the essence of the Public Private Partnership as opposed to Cross-Sector Partnerships. See p. 2.

- 'philanthropic' relationships (see, for example, the relationship between the universities and their partners in the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education (SRHE) case study, pp. 89 – 92). The philanthropic relationship relies on the 'goodwill' of a partner to 'donate' money to a particular cause, although in the case of the SRHE Partnership, the difference between an 'altruistic' donation and one which will ultimately benefit the business itself, for example, contributing to the development of an educated and skilled local work force, is clearly apparent;
- 'notional' relationships (see Amangwe Village and the Department of Health, p. 69). The notional relationship may be compared, albeit tentatively, to a 'sleeping partner' in a business. It is possible, that a sleeping partner, may at some stage, start to take an active role. In a similar way, the notional partner may become active, as engagement increases;
- 'donor-funded' relationships, (see, for example, Mthashana College and DANIDA, p. 100). The donor-funded relationship raises many questions about whether a donor organisation can be a partner or whether its own contractual and monitoring procedures inhibit such partnership relationships. Whether the donor is a partner or not, the influence it can have on a partnership is considerable, both positively and negatively. The financial implications of working with donor funding were specifically highlighted by one of the respondents in the Amangwe Village case study (see p. 73);
- 'implicit power' relationships (see, for example the relationship between Freshmark and the Chamba Valley Co-operative, pp. 41 and 45). The implicit power relationship is illustrated in Diagram 8, where one of the partners is also the beneficiary. However, unlike the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, where the university partner is also a beneficiary, see Diagram 7, the Chamba Valley Co-operative is perceived to be in a weaker position, relying on the goodwill of Freshmark to support its endeavours (see p. 46) and by the very nature of the relationship, taking substantially more risk.

These different types of relationships effect the ways in which the partnership organisations operate and negotiate with each other. They also have a bearing on the depth and quality of different forms of partner participation, such as: incentives for partnering, sector involvement and organisational engagement. Furthermore, this typology raises questions about the underlying intentions of the partner organisations and the people representing them, and the ways in which these intentions affect on the work of the partnership. There are indications in this research that these factors do indeed affect the overall work of the partnerships, although further research, focussing specifically on the different forms of partnership relationships, would be beneficial.

ii. Incentives for Partnering

The identification both of incentives to participate and of the accompanying risks and rewards has already been singled out as one of the keys to successful partnership working.¹⁷ The process of engaging in identifying incentives helps to develop an awareness among all partners that complementary objectives can be reached through working together, even though organisational aims and approaches may be different.¹⁸ Some of the partnership strategies evidenced by the case studies in this book are more comprehensive and integrated than others. Some indicate greater sophistication vis-à-vis their rationale for the inclusion of partners. However, none of the case studies show evidence that partners have methodically aimed and planned, on a joint basis, to articulate and incorporate individual organisational incentives into the establishment of common partnership objectives. The sense of change in sectoral roles outlined in Chapter 1 is evident in all the case studies,¹⁹ and is particularly noticeable in partnerships which have been instigated by the private sector, but in which public sector involvement has been lacking, despite the fact that government policy advocates working in partnership, as is the situation in South Africa. In the case of Amangwe, for instance, there have been real problems in engaging with relevant government departments; and searching questions are being raised by the Partnership about whether the project is sustainable without more involvement from government. Whether or not the nature and extent of government engagement might be changed by inviting representatives of its relevant departments to take a more active role in the scoping phase of a partnership, to enable them to 'own' it (or, rather, more deeply 'inhabit' it) is a question worthy of

¹⁷ See Chapter 1, Core Partnership Features pp. 3–4.

¹⁸ See p. 4 above.

¹⁹ See p. 4 above.

consideration. However, since there could be no guarantee of a successful outcome, whether the extra time and energy needed to invest in the possibility of public sector support would be a worthy trade-off also needs taking into account.

In the Amangwe case, although the original strategic intent underlying this project was for government departments to become involved in dealing with ongoing operational costs, this has not in fact transpired. Three possible interpretations for the fact that this plan has not been followed up are that: firstly, these departments now tend to consider the Partnership as a project that business has taken responsibility for and can be left to continue to do so; secondly, that the government considers the project outside of its own development plans; and, thirdly, that officials might consider that support for Amangwe would involve 'irregularities' in 'standards of provision', which might come back to haunt them if the services were perceived to be superior to those being provided elsewhere by the government. Indeed, these interpretations lead to the hypothesis that when business works with government, government tends to downplay its responsibility. As one interviewee said about the government: "Once you start doing something for them, they tend to move away and leave it to you."

The capacity of the government is also fundamental to the role of partnerships, the work the partnerships undertake and the sustainability of their projects. It was acknowledged by one respondent that it was unlikely that a project such as Amangwe Village would have been instigated by the government alone and that the Partnership itself was attempting to do work that government should have been doing.²⁰ In the case of the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education, business funding was sought because the government did not have the financial capacity, for whatever reason, to provide the educational infrastructure for the universities. Both of these case studies highlight the concerns raised in Chapter One²¹ about relying on the 'good will' of the private sector to 'develop' and 'prop up' health and educational systems. Such moves have a strong tendency to remove not only responsibility but also authority from the government, for the simple reason that business may withdraw funding at will, without recourse to a democratic process. As Bruno & Karliner stress, if the public interest is to be protected, partnerships involving the private sector need to be both inclusive and accountable.²²

iii. Organisational Engagement

The partnerships considered in the case studies manifest clear differences in the degrees of engagement between partners. In this respect, there is a distinction to be made between individual and institutional engagement. It has been observed that both partner engagement and the wider impact of the partnership are dependent on how far the partner organisations, as distinct from the individuals who represent them, are engaged with the partnership's work.²³ Such institutional commitment and involvement contribute to mainstreaming and institutionalising; and they raise concerns about what happens when individuals move on. Links may be made between the degree of engagement of individual partner organisations and the structure of the partnership.

In the case of Amangwe Village, there was strong participation from private sector representatives in their initial donations of financial resources. However, in order to ensure sustainability after this investment had been made, further commitment and involvement from the companies as a whole were needed – and, indeed, still are. By contrast, the evidence suggests that the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA) has been successful in engaging both individuals and institutions in its work. One interpretation underlying this success is that the ZBCA's project activities are clearly specified and located within the companies themselves. Thus, it is transparently clear to all concerned that the expected role of the ZBCA itself is to serve as the 'gateway' to engagement between the members and the implementing partners.

iv. Community Engagement

A related issue for each one of these partnerships is the extent to which the local community is involved in its work. As the ultimate aim of most of the partnerships, whether stated or implicit, is to 'serve the community', it follows logically that the community should itself have a role to play both in ensuring the effective targeting of the partnerships' projects and in the advocacy and promotion of wider sustainable change. For the above reasons, on

²⁰ See pp. 74–75.

²¹ See p. 7 above.

²² Bruno & Karliner (2002).

²³ See Chapter 1, p. 11 above.

the one hand, it is justifiable and indeed practical to consider 'the community' as a single entity, even though it is one that is irreducibly mobile and complex. However, since 'the community' does not speak with a unified voice, developing and maintaining community engagement is not an easy process. For these reasons, both the criteria and modes of selection of representatives from the community to work with the partnership are matters that require careful study.²⁴

In many cases, because the community, considered as an entity, is such an unpredictable stakeholder, it is necessary to build its capacity towards engagement in a partnership with considerable care. In South Africa, for example, the South African Sugar Association (SASA) spent over a year working through a lengthy scoping exercise with small-scale sugarcane farming communities, by means of community dialogue and workshops, in order to build social and political capital and gain support for its partnering initiatives. In the case of the Chamba Valley Partnership Project, dialogue of a similar kind emerged, at a later stage, through the Partnership Forum. However, it may be argued that scoping exercises for partnerships have potential drawbacks too. They may, if not skilfully managed, seed ideas that are open to misinterpretation and manipulation: a number of community representatives interviewed during the course of this research, for example, saw partnerships as 'accessing' rather than 'sharing' resources. In order to obtain such resources, these representatives were eager to assert that the community as a whole supported the idea of working in partnership. Parpart warns that even when a development approach is deemed 'participatory', "local power brokers are often able to silence and sideline marginalized groups, especially women."²⁵ The fact that women interviewed in the Chamba Valley community felt less well-informed than their male counterparts about the aims and objectives of the partnership is, perhaps, an illustration of this. It is also worth noting that apparent evidence of deeper or more widespread 'community engagement', often overlooks a range of "micro-processes" that coerce the process of consensus-building.²⁶

A more thorough scoping exercise, on the other hand, may lead to the build-up of such high expectations in the community that a partnership which has been set up on the basis of an exhaustive needs analysis may in practice turn out to be a disappointment, especially in its earliest stages, when it is struggling to get off the ground. The local community's disappointment may in turn have an effect which is directly contrary to that intended: by arousing criticism and resistance from the community rather than positive engagement, in the long term the partnership may find it more difficult to engage with its stakeholders and to make positive changes that are both evident and recognised by them. The expectation raised by the Chamba Valley Partnership Project in the neighbouring community illustrates this point clearly.²⁷ Meanwhile, at the time of writing this report, community involvement in the Amangwe Village Partnership Project is of ongoing concern in relation to how the community is being 'heard' within the Partnership itself. It is a moot point whether sufficient cognisance has been taken of the constraints that the practices of the Partnership may themselves be exerting on the ability and, indeed, the willingness of the community to participate, by voicing its needs, expectations and hopes.

v. Gender

Many of the issues relating to community involvement are reinforced by that of gender. As Geddes, Vargas and Harrison observe (see p. 10 above), analysis of gender in relation to partnerships is a valid way of assessing how participative and effective they really are.²⁸ All the six partnerships studied here have, either directly or indirectly, addressed the issue of gender at both partnership and project level. For example, in the Amangwe Village and Mthashana College partnerships, women play key managerial roles; while both the Chamba Valley Partnership Project and the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS stress that, at the project level, not only is gender a key issue for them, but they recognise that efforts need to be made to encourage women to participate more fully in the work. In the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership, it is acknowledged in the University of Zambia, that in view of national policy directives aimed at increasing women's enrolment at the University, gender will play an increasingly important role in their Partnership. Of course, only time will tell whether these intentions are translated into action and results.

²⁴ See Stott & Keatman (2005), p. 5.

²⁵ Parpart (2000) p. 5.

²⁶ See Chapter 1, p. 10 above. Kapoor (2004) asserts that "Rhetorical devices – sensationalist arguments, technical or esoteric language, misrepresentation of evidence, loud or aggressive speech – can all unduly sway opinion or silence and intimidate participants..." Parpart indicates that women's schedules and agendas can also militate against their engagement. Parpart (2000), p. 5.

²⁷ See p. 43.

²⁸ Geddes (2000), p. 794; Vargas (2002), p. 1555; & Harrison (2002), p. 588.

It is widely recognised that truly sustainable development relies on the empowerment and engagement of women.²⁹ The thematic issues covered by our six case studies demonstrate the potential for addressing this. Women farmers, for instance, have been marginalised in relation to agricultural development policies, despite the fact that they are an integral part of the African farming structure and carry responsibility for both subsistence agriculture, especially food crop production, and domestic work.³⁰ Almost 57 per cent of those infected by HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa are women; and three out of four young people, between the ages of 15 and 24, who are likely to be infected with HIV, are female.³¹ Meanwhile, the unequal access of women and girls to educational opportunities is an established fact: girls are more likely to drop out of school and to receive less education than boys because of discrimination, education expenses and household duties.³² By researching who is involved in partnerships, particularly at community level, and where, how and to what extent women contribute or do not contribute, can influence and provide the impetus for more concentrated and proactive efforts to be set in motion to engage women in partnership activities.³³

Resources

All the partnerships have been concerned in some way about resources, particularly financial support, without which a number of respondents have suggested they would 'fail'. This concern is particularly pronounced in Zambia, where the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS respondents state that, because company membership fees are inadequate to run their activities effectively, they have had to look elsewhere for more resources, for example, to international agencies. In the Chamba Valley Partnership Project, most partners believe that an injection of external resources is necessary to capacitate the Chamba Valley farmers, even though they did not anticipate such a course of action at the start of the Partnership. They point to the fact that the Luangeni Partnership has been more successful because of an external injection of capital. As a result, the Partnership Forum has applied for grants from a range of external bodies to help build the farmers' capacity.

The issue of funding also raises questions about how and to what extent resource mapping has been undertaken by a partnership. Results can be improved if this process is conducted imaginatively. It also needs to be asked whether resources (both financial and non-financial) should be provided by partners themselves or by the government or other funding bodies. One interpretation of these research findings is that partners need to examine what different human and financial resources they can bring, individually and collectively, to a partnership. Furthermore, valuing different resources for their complementarity has been highlighted as one way of helping to ensure that partners feel accepted by one another on an equitable basis.³⁴ This is a particularly relevant point for civil society groupings and small organisations such as the Chamba Valley Co-operative, which may experience constraints on their ability to become credible partners because of limitations in finances and skills. There is also an issue about how much time should be dedicated to assisting the ability of such organisations to obtain and develop resources to support their inclusion in the partnership. How easy such a process may be and whether it might sidetrack the attention of partners from the main partnership agenda are also matters that clearly need to be addressed by a partnership as an early priority during its start-up phase.

An additional observation to be offered in this connection is that the individuals and organisations involved in the partnerships had all become accustomed to working within the framework of either tacit or explicit business models which connected their activities to their income streams. Indeed, the development of more clearly articulated methods of budgeting and business planning has far wider implications for developing sustainability in many parts of Africa. It necessarily implies a movement from subsistence towards a more definite and explicit process of advancement; and such an advancement can only be effected by means of the accumulation and investment of competency and capital, combined with access to markets. Unless partnerships develop a fuller understanding of different business models, along with their concomitant revenue streams, not to mention the curbs and barriers on those systems, most of the evidence suggests that partnerships will be deficient at a most

²⁹ See for example Boserup (1970); Elson (1991); World Bank Group: *Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger* (2004); and *United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (IANWGE): WomenWatch*.

³⁰ Grieco & Araba Apt (1998).

³¹ UNAIDS/WHO (2004), p. 1.

³² See *World Bank Group (The), the Millennium Development Goals*.

³³ Vargas (2002), p. 1555; and Grieco & Araba Apt (1998). It is also important to reinforce here that this requires considerable skill and the need for what, Parpart describes as, "techniques for analyzing the way global and national political and economic structures and practices intersect with and affect local power structures, particularly gender inequality." Parpart (2000), p. 6.

³⁴ Tennyson (2004), p. 11.

fundamental level. Nor, indeed, is 'understanding' enough: what is needed is practical training that will enable people to work competently and confidently with such business models.

Adapting to Change

The case studies demonstrate that partnerships need to be flexible enough to withstand internal and external change. All the partnerships have already addressed plenty of threats and difficulties, in the guises of: lack of engagement and commitment from partners; loss of staff; and poor co-ordination and communication; not to mention the many and various contextual constraints imposed by the environment in which they operate. Moreover, many of the partnerships are at the point of moving into new phases which necessitate different approaches, styles and skills. The need for partnerships to be flexible enough to withstand and accommodate change has been well-documented.³⁵ Without the ability to adapt to changing internal and external circumstances, a partnership may flounder, stagnate or lose direction. In order to deal with changed circumstances, innovative responses are often necessary, such as that adopted by the Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA) in changing its constitution and objectives.³⁶ At other stages, new leadership and staff are required, as in the case of both the ZBCA and Amangwe Village. Keeping up with change is not an easy process and considerable skill is required to deal with the complexities of the partnerships themselves and their projects.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Few, if any, of the partnerships have regularised evaluation procedures built into their systems and projects. This lack has not only made it difficult for the partnerships to obtain a sufficiently balanced and integrated set of perspectives on the effectiveness of the partnerships and their projects; but it has also clearly meant that neither the weaknesses nor the strengths of a partnership – nor the dangers or the opportunities it has confronted, nor its worst failures, nor its partial lapses, nor even its finest achievements – have been fully absorbed or addressed by partners and stakeholders.

The Partnership Forum has carried out *ad hoc* monitoring of the Chamba Valley Partnership Project, which suggests that the impact of the Partnership is very small, with only ten farmers out of a possible ninety-eight actually selling to Freshmark. However, this limited data cannot be used to suggest that the Partnership itself is not 'successful', as there are a number of factors which need to be taken into account before this kind of quality judgement can be made. The research has indicated that while there are serious problems in relation to this partnership's effectiveness, there is also scope for success; and that, for individual farmers, being a member of the Co-operative and therefore of the Partnership means that there is potential for sustainable growth. However, without regular evaluation and reviewing processes, it is not possible for the management and directorate of the Partnership itself to understand fully the effects it is having and the changes that may need to increase those effects.

The Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS (ZBCA) is the only partnership to have a self-monitoring and evaluation process incorporated into its projects. However, as acknowledged by the ZBCA, this process is limited and is not being undertaken widely enough, and certainly not with all members. The parameters for thorough evaluation have not yet been devised, although setting them is part of the ZBCA's plans for the future. Some individual company members have devised cost benefit analyses, from which they have been able to analyse the financial savings to their own companies thanks to their involvement in the Partnership, but these models have not yet been applied to all member organisations. The 'assumed' levels of impact implied by the increase of member organisations in the ZBCA, is not one that has been confirmed by research or evaluation. In relation to the numbers of people who are being treated and supported through the various ZBCA projects, the figures were not available to the research team, and it is unclear whether they are even available to members of the ZBCA.

Amangwe Village has limited statistical data and it remains unclear to us whether the project is in fact achieving the results that were originally intended. One interpretation of the difficulty in obtaining statistical data for Amangwe is that much of its work is now being undertaken in the community. Our explanation for this development towards community-based treatment, in turn, is that factors like social stigma, which have been discussed in detail above, have discouraged those who are suffering from HIV/AIDS from going for treatment at Amangwe Village itself.³⁷ Thus, while this emergent tendency has meant implementing effective structures to

³⁵ See, for example, Caplan et al. (2001), p. 20.

³⁶ See p. 84.

³⁷ See pages 25, 62, 63, 75, 76 & 82 above.

support those who are now working in the community, there have not yet been any means of verifying the results that are being claimed. The preceding analysis may also help to throw light on the concern that was voiced by respondents at Amangwe about the numbers of individuals who are actually making effective use of the Village and its on-site facilities. These observations inevitably lead to the conclusion that the Amangwe project might well have taken a different course: firstly, if a full needs analysis had been undertaken at the start; secondly, if a follow-up analysis had been conducted, especially at the time when the project was moving to its new site; and, thirdly, if the requirement for an iterative evaluation and review procedures had been built into the overall project design.

On the other hand, the Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education Partnership is able to provide tentative statistical evidence of those students who have been directly affected or influenced by the Partnership. In particular, their figures relate to scholarships and environmental improvements. However, longer-term evaluation of results and effects would need to be undertaken to achieve a fuller understanding of the wider potential of the types of partnerships set up under this scheme.

In terms of partnership trajectories, it is interesting to note that no exit strategies had been agreed upon by any of the partnerships. Nor was a great deal of attention paid to plans for what might happen after a partnership had completed its project work. The issue of whether a partnership might disband, evolve into a different structure or move on into a different area, is ultimately dependent upon how effective its work is felt to be by partners and stakeholders. Effective monitoring and evaluation systems would make a contribution to policy-making by helping to shape the best alternatives for such long-term outcomes and eventualities.

Following from these various observations, one of the central findings of this research is that partnerships, at whatever stage in their development, need to have regular review and evaluation plans built into both their process and their projects. At the time when a partnership is developing its strategies, such monitoring and evaluation systems need to consider the extensive range of different partnership perspectives and partnering processes. Furthermore, the complex dynamic between a partnership and its projects needs to be taken into account, along with the option that each component should have its own separate review and evaluation process, in addition to combined procedures. In this context, it is necessary to assess what the outputs and outcomes of a partnership's work have been at a number of different levels. Finally, evaluation processes need to be sensitively designed, in order to be attuned to the contexts of the specific partnership and its projects. In these ways, evaluation can be seen by all concerned to be a helpful learning and developmental activity rather than as a tool for mere measurement and judgement, a view which is likely to add increased burdens, tensions and pressures to crisis situations.

Addressing poverty issues requires a number of multi-faceted solutions. Among these, cross-sector partnerships clearly have a valuable role to play. Assessment of the potential value of their contributions can only be effectively achieved by promoting and encouraging a wider understanding of the learning that emerges from monitoring and evaluating them. Clearly, such monitoring and evaluating processes need to take account of the changing nature of partnerships and the fact that considerable time is needed to negotiate, build and develop them. In this way, their effectiveness can be explored more thoroughly and the nature and degree of the benefits of working within a partnership paradigm be more clearly compared and contrasted with other forms of approaches to development.³⁸

Conclusion

While the research has stressed that the partnership issues and dynamics manifested in the case studies emerge from particular African contexts, it has also sought to highlight that, because these are being played out on a global stage, new ways are being sought of relating to wealthier nations and leveraging resources into Africa. In this respect, the structural challenges and systems inequities highlighted by Sachs³⁹ and Utting⁴⁰ cannot be ignored. In the words of the African Commission for Britain:⁴¹

While we know that real change in Africa must be led by Africans, we also know that some of the greatest obstacles to change lie outside the region.⁴²

³⁸ This idea was originally formulated by Tennyson during a workshop on evaluation.

³⁹ Sachs (2005), p. 24.

⁴⁰ Utting (2003).

⁴¹ The African Commission for Britain is an all-African panel of Action Aid International staff.

⁴² Taaka Owori, Country Director ActionAid Ghana in The African Commission for Britain (2005) p. 01.

Thus, it has been urged, that structural changes are required that include a halt to pressure on Africa to open up its markets to competition, export dumping and tied aid as well as the cancellation of unpayable debts.⁴³ As Sachs points out:

As a global society, we should ensure that the international rules of the game in economic management do not advertently or inadvertently set snares along the lower rungs of the ladders in the form of inadequate development assistance, protectionist trade barriers, destabilizing global financial practices, poorly designed rules for intellectual property, and the like, that prevent the low-income world from climbing up the rungs of development.⁴⁴

How effective cross-sector partnerships can be in delivering worthwhile policies and enabling structures must necessarily be viewed in relation to this global context. However, they can scarcely avoid being seen, too, as changing and evolving structures (and, hence, perhaps even as 'organisms') which represent and articulate the interests of an extremely wide range of stakeholders. Those identified just from the six case studies in this book include: the professional providers and their direct recipients and indirect beneficiaries in the sectors of education, agriculture and health; local co-operatives, voluntary groups, community organisations and NGOs; local CSI practitioners; local, provincial and national government agencies; the instigators and enforcers of national policy frameworks; international development agencies; small medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) and larger national and multi-national business corporations.

Clearly, the scope is as enormous as are the issues and interests that are involved. Within this mass of interconnecting and overlapping structures, the power relationships and access to resources, as well as the differing frames of reference of the different partners, are vital. A full realisation of this scope involves understanding the dynamics of participation and engagement of different groups in addressing development issues within their communities. In this respect, partnerships are more to do with the provision of legitimate platforms for problem solving and access to a variety of resources and less about 'delivery'.

This research shows that the concept of 'partnership' embraces a very wide range of distinct collaborative arrangements. This scope is broadly outlined and reflected in the definitions provided in the preliminary overview presented in Chapter 1.⁴⁵ However, when partnerships are viewed as enabling devices for giving voice to different stakeholders, the definition is unimportant. What *is* important is how partnerships ensure that different voices are heard clearly and equitably, so that 'working together' to address development issues is made more inclusive and sustainable.

In our final chapter, we address the policy implications of the research and provide some recommendations for future action.

⁴³ See for example The African Commission for Britain (2005); Africa Focus (2005); and *The Jubilee Debt Campaign*.

⁴⁴ Sachs (2005), p. 24.

⁴⁵ Apart from the definitions provided by the World Bank and BPD, no others could be applied across the board to the partnerships in this research. The reasons for this are mainly to do with the concept of risk sharing only being applicable to certain partners, as is particularly evident in the Chamba Valley Partnership Project.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Recommendations¹

It is encouraging to report that the research findings in this book support many of the observations made by previous investigators and, furthermore, that they confirm salient assertions regarding good practice in cross-sector partnership that have been made by established commentators in this field. However, the study of partnership working is still in its infancy; and it is essential that understanding of the subject continues to be based on good empirical research. The unique benefit of primary data is its ability to reveal the complexity of local conditions and real-life processes.

The first conclusion of our research is that cross-sector partnerships can add value to policies of poverty eradication in Africa. Although the projects we studied were highly diverse and although each, in its own way, faced severe challenges, the collaboration of institutions from different societal sectors served to enable resources to be directed to key development concerns, such as the provision of education, health care and economic development. In some instances, such provision could be seen to be filling a gap created by government inaction or resource shortage; whereas, in others, it served to establish innovative ways of meeting the needs of developing commercial markets. Data on the impact of actual projects were hard to identify; and much further work needs to be done to improve the capacity of cross-sector partnerships to identify, monitor and evaluate their own objectives and impacts.

The value of partnerships, however, lies not just in their ability to deliver tangible improvements in social services or economic goods: it can also reside in the vantage point a partnership can give to relatively weak or disadvantaged sections of the community, to enable them to express their needs, draw attention to pressing problems and build dialogue with other groups and institutions which may offer complementary objectives and resources. Partnerships may also offer models of collaboration which can inspire other groups to 'find a voice' and to seek innovative ways of working together to support their own (and mutual) development. Of course, to make these points is not to advocate cross-sector partnership as a development panacea, but to acknowledge that, with proper planning, resourcing and evaluation, partnerships can provide a means for positive social awareness and change to take place.

The issue of *context* is central to our findings. One of the undoubted dangers of the fashionable status that partnership currently enjoys is the assumption that there is a model of partnership which can be applied to each and every situation. Our research suggests that partnerships need to be built very carefully both on established good practice and on the constraints of local conditions. With regard to the former, there is considerable material in the existing literature which catalogues good practice; and this research supports a number of such assertions. With regard to the latter, however, our research suggests an additional generalisation: that a detailed and attentive consideration of context is likely to have constructive and beneficial effects both on partnership practice and on policy-making. The recommendations given below, which follow from this proposition, arise directly from our research results.

Replication

There is a real danger, when replicating partnership models and projects, that certain factors may not be taken into account. What has proven successful in one context can be valuable both as a learning resource and as an inspiration, but cannot necessarily be transferred directly, in the same form, to a new context, without a thorough and locally-informed analysis of the new environment. It needs to be borne in mind that replication need not necessarily imply the 'copying' of *activities*, but rather the copying of successful process and understanding: in other words, it is the *learning* that is transferred from one situation to another.

¹ This chapter is authored by Melanie Rein, Stuart Reid and Leda Stott.

Drivers and Incentives²

The original drivers for partnerships (for example, government policy, social crisis, business need) will combine with the core incentives of each partner. Together, these will have significant effects on the development and effectiveness of the partnerships. Thus, honesty and a sense of realism are needed from each of the potential or actual partners in assessing three salient questions: why a partnership is being or has been established; what each partner seeks to gain from such collaboration; and what it is likely to achieve. An assessment of this kind is particularly important in situations in which power relationships are unequal and unrealistic expectations may be placed on individual partners. Understanding both the drivers and incentives for partnership will help those involved (that is, the partners themselves, as well as brokers and evaluators) to analyse and respond to problems that might arise in the operation of a partnership. This is particularly true in situations when the original drivers may have combined with *lack* of understanding about particular partner incentives, resulting in the creation of unrealistic expectations about the partnership's objectives. For methods of achieving the understanding required, see 'Modelling and Mapping' below.

Resourcing and Sustainability

Partnerships that have been created in response to specific crises may lack the resources, incentives and structures to achieve a sustainability that is sufficient for the long-term. Furthermore, there is a danger that raised expectations will increase demands on a partnership that is inadequately equipped to respond to changing circumstances. This observation is also linked to partnerships which are delivering or aiming to deliver services that might normally be considered the responsibility of government, for example, basic education. In these situations, the partnerships themselves risk disguising the severity of the underlying problem by offering or attempting partial or piecemeal solutions that do not take enough factors into consideration. In practice, they are likely to encounter significant problems of sustainability if resources are not guaranteed in the long-term.

Modelling and Mapping

It is rarely possible at the outset of a partnership, to anticipate the total resources that may be required, both financial and human. However, without establishing a shared and realistic business model for the practical sustainability of the project, a partnership can find either that it has inadequate resources to sustain a project and partnership or that it is liable to be burdened with ongoing costs which had not been anticipated or planned for. A business model should be built on a needs analysis which includes at least three factors: firstly, an estimation of the costs that each partner is able and willing to commit; secondly, an audit of the skills which each partner brings, including overlapping or duplicated skills; and, thirdly, an outline plan for the strategic development of skills to meet the partnership's evolving needs. Without a needs analysis and a sound business model of this kind, an unrealistic burden may be placed on partners to provide ongoing support, whether in acute crises or in chronic situations or both.

Mapping resources at the outset of a partnership may highlight shortfalls and focus the partnership on activities which its members are able, realistically, to resource, while at the same time encouraging them to seek relevant and additional resourcing and support from elsewhere.

Establishing and Reviewing Objectives

Establishing realistic and workable objectives at the outset of a partnership and partnership project enables the partnership members clearly to define their work and the remit within which they will work. However, objectives need to be regularly reviewed so that they can provide supportive yet also supple and flexible structures which are capable of adapting to changing contextual factors.

The setting of clear objectives is closely connected with the building of ongoing evaluation and review, which do not necessarily *monitor* the performance of the partnership or project, but *inform* and directly feed into the partnership process and the project itself, thereby creating a learning and developmental model which *supports* the process rather than *judging* it.

² Here, the term 'drivers' is used to mean 'broad and/or general conditions underlying motivation for partnerships'. The term 'incentives' is used to mean 'motivating factors or elements for individual partners'.

Governance Structures and Communication

Clear boundaries, together with robust and transparent governance structures and sound systems of communication, not only support the functioning of a partnership, but also potentially facilitate a mechanism for dealing with conflict resolution and such eventualities as the marginalisation of a partner. However, a partnership is not necessarily established as an ongoing development model and, therefore, within the governance structure, each partner's 'moving-on strategy', together with the potential dissolution of the partnership, needs to be clarified.

Partnership Stages of Development

While there are 'typical' stages of partnership development, not all partnerships will go through the same stages at the same pace. This truth is borne out by this study, which also indicates that partnership stages are not 'linear' in any simple or obvious sense of the word, and that partnerships themselves may oscillate between different phases at different times in their existence. Understanding the potential 'cycle' of partnership development does not provide the ability to predict that development in any one specific case: models of partnership cycles should, instead, be used as valuable guides to the possible routes of development and the skills/resources required by partners for each phase of the cycle, but not as rigorous or restrictive blueprints.

In a sense, this point is contradictory and, indeed, paradoxical in relation to the issues of comprehensive planning, as mentioned earlier. Partnerships can never be fully planned, because the complexity of the interaction will always lead to the emergence of novel possibilities and problems. Thus a degree of 'suppleness' in planning (that is to say, flexibility combined with adaptability) is crucial.

Partnership Brokers and Dependency

It is clear from the research that partnership brokers play an important role in helping to establish effective systems of collaboration. However, although they can make an important contribution, the scope, duration and resourcing of their role needs to be carefully defined. There is a risk that a partnership may become dependent on a broker; and that this will result in the broker becoming a kind of permanent manager of the project, which will never allow the partners to fully develop their skills, communication and governance structures.

Similarly, in the long term, partnerships need to avoid dependence on strong individual champions. Considered in terms of development, this might be said to be directly comparable to the situation of small firms, which as a general rule need strong entrepreneurial figures to ensure their birth and early growth, but tend to require a different sort of leadership, that is, one that is more embedded and regularised, once the business approaches maturity.

Government Instigated Partnerships

Governmental 'top-down' creation of partnerships can generate problems for local implementation, because the specific needs and constraints arising from the latter will be likely to conflict with the more general policy directives imposed by the former. Ideally, such partnerships require an 'enabling environment' that is at once supple, subtle and supportive enough to be able to adapt to complexities and challenges at the local level. By giving room at national policy level for flexible approaches that encourage the crafting of local solutions to local problems, partnerships (even when they may have been superimposed from on high) can be afforded a greater chance of success.



Cross-sector partnerships clearly have a role to play in development and may provide one solution, among others, for innovative responses to the need for sustainability. However, as this research has indicated, partnerships are not an easy option and, by their very nature, they require a sophisticated multi-disciplinary approach to ensure that they are able to meet their objectives. It may also be argued that, potentially, partnerships are resource-hungry and require additional funding and support which, in turn, are likely to detract from the resourcing of projects. This argument needs to be balanced against those which focus on the advantages of sustainability, in order to release and achieve the potential long-term benefits which *working together* is capable of bringing both to a local community and to society at large.

This book has provided some insights into six cross-sector partnerships in Southern Africa, where they are operating with varying degrees of success in considerably difficult, critical and, even, dire situations. As has been shown in Chapter 1, partnerships are being established in many different contexts all over the world, in both 'developing' and 'developed' countries. Our belief is that the so-called 'developed' countries have a good deal to learn from the kind of work indicated, exemplified and illustrated by the case studies in this book. Indeed, these African partnerships, born out of necessity, carry human hope.

Glossary of Terms, including Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABCD	Assets Based Community Development
ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
ARV	Antiretroviral (drugs/treatment for HIV/AIDS)
ASIP	Agriculture Sector Investment Programme
BBZ	Barclays Bank of Zambia
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment (South Africa)
BOND	British Overseas NGOs for Development (UK)
BPD	Business Partners for Development initiative
BSR	Business for Social Responsibility
CAADP	Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy (European Commission)
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CBU	Copperbelt University (Zambia)
CCF	Colleges Collaboration Fund, (South Africa)
CDD	Community Driven Development
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CID	Council for International Development (New Zealand)
CODESA	Convention for a Democratic South Africa
CORDAID	Catholic Organisation for Relief and Development AID (The Netherlands)
CPI	University of Cambridge Programme for Industry (UK)
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSSR	Centre for Social Science Research (South Africa)
CVPP	Chamba Valley Partnership Project (Zambia)
DACO	District Agricultural Co-ordinator (Zambia)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DfES	Department for Education and Skills (UK)
DfID	Department for International Development (UK)
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey (Zambia)
ECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
EC-PREP	European Community – Poverty Reduction Effectiveness Programme
EQUIP	Education Quality Improvement Programme (South Africa)
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council, (UK)
ETQA	Education and Training Quality Assurance Body
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation (United Nations)
FASAZ	Farming Systems Association of Zambia
FET	Further Education and Training
FTE	Full Time Equivalents
GAIN	Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System (South Africa)
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution (South Africa)

GIDD	Gender in Development Division, Lusaka
GPPI	Global Public Policy Institute (head offices in Berlin & Geneva)
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit ('Society/Association for Technical Partnership') (Germany)
HIV	"HTLV, human T-cell lymphotropic or lymphocyte virus: any of several retroviruses (<i>HTLV-1</i> , -2, etc.) of which one at least (<i>HTLV-3</i> , also called <i>HIV-1</i>) causes AIDS." ¹
HIV+	HIV positive
IANWGE	Inter-Agency Network on Women and Gender Equality (United Nations)
IBLF	International Business Leaders Forum (UK)
IDP	Integrated Development Plan (South Africa)
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party (South Africa)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INR	Institute of Natural Resources (South Africa)
IOD	Institute of Directors (here with reference to South Africa)
JSE	Johannesburg Stock Exchange (South Africa)
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa)
LED	Local Economic Development Programme (South Africa)
LCMS	Living Conditions Monitoring Survey
MACO	Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives (Zambia)
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy (Zambia)
MoE	Ministry of Education (Zambia)
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPNP	Multi-Party Negotiating Process (South Africa)
MRM	Moral Regeneration Movement (South Africa)
NAC	National Aids Council (Zambia)
NAI	New Africa Initiative
NBI	National Business Initiative (South Africa)
NDA	National Development Agency (South Africa)
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council (South Africa)
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NSBs	National Standards Bodies
NSDS	The National Skills Development Strategy, (South Africa)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PBAS	Partnership Brokers Accreditation Scheme
RBM	Richards Bay Minerals (South Africa)
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PWBLF	Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum (now IBLF)
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme (South Africa)
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAGA	The Southern African Grantmakers Association
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs

¹ Oxford English Dictionary (OED) On-Line.

SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SAPRI	Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SARPN	South African Regional Poverty Network
SASA	South African Sugar Association
SATSU	Science and Technology Studies Unit, University of York (UK)
SD	Sustainable Development
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authorities
SGB	Standards Generating Body
SRHE	Sharing Responsibility for Higher Education (Zambia)
SMEs	Small and medium enterprises
SMMEs	Small, medium and micro enterprises
SOPSA	Statement of Principles Signatory Association (South Africa)
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approaches
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign (South Africa)
TB	Tuberculosis
ToR	Terms of Reference
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa)
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNED	United Nations Environment and Development Forum
UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Fund
UNIP	United National Independence Party (Zambia)
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNSC	United Nations Staff College
UNZA	University of Zambia
USAID	US Agency for International Development
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas (UK)
WBCSD	World Business Council for Sustainable Development
WEF	World Economic Forum
WHO	World Health Organization
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
ZANACO	Zambia National Commercial Bank
ZBCA	Zambia Business Coalition on HIV/AIDS
ZCBF	Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (South Africa)
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZESCO	Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

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Appendix

The Authors

Melanie Rein is Senior Associate at the University of Cambridge Programme for Industry and The Partnering Initiative. As a social scientist with a PhD in business and psychology from Brunel University, she has extensive experience in brokering and working with partnerships, both nationally and internationally, in the areas of, business development, education and training, and gender. She has also been involved in reviewing and monitoring partnership activities and learning activities; and she works with the University of Cambridge Programme for Industry and the Partnering Initiative to develop models and methodologies for the evaluation of partnerships which support ongoing learning and development. During her work with Brunel University in the 1990s, Dr. Rein led a number of international teams and provided consultation and training on such issues as: institutional strengthening; the management of change; and gender related issues. She has worked in a number of countries in transition and, prior to her current involvement in issues relating to Africa, much of her previous work was carried out in Eastern Europe. Dr. Rein has lectured, tutored and acted as internal examiner on the Postgraduate Certificate in Cross-Sector Partnership at the University of Cambridge Programme for Industry; and she is currently mentor for UNDP staff undertaking partnership training. Before studying for her Ph. D., she worked as a family therapist and social worker in London. For further details about the research in this book, email Dr. Rein at melanie.rein@cpi.cam.ac.uk

Leda Stott is an independent consultant who specialises in the management, training and evaluation of cross-sector partnerships and socially responsible business practice. She is a Senior Associate of The Partnering Initiative, a tutor on the Postgraduate Certificate in Cross-Sector Partnership at Cambridge University and editor for the journal *Partnership Matters*. She holds an MSc in African Studies; and much of her work has been in Southern Africa, where she has developed and supported partnership programmes and exchanges in the areas of education, gender and diversity, and health and human rights, as well as the promotion of business engagement in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). She has also worked with partnerships that seek to address discrimination and inequality in the European labour market for the European Commission's EQUAL programme; as a Business Partnership trainer for UNDP staff in Central and Eastern Europe; and as a mentor on the Partnership Brokers Accreditation Scheme (PBAS). Some of her most recent work has been with Building Partnerships for Development in Water and Sanitation; and this has involved conducting partnership reviews in Argentina, tutoring on a partnership practitioner course in East Africa, and carrying out research on community engagement in partnerships.

Kavwanga Yambayamba is a Senior Lecturer and Consultant in the Department of Animal Science at the University of Zambia where he has taught for over fifteen years. His diversified interests in socio-economic issues over time earned him an opportunity to co-found the Forum for Business Leaders & Social Partners (The Partnership Forum), an organisation whose main thrust is to create innovative partnerships between government, business and civil society. Dr Yambayamba took up the position of Director of Agriculture & Environment at the inception of the Forum in 1999, and later rising to Chief Executive in early 2001. He is also an associate member of the International Business Leaders Forum (IBLF). Dr Yambayamba is a practitioner of partnerships, having obtained a postgraduate certificate in cross-sector partnerships from the University of Cambridge. He has helped with the formation of high-impact partnerships in Zambia, notably the Luangeni Partnership Project, Chamba Valley Partnership Project and the Higher Education Project at the University of Zambia and Copperbelt University. Dr Yambayamba's main interest in research is centered around partnerships involving communities and the business sector, including corporate social responsibility.

Stan Hardman is a senior lecturer at the Leadership Centre at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. In addition to his work in promoting partnerships as an academic field, he has been involved in partnership work, nationally, through the Institute for Partnerships between Education and Business, the National Business Initiative and the Ilimo Network and, internationally, through participation in the International Partnership Network and the work of the International Business Leaders Forum. He was a graduate of the first intake of students for The Partnering Initiative's Post Graduate Certificate in Cross-Sector Partnership.

Stuart Reid is Development Director of the University of Cambridge Programme for Industry and Co-Director of The Partnering Initiative. Since joining CPI in 1997, he has been responsible for creating a diverse portfolio of learning programmes with corporate and institutional partners from many sectors. His work has also included directing a European research project on professional learning and initiating Cambridge's first course in Intercultural Management. In 2002 he helped to launch the world's first university-accredited course in cross-sector partnership, in collaboration with The Copenhagen Centre and the Prince of Wales International Business Leaders Forum. Prior to joining CPI, Stuart Reid worked both as an academic social scientist and as a management trainer in private business. He has run training programmes in the USA, Italy and the Czech Republic, as well as in the UK, and is committed to the use of education and development to bridge cultural divides and to enhance international collaboration between individuals and institutions.

University of Cambridge Programme for Industry

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The Partnering Initiative is a collaboration between the International Business Leaders Forum and the University of Cambridge Programme for Industry. It is at the cutting edge of promoting new thinking and good practice in cross-sector partnering for sustainable development. The Initiative includes: learning programmes, professional skills development, action research and the development of complex partnership projects. The Partnering Initiative offers a wide range of opportunities for greater understanding and analysis of the partnership paradigm. It also provides the support and advisory services that help to build capacity for effective collaboration for sustainable development.

For further information visit: www.thepartneringinitiative.org



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