



NGO Policy Change in Relation to Donor Discourse: The Case of Vi Skogen

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Abstract

The Vi Tree Planting Foundation in Sweden, generally known as Vi Skogen (ViS), is a well-documented case of an NGO that started from idealistic efforts developed from two contemporary narratives, 'desertification' and the 'fuel wood crisis' merged into the concept 'planting trees to halt the spread of the desert'. ViS was initiated by an article in the Vi Magazine (ViM) in February 1983. Today, ViS is an efficient and widely appreciated NGO implementing a comprehensive rural development programme in four countries, reaching more than 175 000 farmers within the Lake Victoria basin.

ViS's development since 1983 has not been without problems and struggle. The main objective of this paper was to describe ViS's development with a focus on policy change in relation to general discourse on development cooperation and Sida's policy change from 1983 to 2001. From the beginning, ViS managed to sense the perception of ViM readers and individual donors in relation to important contemporary narratives.

Despite, the growing importance of local ownership, ViS initiated its own local NGO instead of building partnerships and capacity of indigenous NGOs in the recipient countries. ViS gradually developed an approach with a top-down organisation based on paid labour and the issuing of free seedlings that was increasingly counter to the growing concern of the dependency syndrome in the 1990s. In 1996, the SPM-study seriously criticized this development and Forum Syd proposed phasing-out Sida-support for ViS. From 1996 onwards, ViS started to reform its policy and organisation decisively. In 2000 the fourth ViS assessment team was convinced of ViS potential to successfully contribute to the alleviation of poverty in the Lake Victoria Basin.

Key words: Development cooperation, NGO, donor, negotiation, policy change, agroforestry extension

Abbreviations

BIFO	The association for development aid information
DAC	Development Assistance Committee, OECD
EAC	East African Cooperation
FHK	Faith Home of Kenya
FS	Forum Syd
HDI	Human Development Index
HQ	Headquarter
ICRAF	International Centre for Research in Agroforestry
IFO	The association for development aid information
IMF	International Monetary Found
KF	The Swedish Consumer Cooperation
LFA	Log Framework Approach
LJ	Lars Johansson
LVDP	Lake Victoria Development Programme
LVI	Lake Victoria Initiative
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
NKL	The Norwegian Consumer Cooperation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PGU	Sweden's Program for Global Development
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
RELMA	Regional Land Management Unit
RSCU	Regional Soil Conservation Unit
SCC	Swedish Cooperative Centre
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
Sida/Natur	Sida's Natural resources department
Sida/SEO	Sida's department for NGO cooperation, present
Sida/SEKA	Sida's department for NGO cooperation, former
Sida/DCO	Sida's Development Cooperation Office
SLU	Swedish University of Agricultural Science
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
UNCED	United Nation Conference on Environment and Development
ViM	Vi Magazine
ViS	Vi-Skogen, The Vi Tree Planting Foundation
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

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1. Introduction and Objective

VI SKOGEN

The Foundation *Vi Planterar Träd* (Vi Tree Planting Foundation), hereafter called ViS, is an international non-governmental organisation (NGO) with headquarters (HQ) in Stockholm, Sweden. ViS coordinates *The Vi Agroforestry Programme* (ViAFP) registered in four East African countries (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda) as an international NGO. ViS is mainly financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) and individual donors in Sweden¹.

ViS is a well-documented NGO that started through idealistic efforts that emerged from two contemporary narratives, 'desertification' and the 'fuelwood crises' (Leach & Mearns 1996 p.1 and Tidningen Vi 1983:6, pp. 2-4), and began as *Vi Skogen* (Vi forest) through an initiative by *Tidningen Vi* (the Vi Magazine - ViM) in February 1983. A project was established the same year in West Pokot, Kenya, in collaboration with the local NGO *Faith Home of Kenya* (FHK). After some problems were discovered in 1985 the cooperation with FHK was terminated. The Swedish Cooperative Centre (SCC) identified The Kenya National Farmers' Union (KNFU) as a new local partner to ViS and an agreement was signed with KNFU in January 1986 (Viklund 1992, p.21). Vi Skogen was registered as a charity foundation (ViS) in Sweden in 1986 (Viklund 1992, p.21), but had virtually no experience and expertise in development cooperation, desertification or tree planting in the tropics. The cooperation with KNFU ended in 1988 (Lundgren et al 1995, p.96) and ViS established its own local NGO in Kenya; "The Vi Tree Planting Project" later the same year (Viklund 1992, p.28).

Since 1987, ViS has received its main funding from Sida. ViS application for funding was first handled by Sida's division for cooperation with NGOs (SEO) and then from 1992 up to 1995 by BIFO, when BIFO was reorganised into Forum Syd.

Today, ViS is one of the major Swedish NGOs in rural development with an organisation, activities and a policy concordant with modern expertise and policies in development cooperation.

¹ <http://www.viskogen.se/Default.aspx?ID=360>

OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this report was to serve as a background reference to a study on the NGO-Donor negotiation process and NGO policy change (Johansson in press 2008).

The objective was to describe ViS's development with a focus on policy change in relation to general discourse in development cooperation and Sida's policy change.

OUTLINE OF THE REPORT

The main text of this report was based on four appendices: appendices I and II focus on ViS development and appendices III and IV focus on Sida's development, organisation and the general discourse in development cooperation. In the main text, references are made to numbered paragraphs in the appendices.

The report is based on four appendices: appendices I and II focus on ViS development, and appendices III and IV focus on Sida's development, organisation and the general discourse in development cooperation. In the main text, references refer to numbered paragraphs in the appendices. The following groups of references are used in the main text and the appendices.

- Primary references, directly related to ViS (unpublished papers made available at http://www2.spm.slu.se/publikat/Refs_R8/- see hyperlink in the reference list):
 - documents established as a consequence of correspondence and negotiation mainly between ViM/ViS and Sida/Bifo/FS and within the two parties.
 - reports from assessments of the ViS project(s)
 - articles published about ViS in the ViM

- Secondary references not directly concerned with ViS.

2. The original concept and the start-up

Vi Skogen's original concept was consistent with contemporary discourse in development cooperation. The original aim “to halt the spread of the desert” was well timed with the increasing importance of desertification after the UN conference in 1978 (Appendix III Ch.4§3 and United Nations 1978). The concern for the livelihood of the people living in the desert threatened areas suited the conclusions of the Brundtland Commission in 1983 (Appendix III Ch.4§10 and WCED 1987). ViS's implementation approach and remedy for desertification (to plant trees as a unified forest barrier against the spread of the desert) was concordant with increasing focus on the fuel wood crisis (Appendix III Ch.4§2 and Eckholm 1976) during the 1980s.

To plant trees to save the environment and the lives and cultures of people living in desert threatened areas, instead of giving flowers at any celebration or commemoration (Appendix I Ch.1§3 and *Tidningen Vi* 1983:6, pp. 30-32), was an innovative and well formulated fundraising strategy. Sten Lundgren managed to connect four important contemporary environmental narratives in one paragraph (Appendix I Ch.1§2 and *Tidningen Vi* 1983:6, p. 4): desertification, soil erosion, fuel wood crisis/deforestation, and overgrazing. With the heading “They must have a forest to survive”, the concern for the livelihood of the poor was clear and consolidated with the overall concept. This produced immediate result in terms of fundraising (Appendix I Ch.1§4,9 and Lundgren et al 1995, p.81): money poured much faster than the *Vi Magazine* was equipped to handle (Appendix I Ch.1§10-11; Viklund 1992, p.14 and Lundgren et al 1995, p.82).

It was evident to ViM HQ that the capacity of the implementation team in Kenya, i.e. FHK and two ViM supervisors, was inadequate. (Appendix I Ch.1§13,15,17; Viklund 1992, p.15 and Lundgren et al 1995, p.83). In addition, ViM started to question where the money ended up, and if the people in West Pokot really benefited from the accomplishments of the Project (Appendix I Ch.1§14,16 and Viklund 1992, p.15). ViS took over the responsibilities and activities from FHK and gradually ViS's own organization started to take form in Kenya. Seedlings were raised in ViS nurseries and trees established, weeded and protected with hired labour. In December 1984, ViS's goal was refined: The main objectives of planting trees in West Pokot were to halt desertification, stop soil erosion and to improve the livelihood of the people in West Pokot.

3. The First Assessment and its implications

ViS activities in Kenya were first assessed through the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) in August 1985. Five weaknesses were identified (Appendix I Ch.2§1-6; Tidningen Vi 1986:2, p. 24 and Tidningen Vi 1986:4, p. 44);

1. ViS implemented almost all project activities by itself, using hired labour. This was seen as a serious weakness and it was stressed that;
‘The risk that the adaptation and integration of activities and technologies into the local communities fail in one or the other way is obvious according to all experience.’
‘That a deforestation project is broadly based in the hands of the local people is the first condition to secure that the project will be useful for the local communities in the long run’
2. The areas selected for plantation were far down in the valley and the conditions for cultivation considered too poor
3. The connected forest plantations that ViS had established were not considered to have the intended effect against desertification.
4. The knowledge base within ViM was considered insufficient.
5. The local partner in Kenya (FHK) was considered inadequate.

The second weakness was probably a consequence of the increasing use of cost-benefit analysis of soil and water conservation projects at the beginning of 1980s. The results pointed at the poor returns from soil conservation investments on severely eroded land in low-potential areas (Appendix III Ch.4§7 and Bojö 1986). An equal investment in high-potential areas with a high population density was considered to benefit many more people with a much better return on investments.

The assessment’s comments of the first weakness agreed well with:

- Sida’s long term ambition to make development cooperation a cumulative self supportive development process with a focus on help to self-help (Appendix III Ch.2§1 and Regeringskansliet 1962),
- the central importance of popular participation in Sida’s strategy for rural development (Appendix III Ch.2§6 and Sida 1981), and

- the growing importance of popular participation in general during the 1980s (Appendix III Ch.2§2-6),

The assessment dismissed ViS's concept of planting trees as a unified barrier against the spread of the desert. This decision was probably based on the more diversified perception of the causes, effects and remedies of desertification that gradually emerged at the beginning of the 1980s (Appendix III Ch.4§6; Glantz & Orlovsky 1983; Hammer 1983; Lusigi 1984 and Eckerholm 1984)

After the assessment, ViS promised to expand its activities in the highlands of Trans Nzoia and south West Pokot (Appendix I Ch.2§8 and Vi Skogen 1987a). However, ViS stated that the '*trials*' in the lowlands were to continue against the recommendations of the assessments (Appendix I Ch.2§10 and Vi Skogen 1987a), and up to the late 1990s, a large proportion of the total ViS budget was used for activities in the lowlands (Makokha et al 1999 p.19). ViS management justified the continuation in the lowlands against the recommendations of the assessment; '*... it is clearly in line with the original idea and aim behind the project, and the collection of funds*' (Appendix I Ch.2§11 and Vi Skogen 1987a). This statement reflects how the fundraising strategy influenced decisions in Kenya.

ViS management also stated; '*that a deliberate Agroforestry approach will be introduced*' (Appendix I Ch.2§9 and Vi Skogen 1987a). The emphasis on Agroforestry was consistent with the mid 1980s trend towards increased production and improved livelihood, compared to ViS original focus on physical conservation (Appendix III Ch.4§8-16; WCED 1987 and Odén 2006 p.107). A coordinator was employed at ViS HQ in 1985, although lacking experience in development cooperation and tropical land use. FHK was replaced by the Kenya National Farmers Union (KNFU) as ViS local partner in Kenya (Appendix I Ch.4§1 and Viklund 1992, p.21) and a qualified and experienced project manager was employed to work in Kenya (Tidningen Vi 1985:34, p. 78).

At the end of 1985, a critical article about ViS was published in the Newspaper '*Östra Småland*', stating that the ViS Forest is non existing and will never be; '*The Vi forest was meant to be a green belt acting as a barrier against the expanding desert. Now it has proved to be a failure.*' (Appendix I Ch.3§2 and Viklund 1992, p.22). ViS's new coordinator, Tor Nyberg, was interviewed and cited in the article saying that; '*We abolished*

the idea of a connected Vi Forest. The tree-planting project will hence continue in another way. We are going to concentrate on tree-planting in agriculture' (Appendix I Ch.3§4 and Viklund 1992, p.23). In 1986, a new policy was formulated (Viklund 1992 p.27):

- The project should contribute to ecological balance in the area
- ViS should turn directly to the farmers without detour through another organisation; the money contributed by Swedish donors should be handed over '*seedling by seedling*'
- The project should be directed particularly to women
- The nurseries should be close enough to be reachable for the farmers, i.e. within in a walking distance of less than 3-4 km
- The production of food should increase, not decrease, due to ViS activities

The environmental concern was still given the highest priority.

ViS explained in the communication with Sida/FS and in the ViM how local cooperation improved:

- In a memorandum about ViS future development (Vi Skogen 1987a), it is stated that contact with district authorities is established and that the nurseries have good connections with the local people (Appendix I, Ch.4§5)
- the annual report for the ViS foundation of the 1986/1987 FY (Vi Skogen 1987b) stated the agreements and organisation with the local people have improved. In addition; '*the contacts with the local authorities and the cooperation with local people around the nurseries have continued to develop in a positive way*' (Appendix I, Ch.4§6).
- A ViM article (Tidningen Vi 1987:6, pp. 15-18) stated; '*The project should also be locally anchored (lokalt förankrat) in a way that people in the village can really see the activities and understand the importance of taking care of the earth and soil*'.

4. Self-image and Attitude

VI SKOGEN

In the early years, ViS conveyed the picture to the ViM-readers that the project was an efficient alternative to conventional development cooperation, e.g.:

- In 1984, it is stated in the ViM (Tidningen Vi 1984:9, p. 60) that one Vi-reader bought trees for the government as a protest against being deceived in their promises on development aid, with the comment that; *'we feel that the government betrays, we can give development aid individually. Trees are probably the best help a poor desert threatened country can get'*.
- In 1989, it is stated that (Tidningen Vi Jan.1989:3, p. 41); *'The Vi Forest project reaches directly to the poor small-scale farmer and to the areas threatened by desertification. It [the project] does not create welfare for anyone but it mitigates poverty for many and it saves a piece of our common earth.'*
- In January 1995, ViM stated (Tidningen Vi Jan.1995:1, p. 39) that; *'In straight pipelines, the money goes from the donors and from Sida to the three projects, no middle men, no bribes and no misuse. Many are going to get a better life but none are going to be rich on the Vi Forest'*.

With this kind of argument, ViS gradually built up an image of a grass-root organisation that was in general more efficient and in control of resources than other aid organisations. The minutes from a BIFO meeting (BIFO 1992) state that; Tor Nyberg [the ViS Coordinator] described ViS as a very special project (very good) which he could not imagine as being comparable with other aid efforts, and he got good support from Sten Lundgren, who is responsible for the information in the ViM.

The methods used by ViS were also conveyed as being special. In February 1989, it was stated in the ViM (Tidningen Vi 1989:5, p. 62) that; *'...thanks to the large scale production in the 35 nurseries each gift-seedling also contributes to 10 small seedlings that are distributed free to the people in the neighbourhoods'*. Similar messages appeared through the years, e.g. in Tidningen Vi Nov.1989:46, p. 73; Ibid, 1991:51/52, p. 58; ibid 1992:10, p. 40; ibid 1993:44, p. 54.

In the annual report for the 1993/1994 FY (Vi Skogen 1994c), The importance of direct sowing as a method for tree cultivation in the tropics is

presented, it is stated that the method was developed by Tor Nyberg, and ViS is now in the same situation as authorities and research institutions have been for a long time, i.e. to solve the problem with deforestation, lack of firewood, and land degradation on a large scale. My judgement [Tor Nyberg's] is; ' *that direct sowing can and should be the dominant method for tree cultivation in the tropics.* '

In 1999 it is stated in the ViM (Tidningen Vi 1999:15, pp. 56-57) that each extension worker has the task to inspire 100 of the 300 farm families in his area to cultivate trees in rows of 200 meters each on their farm. With about 300 extension workers in the three projects, this translates into 6-million meters – 6000 kilometres of tree rows. The soil improver – *Sesbania/calliandra* should be planted with an in-row spacing of 5 cm giving 20 seedlings per meter. On every sixth meter, there should be a big tree planted. The ViS Coordinator says; '*it looks that the goal (of 6000 kilometre) will be reached before the end of the year*'. In a PM written by Forum Syd (Forum Syd 2000), another target that ViS wanted to reach during 2001 was 400 extension workers transferring knowledge and ideas, resulting in 8000 Km of *Sesbania* hedges on 40 000 small-scale farms. These statements highlight that in 1999-2000, the Vi/HQ was of the opinion that *Sesbania sesban* (and *Calliandra*) could be equally promoted to all farmers regardless of climate- soil conditions and farmers' interests or needs, in all three countries and projects.

In a letter to the ViS board (Appendix I Ch.7§45-53 and Vi Skogen 1996a) concerning an appendix to the 1995 capacity study, Tor Nyberg presented a long list of negative criticism disapproving all the methods used and the criticism issued in the appendix.

SIDA

Between 1985 and 2002, different Sida divisions and subsidiaries were involved in communications and negotiations with ViS, e.g. SEO/SEKA, NATUR, RSCU/RELMA and DCO (Appendix IV Ch.1), although they had a common goal, they had their own specific responsibilities and perspectives.

A first sign of Sida's opposition to ViS appeared in a Sida conference in Uppsala 1985, in which 30 journalists participated. Under the discussion of an unsuccessful Sida project, some journalists questioned how Sida could fail when ViS could be so successful. According to Sten Lundgren, who is cited by Viklund (1992 p. 22), it is difficult to reproduce exactly what was

said, but the Sida employee was of the opinion that ViS was not particularly successful and that goats had severely damaged the project.

In Sida/NATUR's memorandum (1995) about the first draft report of the capacity study in 1995 it is stated among other things that (Appendix I Ch.7§2-10); *It is not possible to be completely without the suspicion that the main text has been given a reconciling nature due to the broad public interest and support the project receives and that some of the criticisms directed towards ViS must also be directed to Sida as the main donor.*

In March 2002, an article (written by the journalist David Isaksson) about the cooperation between ViS and Sida was published from Sida's internal paper 'Omvärlden' (Tidningen Vi 2002:7 p 64-65). The evaluation from 2000 (Haldin et al 2000) is quoted saying that; *'None of the team members have come across a bilateral project that accomplishes such result to such a low cost', with the comment; 'But still the suspicions are there. May be it is the type of language used that has contributed. ViS has never understood how to use the right catchwords. When others talk about empowerment, gender, and poverty alleviation ViS talks about trees, farmers, and desertification. ViS's general secretary has since 1985 been arguing with the stubbornness of a fool for ViS distinctive character, something that has not made him friends. Many in Sida perceive him as an opinionated person.'* In the same article, Lars Ekengren is quoted saying; *'ViS is like a square-shaped plug that we (Sida) want to fit into our round holes. I believe that the corners of the plug (Vi) can be made a little bit more even, while at the same time, we have to make our holes a little bit more square-like. Sida must be ready to think differently'*

5. Control versus Local Ownership

In 1989, ViS activities in Kenya were assessed for the second time. It was pointed out that the ViS project had some very good biological results and managed to reconstruct its policy and implementation approach remarkably well (Appendix I Ch.5§1 and von Hofsten et al 1989) for example;

- An effective extension service has been built that enables a fruitful two-way communication and proves to be flexible with a good capacity to absorb knowledge (Appendix I Ch.5§6).
- ViS has adopted a very important policy; the aim is to cultivate trees and to convey knowledge to the farmers so they can gradually increase their capacity for continuing the work on their own in the future (Appendix I Ch.5§9).
- The relationship to the local people is good and provides an excellent base for future development (Appendix I Ch.5§8).

It was also stated that a considerably reconstruction of the project is necessary (Appendix I Ch.5§1 and von Hofsten et al 1989) because;

- the ViS policy has been developed in Sweden without the involvement and knowledge of or about the conditions in Kenya (Appendix I Ch.5§3),
- the promise to the individual donors influences policy development in Kenya (Appendix I Ch.5§4),
- ViS ask farmers to pay for seedlings (Appendix I Ch.5§29),
- the activities in the lowland areas are uncertain and the scope is too narrow considering the opportunities and problems of the area (Appendix I Ch.5§11).

The appreciation of ViS's new policy of making farmers self-sufficient and the criticism of poor local involvement in strategic issues concurred with the growing importance of local participation and ownership at the end of 1980s (Appendix III Ch.2§8-18 and Ch.3§1-7) and the increasing concern that development aid should not create dependency (Karlström 1996 p.94).

ViS management did not agree with the criticism of poor local involvement in policy making (Appendix I Ch.5§17-21 and Vi Skogen 1989), but recognized the strong influence of individual donors (Appendix I Ch.5§27 and Vi Skogen 1989). ViS's response was a clear opposition to the

assessment's proposal of asking farmers for payment (Appendix I Ch.5§29-32 and Vi Skogen 1989). ViS motivated its free distribution of seedlings through a good survival rate and that the seedlings had already been paid for by private donors.

After the assessment, a frequent argument in the ViM was; *'thanks to the large-scale production of seedlings, the contribution for one tree in the dry and semi-dry areas is enough for 5-10 seedlings to be distributed in the highlands'*. This message first appeared in ViM in February 1989 (Tidningen Vi 1989:5, p.62). In December 1991, it was stated (Tidningen Vi 1991:51/52, p. 58); *'Thanks to large-scale production of seedlings, the seven kronor that is contributed for one seedling will also be enough for 10 seedlings that are distributed to farmers'*. In March 1992, it is first stated that distribution of seedlings in the highlands was also possible due to contributions from Sida (Tidningen Vi 1992:10, p. 40).

The distribution of free seedlings and the use of paid labour combined with ViS central nurseries became increasingly divergent from Sida's perception (Appendix III Ch.3§2-7) and policy at the beginning of the 1990s (Appendix III Ch.3§8-16) emphasizing local participation and ownership. However, the new Sida policy was partly reflected in a reformulation of ViS's aim appearing in ViS's annual report 1990/1991. The original aims were replaced by efforts to develop the farmer's capacity to cultivate and use trees (Vi Skogen 1991). This was a timely change in Sida's view. At about the same time, it is stated in the budget proposition (Regeringskansliet 1991) that; *'there is also a risk that the aid donors [biståndsgivarna], in order to be able to show, at least in the short perspective, a good result, take over more of the implementation of aid projects'* (Regeringskansliet 1991).

The use of paid temporary workers increased and at the beginning of 1990s the number of employees was at its highest. ViM stated (Tidningen Vi Mar.1991:10, p. 43) that;

- Vi Forest reached a record last December; 687 people were on the payroll; although most of them temporary employees.
- The main reason for this high number of employees is the increase in control of desertification in the West Pokot area.

In a document written by ViS presenting the new ViS-vision of a green belt around Lake Victoria dated in May 1993 (Appendix I Ch.6 and Vi Skogen 1993a), it is stated that;

- Our policy implies that we have decided, in the areas where we work, to teach the small-scale farmers and pastoralists/livestock keepers to obtain and maintain ecological balance at a considerably higher level of real production. In order to teach this and to achieve rapid improvement, we work according to three main strategies (Appendix I Ch.6§33);
 - 1 production of tree seedlings of good agroforestry species to be distributed to farmers in small-scale farming areas
 - 2 Information and training on direct sowing and planting of trees and tree-use/cultivation with agroforestry methods
 - 3 land rehabilitation of erosion threatened dry areas through control of grazing, terracing and cultivation of trees.
- Approximately 1000 ha of land have been rehabilitated during the last few years and 800 km of channel terraces are constructed annually in West Pokot (Appendix I Ch.6§34),
- Salaries paid to temporary and permanent workers are in practice distributed throughout the whole society (Appendix I Ch.6§34)
- To save the production capacity of the area is given a higher priority, which means that in order to succeed, we try to establish the plantations in areas with good conditions for high production (Appendix I Ch.6§34)
- A comparison is made between the practical output of ViS and the goals of Swedish development cooperation showing how well they match (Appendix I Ch.6§36-41)

ViS's presentation shows that in 1993, ViS's knowledge of Sida's Policy and contemporary aid ideology has improved considerably since 1986. ViS's presentation is a well-performed motivation of ViS policy in terms of contemporary development cooperation concepts such as;

- prioritising investments in high potential areas (compare Appendix III Ch.4§7,31).
- focus on sustainable production for improved livelihood (compare Appendix III Ch.4)
- popular participation (compare Appendix III Ch.2)
- local ownership (compare Appendix III Ch.3).

ViS strong defence of the use of paid labour and distribution of free seedlings (Appendix I Ch.6§34 Ch5§29-34) can be explained by ViS strong emphasis on the control of funds, seedling by seedling (Appendix I Ch.4§9; Lundgren et al 1995, p.96 and Viklund 1992 p.27), in the interest of the individual donors

In the annual activity report for the 92/93 FY, dated in October 1993 (Vi Skogen 1993b), it is stated that; *'The decision to start to close down the nurseries and to increase efforts on teaching the farmers direct sowing is probably the most important thing that has happened during the year'* (Appendix I, Ch.6§51). Here ViS declare its decision to abandon the long-term implementation approach of distributing free seedlings from central ViS nurseries, and instead concentrate on *'teaching'* the farmers.

In a letter to the ViS chairperson in December 1993, Sida/DCO in Nairobi, presents criticism of ViS's distribution of free seedlings and the use of paid labour from staff of the national soil conservation programme (Appendix I, Ch.6 §52-54 and Sida/DCO 1993). After one year, despite the earlier decision, ViS still defended the distribution of free seedlings (Appendix I, Ch.6 §56-57) against the criticism of the DCO in Nairobi (Appendix I, Ch.6 §53-54), while expressing important successes concurrent with Sida's wishes (Appendix I, Ch.6 §58 and Vi Skogen 1994a).

Direct sowing of tree seeds in the field became increasingly important as a method of tree establishment in ViS after the decision in October 1993 to close the central nurseries. However, in ViS's annual report for 1997 (Vi Skogen 1998a), the statements under the subsections ViS Kenya indicate that direct sowing did not yield the expected results, e.g.;

- The results of direct sowing confirm that *Sesbania sesban* and *Croton macrostachyus* might be easily established by direct sowing
- *Calliandra calothyrsus* and *Terminalia brownii* have very poor or slow germination
- *Moringa stenopetala* and *Balanites aegyptiaca* are also feasible in West Pokot, if sowing is done early in the rainy season
- Observations indicate that only about 0.5 million trees, including *Sesbania sesban* for firewood, were established as a result of direct sowing – the expectation were 5-10 times higher
- The major reason for the relatively poor result of direct sowing is a too short wet period for germination (late sowing, dry spell, no

irrigation) or by using species less feasible for direct sowing without special seed pre-treatment or seed-bed management

In Vi Foundation's application for 94/95 FY (Vi Skogen 1994a), the use of paid labour in the lowland is explained as finding a way for local people to save the last areas with remaining topsoil (Appendix I Ch.6§43-46). This is an explanation well in line with Sida's policy but to justify the continuation of a policy that was in opposition to contemporary aid ideology.

6. The SPM Capacity Study in 1995

In the capacity study (Appendix I Ch.7§10-29 and SPM/Swedforest 1995) it is stated:

- The declared ViS policy concurs with official Swedish development assistance policy (Appendix I Ch.7§12), that the growth and poverty focus is obvious (Appendix I Ch.7§13), and that improvement of the environment constitutes the prime goal (Appendix I Ch.7§14)
- ViS was criticized for having a top-down management system (Appendix I Ch.7§16, 18) without plans for involving community or any local organisation in a decision making capacity (Appendix I Ch.7§16) or to find a local partner organization in the three countries (Appendix I Ch.7§15, 20)
- The project in Kenya was criticized for using methods divergent from Kenyan policy and with limited replicability and sustainability such as issuing free seedlings and payments for casual labour for the construction of soil conservation measures (Appendix I Ch.7§21).
- The assessment recommended that ViS;
 - carry out continued staff training and decentralisation of authority, as a key to more local participation (Appendix I Ch.7§17)
 - reform its old-style management arrangement into a genuine cooperation with local community partners including strategic issues (Appendix I Ch.7§18)
- Sida and BIFO was asked to discuss with the ViS to clarify in which way NGO guidelines should be applied to ViS's lack of local partner in the three countries (Appendix I Ch.7§28,29).

SPM criticism agreed with the Sida's changing role-policy stating among other things that; *'Cooperation should be implemented in a system that belongs to the recipient country and in a way that they themselves understand and master'* (Appendix III Ch.3§10 and Olsson 1992)

SPM's concern for ViS's lack of local partner was also a question of formal appliance to Sida's guidelines for NGO support (Appendix IV Ch.2§3-9).

ViS responded to the comments of the SPM-study (Appendix I Ch.7§30-39 and Vi Skogen 1995); *Some of the strategic issues have to be centrally controlled so that HQ management can ensure the primary goals are*

reached and funds are used effectively. The long-term goal of making farmers self-sufficient and independent is the same as ViS declared in the 1989 assessment. It is also well in line with Sida's commitment of making development cooperation a self-supportive development process (Appendix III Ch.2§1 and Regeringskansliet 1962). ViS explains that the project has many local partners instead of one and do not accept the criticism of poor local involvement and participation. ViS disagrees with the critics that their methods are not in harmony with the local country policies.

In an appendix to the minutes of the Development Aid Committee meeting of Forum Syd 1996-Apr-10 (Forum Syd 1996a), serious reservation is expressed, based on the outcome of the SPM study, against ViS's application for funds (Appendix I Ch.7§40-44).

In a letter of the ViS coordinator, the statements and conclusions of one of the SPM-assessment members is criticized (Appendix I Ch.7§45-53 and ViS 1996a). The PM highlights the negative effects of opposition between the assessment and the organisation being assessed.

7. Important Policy Changes

Although the connection of ViS's activities to important changes in predominant aid ideology was skilfully demonstrated in ViM articles (Appendix II), ViS's project activities and organisation did not follow suite.

It was not until 1996 that ViS started to seriously reform its policy and organisation. In a memorandum about biannual contribution (Forum Syd 1996b p.4), the issue of local partners is raised again and considered an important precondition for Sida funding. ViS's lack of local partner is taken as a reason to propose a decrease in funding, as a first step to termination of ViS support (Appendix I Ch.8§13-14). Forum Syd proposed that ViS's application is cut from 9.95-million SEK to 4-million SEK, until ViS considers the recommendations of the SPM study (Appendix I Ch.8§17-25 and Forum Syd 1996c).

In a follow-up meeting of the SPM capacity study (Appendix I Ch.8§25-34 and Forum Syd 1996d), it is stated that many project nurseries had closed and hundreds of staff are being retrenched in Kenya. The project in Tanzania started with an approach involving only extension, combined with a small bag of seed. On the issue of increased participation, ViS responded that the farmers are informed about what we have to offer and how we work, and then it is up to the village councils to say yes or no. On the issue of sustainability, ViS's state; *the methods and the awareness about what trees can do for people's subsistence is implanted amongst the farming communities. Therefore, the methods and knowledge remains in the community, even after ViS withdraws from the area. This is a better guarantee for sustainability than any organization can give. This is a vision that carries ViS forward until the opposite is proved.*

The emphasis ViS puts on increased local awareness and knowledge and stress on sustainability is in itself an indication that ViS aimed to empower the farmers. However, the statement that knowledge should be '*implanted*' amongst the farming communities indicated ViS did not, at that time, understand the concepts of participation and empowerment.

In a PM about the Vi application for annual appropriation of 1997 (Appendix I Ch.8§35-40 and Forum Syd 1996e) Forum Syd verify that ViS has tried to consider the proposals and views of the SPM capacity study and other studies. However, FS highlights the projects are still centrally controlled from Stockholm and lack a local NGO as a cooperating partner.

In October 1996 (Sida/SEKA 1996), ViS's organisational set-up is accepted by Sida/SEKA for annual appropriation on the conditions that:

- ViS should specifically describe its local cooperation in applications and reports
- ViS should, within one-year, sign agreements with all its local partners, village committees and women groups
- Annual three-part discussions/meetings should be conducted between ViS, Forum Syd, and Sida.

This was a victory for ViS and for Sida and Forum Syd. ViS managed to get its local organisation accepted despite contradiction with Sida's NGO guideline. With pressure from Sida/FS, ViS local organisation had gradually changed over the years. A centrally controlled sister NGO in the recipient country changed to a locally anchored organisation involving an increasing number of local partners in a formal manner. An impact study, carried out between 1996 and 1997 (Appendix I Ch.9 and Makokha, et al 1999), on the Vi activities in the dry and semi-dry areas of West Pokot was a confirmation of ViS controversial activities in the lowland. The report of the study summarises that the improved pasture enclosures resulting from the Vi activities in Cheparereia Division give improved quality of the grazing feed resource and increased livelihood of the pastoral community (Appendix I Ch.9§5 and Makokha, et al 1999:61-65). It is concluded that; the land can be rehabilitated by individuals, households and communities, with a minimum of external intervention (Appendix I Ch.9§6). Two key factors contributed to the spread of this rehabilitation approach (Appendix I Ch.9§7);

- 1 the land tenure system and land tenure history of the Pokots
- 2 ViS's demonstration plots maintained on public land such as churches and school compounds.

Even though the original message concerning desertification remained part of the ViM-articles, the way the messages were phrased became increasingly in line with Sida's goals and contemporary discourse, e.g.;

'Every aid-development project has or should have an ever overwhelming problem – how to reach the poorest. (... ..) Of course, Vi, apart from saving desert threatened land, primarily tries to make poor small-scale farmers and female groups self-sufficient. Those who manage best can already now produce an excess that can give money for

school fees, hospital treatment, a radio, or a bicycle, they can stand on their own legs and belong no longer to the poorest (Tidningen Vi 1996:37, p. 26)'

'Hundreds of thousands of people die every year due to desertification and soil erosion. The highest risk is in the tropics where the forests have been cleared. The topsoil disappears and the livestock die. When the livestock die, the people will also die, first the children. But, there are remedies – trees can be planted in rows that will bind the soil and thereby the topsoil can resist water and wind erosion. Hence, desertification is one of Vi Forests activities. To a larger extent, ViS is involved in densely populated agricultural areas where the lack of firewood is the most serious problem (Tidningen Vi 1999:17, p.65).'

One reason for this mix of concerns was also explained in the ViM (Tidningen Vi 1995:11, p. 23);

'For some of the Vi contributors, the environmental issues are the most important and for others, it is to help fellow human beings with problems and also to give away a gift for a friend or a relative in the form of a tree to Africa'

In FS's PM about ViS's application for annual appropriation of FY 1997 (Forum Syd 1996e), it is stated the project in Kenya has three main objectives (Appendix I Ch.8§49-52):

- To help small-scale farmers (in particular rural women) increase their production of crops and thereby satisfying their need of firewood, timber, fodder, fruit and for soil improvement. The method used is extension of soil improvement through cultivation of trees in different agroforestry systems
- Through cooperation to expand the use of controlled (fenced) grazing and demonstrate practical solutions to erosion problems in the semi-arid areas of West Pokot
- Through the development of knowledge and ideas to give the small-scale farmers a simple and useable base for sustainable results.

This formulation highlights the focus on livelihood and the capacities of the target group have increased. In the 1998 FY ViS annual report, (Vi Skogen 1999), the environmental concern is no longer part of the ViS goal formulation, the focus is entirely on the livelihood of the target group. The development goal is (Appendix I, Ch.8§ 65-66):

- To make a substantial contribution towards better living standards in the main target group
- The three immediate objectives, identified as the keys towards achieving the developmental goal are;
 - a) increased food and nutritional security,
 - b) increased fuel wood availability,
 - c) increased sources of income.

Environmental concern is made more explicit in the ViS's vision stated in the same report (Appendix I, Ch.8§ 67)) i.e.; *'to establish a green belt of agroforestry activities within the Lake Victoria basin'*

From the mid 1990s, peoples' participation was central in all ViS documents and reports:

- In the work plan and budget for 94/95 FY of the Musoma project (Vi Skogen 1994b), it is stated that; The plan emphasises an intensive peoples participation, right from the beginning.
- In a PM written by Forum Syd (1996b, p.2), it is stated that the aim for the half year of ViS's project in Kenya is; *'to extend the planned activities but with the policy to develop and strengthen participatory planning and implementation and that the cooperation with the authorities in the different activities is emphasised'*.
- In ViS's annual report for 1997 FY (Vi Skogen 1998a), it is stated under the Kenyan project;
'The PRA is a major activity in implementing the project main strategy of participatory extension'
'Reports from the PRA containing a "Community Action Plan" (CAP) is the fundament upon which agroforestry related targets are set by the community'
'When targets are set, an agreement between the community and ViS is signed, spelling out the two parties' roles and responsibilities in reaching the set targets'.

In January 1999, a ViM-article stated; *'Now we have closed most of the nurseries. Many of the tree species can be directly seeded and for the other species, the farmers know how to raise them in home nurseries'* (Appendix I, Ch.8 and 69 and Tidningen Vi 1999:2, p. 63).

The statements from a new assessment, in September 2000 (Appendix I Ch.10), this time by LTS Consultants (Haldin, et al 2000), indicates that ViS policy and activities of attaining its set objectives was concordant with local (Appendix I Ch.10§14) and general expectations and development policies in 2000 (Appendix I Ch.10§9). However, there was a need to refine the M&E system and the PRA activities to make it more relevant and cost-effective (Appendix I Ch.10§11). Cooperation with concerned local government officers was considered excellent (Appendix I Ch.10§12). In order to solve the problems of the farmers and reach the set objectives, the assessment suggests that ViS widen the sector scope through cooperation with other organisations (Appendix I Ch.10§16). The main conclusion of the assessment was (Appendix I Ch.10§20);

'The team is convinced that a further streamlined and time bound ViS program, properly linked with other development efforts, has the potential to successfully contribute to the alleviation of poverty in the Lake Victoria Basin'

The main recommendations of the LTS consultants were (Appendix I Ch.10§21-29);

'The agroforestry techniques used today should be introduced in a step-by-step manner'

'An external short-term consultant is required to refine the M&E and PRA efforts'

'The project activities should be based on a 10-year project cycle, with an initial intensive 5-year period of technical services free of charge and a successive low intensity and demand driven 5-year period'

'The project should pull out from current project areas by the end of 2003 and move into new areas'

Although ViS had made considerable improvement in terms of local participation up to year 2000, the LTS consultants suggest that PRA needs to be refined. This proposal may be based on the importance given to local

initiative in the Sida's guidelines (Appendix IV Ch.2§8-9 and Sida 1998 p.7) and the increasing importance of local participation and ownership in general. The excellent local cooperation is a clear improvement from the SPM study.

In 2001, an additional strategy for fund raising was introduced (Tidningen Vi 2001:24, p. 65). All members of the Swedish Consumer Cooperation (KF) were given the opportunity to register '*bistånd på köpet*' (aid on the deal). This fund raising opportunity is still in use, which means that the total amount is always rounded up to the nearest even kronor every time a KF member customer uses his/her member card on a purchase. The difference is shared between ViS and the other development aid organisation under KF – '*Kooperationen Utan Gränser*'.

8. ViS today

VI AGROFORESTRY PROGRAMME

During the first year, ViS collected 2-million SEK from private donors, which increased during the following two years. Due to the criticism in the newspaper 'Östra Småland, the contributions from the private donors decreased in 1986, a decrease that was recovered three years later (Figure 1). Since then, private contributions have increased and reached close to 19-million in 2005. In 2007, ViS's budget reached 70-million SEK, including 26.8-million SEK of collected funds.

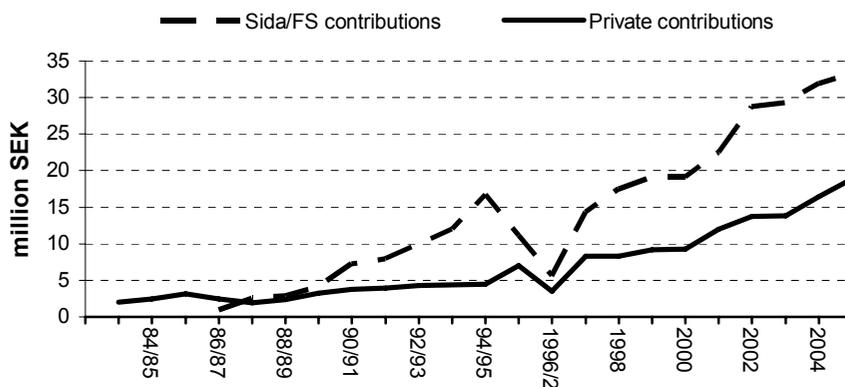


Figure 1. Development of ViS's funding from start-in 1983 until 2005. The visible drop of the graph in 1996/2 is due to the change of fiscal year.

The ViS programme at present operates seven projects located within the Lake Victoria basin, two in Kenya, one in Uganda, three in Tanzania and one in Rwanda. With a combined team of over 600 field extensionists living in rural villages, the programme reaches about 175 000 farmers². ViS expresses the current output, impact and capacity of the ViS programme as follows³;

'Every year, small-scale farmers grow over ten million trees in agroforestry and land rehabilitation systems. This is done to prevent soil erosion, produce fuel-wood, timber, and fruit, to generate income and to improve the environment, i.e. to improve livelihood - for this generation and the coming ones. In an external evaluation

² <http://www.viskogen.se/Default.aspx?ID=826> ViS annual report of 2007

³ <http://www.viskogen.se/Default.aspx?ID=360> viewed in September 2008

of our work, financed by Sida, the consultants stated; "None of the members of the assessment team have come across a bilateral project capable of producing similar results at such low cost." Since then (year 2000), we have further improved and become even more efficient. Direct contact with the farmers, knowledge and the power of trees makes Vi Agroforestry an extremely effective development project.'

LAKE VICTORIA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (LVDP)

The Lake Victoria Development Programme is a joint initiative of the Swedish Cooperative Centre (SCC) and the Vi Agroforestry Programme (ViAFP). From January 2006, the two organisations, with a common origin of the cooperative movement in Sweden, integrated into one regional organization, SCC-Vi Eastern Africa. The Lake Victoria Development Programme will contribute to a long-term development effort in the Lake Victoria region, initiated by Governments sharing the Lake and its catchments, and other development partners, including Sida. The Programme consists of three major components: agroforestry (agricultural) production, local business development, and financial services. The total budget for the three-year period 2006-2008 is 153.4 million SEK⁴.

Programme Vision; *'An ecologically sustainable environment with a green belt around Lake Victoria, offering good living conditions for small holder families'*⁴.

Programme Mission; *'To integrate agroforestry practices into small holdings and make it an engine of economic growth and a means of reducing poverty'*⁴.

Long term Objective; *'To contribute to improved livelihood and empowerment of small-scale farmers in the Lake Victoria Basin through sustainable management of natural resources and farm enterprise development'*⁴.

⁴ <http://www.sccportal.org/Default.aspx?ID=168> viewed in September 2008

9. Conclusions and Discussion

From the beginning, ViS managed well in sensing the perception of the ViM readers and individual donors in relation to important contemporary narratives and to some extent Sida's policy. However, this good timing did not always follow ViS development. ViS started its own local NGO in the recipient country in the end of 1987, at a time when local ownership and participation started to be important in development cooperation (Figure 2 and Appendix III Ch.3). Funds used for paid labour and distribution of free seedlings continued to increase year after year, building an approach and an organisation that was increasingly counter to the general trend in aid ideology and Sida's policy development. There was a ten-year gap between the first serious criticisms against ViS's distribution of free seedlings in 1989 and the closing of the last nursery in 1999 (Figure 2 and 3): it took ViS six years from their own decision in 1993 to close the last nursery in 1999. ViS did in fact increase the number of central nurseries from 42 in 1992 to 71 in 1994 (Figure 2 and 3). Despite the criticism and the growing importance of local participation, ViS started a project in Uganda in 1992 based on the central nursery approach with distribution of free seedlings (Figure 2), and proposed 60 ViS nurseries in each of six projects in its vision of a green belt around Lake Victoria.

In 1995, the capacity study raised crucial questions concerning sustainability (Appendix I Ch.7§22-24);

- ' Will people in Kitale and Masaka have learned to grow trees themselves after having received potted tree seedlings for a decade?'*
- ' Will the knowledge generated by the projects remain somewhere when the extension service is dismantled?'*
- ' Will the cattle keepers in West Pokot be able to finance land-rehabilitation on their own when the required labour is not paid for?'*

The capacity study also criticized ViS HQ management for top-down decision-making; *'strategic decisions are taken in Stockholm and communicated to the local projects'*. A similar statement had already been made in the 1989 assessment; *'the Vi policy has been developed in Sweden without involvement and knowledge from and about the conditions in Kenya'*. Advising that; *'To give the individual donors a promise to plant trees in Kenya should not in general influence the policy in Kenya'*.

This top-down decision structure can partly be explained by ViS strong emphasis on the control of funds, ‘*seedling by seedling*’, in the interest of the individual donors.

Sida's action plan for sustainable management of renewable natural resources	1992	A new project initiated in Masaka; Uganda ViS's vision of a green belt around Lake Viktoria including 6 projects with 60 nurseries each
Earth summit in Rio		1127 ha of landrehabilitation*
Sida's changing role policy for increased local ownership	1991	42 ViS nurseries and 42 extension workers*
Sida's policy on poverty environment and development	1990	550 ha of landrehabilitation* 42 ViS nurseries and 42 extension workers*
Human Development Report with HDI		ViS report 687 workers on the pay-roll
WB & IMF evaluation of SAP showing lack of local ownership	1989	Second assessment of ViS appreciating ViS for building farmers capacity and good local cooperation. Criticizing ViS top-down policy process and distribution of free seedlings
	1988	Cooperation with KNFU ended
Sida's program for popular participation	1987	ViS's own NGO registered in Kenya ViS's first funding from Sida
Does Aid Work? CBA in soil conserv.	1986	ViS registered as NGO in Sweden ViS start large nurseries in the highlands Cooperation with KNFU initiated ViS end cooperation with FHK
Structural adjustment Program - SAP	1985	Severe criticism in Östra Småland First assessment of ViS criticizing ViS for using hired labour, a poor knowledge base and bad conditions in the lowlands
IUFRO meeting on fuelwood and energy	1984	Tree establishment with hired labour in the lowlands
Sida's strategy for rural development	1983	Production of tree seedlings in central nurseries Cooperation with FHK initiated
WCED-Brundtland		Vi Tree planting project initiated by the Vi Magazine

Figure 2. Time axis of important changes in Sida's policy and development aid discourse (to the left) and ViS's development (to the right), from 1983 to 1992. *SPM/Swedforest (1995)

The criticism of the capacity study was concordant with the increasing importance of local participation (Figure 3 and Appendix III Ch.2) and ownership (Appendix III Ch.3). At first ViS showed a strong resistance against the advice and criticism of the capacity study (notably Appendix I Ch.7§45-53 and Vi Skogen 1996a). However, the capacity study and its aftermath became a turning point in ViS's resistance to Sida/FS's demand, and the start of an internal reform process. The changes in ViS knowledge and perception was visible in idiomatic changes in the expressions used in ViS's documents (notably Appendix I Ch.8§49-52 and Forum Syd 1996e).

As a response to the SPM criticism for ViS's lack of local partner, ViS explained that the projects have many local partners instead of one. Still FS proposed (Forum Syd 1996b, p.4) that funding to ViS should decrease as a first step to being withdrawn (Appendix I Ch.8§14 and Forum Syd 1996b). The need for clarification from Sida increased in the spring 1996 when Forum Syd's development aid committee was of the opinion that ViS's organization (i.e. ViS own local NGO in the recipient country) was not in agreement with Sida's requirement for annual support (Appendix I Ch.8§42 and Sida/SEKA 1996). This critical situation was turned into what can be regarded as a victory for ViS, when Sida approved ViS's local organisational arrangement in the recipient country (Figure 3; Appendix I Ch.8§45 and Sida/SEKA 1996).

The positive result of the impact study in West Pokot (Figure 3 and Makokha, et al 1999) was also a victory for ViS in their long-term battle to continue activities in the lowlands. What ViS managed to achieve in West Pokot (Makokha, et al 1999) concurred well with the conclusions of Sterner & Segnestam (2001, p.28 and Appendix III Ch.4§35-38), especially as ViS managed to start a locally driven process through cooperation between the Vi-project, local people and authorities (Makokha, et al 1999). The many years of paid labour in the low-potential areas against Sida's demand and predominant aid-ideology paid off with the locally driven process sought by Sida and the change in Sida's policy concerning low-potential areas.

The LTS Consultants assessment in 2000 indicated that ViS's organisation and policy concurred with predominant aid ideology at that time. ViS considerably reformed its policy over the years but managed to keep its own local NGO and its distinctive character due to strong resistance against Sida/FS's demands. At the same time, the persistent advice from Sida and FS and the recommendations of the assessments were vital to the changes implemented by ViS.

Sida's relationship between poverty & environment	2001	Memo of understanding with ICRAF Fourth assessment of ViS concluding that a further streamlined and time bound ViS can be part of the Lake Victoria Initiative
Millenium Summit Millenium Development Goals	2000	
Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper	1999	The last ViS nursery closed
WB/IMF - Debt relief and poverty reduction	1999	A second project initiated in Tanzania PRA and M&E units established in each project
	1998	Community action plans introduced at the village level Introduction of LFA and PRA at a practical scale Assessment in West Pokot giving a very good picture
Renewed Swedish Policy for Africa	1997	ViS's prime goal change from environment to livelihood Focus on farm-nurseries, direct sowing & soil fertility ViS's perception converge with Sida/FS policy
Social development conference	1996	Sida accept ViS's organisation in recipient countries ViS start implementing changes in line with assessment
OECD/DAC 'Shaping 21 st century'	1996	FS propose a phasing out of ViS's funding
		Third assessment of ViS concluding that ViS policy was fairly in line with Sida policy and with focus on environment and poverty. Criticizing ViS lack of local partner top-down management
Global development partnership	1995	
	1994	1130 ha of landrehabilitation* 71 ViS nurseries and 121 extension workers* ViS's first Tanzania project initiated in Mara
Sida's new concept of Land Husbandry	1993	1519 ha of landrehabilitation* 71 ViS nurseries and 103 extension workers*
Increasing importance of the civil society	1993	DCO criticize ViS's distribution of free seedlings ViS declare the phasing-out of large-scale nurseries 1112 ha of landrehabilitation* 59 ViS nurseries and 59 extension workers*

Figure 3. Time axis of important changes in Sida's policy and development aid discourse (to the left) and ViS's development (to the right), from 1993 to 2001. poor
* SPM/Swedforest (1995)

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Appendices

As most of the text in the following appendices is translated from Swedish to English, the meaning in English may not be an exact representation of the original meaning in Swedish.

APPENDIX I

Start-up and progress of the Vi Tree Planting Foundation

1. The Start-up, 1983 – 1984

- 1 After a surprisingly good response to an article in the Vi Magazine (ViM), the decision to start collection funds for 'Vi Skogen' (the Vi Forest) was taken in December 1982 (Lundgren et al 1995, p.79). Sten Lundgren (Sten L.), the former editor-in-chief of the Vi-Magazine, wrote the first article after consultation with Harry Lindqvist the founder of 'The foundation tree-planting in the deserts of the world' (Stiftelsen Trädplantering i Jordens Öknar) attached to 'The Doctors' mission' (Läkarmissionen) of 'The Swedish Journal' (Svenska Journalen) (Viklund 1992, p.9).
- 2 The first article about the Vi forest in the Vi Magazine (ViM) was published in February 1983 (Tidningen Vi 1983:6, p. 4). It was stated under the main heading; *They must have a new forest to survive, the threatened culture of the Pokots was described; One threat comes from the natural environment. The forests are about to disappear. Where no trees are growing, the soil will be destroyed. The sun will burn every blade of grass. That's were the desert moves in – the cancer of soil*
- 3 Under the heading; *Vi-Forest can check the spread of the desert* (Tidningen Vi 1983:6, pp. 30-32), it is described how the readers of the Vi-magazine are given the opportunity to plant their own forest in Africa and that the first Vi-forest

will be planted in West Pokot. The reader is told that; *we can give a tree instead of a flower at any celebration or commemoration, when a child is born, at marriage, exam, funeral etc. A tree is not costing more than one flower. However, it lives on and grows long after the flower has died or been burnt. The trees help people to survive.*

- 4 Boëthius write in Lundgren et al (1995, p.81); *within a few days we realised that we had managed to aim exactly right, both in terms of public opinion and needs. Much more accurate than we could ever imagine in advance and much more than we were capable of handling.*
- 5 Contrary to what people may expect, the Vi Forest started on intuition and enthusiasm and makes a significant contribution to the solution of an important environmental problem (Lundgren et al 1995, p.79).
- 6 Harry Lindqvist of Läkarmissionen proposed Fride Nilsson and Faith Home of Kenya (FHK), an organisation that had already collaborated with 'Läkarmissionen', Sida and other nonconformist organisations, as a partner to Vi during implementation. (Lundgren et al 1995, p.79)
- 7 FHK was engaged to raise and plant seedlings for the Vi Forest. Fride Nilsson, together with Sten L., selected a site in Nakuyen District of West Pokot for the first plantation. (Viklund 1992, p.14).
- 8 In a ViM article in April 1983, it is stated; *You are welcome to Vi-forest, as a contributor, as shareowner.* A summary about the background and development so far is given; *Fride Nilsson have 150 000 seedlings that are ready to be planted at the edge of a desert-area somewhere – how many of the 150 000 can go to the Vi-Forest* (Tidningen Vi, April 1983:16 p.56)

- 9 According to Lundgren's notes (Lundgren et al 1995, p.81), the first week we received money for 7000 trees. The 10th of June – after four months – we had received money for 100 000 trees (i.e. 700 000 kr).
- 10 To use the money became one of the most difficult problems – the weak planning and administration had trouble coping with the pace of contributions (Viklund 1992, p.14).
- 11 *The summer after the dramatic start gave us time to rest and comprehend our experiences. But Sten L. weekly reports in the Vi M had already from the start found a form that created a enormous response from the ViM readers, and as soon as the July summer vacation was finished the money started to pour in again* (Lundgren et al 1995, p.82)
- 12 In the autumn of 1983, two foremen were employed, one from Sweden, Gert Nyberg, and one from Kenya, William Makokha (Viklund 1992, p.14).
- 13 During the summer of 1984, the ViM plantation in Chemarel was seriously affected by the lack of rain. Knowledge was inadequate, with the result that no terracing was carried out and the wrong tree species were used. Gradually the project was increasingly managed by the ViM (Viklund 1992, p.15).
- 14 Monica Boëthius started to seriously question where the money ended up (Viklund 1992, p.15)
- 15 The Vi forest team at the ViM in Sweden started to understand that the Vi Staff in Kenya and FHK did not have the required technical knowledge (Lundgren et al 1995, p.83)
- 16 Contributions from the individual donors grew steadily along with the worry over project activities in Kenya. Monica Boëthius openly questions the project in the ViM;

Are we attaining the result we want to attain? Are we using the right methods? Do the people in West Pokot benefit from our accomplishments (Viklund 1992, p.15).

- 17 *Monica Boëthius stated (in Lundgren et al 1995, p.83) that; finally, we realized that the leadership of the Vi Project in Kenya did not function.*

2. SLU Assessment in 1985

- 1 Erland von Hofsten made the first assessment of Vi Skogen in August 1985 as a consultant to the Swedish University of Agricultural science (SLU). Monica Boëthius explained the outcome in two issues of ViM. Five weaknesses stated by the assessment were described: One was that the areas selected for plantation were far down in the valley and the conditions were too poor. ViS was instead recommended to start a new project area in the high potential area of Trans Nzoya District (Tidningen Vi 1986:2, p. 24). The rest was explained in the ViM in February 1986: (Tidningen Vi 1986:4, p. 44);
- 2 ● *The most serious weakness stated was that Vi by itself with hired labour implement almost all project activities. The risk that the adaptation and integration of activities and technologies into the local communities fail in one-way or the other is obvious according to all experience. That a deforestation project is broadly based in the hands of the local people is the first condition for securing that the project will be useful for the local communities in long term.*
- 3 ● *Desertification seldom takes place along a unified frontier and is therefore not possible to control with a unified barrier. Desertification is a widespread ongoing process over huge land areas, where in the normal case, overgrazing holds back the natural regeneration of grass and trees. The causal connection*

of desertification is in principal very complicated, but the central importance of overgrazing can now be regarded as an established fact. In this case, the connected forest plantations that Vi has established in the past will not have the intended effect.

- 4 ● *The knowledge base within ViM was initially insufficient,*
- 5 ● *The umbrella organisation of ViM project, i.e. FHK, is inadequate.*
- 6 In the same article (Tidningen Vi 1986:4, p. 44), Boëthius explained that two weaknesses had already been considered and Tor Nyberg (a forest ranger and economist) had been employed and the local partner was changed from Faith Home of Kenya to KNFU
- 7 As an answer to von Hofsten's recommendations, the following appears in a PM about the future development of the Vi Forest, written by Tor Nyberg in January 1987 (Vi Skogen 1987a);
 - 8 1 *The project will expand heavily in the high potential agricultural areas of Trans Nzoya and south West Pokot. New tree nurseries will be established in highly populated areas, close enough to be within walking distance for all small-scale farmers in the area.*
 - 9 2 *A deliberate agroforestry approach will be introduced.*
 - 10 3 *The trials in the semi-arid areas will continue against von Hofsten's recommendations. In short, the reason is that the trials in Kainuk have shown good results after von Hofsten's and my visit to the area....*
 - 11 *To work in the semi-arid areas is clearly in line with the original idea and aim behind the project and the collection for funds*

- 12 After von Hofsten's assessment in 1985, the success and importance of planting trees in the low-land areas were stressed in a number of articles in the ViM, e.g.:
- 13 ● In October 1986; it is stated that; *in some years to come, we can let livestock graze in the Kainuk forest. The trees produce valuable fodder and there is plenty of grass between the trees* (Tidningen Vi 1986:38, p. 14).
- 14 ● In February 1987, it is said; *in Kainuk the forest have developed faster than I could imagine possible – this is the place where we can talk about the Vi Forest – it looks almost like a Swedish broadleaved forest. It is a little bit more than three years since the planting started here, but we have already managed to change the landscape. It is 50 hectares of land as a living evidence that it is possible to recover devastated land to something useful long-term with a high production of different benefits such as fodder and wood for the local people* (Tidningen Vi 1987:6, p. 18).
- 15 ● In January 1988, it is stated that; *the Vi Forest in Kainuk has now become a habitat for elephants, providing evidence that the Vi Forest is on the way to be as nature once was in the area* (Tidningen Vi 1988:1, p. 44).
- 16 ● In October 1988; *after five years the Vi Forest in Kainuk started to pay interest – the forest was so dense it had to be thinned and there was enough wood for a school in the village* (Tidningen Vi 1988:40, p. 70).

3. The Article in 'Östra Småland', 1985

- 1 On the 17th of December 1985, a critical article about the Vi Forest was published in the local newspaper 'Östra Småland'. The background to the article was a Sida conference in Uppsala, where about 30 journalists participated. Under the discussion of an unsuccessful Sida

project, some journalists felt odd about how Sida could fail when Vi could be so successful. According to Sten Lundgren (cited in Viklund 1992, p.22), it is difficult to reproduce what was said, but the Sida employee was of the opinion that Vi was not particularly successful and that goats had severely damaged the project.

- 2 *SETBACK FOR THE Vi MAGAZINE'S PROJECT – The forest plantation became a fiasco* was the title of the article in Östra Småland; *The Vi Forest is none existent and will never be. The cooperative magazine ViM's development project, that was supposed to stop the spread of the desert in Kenya, engaging thousands of individual contributors has literally fizzled into the sand. The Vi forest was meant to be a green belt acting as a barrier against the expanding desert. Now, it has proved to be a failure. There is barely one green tree in the area* (Viklund 1992, p.22).
- 3 The local missionary Fride Nilsson, who was laid off from the project, was interviewed and recounted enormous problems; the violent heat, the termites and not least the goats belonging to the nomads. It has to be remembered that tree planting is a new thing in Kenya and there have to be some drawbacks in the beginning. Lack of knowledge was given as the reason Fride Nilsson was laid off from the project. He was cited in the article "but ViM did not have any other local partner to cooperate with initially and of course accepted the offer to assist ViS, as we any how had started our own tree-planting and nurseries (Viklund 1992, p.22-23).
- 4 Tor Nyberg the new director of ViS was also interviewed and cited in the article saying that (Viklund 1992, p.23);
One can say that we have found a model in Kenya and that we will combine tree planting with other things

We abolished the idea of a connected Vi Forest. The tree-planting project will hence continue in another way

We are going to concentrate on tree planting in agriculture. Vi Skogen (Vi Forest) can still be used as a collective name – it is a well-established name.

- 5 The news from Östra Småland spread to other newspapers through TT. Vi was given the chance to comment on what was stated in the article. Out of 450 000 planted seedlings only 50 000 were threatened, but the negative information was overwhelming compared to Vi's comments (Boëthius 1991 in Viklund 1992, p.23-24).
- 6 To prove that the message in the article of Östra Småland was wrong, Sten L. travelled to Kenya at the end of 1986 (Lundgren et al 1995, p.79).
- 7 The journey resulted in a report in the ViM stating that; *The pictures that are taken at the beginning of January prove that there is not one single word of truth in the article of Östra Småland* (Tidningen Vi 1986:7, pp. 24-25).

4. Important Changes After the First Assessment.

- 1 Tor Nyberg was employed by the Vi Project in 1985 as a coordinator stationed in Sweden. One of his first tasks was to terminate cooperation with Faith Home of Kenya and Fride Nilsson and find a new organisation with which to cooperate. Kenya National Farmers Union (KNFU) was identified with assistance from Swedish Cooperative Centre and Erland von Hofsten (Viklund 1992, p.21).
- 2 The cooperation between KNFU and ViS was initiated on the 4th of January 1986, an event that attracted much attention in the Kenyan press and radio (Boëthius 1991 in Viklund 1992, p.21).

- 3 An NGO had to be registered in Sweden, as a magazine is not entitled to obtain funds according to Sida's guidelines. The Vi Tree Planting Foundation (ViS - Insamlingsstiftelsen Vi Planterar Träd) was registered in Sweden during 1986 (Viklund 1992, p.28).
- 4 In a plan for the first half-year of 1986 (Vi Skogen 1986 pp.2-3), it is stated that the main project resources will concentrate on densely populated high potential areas. Also, that ten new nurseries will be established in Trans Nsoia District with a production capacity of 100 000 seedlings each. The nurseries will be situated to allow walking distance to those living in the area.
- 5 In a PM about ViS future development (Vi Skogen 1987a), it is stated in relation to von Hofsten's recommendations in 1985; *that contact with district authorities has been established; the nurseries have good connection and collaboration with the local people.*
- 6 In the annual report for the ViS foundation of the 1986/1987 FY (Vi Skogen 1987b), it is stated *that a qualitative improvement of the project has been made through the development of a policy governing agreement and organisation, settled with the local people. It is also written that, contacts with the local authorities have continued to develop in a positive way and the most important part of this development is the cooperation with the local people around the nurseries.*
- 7 After ViS received the first funds from Sida of one million SEK for 1986/1987 FY, thanks were forwarded to Sida in the ViM (Tidningen Vi 1987:31/32, p. 12) for their contribution to finance the Swedish staff of the ViS project.

- 8 Sida/SEO respond in a letter to ViS (Sida/SEO 1987), explaining that the funding was not for the Swedish staff *per se* but for the project budget as a whole. Sida also asked ViS to explain to the ViS-readers that development cooperation required planning, administration, monitoring and evaluation to function. This request was however not accepted by ViS (Vi Skogen 1987c).
- 9 ViS application for the 1987/1988 FY was forwarded by Sida/SEO to SCC with the comment that it is a cooperative project. SCC answered the letter from SEO on the 21st of April 1987 (SCC 1987); *ViS is cautious to keep its distinctive character and own administration. According to ViS, this is because ViS stresses, in the information about the project, its ability to deliver tree seedlings directly from donors to recipients. The base of ViS fundraising activities is that donors buy seedlings. Regular information about the project in the ViM gives the impression that ViS has an ongoing continuous dialogue with the individual donors.* The letter ends stating that SCC believes that ViS should be given funds, but as it is an environmental project and not a 'cooperative project', it cannot receive funds through SCC.
- 10 The cooperation with KNFU did not proceed as expected. According to Boëthius, the tension between the two organizations can be interpreted as arising from differences in perception on two matters, one is the perception of centralised and decentralised management and the other was a basic difference in perception of how development cooperation should be implemented (Lundgren et al 1995, p.96).
- 11 The basic philosophy of SCC was to support national organisations and allow decision-making and

- implementation of projects to be managed from the national level. Therefore, KNFU was expected to manage the ViS project from their office in Nairobi. However, decentralism was in general considered most important within ViS (Lundgren et al 1995, p.96).
- 12 SCC wanted all money transferred to Kenya to be channelled through KNFU, but Vi felt uncomfortable handing over money contributed by ViM readers to an unfamiliar organisation (Lundgren et al 1995, p.96).
 - 13 This centralised solution was not compatible with ViS's promise to the individual donors; to transfer their money, '*seedling by seedling*' in as short channels as possible to the poor farms (Lundgren et al 1995, p.96).
 - 14 The enduring negotiations with SCC and KNFU on this issue made ViS realize that their project philosophy in part was at odds with established philosophy of development cooperation. ViS felt that they did not manage to communicate the importance of their commitment to the individual donors (Lundgren et al 1995, p.97).
 - 15 Vi managed to finally get acceptance from Sida and SCC to transfer all money directly to the Vi project.
 - 16 The cooperation with KNFU was in practice ended in 1988 and ViS had to find a new solution for their presence as an organisation in Kenya (Lundgren et al 1995, p.96).
 - 17 ViS manages to establish its own NGO in Kenya; '*The Vi Tree Planting Project*' was registered as an independent NGO in Kenya' (Boëthius 1991 in Viklund 1992, p.28).

- 18 With that, the project could work and act in its own name, and chooses partners with which to cooperate (Boëthius 1991 in Viklund 1992, p.28).
- 19 In the annual report for 1986/1987 FY (Vi Skogen 1987b, p.12), it is stated that the number of nurseries is planned to reach 33.

5. Second Assessment in 1989

- 1 In the second assessment of ViS made by Erland von Hofsten et al (1989), it is mentioned, with reference to the evaluation made in August 1985, that the project was heading in the wrong direction in many ways. Despite these serious problems, the project has shown some very good biological results. It is obvious that the project has managed to reconstruct its policy and implementation approach remarkably well. However, a considerable reconstruction of the project is necessary.
- 2 It is further mentioned in the report that what is typical for Vi is that the mobilisation of funds is emotionally based, while implementation is rationally based. Even if this kind of combination is problematic, it has proved successful so far.
- 3 The evaluation asserts that Vi policy has been developed in Sweden without involvement and knowledge from and about the conditions in Kenya.
- 4 To give the individual donors a promise to plant trees in Kenya should not in general influence the policy in Kenya.
It is concluded that;

- 5 ● *Vi Forestry project in Kenya is a professionally managed project that has been received positively by the regional authorities as well as the farmers.*
- 6 ● *An effective extension service has been built that enables a fruitful two-way communication and proved to be flexible with a good capacity to absorb knowledge.*
- 7 ● *The staff is motivated and well aware of the actual and potential problems.*
- 8 ● *The relationship with the local people is good and constitutes an excellent base for future development.*
- 9 ● *The Vi project has adopted a very important policy; the aim is to cultivate trees and to convey knowledge to the farmers in order to gradually build their capacity for continuing the good work on their own in the future. The assessment team does not find any reason why this aim should not be reachable in the high potential areas, on the condition that the aim is reoriented and adjusted.*
- 10 ● *The aim to create this independence among the farmers within the stipulated time frame of ten years appears reachable, although ambitious; however, for this to be possible, the present policy has to be strengthened. The present policy is also in part contradictory.*
- 11 ● *The activities in the low-land areas are uncertain and the scope is too narrow considering the opportunities and problems of the area. On the other hand, Vi has managed to establish good relationships with the local communities and gained experience of tree planting in the area, an experience that would be more useful if combined with animal husbandry and good rangeland management.*
- 12 ● *The cooperation with the KNFU has not developed as expected. The relationship with the local section is however good.*

- 13 The assessment gave some recommendations;
- *in general:*
 - *The project policy has to be reconstructed in order to better reflect, and in some cases adjust, the ongoing activities, and thereafter be continuously adapted to the Kenyan society, as well as protected against ideas taken for granted in Sweden. ViS should ask the farmers to pay for the seedlings.*
 - *Cooperation with KNFU should continue and an advisory committee should be established in order to improve cooperation.*
- 14 ● *about the high-potential areas:*
- *In the future, survival assessment and campaigns to strengthen post-planting care should be given more attention in the project.*
 - *The choice of species should be revised to reflect the reality of the target group – small-scale farmers. At the same time, in accordance with the government policy, more attention should be directed to marketable products and the total number of species reduced.*
 - *Cooperation should be initiated with the department of forestry on issues related to seed acquisition, with the aim of improving seed quality.*
 - *Continuous and intensified trial and analysis work with the aim of obtaining a more consolidated plan on how to reach the overall project goal.*
 - *A brief baseline study should be performed by the project staff.*

- 15 ● *For the low-land areas:*
- *it was recommended that cooperation with the ASAL – Arid and Semiarid Land Development Programme in West Pokot – should be initiated.*

Tor Nyberg wrote some comments about von Hofsten's evaluation to the Vi board (Vi Skogen 1989), stating the following among other things;

- 16 ● *The evaluation criticize us for giving individual donors a promise to plant trees in Kenya and suggests that the individual donors should not in general influence the policy in Kenya.*
- 17 ● *It is indicated in the evaluation report that the Vi policy has been developed in Sweden without involvement and knowledge from and about the local conditions in Kenya. At the same time, it is pointed out that we have good connection with the people and authorities.*
- 18 ● *The policy has been adapted to both people and the environment in Kenya within the frame of what we choose and believe is right to write in the Vi magazine and that both the foundation and the magazine can stand for.*
- 19 ● *What is written in the Vi Magazine about the Vi Forest is the foundation's promise to the individual donors about how their donations will be used. This perspective limits ViS activities to areas where trees will have a positive effect and where we can reach agreement with the local people and authorities. We are not considering all communities, only those who express their desire to receive our assistance and where we believe it is possible to improve the situation.*
- 20 ● *The present policy was not complete until 1987-88 after a period of capacity building and intense discussions in Kenya, as well as in Sweden.*

- 21 ● *It is obvious for all of us working with the project that both policy and methods should be adapted in accordance with new knowledge and conditions.*
- 22 ● *The adaptation must however be made gradually at a pace that allows individual donors to be updated about the changes.*
- 23 ● *To change the name of the target group from the poorest to the poor small-scale farmers is an example of a change in the objectives that will be implemented after a suggestion from the evaluation team.*
- 24 ● *In the evaluation, the opinion is forwarded that it is not necessary to give priority to women and family subsistence and that these priorities are against the economic plans of the Kenyan Government.*
- 25 ● *As a base for our judgement in this case is the fact that the needs of women and children always come second in a patriarchal society such as Kenya's. Our wish and aim to help women and thereby children as directly as possible, results in a selection of tree species that can produce firewood as quickly as possible.*
- 26 ● *We are of course aware that the more elaborate and detailed our aims are, the harder our task will become. My judgement is however, that the aims we have are both giving a direction to the project and are achievable.*
- 27 ● *Our activities in the severely eroded areas such as terracing, tree planting, fencing, and support for women and family subsistence are central and decisive factors for our individual donors. The project remains in these areas because the activities we do are those that people in Sweden want to support.*

- 28 ● *If we had been waiting for all investigations that would have given us full security, we would have had no project to evaluate.*
- 29 ● *The evaluation suggests that we should ask the farmers to pay for the seedlings, a suggestion that is unreasonable, as we ask people in Sweden to pay for seedlings that should be given to poor farmers in Kenya free of charge. Hence, it is not possible to ask the farmers to pay for seedlings that have already been paid for.*
- 30 ● *Our opinion is that the farmers will gradually learn how to sow and plant trees by themselves. A market for seedlings can eventually develop after that.*
- 31 ● *To ask farmers to pay for the seedlings would exclude the poorest from the opportunity of cultivating trees.*
- 32 ● *It is also stated in the evaluation report that a price for the seedlings would make the farmers care more for the seedlings they plant and thereby improve survival.*
- 33 ● *In another place in the evaluation report, it is mentioned that the survival of the seedlings sold by the forest department to farmers is very poor.*
- 34 ● *We try to attain good survival by training the farmers and maintaining a good connection with the farmers.*
- 35 ● *Since SCC's Björn Grenberg suggested to the KNFU that they should have economic and organisational responsibility for the ViS project, it has been their aim.*
- 36 ● *Our efforts to reach a workable agreement have often been met with arrogance. ViS declare that the large-scale nurseries will be phased out.*

6. A Green Belt Around Lake Victoria

- 1 In December 1992, an article was published in the ViM about Tor Nyberg's vision of a green belt around Lake Victoria (Tidningen Vi, Dec.1992:51/52, p. 62-64);
- 2 ● *One important strength of the ViS is that the money collected goes straight to tree planting and not through an anonymous organisation in the receiving country. We must be able to follow each 'krona' says Tor N. If money disappears, we must be able to put the project leader on the stand.*
- 3 ● *But of course, we still have solid cooperation with the local people and authorities. All 41 nurseries in Kenya and about 20 in Uganda have nursery committees that have a strong influence and decision right in many issues – they are experienced people nominated by the people in the respective areas. We have, says Tor, a stronger support from authorities, employees, and other inhabitants that we ever hoped for.*
- 4 ● *Now, we have a base of experience and knowledge that can serve as a platform from which we can further expand. The knowledge and experience in Kenya is useful in Uganda.*
- 5 ● *Many species can be directly sown and some distributed as bare root seedlings. 'We can use methods that no one has tried before.'*
- 6 ● *The vision of a green belt around lake Victoria is a 20 kilometre wide belt and 1200 km long. If we get the support from our individual donors, hopefully, double as much as now, and from Sida – then we can manage. Without hesitation Tor gave the names of possible towns for Vi headquarters around the lake – Masaka, Bukoba, Mwanza, Musoma, Kizumu and Jinja – each place should have about 60 central nurseries and 60-70 million seedlings would be produced per year, and plenty of trees planted by direct seeding, more than a billion trees in ten*

years. We have already received a request from the Tanzanian embassy in Stockholm.

- 7 ● *Fishing is the main economic activity around the lake and the fish have to be dried, for which firewood is necessary. There are no trees and forests on the beaches around the lake. . Tree species should be used that can be coppiced and can withstand pruning: trees that can manage the reforestation by themselves.*
- 8 ● *As soon as we have the money, we will start, but everything cannot start at once.*
- 9 In a document written by Vi-Skogen (Vi Skogen 1993a) about the ViS-vision of a green belt around lake Victoria, which included a policy document, the following is presented;
- 10 ● *Trees are cultivated around the houses of small-scale farmers and in small stands and alleys around the fields and pastures.*
- 11 ● *Trees that give firewood, timber and fruit for people, and fodder for animals.*
- 12 ● *Trees that protect the soil and keep it fertile.*
- 13 ● *Trees that give shade, diversity and ecological balance.*
- 14 ● *Trees that make it possible for us to give tangible and practical help to people in East Africa.*
- 15 ● *People's conditions can be changed and the landscape improved.*
- 16 ● *If together we can manage to secure a better livelihood and environment in such a large and important area in the heart of Africa, it will have an important symbolical value for tree cultivation and development in the whole of Africa.*
- 17 ● *The population around the lake is approximately 9 million (4 million in the urban areas and 5 million in the rural areas)*

- 18 ● *Charcoal is the most important source of energy in the urban areas.*
- 19 ● *In some of the urban areas around the lake, the cost for firewood is higher than the cost for the food itself, when the total cost for a meal is calculated.*
- 20 ● *The fish from the lake must be dried and smoked in order to be store and transported, a process that also requires firewood.*
- 21 ● *When there is a shortage of firewood, the fish cannot be transported nor stored, resulting in poor nutrition in the inland areas and decreasing income for the fishermen around the lake.*
- 22 ● *A third reason to plant trees is the shortage of wood for other purposes.*
- 23 ● *We have now started a project in Masaka and will start a project in Musoma. We are also willing to start projects around lake Victoria where trees are needed.*
- 24 ● *The expansion is a question about funding.*
- 25 ● *Massive tree planting together with agricultural cultivation would decrease the pressure on the reserved areas.*

In the attached policy document, the following is stated;

- 26 ● *With our experience as a base, our judgement is that our organisation makes it possible to run small-scale projects on a large scale, i.e. our projects can be multiplied without loss of efficiency - The vision "A Vi forest around lake Victoria" is built on this judgement.*
- 27 ● *In order to implement large-scale practical work in different countries far from the foundation country, the projects require a fair share of independence.*

- 28 ● *In turn, this means that when project managers are recruited an important criteria is individuals that are willing to take initiative and responsibility.*
- 29 ● *The practical management of the projects is made through the acceptance of work plans and budgets.*
- 30 ● *But, also through recurring discussions and decisions about the practical application of the policy.*
- 31 ● *It is important that each project's management works with enthusiasm in accordance with the policy.*
- 32 ● *The fact that we are pioneers within our area of business demands that the policy and principles and its practical implementation is continuously discussed.*
- 33 ● *Our policy implies that we have decided, in the areas where we work, to teach the small-scale farmers and pastoralists/livestock keepers to obtain and maintain ecological balance at a considerably higher level of real production. In order to teach this, and to achieve rapid improvement, we work according to three main strategies.*
- 1 *production of tree seedlings of good agroforestry species to be distributed to farmers in small-scale farming areas.*
 - 2 *information and training about direct sowing and planting of trees and tree-use/cultivation with agroforestry methods – nothing about home-nurseries.*
 - 3 *land rehabilitation in erosion threatened dry areas through the control of grazing, terracing and cultivation of trees.*
- 34 ● *Land rehabilitation*
- *the projects are working with land rehabilitation in dry areas of West Pokot and western parts of Masaka district in Uganda.*
 - *during the last few years, the project in Kenya rehabilitated about 1000 hectare per year.*

- 100 hectare is planned for rehabilitation during spring 93 in Uganda and 500 hectare in 93/94.
 - digging of ditch terraces (channel terraces) on 1000 hectare of land is extensive work. About 800 km of terraces are constructed annually on private land or land belonging to schools in West Pokot.
 - in practice, the salaries paid to temporary and permanent workers in West Pokot are distributed throughout the whole society due to the fact that the labour force is changed several times per year, which is done in agreement with the local authorities and the people.
 - to save the production capacity of the area is however given a higher priority than to obtain absolutely fairness.
 - which means that in order to succeed, we try to establish the plantations in areas with good conditions for high production.
 - during the last few years, guarding and management of some of the plantations has been handed over to private owners or others that we have an agreement with. This is something that will continue with a greater extent in the future. It is surprising and pleasing that it can happen already now.
 - the results of the work in West Pokot has come much earlier than expected.
 - it is also pleasing that the trials with direct sowing of important species initiated in 1992 has shown very good results.
- 35 ● *Risks and side effects, e.g.*
- the most serious risk is that support from and/or the collection from the individual donors will cease.

- *we have experienced how sensitive the collection of funds can be after malignant rumours.*
- *our funds of 14-million is a buffer in case funding decreases.*
- *we try to handle problems related to the political instability in East Africa by avoiding any political issue or cooperation.*
- *by having projects in three countries, we can still continue, if there is too many problems in one country.*
- *we are continuously adjusting in accordance with the experiences and knowledge gained, as is clear from the above discussion.*

36 In the same policy document (Vi Skogen 1993a), a comparison is made between the practical output of ViS and the goals of Swedish development cooperation e.g.;

37 ● *Resource growth / Economical growth*

- *After one year, a small-scale farmer can already produce the household's need of firewood.*
- *Also, wood for constructing storage huts can be constructed already within the first year.*
- *Altogether, 2-3 working days per week can be saved.*
- *Education of local employees and the transfer of knowledge to the farmers is the most important long-term contribution the project makes to resource building.*

38 ● *Economic and social equality*

- *The fact that resource growth, mentioned above, takes place directly at and for the poorer small-scale farmers, and in particular to the women is the projects most tangible contribution to economic and social equalisation.*

- *Also, non-farming poor people are advantaged by the increase in availability of wood, fruits, etc at the local market as the prices decrease.*
 - *The African tradition of helping each other within the extended family also distributes a production increase to landless poor.*
- 39 ● *Democratic development*
- *The nursery and water committees work in a democratic manner with close and important activities.*
 - *By showing respect to and cooperating with democratic bodies, we contribute to democratic development.*
 - *We follow official procedure and avoid all form of corruption, giving the elected bodies a prominent status.*
- 40 ● *Economic and political independence*
- *Increasing knowledge and a higher own production make it possible to manage by oneself, which results in increasing self-reliance /independency.*
 - *To make the small-scale farmers more self-reliant/independent is part of the Vi goal, i.e. "that the households by themselves should be able to cultivate trees in agroforestry systems.*
- 41 ● *Sustainable use of natural resources and the environment*
- *The main part of what has been discussed under resource growth above is also a sustainable use of natural resources.*
 - *Our policy says "that we should aim at ecological balance.*
- 42 *In Vi Foundation's application for 94/95 FY (Vi Skogen 1994a), the issue of paid labour is explained;*
- 43 ● *the project tries to find a way for local people to save the last areas with remaining topsoil.*

- 44 ● *ViS believes that it is not unrealistic that the production of fodder can increase 30-50 times in a few years after fencing, digging infiltration ditches and cultivating trees.*
- 45 ● *ViS has an application from the local people to rehabilitate land equivalent to 2000 ha.*
- 46 ● *In accordance with our policy and demand on efficiency, we conclude that the following is necessary in order to change land-use and in the long term initiate a sustainable process for successive improvement of the land's productive capacity.*
1. *a close cooperation with the local people and long-term presence in the area,*
 2. *to show a good result in practice and,*
 3. *that the new way of using the land is not only a marginal event but a large scale implementation and is necessary for the local people to regard the new land-use as a possible and realistic alternative for all.*

47 *The issue of saving desert threatened areas remained part of the ViM-articles but improved livelihood for the poor clearly gained importance. One reason for this mix of concerns was spelled out in 1995 (Tidningen Vi 1995:11, p. 23);*

48 *For some ViS's contributors, environmental issues are the most important, and for others it is to help fellow human beings in trouble, and also to give away a gift to a friend or a relative in the form of a tree to Africa.*

49 *In the annual activity report for the 92/93 FY, dated in October 1993 (Vi Skogen 1993b), it is stated that;*

- 50 ● *The most important experience during the ten years is that development aid must be sustainable. One needs time to be accepted and respected. Time to correct mistakes, time to understand, time to develop cooperation and methods.*

51 ● *The decision to start closing the nurseries and to increase efforts teaching the farmers direct sowing is probably the most important thing that has happened during the year.*

52 In a letter dated from the DCO in Nairobi to the VI Board, December 1993 (Sida/DCO 1993), the following was stated;

53 ● *The activities cannot be sustainable if tree seedlings are distributed free of charge and paid labour is used for digging infiltration ditches.*

54 ● *Both Kenyan and Swedish staff working in the Kenyan national soil conservation programme have reacted against the fact that Sida is giving considerable funds to a project that*
a) *works in a limited geographical area and*
b) *has an implementation strategy that goes in the opposite direction to the national soil conservation programme.*

55 In ViS application (Vi Skogen 1994a), concerning the Sida/DCO comments, it was stated;

56 ● *That the seedlings have already been paid for by individual donors and it would be hypocritical to ask the farmers to pay for the seedlings again. We believe that it is more important to intensify information and training.*

57 ● *A random check of survival one year after planting shows a survival rate of 65–73%.*

58 ● *Over the last years, training and transfer of knowledge have become the best tools of raising the effectiveness of the project activities.*

7. The SPM Capacity Study in 1995

1 In a letter from BIFO to Sida/SEO (BIFO 1995), it is stated that BIFO agrees with the recommendations on local participation in decision-making and would like to discuss

the time schedule for promotion of African project management.

- 2 In a letter from Sida/NATUR to Sida/SEO (Sida/NATUR 1995), concerning the SPM draft report, it is stated that: Despite a humble tone in the main text, the result of the report as a whole is clearly a serious criticism of the Vi projects and indirectly also a criticism of Sida. There is a clear discrepancy between the background analysis and the main text and its recommendations, which in our opinion are too vaguely formulated, considering the criticisms and observations that the report in fact contains. It is not possible to be completely without the suspicion that the main text has been given a reconciling nature due to the broad public interest and support the project receives. The conclusions of the report are that the ViS manages projects that are;
 - 3 ● *very centrally controlled and managed from Stockholm and without the necessary expert knowledge.*
 - 4 ● *despite the clearly pronounced orientation towards poverty alleviation, the project is mainly assisting a few rich farmers and landowners.*
 - 5 ● *is cooperating in very limited way with local authorities and organisations.*
 - 6 ● *implementing activities that in several aspects are not in line with local policies and strategies.*
 - 7 ● *obviously failed to completely anchor the projects among the villagers and develop methods and organisation for real local participation, ownership, responsibility, and management of the activities.*
 - 8 ● *not taken any serious step towards making local organisations that can carry the work forward on a sustainable basis.*

- 9 ● *still in 1995 never considered institutional and financial sustainability – without any serious thought seedlings continue to be raised and distributed by the project.*
- 10 ● *The feeling is that Vi Foundation has been reluctant to learn and adopt what others have learnt through the years, and to a limited extent been seeking for professional exchange of experience and support.*
- 11 In the report of the capacity study (SPM/Swedforest 1995), it is stated that;
- 12 ● *The declared policy of the Foundation is well in line with the official Swedish development assistance policy.*
- 13 ● *The growth and poverty focus is obvious, the target group includes both women and men.*
- 14 ● *Improvement of the environment constitutes the prime goal for the VI Foundation.*
- 15 ● *Although it is doubtful whether the demonstrated methods are sustainable in the long run as the Foundation has no local partner in East Africa.*
- 16 ● *No plans are in hand to involve community representatives in a participatory role at the strategic level, i.e. at the overall project planning and decision-making level – the strategic decisions are taken in Stockholm and communicated to the projects.*
- 17 ● *Continued staff training and decentralisation of authority is the key to more local participation.*
- 18 ● *Reforms are needed in the decision-making system and in the administration. The old style management arrangement should give away to a genuine cooperation with the local community partners even on strategic issues.*
- 19 ● *Around 600 staff officers and extension workers were employed on fixed terms by the three projects in April 1995.*

- 20 ● *What is not included in the policy is the goal to find or create a partner organisation in the three countries – the absence of a partner has in particular a bearing on the sustainability of the project activities.*
- 21 ● *The project in Kenya should adopt similar strategies of work as the MoA and avoid methods that give limited replicability and sustainability such as free seedlings and payment of casuals for construction of soil conservation measures. Although the principle of free distribution of seedlings is still upheld by the Kitale project, a policy change is on the way.*
- 22 ● *Will people in Kitale and Masaka have learned to grow trees themselves after having received potted tree seedlings for a decade?*
- 23 ● *Will the knowledge generated by the projects remain when the extension service is dismantled?*
- 24 ● *Will the cattle keepers in West Pokot be able to finance land-rehabilitation on their own when the required labour is not paid for.*
- 25 ● *The Swedish project coordinators in Kitale, Masaka, and Musoma are directly subordinate to the head project coordinator in Stockholm.*
- 26 ● *The strategic decisions are taken in Stockholm and communicated to the local projects.*
- 27 ● *The local Vi projects in East Africa do not work through local NGOs or similar organisations – no local body exists for advising or managing the local activities.*
- 28 ● *In Sida's guidelines for grants to Swedish NGOs, the general rule is that funds are allocated for cooperation with locally based organisations or institutions in a developing country and that the grant application should contain project plans that are signed by both organisations.*

- 29 ● *We propose that Sida and BIFO in discussion with the Vi Foundation clarify how NGO guidelines should be applied to the three projects.*
- 30 In a letter from ViS to Sida/SEKA (Vi Skogen 1995), concerning the SPM's Capacity study, it is stated that:
- 31 ● In relation to the SPM issue of African involvement and old-style centralized management and lack of local partner it is stated;
- *The responsibility of the Foundation for the funds collected and the funds from Sida demands that the money is used in areas where the foundation find it possible, within the frame of our policy, to be beneficial to the area and the local people.*
 - *Our allocation of funds to projects and areas are naturally centrally decided.*
 - *Decrease in our budget also demands sturdy central management.*
 - *In order to strengthen the African employees and to take better care of gained experience Norman Kimanzu, a Kenyan, will be promoted to assistant coordinator for all Vi Projects posted in Africa, holding a higher position than the Swedish project management.*
 - *The project co-workers have a lot of room for their own initiative and to develop cooperation with the local people and authorities and that's what has happened in Kitale and Masaka and should happen in Musoma.*
 - *The statement that we do not have a local partner is wrong – we have a lot of local partners – what the consultants want us to have seems to be one partner in each country. We do not share this opinion – our opinion is that it is a*

great advantage to be able to have direct cooperation with many organisations and authorities.

- 32 ● *Our view on the notion “strategic issues” needs to be clarified:*
- *The choice of location is important as we can only work in areas where the project can give considerable benefit to the locality and its people.*
 - *Our promise to individual donors and Sida is to direct our aid first to the poor smallholders in particular to women, and together with them develop and support the cultivation of trees that preferably increase food production or at least not decrease it. This primary goal has to be looked after by the Vi Foundation and to that the demand for efficiency is added.*
 - *Each project has the freedom within the above frame to locally shape its activities and work.*
- 33 ● *Our view on the SPM comments concerning “ policy ” is:*
- *It is self-evident that Vi activities must be in harmony with each countries policy on the subject – this is something that is continuously dealt with in the good cooperation we have with the authorities.*
 - *Our work is built on cooperation and naturally we cannot do anything without agreeing with the villages and the farmers – we share the view of the consultants that we should have written directions for our cooperation.*
 - *To have our own extension organisation is central and necessary due to the widespread problems with corruption.*
 - *The competition between our extension workers and those of the government has turned into good cooperation through enduring and close contact in Kenya and Uganda.*
- 34 ● *Our view on the issues of “planning and monitoring” and “evaluation ” is:*

- *Each project has the freedom to develop in cooperation with the population and authorities within the framework of policies and guidelines.*
 - *It is possible that an increasing use of the PRA-technique can speed up the work initially compared to how we do today.*
 - *It is important to remember that our foremost strength is our long-term commitment and that we stay long enough to be well known and can establish good and stable relationship with the surrounding society.*
- 35 ● *Our view on the issues of "local participation", apart from what have been stated above is:*
- *To assign Norman Kimanzu as Assistant Coordinator is part of our plan.*
 - *The next step is to divide the projects into geographical units with African leaders responsible for each unit.*
 - *The Swedes will have a more controlling position.*
 - *This organisation makes it possible for the two Swedes in each project to control and manage a much larger project – the intention being to decrease the cost for Swedish personnel in relation to the total efforts.*
- 36 ● *The long-term and most important participation is that the farming communities with our help should develop a tree cultivation culture in a way that they will become self-sufficient and independent.*
- 37 ● *Farmers own knowledge gives the most secure and most long-term effect.*
- 38 ● *We are attracted by the proposal to become a frame organisation.*

39 ● *We like to emphasize that we are open to analyse and discuss all the problem, difficulties and opportunities in relation to the Vi Forest that Sida would like to take up.*

40 In an appendix to the minutes of the Development Aid Committee meeting of Forum Syd (Forum Syd 1996a), it is stated with reservation to ViS's application that;

41 ● *The total lack of local anchorage and local participation is a general topic in the SPM capacity study criticism.*

42 ● *The basic outlook of Vi Skogen is permeated with a repugnant old fashion paternal charity. Something that is very clear in the application from Uganda. The Africans will succeed if they do things in the way that ViS wants. This view is verified by the SPM study that points out a hierarchical structure, with strategic decisions taken in Stockholm and communicated downwards.*

43 ● *This type of basic outlook does not have anything to do with modern development aid cooperation.*

44 ● *The paternal view is also obvious in the arrogance and unwillingness to accept the severe criticism that has been forwarded to Vi Skogen.*

45 In a PM written by Tor Nyberg to the Vi Foundation Board (Vi Skogen 1996a) about Lars Johansson's (LJ) appendix to the SPM report, it is stated among other things;

46 ● *Already in the first paragraph LJ makes the statement – which he wants to learn something before starting to give advice to the society. A statement that is not consistent with his own work – he needs only 1.5 days in Kwibara to give advice to the society and also general judgements on how the Vi Skogen should completely change direction and organisation.*

- 47 ● *To choose Kwibara was an unsuitable choice because Vi have only been working there for two months and the Vi extension worker have been sick half of the time.*
- 48 ● *One of LJ's accusations is that Vi Skogen does not see the farmers as active agents.*
- 49 ● *The fact that the working group does not mention collection of information, problem analysis, and knowledge about the local conditions is interpreted as - these important steps are missing in the Vi project work.*
- 50 ● *Still LJ did not attempt to ask or find out how we collect information, what knowledge we have and what time horizon we use.*
- 51 ● *LJ obviously has the perception that he during a single workshop has a better picture than the ViS personnel that have a long cooperation with village councils and individual farmers.*
- 52 ● *The statement that Vi Skogen both misses the environmental goal as well as the target group is probably taken from LJ's prejudices – there is no evidence from Kwibara that such a statement can be based on.*
- 53 ● *The end of LJ appendix is a relapse in the role as the reconstructor of a project that is in his hands.*

8 Important Changes After the SPM Study

- 1 In December 1995, it is stated in the ViM (Tidningen Vi 1995:43, p. 59) that;
- 2 ● *Norman Kimanzu is promoted to assistant coordinator and will be responsible directly to Tor Nyberg [the ViS Coordinator]. He will be the head of the project managers.*

- 3 ● *Each project will be divided into districts / zones with a local employee responsible for budget, plans and results – a zonal manager.*
- 4 ● *This will promote the development of African leaders and ensure an elevation of knowledge and organisational capacity.*
- 5 In a PM (Forum Syd 1996b) about biannual contribution, it is stated;
- 6 ● *The focus is gradually moved from the distribution of seedlings to home nurseries and help for direct sowing.*
- 7 ● *Cooperation with the authorities in the different activities is emphasised and is planned to continue.*
- 8 ● *The number of temporary workers is drastically decreased as result of the decision to implement the activities through agreements with groups.*
- 9 ● *The farmers will be the ones that take initiative and implement the project in cooperation with the village councils.*
- 10 ● *Three new zones are to be established – one in Kenya and two in Uganda.*
- 11 ● *The SPM capacity study is part of the material used for Forum Syd's judgement of the Vi application.*
- 12 ● *Forum Syd would like to discuss how Vi relates to Sida's guidelines for future support to NGOs.*
- 13 ● *Forum Syd has once again taken up the lack of local partner in the three countries – hence an important condition for Sida funding is still not fulfilled despite several notices.*
- 14 ● *Forum Syd is therefore proposing that the funds to Vi should be decreased as a first step to completely phasing out support to Vi.*
- 15 ● *At the same time, Forum Syd would like to propose three part discussions about ViS's ability and readiness to accept the*

issues and proposals raised in the SPM and ODI studies and come to terms with the Sida guidelines for NGOs.

- 16 ● *The application has no clear description of measurable goals.*
- 17 In a letter from Forum Syd to Sida/SEKA (Forum Syd 1996c), it is proposed that ViS's application for 9.95-million SEK will be cut to 4-million SEK because;
- 18 ● *Sida/NATUR reject an expansion of the support until ViS considers the recommendations and conclusions of the capacity study, a view that is shared by Forum Syd's Development committee.*
- 19 ● *ViS has no local partner to cooperate with.*
- 20 ● *The application lack indicators as to how the attainment of the stated goals can be verified.*
- 21 ● *Forum Syd has not been able to accept the ViS accounts of appropriation 1994-004 due to a number of shortcomings.*
- 22 ● *The involvement of the target group is in some cases weak.*
- 23 ● *ViS has in part a paternalistic approach.*
- 24 ● *The direct cost of management and cost for Swedish project staff is high.*
- 25 In the minutes of the follow-up meeting of the SPM capacity study (Forum Syd 1996d);
- 26 ● Under the heading up-dates from ViS it is stated that:
 - *In Kenya; Project nurseries have been closed.* -
 - 70-80 employees have been retrenched and over 100 have been notified of retrenchment.*
 - *The project in Tanzania started with an approach involving only extension combined with a small bag of seedlings.*

- 27 ● *Sida/SEKA said that cuts in development aid are common these days and not only affect ViS: it is therefore advisable to consolidate rather than expand.*
- 28 ● *The dialogue between Vi Skogen and Sida has been pursued by different Sida departments. However, it is difficult when Sida viewpoint is discussed in the Vi Magazine, as it is impossible for Sida to present their views.*
- 29 ● *Vi answer SEKA that Vi is unable to influence and do not want to influence what is written in the Vi Magazine.*
- 30 ● *We feel that RSCU criticise ViS from a competitors viewpoint.*
- 31 ● *Sida answer that the RSCU is not a competitor to Vi Skogen – it is not RSCU that are managing the national soil conservation programme in Kenya.*
- 32 ● *Forum Syd asks for a principal decision whether Vi Skogen is compatible with the general roles and regulations for NGO funding or not.*
- 33 ● *Sida answer that they are revising the roles and regulations at present and promise to consider the position of ViS during the process.*
- 34 ● *Under the heading ViS's comments to the recommendations of the Capacity study, it is stated that:*
- *ViS's belief that it is not good to have an advisory body or planning committee when we already work with and through village committees and village councils – it is a great advantage not to be connected to a governmental body.*
 - *On the issue of increased participation and establishment of agreements, ViS's view is that we inform the farmers about what we have to offer and how we work, and then it is up to the village committees/councils to say yes or no to the offer. There is of course no pressure to participate.*

- *On the issue of sustainability, ViS's view is that the methods and the awareness about what trees can do for peoples subsistence is implanted amongst the farming communities. Therefore, the methods and knowledge remains in the community even after Vi withdraws from the area. This is a better guarantee for sustainability than any organisation can give. This is a vision that carries Vi Skogen forward, until the opposite is proved.*
- *On the issue of personnel, ViS's view is not to decrease the number of Swedes in the projects. Instead, the requirements have increased for those that will be employed. If it is necessary, do cut costs, as it will decrease the number of projects rather than the number of Swedes working in the projects. Staff routines are improved.*

35 ViS declared in 1996 that participatory silvopastoral extension would be given priority in land-rehabilitation (Vi Skogen 1996b).

In a PM (Forum Syd 1996e) about the Vi application for annual appropriation of 1997, it is stated;

- 36 ● *The application clearly shows that the Foundation now tries to consider the proposals and views of the SPM capacity study and other studies.*
- 37 ● *A long list of new measures is presented to be carried out during 1997.*
- 38 ● *Of special interest are the proposed studies in cooperation with RSCU.*
- 39 ● *There are still recommendations from the capacity study that have not been considered, such as most of the decisions that are now taken in Stockholm should be taken by African leaders or management teams.*

- 40 ● *Forum Syd again establishes the fact that the projects are centrally lead from Stockholm and lack local NGOs as cooperating partners.*
- 41 In a letter from Sida/SEKA (Sida/SEKA 1996) to Forum Syd concerning the annual support to ViS, it is stated;
- 42 ● *The need for clarification from Sida increased in the spring when Forum Syd's development aid committee was of the opinion that ViS's organisation was not in agreement with the Sida's requirement for annual support, and therefore proposed a phasing out of Vi Skogen.*
- 43 ● *ViS's local organisation 'Vi Tree planting project' does not satisfy Sida's requirement as local partner.*
- 44 ● *Vi Skogen has however conducted its programmes in good cooperation with local people and connection with local authorities.*
- 45 ● *Sida gives the following guidelines to Forum Syd for judging ViS's application:*
- *The same requirement that is used for other applications should also be applicable to Vi Skogen when it comes to the accuracy and transparency of the application, feedback reports, and statement of accounts.*
 - *For receivers of annual appropriation, such as Vi Skogen, the demands should be set at a high level.*
 - *Vi Skogen should be told to specifically describe its local cooperation in applications and reports.*
 - *Vi Skogen should, within one-year, sign agreements with all its local partners' village committees and women groups.*
 - *Annual three-part discussions/meetings should be conducted between Vi Skogen, Forum Syd, and Sida in*

relation to the submission of ViS's annual report in order to follow-up on the projects.

- *In fulfilment of the above demands, it signifies that Sida regards ViS's project activities to be entitled to annual support as they fulfil the demand of local partnership and anchorage.*

46 The way messages were phrased in the ViM-articles and ViS documents became more and more in line with contemporary discourse; e.g.;

47 *Every aid-development project has or should have an ever overwhelming problem – how to reach the poorest. (.....). Of course, apart from saving desert threatened land, Vi, primarily tries to make poor small-scale farmers and female groups self-sufficient. Those who manage best can already produce excess that can provide money for school fees, hospital treatment, a radio, or a bicycle: they can stand on their own feet and no longer belong to the poorest (Tidningen Vi 1996:37, p. 26).*

48 In October 1996, it is stated in the ViM (Tidningen Vi 1996:44, p. 27) that the Norwegian Consumer Cooperation (NKL) and its member magazine becomes united with Vi-Sweden. NKL contribute one million kronor in the first year.

49 In FS's PM about ViS's application for annual appropriation of 1997 FY (Forum Syd 1996e), it is stated that the project in Kenya has three main objectives;

- 50 ● *To help small-scale farmers (in particular rural women) increase their production of crops and thereby achieve soil improvement and satisfy their need for firewood, timber, fodder and fruit. The method used is extension of soil improvement through cultivation of trees in different agroforestry systems.*

- 51 ● *Through cooperation, expand the use of controlled (fenced) grazing and demonstrate practical solutions to erosion problems in the semi-arid areas of West Pokot.*
- 52 ● *Through the development of knowledge and ideas provide small scale farmers with a simple and useable base for sustainable results.*
- 53 In the ViS annual report of 1997 FY (Vi Skogen 1998a), the link between the development goal and the immediate objectives and ViS' activities is clarified in an log-frame-matrix. It is also stated under the Kenyan project and under the subheading 'Extension' that;
- 54 ● *The project is now organised in five "Zones", including land rehabilitation.*
- 55 ● *The "Vi zones" are subdivided into areas of concentrations consisting of about 200 families belonging to the "Vi target group".*
- 56 ● *A process of clustering these families in suitable size and uniform (common interest etc) groups of about 10 families each was initiated.*
- 57 ● *In 1997, each zone had between 20-25 extension workers.*
- 58 ● *The new extension approach focuses on agroforestry techniques such as direct sowing, home nurseries and improvement of soil fertility.*
- 59 Sida/NATUR criticised ViS's formulations in its application of FY 1998 (Sida NATUR 1997), e.g.;
- 60 ● *The formulation of the goals and objectives is unclear – in Kenya to perform participatory extension is presented as a project goal, but should be an implementation strategy.*
- 61 ● *The connection between activities and project goals are unclear.*

- 62 ● *Even though PRA and peoples participation has become part of the application, the problem analysis/description and formulation of goals and objectives – the basis for the project activities is simplified and schematically presented – instead of finding and describing the actual needs as the farmers see them.*
- 63 ● *At the same time the tendency of simplified problem analysis (lack of trees) and the following equally simplified solutions (more trees and forests around Lake Victoria) is still present in the application, we are happy to see that the diversity in activities has improved.*
- 64 In ViS annual report of the 1998 FY (Vi Skogen 1999), the environmental concern is no longer part of the formulation of ViS's goal: the focus is on the livelihood of the target group, i.e.
- 65 ● *the development objective is; to make a substantial contribution towards better living standards of the main target group and,*
- 66 ● *three immediate objectives have been identified as the key towards achieving the developmental goal;*
a) increased food and nutritional security,
b) increased fuel wood availability,
c) increased source of income.
- 67 ● *The Vi vision stated in the same report (Vi Skogen 1999) was to establish a green belt of agroforestry activities within the Lake Victoria basin.*
- 68 Still in January 1999, it was stated in a ViM-article (Tidningen Vi 1999:2, p. 63);
- 69 ● *Now we have closed most of the nurseries. Many of the tree species can be directly seeded and for the other species, the farmers know how to raise them in home nurseries. The aim is*

the same as before: Trees for our common earth and a better life for fellow human beings far away". This shows the importance of the original concept and concern for improved livelihood phrased in terms that are more general.

- 70 In an undated and unsigned Work Plan and Budget proposal covering all Vi Projects for the 1999 FY (Vi Skogen 1998b), it is stated among other things that;
- 71 ● *This work plan and budget proposal is a synthesis of the Vi Agroforestry Programme's experience in the last two years, when there was a fundamental shift in both approach and implementation strategy of the projects.*
- 72 ● *The adoption of planning tools such as the Log Framework Approach (LFA) and the general emphasis on participatory extension techniques, such as participatory rural appraisal PRA and LePSA, have enabled the projects to address the needs of the target group in a more focused and holistic manner.*
- 73 ● *The target group of the Vi Agroforestry Projects (Vi AFPP) are defined as the small-scale farmers (with less than 5 acres of land) who solely depend on the land for their livelihood and use only the family for labour.*
- 74 ● *The development objective and goal is to make a substantial contribution towards better living standards of the main target group.*
- 75 ● *The following immediate objectives are identified as the key towards achieving the developmental goal:*
- *Increased food and nutritional security,*
 - *Increased fuel wood availability,*
 - *Increased income.*
- 76 ● *The main outputs are*

- *Self-sufficiency in fuel wood production in 30% of the households.*
- *Increased food production by 20% in each individual household.*
- *Increased fruit production by 30% in each individual household.*
- *Increased income by 35% in each individual household.*

77 ● *The main inputs are:*

- *A smooth flow of necessary funds.*
- *Experienced staff is further developed through a competence-building programme.*
- *Short-term technical assistance from highly qualified experts combined with back stopping, support and monitoring by the central management.*
- *An effective and efficient project organisation, including field and office equipment and suitable office facilities.*

78 ● *An LFA-matrix is also shown in the document explaining*

- *which indicators should be used to verify that the Development Goal has been reached, as well as external factors that may influence the results.*
- *how output relates to activities and input and in turn how this relates to the immediate objectives.*
- *which indicator should be used to verify that the immediate objectives has been reached, as well as the external factors that may influence the results.*

79 Under the heading 'Country Project Components' in the same report, it is stated that: To achieve the immediate objectives in a timely and cost effective manner, we have developed the following components in each country;

80 ● *Extension;*

- *The PRA has been used as a tool for empowering the target group to take charge of their own development and to establishing participatory baselines and resource mapping in the participating villages.*
- *Based on community action plans (CAPS), we have managed to sign development cooperation agreements with each village development committee.*
- *This agreement spells out the responsibility of each partner and has specific targets based on the LFA process.*
- *The intention is to have a CAP and an agreement for each village in the project areas.*
- *In order to ensure efficient communication, substantial resources have been put into training the extensionists in the LePSA method.*
- *During this FY, we shall continue to strengthen links with the relevant research bodies in each country, including ICRAF, RELMA and national agricultural research organisation.*
- *We have already signed a memorandum of understanding with ICRAF.*
- *We shall cooperate with these institutions to develop appropriate agroforestry technologies through on-station and adaptive research.*
- *In group extension work, several members of a target group linked by formal ties are addressed at the same time – this is the approach we have tried to apply and refined during the last two years of change in project implementation.*
- *We have divided the village into areas of concentration where each extensionist uses a group approach to reach approximately 250-350 farmers.*

- *The name of each farmer is recorded for both monitoring and evaluation purposes.*
 - *For the long-term sustainability of the extension, we encourage farmers to farmers extension.*
 - *We are also supplementing the group approach with both individual and mass extension methods.*
- 81 ● *The Agroforestry Centres:*
- *The purpose of the agroforestry centres in each country is to conduct adaptive research in key areas such as soil fertility for food security.*
- 82 ● *Seed Collection and distribution:*
- *Through adaptive research, we managed to identify important local indigenous species desired by farmers.*
 - *We were also able to develop tree propagation techniques and establish a seed collection and distribution network, which is unique in this region.*
 - *We shall endeavour to train farmers on seed collection techniques and help them to establish on-farm seed-production units.*
 - *We shall also help them to establish their own seed distribution network based on commercial principles.*
- 83 ● *Land Rehabilitation:*
- *A team of external consultants commissioned by Sida in 1996/1997 judged this part of the programme to have been highly successful.*
 - *This fiscal year the emphasis will be development of a monitoring and evaluation system and an extension approach that focuses on the sustainability of the rehabilitated lands.*

- 84 ● *Monitoring and Evaluation:*
- *Combining M&E with collection of baseline data helped in overcoming some bottlenecks.*
 - *The adoption of LFA planning tool has and identified useful indicators for M&E.*
 - *This FY we shall spend resources on sharpening our M&E tools, including developing staff capacity and competence.*
- 85 ● *Training:*
- *The reason for establishing a separate training department is to recognise varying training needs in all levels of programme management.*
 - *The most important area where training is crucial is at the extensionist level.*
 - *The last two years have been a period where we conducted training needs assessment at both the zonal and the extensionist level.*
 - *This FY we shall continue to develop capacity at the zonal and extensionist levels and within the core management team.*

9. The Study in West Pokot 1997-1998

- 1 In a letter from Tor Nyberg to the Vi Foundation board members and copied to Forum Syd (Vi Skogen 1997), it is stated;
- 2 ● *Through RSCU, three Kenyans have conducted an impact study on Sida's behalf – the need emerged when we turned down large parts of the SPM Capacity study.*
- 3 ● *The report praises us for our work in West Pokot and Tans Nzoia.*

- 4 An impact study of Vi activities in the dry and semi-dry areas of West Pokot carried out between 1996 and 1997 gave a very positive picture. In the report (Makokha, et al 1999):
- 5 ● It is summarized that; *the improved pasture enclosures resulting from Vi activities in Cheparereia Division improved the quality of the grazing feed resource and increased livelihood of the pastoral community* (Makokha, et al 1999 p.61-65).
- 6 ● It is concluded that;
- *A crucial link exists between the productive status of the land in dry land Africa and peoples' livelihoods.*
 - *This link has often been demonstrated in catastrophes throughout the region and across the Sahel.*
 - *What is refreshing is that the enclosure system now expanding in West Pokot District demonstrates that the link can also be positive.*
 - *The land can be rehabilitated. What is more, it can be rehabilitated by individuals, households and communities, with a minimum of external intervention.*
- 7 ● Two key factors contributed to the spread of this rehabilitation approach;
- 1 *The land tenure system and land tenure history of the Pokots.*
 - 2 *The demonstration plots, maintained on public land such as churches and school compounds, which over a period of years contributed to the establishment of enclosures on private land.*
- 8 ● *The triggers to rehabilitating the land may not be the same in other communities and localities. Indeed, demonstration plots maintained on public land have usually been a palpable failure. However, a highly successful synergy was created in*

Chepareria and we hope that by documenting this process and its results, readers in other dry-land areas in the region will be able to identify triggers that will initiate a similar process in their own localities (Makokha, et al 1999 p.65).

- 9 The focus of the study was on the grazing enclosure system.
- 10 ● Up to the end of 1989, the enclosure system had been established on 177.2 ha:
 - 122.6 ha on public land and 54.6 ha on private land, out of which, 51.5 ha was established on the initiative of the community (Makokha, et al 1999 p.19).
- 11 ● In the five coming years, this picture changed dramatically. More than five thousand ha were enclosed between the beginning of 1990 and the end of 1994.
 - Only 33 ha were established on public land, and as much as 3791 ha on private land, supported by the ViS and benefiting 665 families.
 - More important however, 1211 ha of enclosure was established on community-initiative benefiting 137 families.
- 12 ● Between 1995 to 1997, the proportion of the areas enclosed on community-initiative, and that with Vi-support, changed in favour of the former, i.e.
 - 1539 ha were enclosed on community-initiative
 - 919 were enclosed with Vi support,
 - in 1997, the same proportion was 459/392 ha (see Table 3 in Makokha, et al 1999 p.19).

10. The LTS Study in 2000

- 1 In the Report of an assessment Study of the Vi-Agroforestry Program (Haldin et al 2000), it is stated among other things that;
- 2 ● *Presently, the Vi program covers a total of 8 districts, about 100,000 households, and employs about 410 field extension worker.*
- 3 ● *In 1999, the total costs were about SEK 30 million, out of which about SEK 20 million were costs directly related to the Vi program, excluding cost for Swedish personnel.*
- 4 ● *The Sida contributions increased from 8 million in 1992 to 15 million in 1999.*
- 5 ● *In 1998, Sida and the East African Cooperation (EAC) initiated a process which aimed to address the poverty and environmental problems in the Lake Victoria Basin in a coordinated manner – The process has been named the Lake Victoria Initiative (LVI) and is supported by NORAD.*
- 6 ● *All the four Vi projects are currently staffed with experienced managers as well as qualified, motivated and reasonably trained local personnel.*
- 7 ● *Projects are managed, to some degree, in a company-like spirit. The performance of the staff is monitored regularly and bad performers are replaced.*
- 8 ● *The team estimated that with the present organisational set-up the program has the capacity to deal with an absolute maximum of 150 extension workers per project.*
- 9 ● *The introduction of PRA, Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E), LFA, up-to-date budget procedures, auditing and an improved reporting system have considerably improved the Program's potential to achieve its objectives.*

- 10 ● *The team does not fully endorse the practice of having two expatriates in each project.*
- 11 ● *According to the assessment team, the M&E and PRA activities need to be refined to become more relevant and cost-effective.*
- 12 ● *Joint training with Government Officers and coordinated action in the field is widely practiced by all Vi-projects – the over all cooperation with the government is excellent.*
- 13 ● *The team is of the opinion that the role of the Regional Coordinator as a coordinator and a programme developer needs further strengthening.*
- 14 ● *The team found the vision and activities of the program fully compatible with the developing ideas for extension of the concerned Governments.*
- 15 ● *The Vi activities are presently focused on core agroforestry activities.*
- 16 ● *In order to solve the problems of the farmers and to achieve the objectives of the Program, there is an obvious need to widen the sector scope of the technical services.*
- 17 ● *The team recognises the importance of concentrating on the core agroforestry messages and suggests that other farm priorities should be catered for mainly through active cooperation with other aid partners.*
- 18 ● *The team noticed that the open-ended approach has had less desired effects on capacity use and farmers' motivation.*
- 19 ● *The open-ended nature of the program is very much due to the one-year-long budget period, which does not encourage long-term planning.*
- 20 ● *The main conclusion: The team is convinced that a further streamlined and time bound Vi program, properly linked with other development efforts, has the potential to successfully*

contribute to the alleviation of poverty in the Lake Victoria Basin.

- 21 ● The main recommendations;
- 22 - *The agroforestry techniques used today should be introduced in a step-by-step manner.*
- 23 - *An external short-term consultant is required to refine the M&E and PRA efforts.*
- 24 - *Local Africans should staff the four assistant project manager positions.*
- 25 - *Bi-annual, rotating coordination meetings for strengthening administrative procedures and experience sharing should be introduced jointly for Project Managers.*
- 26 - *The open-ended contract for the local staff should be replaced by an initial 2-year contract followed by annual renewable contracts.*
- 27 - *In the event of the Vi program being included as an expanded core program within the framework of the Lake Victoria Initiative, Vi Skogen requires the status of a frame-organisation.*
- 28 - *The project activities should be based on a 10-year project cycle, with an initial intensive 5-year period of technical services free of charge and a successive low intensity and demand driven 5-year period.*
- 29 - *The project should pull out from current project areas by the end of 2003 and move into new areas.*

11 ViS Today

BACKGROUND

- 1 The Vi Agroforestry Programme is under the Vi Tree Foundation, an international non-political, non-religious and non-profit making organisation registered in Sweden Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda as a non-governmental organization.
- 2 According to the organisation act, ViS purposes; *through nurseries and tree planting and other connected interventions contribute to ecological resilience, improved and more secure subsistence for the poor and least wealthy in areas threatened by ecological impoverishment.*¹
- 3 The Programme at present operates in eight districts in East Africa, which are located within the lake Victoria basin. With a combined team of nearly 400 field extensionists living in rural villages, the programme interacted with nearly 150,000 families annually. This represents a total population of over one million people².

4 ORGANISATIONAL FRAMEWORK

- 5 The programme has Head Quarters in Stockholm, Sweden², a Regional Office in Nairobi, Kenya, and a programme office in Kisumu³, Kenya. It is funded by individuals and the Swedish government through Sida².
- 6 Each country project consists of one expatriate, a Project Manager and a local Assistant Project Manager².
- 7 Below the Project Manager is a decentralised organisation structure with each country project being split into geographical zones. A zone acts as a sub-project, and has its

¹ See <http://www.viskogen.se/Default.aspx?ID=96> under 'stadgar'

² <http://www.viskogen.se/Default.aspx?ID=360>

own work plan and budget. The Zone Managers, about 7-8 in each project, are locally recruited professional staff. At present, a zone consists of 15 extensionists³.

- 8 Each extensionist is in charge of an Area of Concentration, consisting of 250-350 households concentrated in one village or part of a village³.
- 9 A core team of local professional staff has been recruited at each country head office to provide special support to the expatriate managers. This team is spread over four units comprising Monitoring and Evaluation, Training and Community Empowerment, Personnel and Accounts, and Seed Procurement and Distribution³.

10 **LAKE VICTORIA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME**

- 11 The Lake Victoria Development Programme is a joint initiative of the Swedish Cooperative Centre (SCC) and the Vi Agroforestry Programme (ViAFP). As from January 2006, the two organisations, with a common origin of the cooperative movement in Sweden, have integrated into one regional organization, SCC-Vi Eastern Africa. The Lake Victoria Development Programme will contribute to a long-term development effort in Lake Victoria, initiated by Governments sharing the Lake and its catchments, and other development partners including the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida)⁴.
- 12 The Programme consists of three major components: agroforestry (agricultural) production, local business development, financial services. The total budget for the three-years (2006-2008) is MSEK 153.4⁴.

³ <http://www.viskogen.se/Default.aspx?ID=360>

⁴ <http://www.sccportal.org/Default.aspx?ID=168>

- 13 **Programme Vision;** *An ecologically sustainable environment with a green belt around Lake Victoria, offering good living conditions for smallholder families.*⁵
- 14 **Programme Mission:** *To integrate agroforestry practices into smallholdings and make it an engine for economic growth and a means to reduce poverty.*⁵
- 15 **Long term Objective;** *To contribute to improved livelihood and empowerment of small scale farmers in the Lake Victoria Basin through sustainable management of natural resources and farm enterprise development.*⁵
- 16 **Specific Objectives;** *Increased production of wood, fuel wood and food sufficiency to cover the needs of the family on their own farm(s) and increased saleable produces to boost cash incomes for the families.*⁵
- 17 **Expected Project Outputs:** The Projects has seven expected outputs that planned activities aim to achieve. These include⁵;
1. Increased and diversified food supply through application of agroforestry techniques.
 2. Improved nutritional status.
 3. Increased on farm tree cover for firewood & wood products through application of agroforestry techniques.
 4. Improved farmers utilisation of agroforestry products.
 5. Increased and diversified production of marketable agroforestry products.
 6. Improved capacity of farmers in accessing market information and developing markets.

⁵ <http://www.sccportal.org/Default.aspx?ID=168>

7. Democratic member-based organisation strengthened and made functional.

18 **Services offered to the target communities⁵:**

- Extension services, which include provision of start-up tree seeds and advisory and training services on:
- Planting short term trees for quick supply of fuel wood.
- Tree growing in crop fields (full cycle on-farm nurseries/direct sowing, transplanting and tree management), including intercropping of hedgerows and long-term trees.
- On-farm soil and water management practices.
- Integrated soil fertility management practices (nitrogen fixing species, use of organic manure, crop rotation, trash lines etc).
- Use of trees for purposes such as pest control (natural pesticides).
- Promoting the growing and use of fruit trees and vegetables.
- Raising awareness and sensitivity to the use of improved seeds, and timing of activities as part of the basic requirements for improving agricultural production.
- Promoting farm-based entrepreneurship (training and sensitisation).
- Capacity building in participatory planning at community level.

APPENDIX II

ViS's Development in Relation to Contemporary Narratives and Discourse as described in the Vi Magazine

1 Narratives were instrumental in ViS's fundraising strategy. Desertification and planting of trees has naturally all along been part of the ViS message in the ViM. Overgrazing became more or less a permanent concern after the first assessment; the contribution of trees to firewood shortage and control of erosion was frequently articulated in the ViM from the mid 1980s. The connection between trees and tree planting to livelihood and poverty alleviation was part of the early ViS message and increased in importance and frequency. The relationship between ViS core activities and contemporary narratives was explained in the ViM regularly and skilfully. The following is a chronological summary of ViS's history, as described in the ViM, with focus on how ViS activities and development relate to contemporary narratives and the general discourse of development cooperation.

2 **September 1984**

The more trees we have, the more pollution they can take care of. But when the pollution is too much and the trees too few, then the trees cannot manage their task. Then we will be sick and die. We are safe with more than half of our land area covered with trees, but in Kenya with only 3%, there is room for improvement. Every tree that is planted is a gift to our earth, to our children, and grandchildren (Tidningen Vi 1984:37, p. 44).

3 **November 1984**

Trees are giving the people who live near the forest a better chance to survive in an area where their ancestors have been living for hundreds of years. It is not only the trees that make the landscape

green, in-between the trees the grass is coming back. The grass fixes the topsoil, keeping it from being washed away by the rain or blown away by the desert wind. In protection and shade from the trees, they can cultivate salad and other vegetables, potatoes, and maize. If one has forest nearby there is no need to starve. Where there are large enough forests, there is also rain. The forest draws the water down from the clouds. That is why one usually gets a normal harvest near forests. Your gift to a friend becomes most of all a gift to suffering people in another part of the world and to our common earth (Tidningen Vi 1984:45, p. 44).

4 **December 1984**

One hectare of forest can neutralize 100 ton of dust and other pollutions. One big tree 'swallows' one kilo of carbon dioxide per hour and gives two kilos of oxygen. It should not be necessary to say more about the importance of forests and trees.

The main objectives/reasons for planting trees in West Pokot is compiled and explained (Tidningen Vi 1984:49/50, p. 20):

- *To halt desertification.*
- *To stop soil erosion (att binda jorden så att den inte blåser bort eller sköljs bort av regnvattnet).*
- *To improve the livelihood of the people in West Pokot so that they can continue living in their home area.*
- *Food for people – mainly fruit, vegetables and tubers that are grown in the moist soil between the seedlings/trees.*
- *Fodder for animals.*
- *To filter dust and pollution and to take care of the excess of carbon dioxide.*
- *To improve biodiversity.*
- *To create employment opportunities in West Pokot – not mentioned here.*

5 **March 1985**

Several of the tree species that are planted are leguminous, like our peas and beans, which mean that they can fertilize the soil where they grow. Therefore, it is possible to grow vegetable and tubers between the trees with a good result. The interaction between forestry and agriculture is called AGROFORESTRY - an English expression (Tidningen Vi 1985:12, p. 58)

6 **November 1985**

FAO and UNDP report that 120 million square kilometres of rainforest disappear every year. New plantations are increasing but the yearly increase in plantations is only 12 million square kilometres. In our part of the world, the forest is turned into paper and timber. In the developing countries, 85% of the forest is used for firewood and charcoal. Already now, one fourth of the world population lacks firewood, and it will become even more serious. No one can blame the poor for clearing their forests to get firewood – they have to be able to cook their food. What is lacking is a controlled reforestation – that is where they need assistance from us. Rationally managed forest in the tropics could give fantastic returns. In Sweden, it is quite normal with an annual increment of 5 cubic metres per year. Fast growing species in the tropics can give tenfold. But without ‘start help’, there will be nothing (Tidningen Vi 1985:45, p. 28).

7 **September 1986**

The environment in Europe is threatened – too much pollution and not enough trees to filter the polluted air and the few forests and trees that there is are dying because of the pollution “*may be it is in Africa the future forests should grow*” (Tidningen Vi 1986:34, p. 42).

8 **June 1987**

The Vi-forest is not only saving land from the expansion of the deserts, it also saving the lives of people such as Gert Nel who had no future before he was employed by the Vi Forest (Tidningen Vi 1987:23, p. 44).

9 **December 1987**

Now the pictures with starving children start to come in again from Ethiopia – the disaster is again on its way. Again, we have to see pictures of starving and dying people and animals. Remember to look for trees and forest on the pictures – you will almost see no trees. Ethiopia is like Kenya devoid of forests, and where there is far to go to the forest, people are near starvation. I do not have any pictures of starving people and animals from the area where your trees have been planted. Thanks to your effort, I hope that I will never be able to show such pictures from the area where the Vi Forest is (Tidningen Vi 1987:49/50, pp. 48,50).

10 **February 1988**

“To plant trees in a developing country is to give development assistance that really reaches the poor, it is a gift that grows” (Tidningen Vi 1988:5, p. 46).

11 **September 1988**

In our place, forest death (due to acidification) has not yet reached disastrous dimensions – but globally it is near to disaster. We have to make sure that trees are planted and that deforested areas are regenerated – everywhere where trees can grow. Even during the present election campaign, the politicians have realised that something must be done (Tidningen Vi 1988:37, p. 62).

12 **October 1988**

Not everything that is green and grows in Karaa’s farm provides welfare, as measured in our terms, but it decreases poverty. Tree

planting in this part of the world will first of all give the children a better livelihood and a brighter future (Tidningen Vi 1988:42, p. 38).

13 **December 1988**

In a deforested are, the raindrops hit the ground and wash away the soil, which ends up in not only rivers and lakes but in drinking water sources . To plant trees is not only saving a threatened land, it also contributes to a better quality of drinking water for people and animals. You contribute to their health. You may save lives (Tidningen Vi 1988:48, p. 62).

14 **January 1989**

I don't dare to say that tree planting is the best form of development aid – but I do not know any better

The Vi Forest project reaches directly to the poor small-scale farmer and to the areas threatened by desertification. It (the project) does not create welfare for anyone but it mitigates poverty for many and saves a piece of our common earth.

It is not only trees that are spread from the 35 nurseries of the Vi-Forest, also knowledge(Tidningen Vi 1989:3, p. 41).

15 **May 1989**

As an answer to a query on the ViS statement 'that trees can save lives', it is explained how the availability of firewood makes it possible for people to boil their water and cook their food and that dirty water is the main cause of diarrhoea and that diarrhoea is a common cause of child mortality (Tidningen Vi 1989:18, p. 62).

16 **June 1989**

In a scientific article, two researchers, Roger Sedjo and Allen Solomon, argue that tree planting in the tropics is the best way to

decrease the carbon dioxide emission and in turn reduce the greenhouse effect (Tidningen Vi 1989:25/26, p. 63).

17 **November 1989**

From every car that is driven for about 15 000 kilometre per year, 70 new trees need to be planted to deal with the pollution. Q8 in Denmark decided to let 5 öre from every litre of petrol to be used for the environment. The money is donated to a tree-planting project in Nepal. Trees that are planted in the tropics are much more efficient in taking care of carbon dioxide – they grow all year around. It is time for motorists and petrol companies to take their responsibilities (Tidningen Vi 1989:44, p.69).

18 **March 1990**

In the whole world, there is hardly any tree planting project that has put so much effort into saving medicinal species under the threat of extinction as Vi Forest has". Bo Tegnäs let Norman Kimanzu interview old wise people about valuable tree species (Tidningen Vi 1990:11, p. 50).

19 **January 1991**

Paul Rimerfors, who works at the Regional Soil Conservation Unit (RSCU) in Nairobi, likes Vi Forest very much and says that Stig Karlsson, PG Blixt, and Bo Tegnäs have all done a very good job (1991:3/4, p. 53).

'Zero grazing' or to 'cut and carry' as the West Pokots are doing in the fenced Vi Forest is something that is promoted by the RSCU. The grass is not grazed before it can flower and give seed back to the soil, and the grass is carefully cut and not taken up by its roots, as it sometimes is by starving livestock (Tidningen Vi 1991:3/4, p. 53).

20 **May 1991**

Per Åhlström wrote in the Newspaper 'Nya Norrland' about Swedish development aid: the worse misuse appears to be of funds

used in multilateral aid, funds that are given to the UN and its subdivisions. After that follows the bilateral aid, i.e. development aid from government to government. The least misuse is found in aid channelled through NGOs directly to people in need of help (Vi belongs to that group). Good development projects should not increase people's need for help. Good projects should, after some time make itself redundant. After six-seven years, a half a million people in Trans Nzoia should be able to cultivate all trees they need by themselves (Tidningen Vi 1991:13, p. 37).

21 **July 1991**

Scientists at Lund University, Sweden, have now concluded after years of studying satellite images that there is no desertification going on. It may be true that the Sahara desert is not expanding. But, in areas such as West Pokot, a half desert-like area, where all trees and shrubs have been cut by humans and grass and other plants grazed and browsed by cattle resulting in widespread erosion of all the top-soil. It is a desert that is on the move and it is expanding – the area is turned into an unproductive place – nothing is growing any more. With the help of trees, the area can be recovered and grass will come back – and the area will become productive again (Tidningen Vi 1991:24/25, pp. 66-67).

22 **October 1991**

The result says Björn Larsson, who has come from Bai bang to join Vi Forest, should not be counted in the number of seedlings distributed but in the number of seedlings surviving – and for seedlings to survive, we need to train the farmers on how to give the seedlings the best possible start in life (Tidningen Vi 1991:41, p.39).

23 **August 1992**

It is true that we have taken on a huge responsibility by employing so many people. Therefore, we need to build up a reserve-fund so that we will be able to close the business in a respectable way. The aim is to have a reserve-fund that can finance at least one-year of activities, which means at present 12 million SEK. The reserve-fund is put in a normal and secure bank account not used for speculation on the stock market (Tidningen Vi 1992:34/35, pp. 42-43).

24 **November 1992**

It is important that every krona that is collected from individual donors should go straight for tree planting. The cost for journeys and administration in Sweden must be paid for by the interest on the reserve-fund, if it is not paid by special funds from Sida. We previously asked ViM-readers if it is okay to have a reserve-fund and the answer we have received is Yes – so the ViS-board can continue with their plans (Tidningen Vi 1992:46, p. 39).

25 **August 1993**

At one hospital in the Vi Forest project area in Uganda, the doctors have discovered that the AIDS patients want passion fruit very much. The issue was forwarded to Professor Søren Britton specialist in HIV/AIDS and he answered that it may be something in the fruit that the AIDS patients are in need of (Tidningen Vi 1993:34/35, p. 73).

26 **November 1993**

As has been said before, for every tree that is contributed to ViS – one tree is planted by ViS-workers in desert-threatened areas. Due to the large-scale production in the ViS nurseries and generous support from Sida, the money is also enough for 8 to 10 seedlings

that are distributed to small-scale farmers (Tidningen Vi 1993: 44, p. 54).

27 **February 1994**

When the tree planting started in West Pokot, Wilhelm Östberg (social anthropologist) made a socio-economic survey. The people in West Pokot were, at that time, of the opinion God should plant trees. Because of payment, the people planted trees anyhow but they were not interested in the results. Today, six years later the attitude has improved – people in West Pokot fence areas with the expectation to get help with tree planting from ViS and to damage planted trees is regarded as an offence (Tidningen Vi Feb.1994:5 p.85).

28 **November 1994**

A contribution of 500 Kr to Vi Forest will be 2500 trees, with the help of Sida. Trees will be planted to control erosion in desert-threatened areas, seedlings and seed will be distributed to small-scale farmers that will give them fruit, firewood, timber, and soil improvement. With the knowledge from ViS, farmers learn how to use trees for soil improvement and how to make compost that also helps improve the soil. In the best case, the harvest can be doubled.

Trees help people to breathe and survive. Trees keep the soil in place and give protection and welfare – to plant trees is really an act of love (feelings) (Tidningen Vi 1994:44, p. 47).

29 **January 1995**

The money goes from the donors and Sida directly to the three projects, no intermediaries, no bribes and no misuse. Many are going to get a better life, but none will be rich on the Vi Forest. In 1993, the Vi Forest was given the prize as the best Swedish

development project by the association for development issues (föreningen för U-landsfrågor) (Tidningen Vi 1995:1, p. 39).

30 **May 1995**

Even in villages where there are no improved wells, people are able to boil the water because of the trees that have been planted thanks to Vi Forest (Tidningen Vi 1995:21, p. 37).

31 **November 1995**

The situation for a widowed female farmer with eight children is described and how ViS and the trees have helped her to improve their livelihood (Tidningen Vi 1995:46, p. 26).

32 **December 1995**

One farmer “the family cow now gives ten litres of milk instead of eight because of improved fodder from the shrubs planted due to ViS” (Tidningen Vi 1995:49/50, p. 52).

33 **February 1996**

ViM-readers are informed that they can support the Vi-forest on a more regular basis through autogiro. “*Your benefit will be the knowledge of knowing that the support will be used for saving a part of our common earth. To trees that control erosion. To trees that give fruit, firewood, timber, shelter, and shade, for a better life of fellow human beings in need of help*”(Tidningen Vi 1996:8, p. 36).

34 **September 1996**

Every aid-development project has or should have an ever overwhelming problem – how to reach the poorest. Can Vi Forest reach the poorest? Yes, after some time, at least the poorest within the Vi Forest project area:(it is unfortunately not possible to reach the absolutely poorest, those who live in the big cities. Of course, Vi Forest is, apart from saving desert-threatened land, first of all trying to help poor small-scale farmers and female groups self-

sufficient. Those who manage best can already now produce excess that can give money for school fees, hospital treatment, a radio, or a bicycle, they can stand on their own feet and no longer belong to the poorest (Tidningen Vi 1996:37, p. 26).

35 **December 1996**

The trees in the Vi Forest make it easier for the women and give them self-confidence. In that way, the Vi Forest contributes to softening the traditional view that women are men's property. It is important that we with our contributions make sure that the Vi Forest continues to grow also for the sake of equality of opportunity between women and men (Tidningen Vi 1996:49/50, p.46).

36 **January 1997**

We can help the farmers to improve their soil and other needs that can be covered with the help of trees, but Vi Forest cannot help with everything that the farmers need, instead the farmers and the village can get help to contact other organisations that can assist. PRA is a new concept that means to give help to self-help, something that Vi Forest have proved to be good at after 15 years of experience. The theoretical knowledge among the Vi Forest-workers in the field is low, but in terms of experience, they are much better equipped – something that is an asset if you are to speak to farmers in farmer's way. An organisation such as Vi Forest that comes from outside must work diplomatically in a way that village leadership will not be challenged. To work as Vi Forest does demands good cooperation with the authorities – the different departments for agriculture, forestry, and livestock, and of course having close contact with other organisations. The poor farmers will improve their understanding and self-confidence (Tidningen Vi 1997:3, p. 43).

37 **February 1997**

With the help of trees, it is possible to turn even the savannas into arable land. If we can increase the living space, we can reduce the risk for future conflicts (Tidningen Vi 1997:4, p. 35).

38 **September 1997**

If you save money in Bancos idealistic fund, one percent will be for Vi Forest (Tidningen Vi 1997:25, p.25).

39 **November 1997**

A fictitious example is explained of how the life of small children is saved by planting trees because their mother get enough fuel wood to boil the drinking water, with the result that the children will avoid getting diarrhoea. It is also stated that ViS is planting trees to control soil erosion, and thereby, controlling desertification (Tidningen Vi 1997:28, p.58).

40 *An increasing number of patoralists in West Pokot are requesting assistance from Vi Forest in order to rehabilitate eroded land into productive pasture. They will fence the area with live fence and Vi Forest will assist with digging ditches, planting and sowing of seeds (Tidningen Vi 1997:29, p.74-75).*

41 *In the agricultural areas in the three counties, Vi Forest has changed direction, a change that has in fact turned out very well, says Tor. We phased out the large nurseries with employed staff and instead we now assist small-scale farmers with starting their own home nurseries. Many of the staff earlier employed at the central nurseries has to be laid off, but they will be well compensated. Many will also be transferred from the nurseries to be extension workers (Tidningen Vi 1997:29, p.74-75).*

42 **January 1998**

Even if the government of Kenya is corrupt, the money that you give (as ViS contributor) goes straight to the small-scale farmer's agricultural land and is not reached by greedy middle hands (Tidningen Vi 1998:3, pp. 64-65).

43 *The annual school fee in the primary school is 5000 shilling and for one mature tree, the farmer can get 2000 shilling. Trees can result in knowledge and knowledge is a precondition for democracy (Tidningen Vi 1998:3, pp. 64-65).*

44 **January 1999**

After an officer from the ministry of agriculture gave good comments about ViS, it is stated: "It is your project he spoke about. Hardly, any other project can make a more sustainable use of the money" to create ownership among the individual donors"(Tidningen Vi 1999:1, p.40).

45 **March 1999**

You who give trees to the Vi Forest can at least be sure that with the trees, you save lives. You only need to think that diarrhoea is a common cause of infant mortality in developing counties, often caused by poor water that cannot be boiled because there is not enough firewood (Tidningen Vi 1999:5, p. 40).

46 **August 1999**

Although, livelihood was clearly the main concern in the ViM in 1999, the issue of desertification was still part of the message, e.g.: Hundreds of thousands of people die every year due to desertification and soil erosion. The highest risk is in the tropics where the forests have been cleared. The topsoil disappears and the livestock die. When the livestock die, the people will also die, first the children. But, there are remedies – trees can be planted in rows that will bind the soil and thereby the topsoil can resist water and wind erosion. Hence, desertification is one of Vi

Forests activities. To a larger extent, Vi Forest is involved in densely populated agricultural areas, where lack of firewood is the most serious problem (Tidningen Vi Aug.1999:17 p.65).

47 **September 1999**

Do not forget that it is you (individual donors) that are behind what is probably the most successful and exciting private aid project that is managed from Sweden (Tidningen Vi 1999:19, p. 71).

48 **January 2002**

Vi Forest is not only tree planting; it is soil improvement, agricultural methods, water supply, livestock keeping, firewood availability, and a continued fight against misuse and poverty. The decentralised organisation of Vi Forest is strong and coordinated from Kitale in Kenya by Norman Kimansu. He supervises and coordinates the activities in the whole Vi Forest region, which are managed by project managers and their assistant managers, who all come from Sweden. Tor Nyberg says: "the important thing is that with the tree planting and soil improvement, we fight against poverty (Tidningen Vi 2000:2, p. 63).

49 **April 2000**

The best way to decrease migration from rural to urban ghettos is to help farmers to use their land more efficiently in order to increase the harvests, says the project manager in Mwanza. Rolf Winberg, Sida Advisor for East Africa, says that drinking water, firewood, soil improvement, and good agricultural methods are corner stones in the fight against poverty. Vi Forest has a good organisation and operations around the lake (Tidningen Vi 2000:8, p. 68).

50 **May 2000**

Most of the farmers in the village have adopted the Vi agroforestry technology to plant trees and shrubs on their land. It is now possible to see how the grass is growing vigorously between the fast growing Sesbania shrubs. Cows and goats are grazing peacefully from the tall grass behind simple fences. Children do not need to watch the livestock. Instead, they can go to school (Tidningen Vi 2000:11, p. 75).

51 **June 2000**

Improved harvests and availability of firewood is the best help we can give the parents that have contracted HIV (Tidningen Vi 2000:12, p. 58).

52 **September 2000**

A Farmer in Busekera village says that Cederella trees are very good for building boats. After five or six years, he believes he will have enough wood for a boat (Tidningen Vi 2000:19, p. 65).

53 *The wood from a mature tree is enough to pay school fees for one year, or for the doctor, when the children are sick. Most families in Busekera can only afford to eat one meal per day, if they are to afford to pay the school fee (Tidningen Vi 2000:20, p. 37).*

54 **January 2001**

The fact that village Chairman of Busekera Village, Mr Kwikenga, believes in the Vi Forest from his heart makes even the most resistant farmers want to adopt agroforestry and tree planting (Tidningen Vi 2001:1, p. 61).

55 **April 2001**

At the time when ViS started, the school in Pserum was a poor village school. Now a large forest surrounds the school. Its size has doubled because the parents can now

afford to pay the school fees, thanks to the ViS activities (Tidningen Vi 2001:8, pp. 62-63).

56 **July 2001**

A story about a family that had to run away from their home village and found a new chance in Trans N'Zoia with the ViS project and the good properties and produce of *Sesbania sesban* (Tidningen Vi 2001:14 p. 65).

57 **October 2001**

If you give a Vi Forest Christmas card to a friend, you will also give a gift that helps poor families, and most of all children, to a better livelihood. The trees help the families to reach self-sufficiency here and now. Tree planting gives both quick effect and long-term health and security, because the trees mature in just a few years (Tidningen Vi 2001:21, p.36).

58 **December 2001**

What is it that makes the Vi Forest such an exceptional aid organisation (Tidningen Vi 2001:26, p. 36)?

First: No implements are needed that the farmers cannot manufacture by themselves.

Second: ViS approached the women from the beginning and women trust their own intuition. Men were at first suspicious of the project – they believed that there must be a catch somewhere that the Swedes may come and take their land in the end.

Third: ViS manages without involvement from the politicians in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, with which we still have a good relationship.

Fourth: All money collected goes straight to the projects. Not even a single crown goes to anyone that can be expected to be interested in bribes.

Fifth: The forest is managed with a strong grip from Stockholm but the coordinator of all the ViS-projects around lake Victoria is a Kenyan. All the extension workers that have direct contact with the farmers are Africans.

59 based on these five pillars, the Vi Forest is flourishing, but still it would be brittle without the commitment and generosity from the ViM-readers.

60 **January 2002**

An example is given of a small-scale farmer and his family who is completely dependent on a few acres of land to survive. He is referred to as one of the many small-scale farmers in the ViS project-areas around the Lake Victoria in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. The farmer says that the harvests on his farm have become more than 5 times larger since he started with agroforestry. Also, his wife does not need to walk for hours every day to fetch firewood and the family have all the fruit and vegetables they need (Tidningen Vi 2002:2, p. 37).

61 **March 2002**

An outside journalist is invited to summarise his views about the ViS over the 20 years of its lifetime:

".... Vi Forest is also a controversial project that has stubbornly been choosing its own roads, often against the advice of the development aid experts. It was only 1987 that Sida support to Vi Forest began, but still with hesitation. Sida thought that Vi Forest concentrated too much on tree planting per se, and that the approach to give away free seedlings was wrong. Since the middle of the '90s, Vi Forest has to a high degree change their implementation approach. Instead of running large-scale nurseries, farmers are encouraged to cultivate and spread good

silvicultural practices. ... Vi Forest is now working from 7-8 centres with about a hundred local employees, each working in direct connection with the farmers. All the members of the team that assessed the Vi Forest in 2000 said/wrote that they have never come across a bilateral aid project producing similar results with such a low running costs.... Since the start in 1985, Tor has advocated the specific differences of the Vi Forest, something that has not been earning him new friends... Whilst other NGOs have had difficulties in collecting the 20% of their total costs, in order to obtain the rest from Sida – Vi Forest own share has been 40%. Vi Forest is able to produce efficient development aid for several million more than what they do today” (Tidningen Vi 2002:7, pp. 64-65).

62 The man responsible for the Lake Victoria initiative at Sida – Lars Ekengren- said the following about ViS : *“Vi Forest is like a square-shaped plug that we (Sida) want to fit into our round holes. I believe that the corners of the plug (ViS) can be made a little bit more even, while at the same time we have to make our holes a little bit more square-like, Sida must also be ready to think differently”* (Tidningen Vi 2002:7, pp. 64-65).

63 **September 2002**

Exactly 20 years ago, Sten Lundgren wrote “Rather trees that grows than flowers that wilt” in the first ViM article about tree planting in Africa. The article got a very good response, which led to the start of the Vi Forest six month later. To buy fewer flowers for celebrations and funerals and plant a more trees is still the most important idea behind the work for collecting funds for the Vi Forest. When everything else seems impossible, tree planting is a way out of poverty for many of the poorest small-scale farmers. It is inexpensive to plant trees, it gives results quickly, and there is no need for expensive input. As soon as the farmers have planted the trees in their cultivated fields, they notice that the food crops

grow better because the trees are of the kind that enrich the soil. After about a year, they can take off the leaves for animal fodder and the branches for firewood. After another year or so, they can start to harvest fruit (Tidningen Vi 2002:18, p. 66).

APPENDIX III

Development Cooperation Discourse and Sida Policy Change

1. From Recipient's Condition to Donor's Conditionality

- 1 Triggered by the debt crisis and the break through of monetarism in political economy and neoliberal ideology in US and UK, the focus of development cooperation moved from the 1970s concept of "Development aid on the recipient's condition" and poverty reduction to macroeconomic stability with its reform process in the 1980s (Odén 2006 p.88,93,95).
- 2 The view of the government as the main actor in development was reduced to the roll of basic community services and providing space for market efficient produce of goods and services (Odén 2006 p.95/3).
- 3 Contributing to this change in perspective and focus was the World Bank report "Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action (1981). This report turned the earlier explanation for the crisis in Africa from being mainly explained by external factors to being a combination of external and internal factors, with focus on the internal factors.
- 4 The internal factors identified in the report (World Bank 1981) were, among others, poor macroeconomic politics leading to budget deficit, an overvalued currency, and high inflation rates.
- 5 The structural adjustment program (SAP) grew out of this situation and was formed in the so-called Washington Consensus between the WB, IMF and the US, including

- measures such as decreasing budget deficit, limiting the expansion of ready money, and devaluating the currency.
- 6 To decrease budget deficit implied a decrease in expenditures for most nations in the south, as the scoop for increased income was insignificant. The public service that had been built in most cases with extensive aid was consequently undermined in these countries (Odén 2006 p.96).

2. The Growing Importance of Participation

- 1 Sida's long-term ambition of making development cooperation a cumulative self-supportive development process with a focus on help self-help, '*stimulating*' recipients to carry out development themselves (Regeringskansliet 1962), was an ambition that matched well with the philosophy of popular participation.
- 2 In 1967, United Nations published a study on 'Local participation in development planning. At the end of 1970s, there was growing evidence that poor farmers made critical contributions to rural development projects, that the landless could become involved in improving their own welfare and productivity, that communities could organise to improve health services, and that there were a variety of other ways in which a combination of people with public and private organisations, could achieve objectives, that were otherwise not possible (UN, Department of Economic and Social Affairs 1978 p.6, 32-34).
- 3 In 1979, Robert Chambers published "Rural Development: Whose knowledge counts?", giving new views on popular participation in rural development.

- 4 In Sida's strategy for rural development, approved by the managing director and executive board on the 26th of August 1980 (Sida 1981), it is stated, among other things, that:
 - 5 ● *The overall goal for Sida's involvement in rural development is resource growth through people's participation. Sida wishes to achieve this by increasing the productivity of individual small farmers.*
 - 6 ● *People's participation should be emphasised in the planning, design and implementation of rural development projects. Increasing the amount of people's participation should be strived for during the implementation of such projects.*
- 7 As the impact of SAP progressed during the 1980s, it gradually opened-up an arena for NGOs to provide community services previously provided by government line ministries, or assisting the GO were they failed to fulfil their previously assigned duties (Pearce & Eade 2000).
- 8 In 1987, Cernea demonstrated that development cooperation projects with participatory approaches tend to be more cost efficient and sustainable in the long term.
- 9 In 1987, Sida/NATUR initiated a programme for popular participation in cooperation with the Development Studies Unit at Stockholm University, aiming to identify and develop methods for popular participation in Swedish development cooperation (Rudqvist 1993:2).
- 10 After a decade of absence, the social dimension in development cooperation began to gradually come back in the turn of the decade. UNICEF's report '*Adjustment with a human face*' (UNICEF 1987) was the first step in this process. The introduction of the annual '*Human Development Report*' in 1990, including the human development index (HDI) by

- UNDP, was the second step. The international conference of social development in Copenhagen was a third step, and in 1996, when OECD/DAC published *'Shaping the 21st century: The contribution of Development Cooperation'*, the social dimension was in focus (Odén 2006 p.112-113).
- 11 In 1985, Cernea (1985 p.5) argued that social scientists have gradually been learning how to make operational contributions within the planned approach to development. Many have discovered that when development projects are adequately dealt with, multiple points of entrance open up for substantial sociological contributions.
 - 12 The Cassen-report, *Does Aid Work*, (Cassen and Associates 1986) criticised aid-organisations for their lack of understanding of institutional, political and social obstacles to efficient development cooperation, not comparable to the level of technical and economical competes.
 - 13 Contributing to this process was the evaluations of SAP, carried out by IMF and the WB at the end of 1980s, showing that many programmes had not reached their goals. It was difficult to make any significant conclusions of what the programmes had in fact achieved (Odén 2006 p.98).
 - 14 Some reasons forwarded for the failure of the first generation of SAP were:
 - 15 ● that the recipient countries were of the opinion the reforms had been more or less forced upon them and they had no feeling of ownership.
 - 16 ● that the capacity of the public sector had in the course of the SAP-implementation gradually been undermined and that the reform programmes were unrealistic compared to the available capacity in the recipient countries.

- 17 With the conclusions of the SAP evaluations and the gaining importance of institutional economy at the beginning of the 1990s, the trend from a cut in public spending in the social sector finally turned around to an increase in proportion to other sectors, particularly in health and education (Odén 2006 p.110).
- 18 A workshop was conducted in October 1992, mainly to follow-up the usefulness and applicability of the guidelines and fieldwork methods for popular participation used by the participating programme/projects in East and Southern Africa. It was concluded that a considerable arsenal of methods for participatory data collection and analysis existed, and that lack of methods is no longer a major constraint to the application of participatory approaches. However, popular participation has a much broader significance than just as a tool for data collection and analysis (Rudqvist 1993 p.5). Popular participation can and should contribute to building the capacity of people for having greater influence on their own situation to a higher degree and for taking charge of their own development.
- 19 At the end of the 1990s, the donor perception of what constituted a good balance between the public- and the market sectors became more consistent (Odén 2006 p.110).
- 20 Rudqvist (1993 p.72) also stressed the importance of the civil society in democratic development: To examine the conditions of democracy, we must consider the character of both the state and civil society, because democracy is constituted and its character defined through the interaction between these two spheres. The structure and character of one of these spheres influences or determines the quality of the other. Attaining real and sustainable democracy in

Africa requires, accordingly, both changes in the state and the strengthening of civil society.

- 21 Activities was included in the second generation of SAP to compensate for the negative effects of the substantial cut in government spending from the first generation SAP, particularly in the sectors affecting the poor, such as health, education and water (Odén 2006 p.98,114).

3. Ownership and Partnership

- 1 The first edition of the Cassen-study '*Does Aid Work*' was published in 1986 and showed the difficulties of interpreting the result of development cooperation at a general level.
- 2 In Sida's annual report 89/90 (Sida 1990 p.18-19), this dilemma is discussed in relation to ownership as part of a more general discussion on aid-effectiveness.
- 3 ● *Due to the multitude of other factors involved in development giving both negative and positive influence, it is difficult to prove the contribution of development aid to improved livelihood of the poor, as well as the contribution of aid to the failure of not improving their livelihood.*
- 4 ● *Whatever the result, it is always the recipient country itself that has to deal with the consequences.*
- 5 ● *Sida gives this as one of many reasons to why it is important to stick to the original principle of development aid as a help to self-help (see above 2§1).*
- 6 ● *This principle gives the donor partial responsibility, but never the main responsibility, for the effects of development cooperation.*

- 7 ● *The ultimate goal of development cooperation should be to make support redundant and replaced with economic cooperation.*
- 8 Sida developed its 'Changing Roles Policy at the beginning of 1990's, stating that (Olsson 1992):
- 9 ● *Swedish development cooperation during the 1990's shall concentrate on analysis, direction of efforts, follow-up, evaluation, as well as analysis of feedback and experience. 'Changing roles' is intended to encourage recipient countries to take over more initiative and responsibility in development cooperation.*
- 10 ● *Cooperation should be implemented in a system that belongs to the recipient country and in a way that they themselves understand and master.*
- 11 ● *Procurement, recruitment of experts and programme implementation will be handled primarily by recipient country authorities and Sida's role will be of a strategic and supportive nature.*
- 12 ● *Still, it is inevitable that development cooperation to a country in economical and social crises will be associated with conditions in order to pressurise those locally responsible to contribute to the necessary changes.*
- 13 ● *But, these conditions should not be too many and there has to be consistency between conditions from one donor and lending institution to another.*
- 14 ● *Capacity building will be central to the process not only to field activities but to the organisation itself.*
- 15 ● *The development worker should, apart from his expert knowledge, have the know-how to build well-adapted organisations.*

- 16 ● *What should remain in the recipient country is a capacity, an organisation, and self-confidence to maintain and even further develop what have been started (Olsson 1992).*
- 17 According to Rudqvist (1993 p.3) one reason behind this policy is that bilateral donors have tended to become increasingly involved in implementing and supporting programmes for quite extensive periods, frequently bypassing the institutional and organisational structures of the recipient countries. This has delayed the take-over of the programmes by host countries and in general diminished the possibilities of long-term programme sustainability. 18
- Another reason behind the policy is that Sida, through restrictions imposed by the Ministry of Finance, cannot expand its own staff in order to meet the administrative and operational requirements of the constantly increasing Swedish development cooperation budget. Therefore, the *'changing role'* policy could be viewed as a means of handling an increasing development cooperation budget under staff restrictions (Rudqvist 1992 p.3).

4. Conservation, Production and Livelihood

- 1 The move from poverty reduction to macroeconomic stability during the 1980s (see 1§1 above and Odén 2006 p.88, 93, 95) decreased the importance of interventions for improved livelihood in development cooperation.
- 2 The start of the fuel wood-crisis is usually attributed to a study by Eckholm (1976) and increased in importance during the 1980s (Persson 2001) with the IUFRO meeting on "Forest Energy and the Fuelwood Crisis" in Uppsala 1984 (Sirén & Mitchell 1985).

- 3 The importance of desertification in development cooperation increased with the UN Conference on Desertification in 1977 (United Nation1978).
- 4 At the end of the 1970s, the remedies of desertification and soil erosion were physically oriented, with the main aim of conserving the land rather than increased production or improved livelihood.
- 5 The relationship between remedies, production and improved livelihood was not clear and not well considered.
- 6 Through extensive research, e.g. by Glantz & Orlovsky 1983 Hammer 1983, Lusigi 1984, Eckerholm 1984, a more diversified picture of the causes, effects and remedies of desertification gradually emerged in the 1980s.
- 7 In the 1980s, a number of studies (some reviewed in Bojöö 1986) with cost benefit analysis for judging the profitability of soil- and water conservation projects showed poor returns of soil conservation investments in severely eroded land in low-potential areas, but improved the understanding of the contribution of soil conservation to production and improved livelihood.
- 8 The concept of '*sustainable development*' was refined and became popularised with the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1983 (WCED 1987):
 - 9 ● Implying that the economical growth and development of today should not have any negative ecological consequences for the needs of future generations.
 - 10 ● The concept was based on the understanding that environmental consideration in a wider perspective is a precondition for sustainable growth and poverty reduction.

- 11 ● *“Poverty is a major cause and effect of global environmental problems”.*
- 12 ● *“it is futile to attempt to deal with environmental problems without a broader perspective that encompasses the factors underlying world poverty and international equality”.*
- 13 The WCED report was probably the turning point for the renaissance of livelihood and poverty alleviation that gained momentum in mid-1990s and onwards (Odén 2006 p.108).
- 14 The International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF) was established in 1978, with the goal of helping to mitigate tropical deforestation, land depletion and rural poverty through improved agroforestry systems for more sustainable and productive land use⁶.
- 15 In contrast to physical soil conservation, agroforestry was biological and production-oriented.
- 16 With a gradually improved understanding of the interaction between poverty and environmental degradation and the growing importance of human rights in the aftermath of the cold war at the end of the 1980s (Odén 2006 p.107), issues of livelihood, democratisation and equality gained in importance in development cooperation during the 1990s.
- 17 As a contribution to the Earth summit UNCED 1992, and from the view of the Brundtland Commission (WCED 1987), the relationship between environment and poverty was further development by Holmberg (1991 p.25), arguing that:
- 18 ● *the problem of land degradation is complex; that poverty leads to degradation and possibly vice versa.*

⁶ <http://www.ciesin.columbia.edu/IC/icraf/icrafmore.html>.

- 19 ● *Three principal cases of causal poverty/environment relationships were distinguished;*
- 1) *where poverty is the main underlying cause,*
 - 2) *where poverty is only a proximate cause, and*
 - 3) *where poverty cannot be said to be even a major proximate cause.*
- 20 ● *However, the cases overlap and generalisations are difficult.*
- 21 ● *It is further argued (Holmberg 1991 p.31) that: all experience indicates that tackling poverty and environmental degradation on the ground, where the people live and are directly concerned, will require the active involvement or empowerment by these people.*
- 22 ● *That in turn will depend on the structure and role of government and on effective support by that government at local levels.*
- 23 Poverty alleviation gained in importance in the beginning of 1990s and again became (since the 1970s) the main concern in development cooperation (Odén 2006 p.100-114).
- 24 Partly based on Holmberg's (1991) analysis and the conclusions of the Earth Summit (UNCED 1992), Sida produced an action plan for sustainable management of renewable natural resources (Sida 1992 p.17), stating that:
- 25 ● *Environmental problems are associated with symptoms such as erosion and increased scarcity of water.*
- 26 ● *Often, therefore, the solutions sought are terraces, plantations and dams which can have a direct impact on these symptoms.*
- 27 ● *However, these technical solutions often fail. They do not get at the real causes of environmental degradation.*

- 28 ● *More often than not, the processes are complex and intertwined.*
- 29 ● *Consequently, a broad analysis has to be made of many different factors before deciding on how to tackle the problem in the environment.*
- 30 Some possible determining factors are enumerated and explained (Sida 1992 p.17-20).
- 31 It is stated in Sida (1992 p.23): that *“Environmental problems are more visible in arid lands and marginal areas. But, more people are reached through investment in high potential areas. And by increasing the production in high-potential areas, migration to marginal areas will diminish and the pressure on these areas will be less”*.
- 32 In 1994, *Land Husbandry* (Lundgren et al 1993) was promoted by Sida as an important tool for sustainable land-use.
- 33 ● The concept was first introduced by Shaxon et al (1989) as a framework for soil and water conservation and was later developed by Hudson in 1992.
- 34 ● The definition of Land Husbandry used in Lundgren et al (1993 p.6) is:
- *We can attack the root cause of (land degradation) by applying land husbandry, which means the care, management, and improvement of our land resource.*
 - *The primary objective of land management should be improved sustainable production through good land husbandry.*
 - *Control of soil erosion follows as a consequence.*
 - *This is a reversal of the previous idea that it is necessary to conserve the soil in order to get better crops (.....).*

- *Improve the soil condition for root growth and crop production, and in so doing achieve better conservation of water and soil”.*

35 In a Sida document about the relationship between poverty and environment, prepared by Sida/NATUR (Sterner & Segnestam 2001 p.28), it is stated:

36 ● *In many areas, large ecosystems have already been destroyed by salination, tree-felling, overgrazing or other forms of environmental degradation.*

37 ● *To enable these ecosystems to recover, considerable investments and long periods of time are necessary.*

38 ● *The restoration of ecosystems of this type can provide both employment and better environment which, in the long term further enhances the opportunities of making a living.*

39 At a first glance, this statement shows that Sida’s policy is the opposite of that in 1992, i.e. from being against long-term land rehabilitation investment in low-potential areas to be positive to this idea.

40 However, areas destroyed by salination, overgrazing or tree-felling are necessarily not arid or marginal.

5. The Gradual Emergence of a New Global Policy

1 In 1996, the OECD/DAC published *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation* and proposed a global development partnership effort through which together we can achieve the following ambitious but realisable goals:

2 ● *Economic well-being:*

- *a reduction by one-half in the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015.*

- 3 ● *Social development:*
 - *universal primary education in all countries by 2015;*
 - *demonstrated progress toward gender equality and the empowerment of women by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005;*
 - *a reduction by two-thirds in the mortality rates for infants and children under age 5 and a reduction by three-quarters in maternal mortality, all by 2015;*
 - *access through the primary health-care system to reproductive health services for all individuals of appropriate ages, as soon as possible and no later than the year 2015.*
- 4 ● *Environmental sustainability and regeneration:*
 - *to ensure that current trends in the loss of environmental resources are effectively reversed at both global and national levels by 2015.*
- 5 It is also stressed that essential to the attainment of these measurable goals are qualitative factors in the evolution of more stable, safe, participatory and just societies. These include capacity development for effective, democratic and accountable governance, the protection of human rights and respect for the rule of law.
- 6 In an official Letter of the Swedish government prepared in 1996 (Regeringskansliet 1996), it is described how Swedish development aid should be reinforced to contribute to Sida's overall aim of poverty alleviation. It is stated that:
- 7 ● *it is necessary for different donor agencies and lending institutions to find a common understanding on what effective poverty alleviation means.*

- 8 ● *that partnership in development cooperation implies respect for the circumstances and priorities of the recipient countries as well as a readiness among the lending institutions, NGOs, bilateral and multilateral donors, to cooperate under the leadership of the recipient countries, instead of following their own specific interests making efficient poverty alleviation impossible.*
- 9 Poverty alleviation at the local level implies (Regeringskansliet 1996):
- 10 ● *To create sources of income, opportunities for employment and subsistence, such as access to land, water, implements and microfinance as well as support to small-scale enterprise and infrastructure.*
- 12 ● *It also means support to poor women and men in order to improve their capacity to influence their own situation, to participate in political life and maintain their rights.*
- 13 ● *This can be achieved by building the capacity of local NGOs, the local public administration and a decentralised judicial system, with the aim of gradually changing local power relations in favour of the poor.*
- 14 ● *It is vital that Swedish NGOs to an increasing extent use their contacts, knowledge and networks to support the development of a strong and diversified/pluralistic civil society that can represent the interests of the poor and contribute a clear and sustainable focus on poverty alleviation to development cooperation.*
- 15 ● *The partnership should have a broad perspective involving all in the dialogue, the public to the civil and private/market spheres, both in the recipient and donor countries alike.*

16 These ideas were adapted to the African situation in an official letter in 1997, *A Renewed Swedish Politic for Africa of the 21st century* (Regeringskansliet 1997), proposing a politic with the aim to:

- 17 ● *Support African-led processes leading to reinforced democracy and sustainable economic growth with a focus on the situation of the poor.*
- 18 ● *Develop partnership between Africa and the surrounding world.*
- 19 ● *Strengthen the long-term exchange between Sweden and Africa.*

20 With the growing evidence against the claims of the neoliberalism, the continuous decline of growth rate in sub-Saharan Africa, the widening socio-economic disparities in both the South and North led politicians, donor agencies, and academics to question the desirability of barely constrained market forces.

21 At the end of the 1990s, a number of publications, notably Hutton (1996), *The State We're In*, World Bank (1997) *The State in a Changing World*, and Giddens (1998) *The Third Way*, drew attention to the failure of the market as the sole mover of development.

22 These publications were key contributions to the post-socialist discourse for rethinking the relations among market, state and the civil society, diluting the clear-cut boundary between the market and the civil society. The civil society was attributed a more pronounced roll in alleviating the socio-economic inequalities in order to maintain the stability and reproduction of the market economy (Howell and Pearce 2001 p.64-67).

- 23 In August 1999, the joint IMF/WB paper “Strengthening the Links Between Debt Relief and Poverty Reduction” was published giving proposals on how the granting of depth relief can be tied to actual achievement of poverty reduction objectives.
- 24 In September the same year, IMF/WB (1999) published “Building Poverty Reduction Strategies in Developing Countries” laying out the approach and strategies for PRSPs (Poverty reduction strategy papers), i.e.;
- 25 ● The PRSPs describe the country's macroeconomic, structural and social policies and programmes over a three year, or longer, period to promote broad-based growth and reduce poverty, as well as associated external financing needs and major sources of financing.
- 26 ● The PRSPs are prepared by the member countries through a participatory process involving domestic stakeholders as well as external development partners, including IMF and WB.
- 27 In many ways, the PRSP can be seen as the third round or replacement of the SAP.
- 28 In September 2000, an historic decision was made. At the United Nations Millennium Summit (United Nations 2000), 8 goals and 18 measurable intermediate goals were adopted to reduce global poverty.
- 29 These goals are known as the Millennium Development Goals (the MDGs) and were signed by 191 countries. The eight goals are:
- 1 *Extreme poverty and the proportion of people suffering from hunger shall be halved by 2015.*

- 2 *All boys and girls shall be able to complete a full course of primary schooling by 2015.*
 - 3 *Promote equality and the empowerment of women.*
 - 4 *Mortality rates for children under five years shall have been reduced by two-thirds by 2015.*
 - 5 *Maternal mortality shall be reduced by three-quarters by 2015.*
 - 6 *The spread of HIV/Aids, malaria and other diseases shall be halted before 2015.*
 - 7 *Ensure environmentally sustainable development by 2015.*
 - 8 *Develop a global partnership for development cooperation. An open, equitable and non-discriminatory trade and finance system shall be developed.*
- 30 In order to monitor the progress of the attainment of the goals, 48 indicators were identified and agreed upon at the summit.
- 31 Historic decisions to promote favourable global trends in this area have also been made in Sweden. In December 2003, the Swedish Parliament adopted the Government Bill, '*Our common responsibility - Sweden's Policy for Global Development*' (PGU) (Regeringskansliet 2003), thus forming the basis for a unified policy to contribute to equitable and sustainable global development.
- 32 For several years, Sweden and Sida have been involved in the creation and development of both the UN Millennium Development Goals and the Paris Declaration (2000).
- 33 The Paris Declaration (2005) contains a number of commitments that are to be implemented by both donor and partner countries. The objectives are to:

- 34 ● *Increase partner countries' ownership of, and responsibility for, the assistance.*
- 35 ● *Adapt the assistance to the prioritisations and administrative systems of the partner countries.*
- 36 ● *Promote democratic trends and increase transparency in recipient country administration.*
- 37 ● *Increase access to social services for the public, and protect its security. For example, by supplying medical and health care, education and a functioning, fair judicial system.*
- 38 ● *Coordinate and simplify donor procedures.*
- 39 ● *Improve the reporting of the results of poverty reduction.*
- 40 ● *Mutual responsibility for reporting and follow-ups.*
- 41 Poverty is not merely about not having enough physical resources. It also relates to a lack of power, security and the ability to make life choices. Similarly, development does not result from a single factor such as assistance or trade, but occurs when a number of factors act together in a positive manner.
- 42 In 2006, the Swedish government revised its policy on global development (Regeringskansliet 2006). Based on a holistic view of what must be done in order to achieve equitable and sustainable global development, the PGU affects all relevant areas of policy. According to PGU, two perspectives ought to permeate all development cooperation, i.e. the rights perspective and the perspective of the poor.
- 43 ● *The rights perspective is based on people as active participants with a desire to advance, rather than recipients or victims, and the policy recognises every individual's right to a life with*

dignity and without poverty. Democracy, gender equality and the rights of children should be especially emphasised.

- 44 ● *The perspective of the poor, means that policy should be based, to a greater extent, on the reality, experience and priorities of the poor.*

45 Furthermore, there are eight main elements of the PGU that characterise the goals and emphasis of development cooperation. These elements are grouped into three categories (Regeringskansliet 2006):

- 46 ● *Fundamental values:*

- 1 *Democracy and good governance.*
- 2 *Respect for human rights.*
- 3 *Gender equality.*

- 47 ● *Sustainable development:*

- 4 *Sustainable use of natural resources and environmental protection.*
- 5 *Economic growth.*
- 6 *Social development and security.*

- 48 ● *Other major elements:*

- 7 *Conflict management and security.*
- 8 *Common global resources.*

49 Every country's government and people bear the primary responsibility for achieving equitable and sustainable development. In addition to the state, NGOs, popular movements, religious denominations, labour unions and the business community play key roles (Regeringskansliet 2006).

50 The goal is to increasingly activate Swedish society to develop ideas, influence public opinion, and contribute to

the actualisation of Sweden's policy for global development. Government authorities, municipalities, the educational system, NGOs, popular movements and the business community can often contribute important information and can play important roles (Regeringskansliet 2006).

APPENDIX IV

Sida's Organisation and Policy for Development Cooperation through Swedish NGOs

1 Sida's Organisation for Cooperation with NGOs

- 1 The Department for Cooperation with NGOs, Humanitarian Assistance & Conflict Management (SEO/SEKA) channels Swedish support through popular movements and NGOs. The Department is responsible for humanitarian assistance, reconstruction, and works with peace and conflict management¹.
- 2 In mid 1980s, NGO development cooperation was administrated by the subdivision of project support under SEO/SEKA with the assistance from IFO, an independent association for development aid information.
- 3 IFO was later reorganised into BIFO. From February 1992, NGO application to SEO was forwarded to BIFO.
- 4 In 1995, BIFO was reorganised into Forum Syd:
 - 5 ● The desk officer handling ViS's applications at BIFO, Kenneth Larsson, continued his responsibility for ViS in the new set-up under FS.
 - 6 ● FS is an independent member organisation gathering two hundred Swedish organisations involved in development cooperation and in providing information on global issues in Sweden².
 - 7 ● FS is responsible for channelling Sida funds to its member organisation, i.e. providing advice and financial support².

¹ http://www.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=133&language=en_US

² See www.forumsyd.se at 'om Forum Syd' 'eng'.

- 8 Sida's division for natural resources and the environment, Sida/NATUR:
- 9 ● Is responsible for support in the areas of agriculture, forestry, land management, fisheries, coastal development, marine environment, water resources, natural resource management, biological diversity, rural water supply and sanitation³
- 10 ● NATUR's involvement in ViS's applications and work was mainly as a subject matter advisor in their field of specialisation, to comment on applications, work plans, and reports, to give proposals on improvements and terms of reference of assessments.
- 11 Sida/DCO is concerned with all the development cooperation efforts within their country of operation receiving funds from Sida/Sweden. In this study, Sida/DCO in Nairobi, Kenya, is involved in the negotiations.
- 12 RSCU was at first situated at the Swedish Embassy in Nairobi.
- 13 ● Acting mainly as advisory within the component of soil conservation to all Sida financed projects in eastern and southern Africa.
- 14 ● After the reorganisation from RSCU to RELMA at the beginning of the 1990s, the responsibility was widened to give more comprehensive guidance⁴.
- 15 ● In this new capacity, RELMA promoted various technologies and approaches aimed at decreasing poverty and enhancing food security in eastern and southern Africa⁴.

³ http://www.sida.se/sida/jsp/sida.jsp?d=253&language=en_US

⁴ <http://www.relma.org/>

- 16 ● After three years operating as a project within the World Agroforestry Centre (ICRAF), RELMA was closed in December 2006⁵

2 Guidelines for Sida's Support to Swedish NGOs

- 1 In the guidelines of 1986, it is stated that the carrying principles for Sida's support to NGOs are that the Sida support should be a support for the NGOs own development aid activities and the activities should be in harmony with Sida's aim for development cooperation (Sida 1986 p.1).
- 2 In the development cooperation through NGOs, the motive of solidarity and altruism will be practical. The development aid activities are characterised by the NGOs specific work and implementation methods. Every organisation's effort is coloured by the idea that the organisation has been created to promote. It is up to each organisation's interest to uphold this distinctive character even in connection to development cooperation (Sida 1986 p.3).
- 3 Concerning the recipient NGO, it is stated that:
 - 4 ● In many cases, the project is implemented through a cooperating partner organisation. The Swedish support will then function as a support to that organisation (Sida 1986 p.18).
 - 5 ● In the guidelines of 1988, this was further elaborated: The cooperating partner to the Swedish organisation in the recipient country should under normal circumstances be an indigenous non-profit NGO with its own member or other identifiable non-profit organisation (Sida 1988 p.11).

⁵ <http://www.relma.org/>

- 6 ● In 1993, it is stated as a condition that in order to obtain Sida support, the Swedish organisation had to have a cooperating partner in the recipient country that had been active for more than a year, and, works for democratic development and people's participation. As one of ten criteria for the judgement of the NGO application, the local anchorage and sustainability of the NGO project in the recipient country is listed (Sida 1993 p.6-8).
- 7 ● In the guidelines for Sida's support to Swedish NGOs in 1998 (Sida 1998 p.7), it is stated that the basic principle for programmes of development cooperation via NGOs is that a Swedish organisation enters into and develops close cooperation with a partner in the recipient country. Regardless of the focus of the activity, the guiding principle shall be to support and develop the knowledge, understanding and skills of a partner organisation to enable it to take over and run the activity in question itself.
- 8 ● It is further stated (Sida 1998 p.7) that development is a bottom-up process. This means, among other things, that the activity shall be the result of a local initiative and that there is a clear division of roles and responsibilities between the parties. The development project shall supplement the knowledge and resources that exist locally, and both men and women shall be active in describing the problems and formulating the goals.
- 9 ● The local organisation should according to Forum Syd's manual for development cooperation (Forum Syd 2004 p.8-9) be a democratically built local organisation based on a non-profit or cooperative set-up. It is also stated that the application should be based on initiative and needs

of the target group in the south. The target group should build the local NGO or the target group should be involved in the planning and decision-making.

- 10 In Sida's policy for cooperation with organisations in civil society, the overall objective is that (Sida 2004 p.6):
- 11 ● *Sida shall aspire to promote the development of a vibrant and democratic civil society in which people have the opportunity to act together in order to influence the development of society and/or improve their living conditions.*
- 12 ● *It is also stated that: In the final analysis, the distinctive character and integrity of organisations should be given due respect, as well as the fact that the organisations are primarily accountable to their own target groups and not to external financiers.*

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