

# IV

---

## Non-Governmental Organisations



# 8

---

## Focus and Quality of NGOs as Partners in Development

**Enoh Tanjong**

### **Introduction**

With the present levels of poverty, most developing countries have turned to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) for much-needed sustenance and development. Africa's political upheavals, natural disasters and the general rate of poverty awakened the need for an alternative solution to these problems. With a few dozen NGOs at the beginning of the century, 1987 showed a marked increase with several thousands the world over (Berg 1987).

Globally, there has been a marked improvement in the field of NGOs as seen from the creation of a 'consultative status' put in place by Article 71 of the United Nations Charter adopted in similar forms all over the world. This charter calls for a liberal policy towards NGOs. It remains to be seen whether the granting of an international status would truly help lighten the constraints against freedom of movement to which NGOs aspire.

In Cameroon, the history of NGOs is fairly recent. More than ten years after the emergence of NGOs in the country, the question of how far NGOs have come to provide alternatives to the shortcomings of the highly centralised and authoritarian governments from 1960-1989 has become a recurrent one.

The end of the monolithic political system in favour of multiparty democracy in Cameroon ushered in the democratisation process in 1990. This process led to the liberalisation of laws governing the formation of associations and organisations. The government passed into law a series of bills meant to liberalise public space (freedom of association, freedom of the press and multipartyism) through a document entitled 'Cameroon: Rights and Freedoms' (1990) (Law No 90/052 and Law No 90/056 of 19 December, 1990).<sup>1</sup>

So far, the general feeling is that the fear and intimidation that characterised the monolithic era have been gradually replaced with a spirit of freedom and

liberty. Associations and organisations are no longer considered forums for political agitation and threats to the leadership of the one-party oligarchy. Consequently, the rapid growth of NGOs in Cameroon between 1990 and 1995 has been attributed to the new spirit of liberalisation (Tanjong & Ndeso-Atanga 1995).

With the passing of the 1990 law on freedom of association, the tendency has fluctuated from exaggerated optimism in the early 1990s to cynicism in the early 2000s. Emerging NGOs in Cameroon are increasingly not fulfilling the aspirations of the people. Cameroon is today among the bottom 19 per cent in the low human development category (*Human Development Report* 2003). The fundamental question is why the exaggerated optimism regarding the promise of NGOs in Cameroon has now turned into cynicism.

As Fonjong (2001) explains, the early optimism might have been partly a result of the catastrophic effects of the economic crisis in the late 1980s and the harsh adjustment measures that later followed in the 1990s. Many saw NGOs as a possible organisational avenue to counter the effects of the crisis. According to Fonjong (2001:227), 'government influence has waned'. It has been unable to meet the basic needs of the people, leaving the population to take charge of their destiny through self-reliant development. Community groups and NGOs have been closing ranks to reduce the development gap thus created. The change in national economies and the effects of international trade have magnified the need for NGOs in world affairs. Governments as well as international organisations like the United Nations and the Bretton Woods Institutions consult these NGOs regarding development issues.

### **Early Optimism**

The advent of NGOs raised the hopes and aspirations of many in Cameroon. NGOs came at a time when the country was going through the devastating effects of the economic crisis, which had a trickle-down effect on all sectors of national life. Government was unable to provide the much-needed development to counteract the crisis. NGOs came as a breath of fresh air that would check the excesses of government and serve as agencies of development. Public expectations regarding the activities of NGOs at the time were high. It was envisaged that NGOs would provide health services, reduce unemployment, carry out rural development, care for the environment, educate the rural masses, help the private sector, ensure increased productivity, construct roads, provide loans and offer scholarships - an unrealistic scenario that experience would show to be so.

During the period of the Cameroon economic depression, unemployment was at its peak with over 35 per cent of the active labour force without jobs. Living in an agricultural economy, many people resorted to subsistence agriculture while most civil servants took up petty trading and other income-generating businesses (Fonjong 2001). The health system was collapsing with a ratio of a thousand patients to one doctor. It was amidst this general malaise that the public

saw NGOs as offering a new solution to the difficult equation the Cameroon economy was posing at the time.

Moving from a highly centralised one-party system to a semblance of multiparty democracy gave a flicker of hope and up to a point exaggerated optimism. Bitter differences over the high-handedness of government during a quarter century of repression made NGOs appear as God-sent. NGO activities were seen as a veritable source of income, particularly for retired and retrenched civil servants. Coming at a time when Cameroon was witnessing the devaluation of the CFA franc in 1994 and the privatisation of state-owned corporations, many civil servants were retrenched. The coming of NGOs was seen as preparing the way for these jobless and retired civil servants to plough back profits into their private bank accounts.<sup>2</sup>

Another explanation for the early optimism surrounding NGOs in Cameroon was the perception of boundless funds that northern NGOs could disburse. These hopes were further compounded by the euphoria created by these northern NGOs through the organisation of field-level activities, workshops and training seminars for capacity building for potential actors in the domain of local NGO activity.

International NGOs such as PLAN International, HELVETAS, SNV, and the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) had already been given credit for enormous rural development projects and the high quality of goods and services offered to grassroots communities. Their human and material resources like qualified manpower, four-wheel drive cars, well-furnished offices and good pay packages were such as to stimulate the people to foresee the creation of projects which would transform the lives of local communities. National NGOs saw these services as worth emulating and this generated a high degree of optimism among NGO leaders.

### ***Conceptual Framework***

The World Bank Operational Directive (1991) defines NGOs as 'private organisations' that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development. In wider usage, the term NGO is applied to non-profit organisations, which are independent from government and have development-oriented goals (Farrington 1999). With such a variety of goals, it is quickly noticeable that there must be an array of different types of NGOs.

Korten (1989) noted that the term NGO embraces a wide variety of organisations including Voluntary Organisations (VOs), People's Organisations (POs) and Governmental Non-governmental Organisations (GONGOs). Community-Based Organisations (CBOs), Citywide Organisations, Village Development Organisations (VDOs), and national and international organisations also exist (Cousins 1991). However, since the proliferation of non-state institutions in the late 1990s in Cameroon, the term NGO has been used in a blanket fashion to imply

all organisations that are not directly linked to government services and operations (Tanjong & Ndeso-Atanga 1995).

Various reasons have been proposed for the creation of NGOs in Third World countries. Some researchers claim that they were created to provide much-needed development in the economic, political and social domains. Others assert that NGOs were intended to be stop-gap measures against the excesses and failures of the public sector in the development process.

However, the euphoria that followed the creation of NGOs has today died out, as most developing countries are not experiencing the positive fruits of their projects. NGOs have not assisted in the building of roads, major schools and hospitals, or the provision of welfare services to citizens.

This paper addresses the nature of emerging NGOs in Cameroon in terms of their focus, their activities and the public assessment of them as alternatives to governmental institutions.

### ***Theoretical Framework***

There is now a significant body of literature on the focus and quality of NGOs in development (for example, Micou 1995, FAO 1994, Farrington, Bebbington et al., 1993, Wellard and Copestake 1993, Carroll 1992, Fowler, Campbell, and Pratt 1992, Clark 1991, Cernea 1988, Tanjong and Ndeso Atanga 1995).

According to Brown (1996), the state is no longer seen as the sole planner and service provider. The role of NGOs has come increasingly to the fore over the last ten years. The end of the Cold War, coupled with expanding international trade and the burgeoning information age, has led to a broad recognition of the role that the civil society has to play in international development. In many countries that are still dependent on foreign assistance to initiate and sustain development initiatives, the trend is now to encourage decentralisation of government activities, and the greater provision of what were once exclusively public services by alternative private entities. Clark (1996) explains that the World Bank is placing increased emphasis on helping NGOs play a more effective role in development activities. It does so by encouraging dialogue with NGOs and using its influence to promote policies and legal environments favourable to them.

One concern with the role of NGOs is that they may become dependent on their Northern counterparts in Europe and America, and on governments. This dependence has in some cases reached such a level that donors are able to call the tune whenever they like. The result is that African NGOs (Cameroon inclusive) have adopted a Northern agenda, to the detriment of local interests. Such NGOs change their development profiles to suit the whims and caprices of the donors (Kengo News 1993). This trend has also been observed in other African case studies cited in the general introduction (cf. in this regard Mohan 2002, Hearn 2001).

In search of development alternatives in Africa, what paradigm can NGOs use to combine internal socio-political and economic change with the capacity to

master external relations with northern NGOs? One logical answer is what Amin (1994:334) has called 'delinking'. By 'delinking', Amin does not propose a complete separation of NGOs from external agencies, but a system that offers new opportunities for African NGOs to develop their own approach, with a large margin of relative autonomy, to achieve internal changes at some distance from the global trends.

Well aware of the present levels of NGO activities, major theoretical perspectives have been developed to analyse NGOs as alternative agents in the development process. Among the major paradigms, modernisation theory, dependency theory, and at present theories of alternative development and the free flow of information have been put forward. But the role, methods and objectives of NGOs in development have varied as theoretical frameworks have come and gone. At present, development is seen as critically dependent on the active participation of the communities with NGOs. The key phrase is 'Development from Below'. This approach to development is described as participatory, endogenous and self-reliant.

Systems theory has also been important in forming new ideas for the design and delivery of NGO initiatives. Private sector analysis has been a core tool in new approaches to development. These approaches help to identify the constraints, particularly with regard to economic development and the measures required to come up with solutions to these constraints.

A central claim of the innovation theory widely corroborated in practice is that making users active partners in innovation leads to an increase in development. This insight has grown in reaction to early innovation models, which adopted a linear perspective on the diffusion of innovation processes. Innovation diffusion models have widely noted that the initial uptake of development tends to be driven by a few highly motivated adopters - in this case NGOs. Theories of diffusion of innovation might be appropriate in providing insight on issues concerning public versus private stewardship of development.

The subsidy theory asserts that this institutional form is a response to the many implicit and explicit subsidies made available to NGOs by the state (Weisbrod 1988). Activities such as education, health, poverty alleviation and welfare are encouraged through a variety of subsidies to both charitable organisations and their financial contributors.

A different view of the rationale of NGOs is provided by the public goods theory, which states that NGOs exist to satisfy the residual unsatisfied demand for public goods in society. It argues that the state tends to provide public goods only at the level that satisfies the media and voters; where demand exceeds this level or where heterogeneous demands exist, NGOs step in to fill the gap.

The contract failure theory suggests that NGOs arise where ordinary contractual mechanisms do not provide the public with adequate means to police producers (Hansmann 1987). The argument here is that when contracts are difficult to define,

people are likely to trust NGOs more than commercial firms. When the public is unable to monitor or evaluate certain outputs and services (for example, disaster, relief and care of the elderly) they are likely to turn to organisations with no profit motive for producing and delivering the outputs and services.

The consumer control theory explains the existence of a category of NGOs in terms of the superiority of direct consumer or patron control when the market and government are unable to ensure the desired performance (Kabanda 1996). It is argued that consumer control may help eliminate information asymmetry and the adverse consequences of monopoly for members.

These theoretical perspectives provide alternative explanations of why NGOs emerge and survive in society and point to the conditions under which this institutional form is likely to perform better than the market and the state.

## Literature Review

### *The Role of NGOs in Development*

NGO involvement in development activities in Africa has grown rapidly since independence. According to Bratton (1989), Africa's first modern NGOs emerged in the latter days of colonial rule as ethnic welfare associations (see Ebune 2004). Paul and Israel (1991) argue that how one looks at NGOs and their development roles often depends on deeper questions of how one looks at development and the role of the state.

The concept of non-governmental organisations has met with increasing interest during the last two decades. It is a facet of social development to which the public has adapted at a relatively fast rate. The World Bank states that NGOs are neither protected by power nor are they legitimated by elections. Mostly, they appear as actors in the field of international politics without having control over territory and population. As a result of the significant variance in the nature and role of NGOs, definitions should be narrowed so as to limit a spectrum that stretches from the churches to the Mafia. The Bank in this vein highlights the decisive characteristics of NGOs as being their non-profit status and their abstention from participation in state power.

The concept of development in itself is a complex one. Neher (2003) associates the concept with a cluster of terms such as modernisation. He cites early development paradigms that viewed development as the abandonment of traditional ways and the adoption of 'modern' practices as exemplified by the West.

Similarly, Rostow (1963) portrays development in the form of traditional Asian and African societies struggling to mimic western culture. Amin (1994) thinks that the essential part of this definition is left out, namely that the underdeveloped countries form part of a world system; that their integration into this system forged their special structure which henceforth has nothing in common with what prevailed before their integration into the modern world.



Dissanayake (1981) looks at development as a process of social change that has as its goal the improvement of the quality of life of the majority of people without doing violence to their natural and cultural environment. It also seeks to involve the generality of people as closely as possible in this enterprise, making them masters of their own destiny.

He further states that his definition is different from those presented by the scholars who defined development in the 1960s. For instance, Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) in Dissanayake (1981) defined development as a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into the social system in order to produce higher per capita income and standards of living through modern production methods and improved social organisation.

According to Ngwa (2002), development for most people in rural Africa has meant disempowerment of all kinds. It has meant marginalisation and subordination for the rural masses, in favour of a city-based power elite. For the excluded, development has come to be associated with less and less control over their lives and resources. It has meant increasing centralisation of power in the hands of a powerful coterie of corrupt indigenous elites.

Hence, many developmental blueprints resulted in the virtual loss of traditional paradigms, customary communication channels, local ideas and indigenous contributions. According to Ngwa, since the government-owned media have been part of the power structure, they could only have supported development that kept people in an imaginary society, which constantly looked outside itself for improvement.

It is clear that the basic framework of a viable development process requires rethinking. Wignaraja (1976) posits that this very act of rethinking would seem to require new kinds of information and retraining of actors in the process as well as a new methodology. Once there is a broad agreement on a feasible alternative, even in the form of an idealised construct, then we will be in a position to see what kind of information is required and of course what kind of processes should be envisaged.

Seers (1969) pointed out quite rightly in the following comment:

The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to inequality? And what has been happening to the economy? If all three of these have declined from high levels, then beyond a doubt, there has not been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have grown worse especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result development even if the per capita income doubled.

Dissanayake (1981) comments that this statement clearly reflects the newer attitude to development. It is in this sense that development is applicable and not as a synonym for economic growth, but as a term, which also includes distributive justice and human fulfilment. Older approaches to development during the 1950s

and 1960s propounded the argument that what was needed was rapid economic growth by means of industrialisation. Heavy emphasis was laid on capital-intensive technology and centralised planning. The guiding principle seems to have been that the only way in which the less developed countries could make progress was by emulating the industrially advanced countries and taking the same historical path that they traversed. Rostow's influential work, *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1963) had a profound impact on this type of thinking. In his book, he identified five stages of development for a country: the Traditional Society, the Precondition for Take-off, the Take-off, the Claim to Maturity, and the Age of High Mass-Consumption.

As Adelman (1975) points out, not only is there no automatic trickle-down of the benefits of development; but the development process leads typically to a trickle-up in favour of the middle classes and the rich.

Schiller and Nordenstreng (1975) observed that the notion of a relatively isolated nation developing in accordance with the conditions determined mainly within the society remains almost untouched. In the opinion of these two authors, this is a fundamental consideration that cannot be overlooked. They make the point that while advocates of the approach to development and communication like Everett Rogers (1976) talk of external causes of underdevelopment and dependence theory, such notions do not significantly influence their conception.

### ***The Agenda-Setting Function of NGOs***

Agenda-setting according to Kabanda (1996) is the bringing of welfare issues to the attention of relevant decision makers. NGOs sometimes exert pressure from outside, intent on both the formation and implementation of policies, programmes and plans. They use campaigning - a visible activity directed at a certain constituency - and lobbying - a direct and often private approach to individuals or small groups of people. NGOs are supposed to act as a counterweight to state power, protecting human rights, opening channels of communication and participation, providing training grounds for activists, and promoting pluralism.

Annis (1986) describes NGOs from the Latin American perspective as a thickening web of grassroots organisations. This is because the strength of the voluntary sector as a development agent is not found in the size of its individual organisation as much as in their number and variety, their ability to evolve and their ever-shifting networks and coalitions. To focus on the performance and scale of individual NGOs is to risk losing sight of the aggregate phenomenon that they represent: a movement attempting to return the control of development to the people.

The literature on NGOs is multifaceted, covering the economic, political and managerial dimensions of the non-profit sector. There is a sizable literature on the economics of the non-profit sector that consists of theories of the role of NGOs and their behaviour (Hansmann 1987, Rose-Ackerman 1980). The domi-

nant approach is to explain the phenomenon of NGOs in terms of the failures of the market and the state.

Douglas (1987) argues that studies of the politics of the non-profit sector have focussed on the reasons that NGOs perform public functions that normally fall within the purview of the government. Voluntary action is viewed here as an adaptive response to the constraints of majority rule and equitable distribution criteria. Ramanathan (1982) adds that a modest body of knowledge exists also on the dynamics of managing NGOs concerned with the planning, financing, budgeting, controlling and evaluating NGO activities. The focus here is on the internal management problems of NGOs, an applied area of direct relevance to the training and development of NGO staff.

Brown (1989) and Korten (1984) analyse the rationale of NGOs from a number of perspectives. They argue that the comparative advantage of NGOs lies in their ability to innovate, to adapt to local conditions, and to reach and work with the poor. These positive features are a function of their basic values, special skills, small size, limited resources, flexibility, and freedom from political constraints. Their weaknesses stem from some of the same characteristics - particularly their value commitments, small size, independence and administrative flexibility.

Brodhead et al., (1988) point out that many NGOs grew out of true volunteer tradition. A group of people decided to commit their uncompensated time to righting a social wrong. Eventually they become strong enough to raise funds to hire a small paid staff to support their volunteer efforts. As an organisation gained credibility it was able to attract further funding and hire more paid staff. Eventually the paid staff displaced the volunteers, with the argument that volunteers could not be expected to meet the necessary performance standards.

According to Ginsburg (1991), NGOs have become increasingly visible and active in various sectors of social life including education. NGOs have received greater attention in government, international organisation reports and policy documents as well as in scholarly literature. NGOs are characterised and evaluated in quite different ways.

Some reasons for the contradictory representation of NGOs are that they constitute a heterogeneous set of institutions, and not just because of the different sectors in which they work or the gender, racial, ethnic and social class characteristics of participants (see in this regard Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa 2001:11). These institutions include grassroots operations intricately interwoven into social movements as well as non-profit businesses run by professionals. Some NGOs are locally based institutions that operate on shoe-string budgets derived from the resources of those involved, while others are international entities with sizeable budgets built from grants and contracts from international organisations.

NGOs are characterised differently in the literature because authors bring different perspectives to the analytical task. The difference in perspectives is to some extent captured by typologies or mapping of social theory paradigms. For

example, analysts employing equilibrium perspectives tend to paint a different portrait of NGOs than those using the lens of conflict theory.

However, analysts and those who are grounded in similar paradigms may differ in their depiction and evaluation of NGOs because of differences in their conceptions of the space available for democratic participation within the state versus civil society. In democratic political systems, one would applaud the increasing role of NGOs only to the extent that one viewed the state or the public sector as unresponsive or inefficient. Cameroon seems to fit squarely into this categorisation.

Robbins (2002) suggests a few reasons why NGOs have become increasingly important in the past decade. For instance, communication advances, especially the Internet, have helped create new global communities and bonds between like-minded people across state boundaries. There are now increased resources, growing professionalism and more opportunities in NGOs. He also stresses the media's ability to increase awareness when the public demand that their governments take action of some kind.

Perhaps most important, Robbins (op cit.) suggests that some people believe NGOs have developed as part of a larger neo-liberal economic and political agenda. Shifts in economic and political ideology have led to increasing support of NGOs from governments and official aid agencies in response. Neo-liberal economic and political agendas have proposed a greater role for NGOs.

Neo-liberalism is a dominant ideology being promoted around the world today by the US and various other nations, and is known as the Washington Consensus. One of the many aspects of this ideology is to minimise the role of the state in the social sector (health, social welfare, provision of social goods and services, and education).

Robbins (2002) argues that NGOs are growing because of increased amounts of public funding. However, NGOs that are not dependent on state aid are the exception rather than the rule.

Another reason for the existence of NGOs is that people come together in independent groups to promote some type of activity that is not being undertaken by the government. Alternatively, governments may already be involved in an activity but groups are formed in order to challenge the way government is handling the matter (Kabanda 1996).

### ***Mainstreaming Women in NGOs***

NGOs might have done much to mainstream women in development in Cameroon but their efforts fall short of meeting the strategic needs for a long-term solution to the relative lack of empowerment (Fonjong 2001). The focus of NGOs on women during the economic crisis was crucial since women were more severely affected than men. More women than men became unemployed, household incomes fell, subsidies to agriculture became selective, and the informal sector was flooded by newcomers (including men and wives of the elite). Women

needed assistance to find new survival strategies to maintain their crucial roles in society (Fonjong op cit).

Fonjong (2001:227) asserts that inadequate skills limit women's effective participation in development. Many NGOs in Cameroon have focussed on making women more productive and competitive in the job market. Training is organised in workshops, seminars, demonstrations and training centres, emphasising the acquisition of knowledge, skills and information as basics for self-reliant development, which better equips the women. The intent is to increase organisational and technical capacities of these NGOs.

### ***NGOs as Civil Society Organisations***

In their quest to improve the quality of life of citizens, NGOs have become active partners and relevant actors in the civil society. NGOs have been acting as a means of bringing about sustained improvements in the well-being of individuals. However, civil society in most of sub-Saharan Africa (Cameroon inclusive) has been very docile in the articulation of public policy. Nyamnjoh (1999) identifies civil society as those independent and politically active bodies, religious, professional, cultural and special interest groups, that fall outside the structure of government. Civil society in this case refers to the vital space and network of potentially independent organisations that prove instrumental for the authentic articulation of public interests.

Monga (1995) adds that the civil society thus comprises all organisations whose actions have helped or are helping to amplify the affirmation of social identity and the rights of citizenship, often in opposition to those in power whose natural tendency is to repress such identities and rights.

### **Methodology**

A multiple approach of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies was used in carrying out this study. Three methods were used: content analysis, semi-structured interviews and a survey.

**Content Analysis:** A content analysis of 268 NGOs in Cameroon was conducted using the Directory of NGOs in Cameroon (1997) and the African Civil Society Contact Directory ([www.nivblodon.kabissa.org](http://www.nivblodon.kabissa.org)), which lists all NGOs in Cameroon (1999-2003). The objective of the content analysis was to identify the areas of focus of NGOs in the country.

**Semi-Structured Interviews (SSI):** A series of semi-structured interviews was conducted with the leaders and management of eleven NGOs in Fako Division of the Southwest Province. This was based on a random sample of the NGO leaders and management. The semi-structured interviews were based on the following thematic issues: the mission of the NGO, operation and management systems, quality and capacity, sources of funding and external relations.

Survey of Cameroonians: In January 2004, a cross-sectional probability sample of 600 heads of households in the Buea municipality was surveyed. Face-to-face and self-administered interviews were conducted with the sampled respondents from the following neighbourhoods: Bolifamba, Bomaka, Bonaberi, Bonalyonga, Bokwoango, Small Soppo, Great Soppo, Molyko, Buea Town, Longstreet, the Government Residential Area (GRA) and Bonduma.

A Systematic Random Sampling (SRS) technique was used to draw respondents from the twelve neighbourhoods. In each neighbourhood, an alternate sampling of houses was made and within each household, heads of households were interviewed. The response rate of the survey was 90.3 per cent.

The study focussed on the Cameroon public's perceptions of NGOs as alternatives to development. It thus examined public assessments of the development-oriented activities of NGOs and their capacity to act as alternative agents in the process of social change.

## Results

### *Focus of NGOs*

An examination of the focus of NGOs in Cameroon from the content analysis revealed that 5.2 per cent of the 268 NGOs studied direct their interventions at rural communities, while 4.9 per cent targeted urban communities. Surprisingly enough, an overwhelming majority (89.9 per cent) of the NGOs did not indicate their area of intervention.

This poses a practical problem in terms of the level of operation of these NGOs and how far they are carrying out their activities in the field. One may tend to believe the assertion that these NGOs are 'briefcase' bodies, since they did not spell out their areas of operation.

NGOs (particularly international NGOs) started operations in Cameroon way back in the early 1940s. But it was not until 1990 with the passing of the freedom laws that national NGOs witnessed an upsurge. Today, there are over 300 NGOs in Cameroon ranging from Village Development Organisations to Service Providing NGOs (SPNGOs).

From the content analysis, the major focus of NGOs in Cameroon can be placed under the portmanteau concepts of urban and rural development (31 per cent). These are quite elusive concepts because they do not specify the exact nature of NGO activities.

Other reported areas of focus were education (28 per cent), environment sustainability and agro-forestry (24 per cent), health and HIV/AIDS (16.3 per cent), and sport (0.4 per cent). Curiously, none of these NGOs reported being active in politics despite the fact that we are experiencing democratic pluralism in Cameroon. Evidence from the survey data also suggests a similar trend in the various categories of NGO focus: Health, education, agriculture, and environmental sustainability. A lack of focus is indicative of the elusive nature of

Cameroon's NGOs. This has implications for effectiveness and the ability of these NGOs to impact on grassroots communities.

### ***NGO Governance***

From the semi-structured interviews in Limbe and Buea sub-divisions, NGO leaders revealed that most of the organisations had been founded by a few charismatic individuals with a strong commitment to a cause or purpose and a definite set of ideas about how to serve that cause.

Overall, membership of most national NGOs is still relatively small and tied to family or tribal lineage. Few NGOs can claim a national scope because of their lack of resources, capacity, infrastructure and focus. Consequently, most NGOs are limited in geography and focus.

NGO leaders maintain the direction of the NGOs in line with their stated objectives. Leadership is more effective if it is open to as wide a variety of opinions and talents as possible in order to be effective and utilise all the talents and enthusiasm of its staff and members, as well as to avoid insularity and stagnation. The role of effective leadership is to manage the attention of employees by articulating a set of intentions or a clear vision of the outcome, goal or direction of the NGO, and by making these ideas tangible and meaningful to employees. NGO leaders in Cameroon can be more effective if they are focussed, constant and consistent, so that they will be trusted and followed.

Above all, leadership fosters the involvement and participation of the NGO membership and the community which the NGO serves. The best method is the participation of NGO leaders, members and the community in realising the objectives of the NGO. Developmentally, this participation is the best method of ensuring the success and sustainability of an NGO and its programmes.

### ***The Quality and Capacity of NGOs***

The quality and capacity of NGOs depends on the effective combination of its human and material resources. These human resources must possess the skills, the motivation and the opportunity to make the best contribution of which they are capable to the NGO. They also need to be organised and relate to each other in ways that are conducive to productive outcomes. It is worth noting that the level of education (academic qualification) of NGO staff is a vital aspect for the efficiency of the NGOs. This is because working with an unqualified staff may not yield the required output. Also, recruited workers might have acquired little or nothing as far as the objectives of the NGO are concerned. NGO staff must have the capacity and technical know-how to be able to access the new technologies of information and communication. NGOs with poorly qualified staff fall short of meeting the needs and aspirations of the communities which they serve. This confirms studies in other African contexts (see Mohan *op cit.*, Hearn *op cit.*, Cameron 2001, Mercer 1999). Conversely, NGOs with a qualified staff have

registered some degree of success. This accounts for their capacity to provide quality goods and services to the local population.

From observation, most of the NGOs do not have offices. This explains why they use private sitting rooms and one-room apartments as offices. An office is supposed to be a very vital place for consulting and has to be well equipped. Talking about equipment, most of these NGOs, as one of their objectives, pursue computer literacy training programmes for their members and the local community but do not have the required equipment.

In most of the offices, there is no basic equipment such as stationery, computers and files. Most of the NGO leaders claim to have equipment that is not readily available. Although the leaders were hesitant about answering questions with regard to finance, their subordinates testified that most of their leaders embezzled the funds. This is one of the factors that have undermined the effectiveness and credibility of NGOs in Cameroon. NGO members have resorted to strike action when the leaders could not give a proper account of the money in their coffers. Evidence suggests that there is a significant wave of corruption among NGOs although most people are of the opinion that corruption is only prevalent in governmental organisations. This is eloquent testimony to the fact that many people working in NGOs are there for personal profit.

In order to be effective and efficient an NGO needs to ensure that it uses all the skills and experience of its staff appropriately. It can do this by providing them with every opportunity to use their skills, experience and to be creative and take upon themselves the responsibility for improving the ways in which work is done. In addition to having adequate resources and the necessary cash flow, the NGO needs to have a sufficiently diverse resource base and long-term plans for meeting its resource needs.

More than half (58 per cent) of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement that NGOs are sources of private funding and wealth. Similarly, 43.7 per cent reported that most NGOs do not actually exist (they are 'briefcase' NGOs), while 56.4 per cent of the respondents also agreed that Cameroonian NGOs rely heavily on their Northern counterparts for funding. On a positive note, 37.3 per cent of the respondents agreed that NGOs are alternatives to development as opposed to 28.7 per cent who disagreed.

From the data, more than half of the respondents (58 per cent) accuse NGOs of corruption. This is an ethical indictment of Cameroonian NGOs by the respondents. In the current democratic dispensation, most people look to NGOs for honest developmental efforts, and NGO leaders need to win the support of the masses by directing funds to the right development projects instead of amassing wealth for themselves.

When the respondents were asked to advise NGO leaders in the dispatch of their duties, 18.7 per cent called on the NGOs to be honest, 9.3 per cent requested that they should embark on rural development while others referred to assisting



and educating the poor (7.7 per cent), proper management of funds (7 per cent) and the need to stick to the non-profit making motive (3.7 per cent).

While some NGOs employ staff in the usual way, others have turned these organisations into family businesses. Some NGOs have all members of their families as the main workers or policy makers of the institutions. Very often, this happens because the leaders do not want to spend money; leading to poor and unproductive outcomes.

This notwithstanding, it is generally true that NGOs with a qualified management and staff stand a greater chance of succeeding in achieving their objectives. Though many leaders claim that their NGOs have a number of staff working for them, it was observed that this was not always the case. The leaders were acting as public relation officers for their NGOs.

### ***Cameroon NGOs and the Dependency Syndrome***

The increasing level of poverty in Cameroon has led to a high dependence on international NGOs for both financial and material aid. Most NGOs receive a great deal of assistance from international NGOs, but the problem is not that they are receiving such funds, but what it is that they do with the money. As already noted, most of the offices do not have the basic equipment that an office is supposed to have. As a result, there is gross mismanagement of funds. Some NGOs do claim that they have not received any assistance from international organisations.

Long-term reliance on one or few donors or fund sources can result in the NGO becoming complacent about its financial future and failing to take steps to generate its own funding. It can result in serious problems of continuity and service delivery if the funding ceases for any reason. An NGO is more secure in this area if it has a one-to-three-year fund availability projection. NGOs need a variety of fund sources that can pick up any shortfalls and avoid excessive dependency on specific donors, and must be able to demonstrate at any one time alternative ways of meeting programme commitments and cash needs.

Presently, international NGOs have curtailed donor funds to national NGOs. International aid is now being directed to the ailing economies of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The question is, how can these national NGOs overcome the dependency syndrome? There are two possible ways: to collect funds locally from the private sector and from governments, and to move into income-generating activities. However, this may be easier said than done. There are several reasons for this problem.

The government and NGOs usually look for funding from the same source - the North. This can lead to government undermining NGOs as it sees them as competitors for the same funding. In addition, the government thinks that NGOs do not have adequate resources.

The private sector in Cameroon is very weak. They need all the profit they can keep whether legally or otherwise. At the same time, donations are not tax-

deductible; hence there is no incentive for the private sector to donate funds to NGOs. But what is more important, the private sector does not understand the concept of NGOs and even the idea of foundations. Many of them see the NGO 'watchdog role' as being anti-industry and anti-private sector.

Not all NGOs work in areas where income generation is a feasible alternative. Examples are NGOs working for the provision of water to poor communities, adult literacy, and primary health care in slum areas. Furthermore, many beneficiaries of NGO services do not expect to pay for them. So the question may be posed: How long will national NGOs continue to depend on Northern NGOs for survival? The answer is 'for ever', if action is not taken by both the government and the NGOs themselves. The government therefore must look at NGOs as useful partners in development and provide adequate resources to these NGOs.

The only realistic alternative would be if the government agrees to give at least one per cent of tax revenue to NGOs. This would make NGOs depend less on Northern NGOs and, as a result, form a solid base for effective service delivery in local communities.

#### *Public Assessment of NGOs*

Although studies of public perceptions of NGOs are few, the last decade has witnessed increasing interest in the activities of NGOs in Cameroon. Evidence from the data suggests that a majority of the respondents first obtained information about NGOs from the mass media (74 per cent) while 26 per cent of the respondents first had information about NGOs from inter-personal sources. The following mass media sources were singled out: radio (57.7 per cent), television (7.3 per cent), newspapers (five per cent), magazines (2.3 per cent), and the Internet (1.7 per cent). The respondents also reported that they obtained information about NGOs from inter-personal sources: friends (11 per cent), NGO leaders (7 per cent) and family relatives (6 per cent).

The findings reveal that the mass media still plays a major role in informing people about the work of NGOs. However, there exists evidence to suggest that inter-personal channels are more persuasive than mass media appeals. In other words, the diffusion concept is far more fruitful in explaining how the mass media can exploit the powers of inter-personal channels to get the message across.

Also, greater credibility and understanding are two of the obvious reasons for the persuasiveness of inter-personal sources of communication. From these observations, it is therefore obvious that NGO leaders must be able to exploit both the news media and inter-personal channels in their development-oriented activities.

With the passing of the law on freedom of association, public expectations around the activities of NGOs were high. These expectations were re-echoed in the survey data: 17 per cent of the respondents expected NGOs to concentrate on increasing economic activity and reducing employment. Others hoped for

advances in the development of rural areas (12.3 per cent), the improvement of the agricultural, educational and health sectors (9.7 per cent), assistance to government in the dispatch of duties (6.7 per cent), the provision of humanitarian services (5.3 per cent), and the reduction of corruption (4.7 per cent).

From the plethora of expectations regarding NGOs in Cameroon, it is clear that the public still anticipate that NGOs will prove to be effective partners in development. But the activities of NGOs are not meeting the needs and aspirations of the people who are looking up to them with optimism. The public expects the NGOs to focus more on providing much-needed employment. This expectation comes against a backdrop of high unemployment levels of around 30 per cent of the active labour force. When the respondents were asked to make an assessment of the focus of NGOs in Cameroon, 41.7 per cent reported that the NGOs focus on health activities, 37.7 per cent on agriculture, environmental sustainability and forestry (29 per cent), education (24 per cent), social activities (21.7 per cent), economic activities (19 per cent), cultural activities (16.3 per cent), sport (8.3 per cent), religion (6.7 per cent) and politics (6 per cent).

The findings do suggest that NGOs in principle at least deal with real life issues because most focus on health activities, especially the fight against HIV/AIDS, human rights, child labour and women's emancipation. There are other NGOs, which assist rural women in the agricultural and health sectors by providing farm tools and health care facilities for rural development.

From the survey data, other priority areas of focus are agriculture, which so far is the mainstay of the Cameroon economy with over 70 per cent of the labour force found in this sector. Also, the respondents singled out education as another major area of focus of NGOs. As a developing country, Cameroon still needs to invest much in the educational sector for training and capacity building. The recent trends towards professionalisation, technical education and vocational training will be helpful in moulding an industrial society in the not too distant future.

### ***Current Cynicism***

According to the survey data, public expectations of NGOs as reliable alternatives to public sector development have dropped considerably over the last decade. The optimism that welcomed the advent of national NGOs in Cameroon has turned to pessimism, as the average NGO is not meeting the needs and aspirations of the grassroots communities. The following reported reasons were advanced as to why NGOs are no longer considered as alternatives to development. Self interest, lack of funds, their existence as briefcase organisations, mismanagement of resources, corruption, ineffective leadership and government interference were among the reasons advanced for the ineptness of national NGOs in Cameroon.

NGO quality and capacity is generally weak across Cameroon. Most of the NGOs are out for self-aggrandisement. Even those that have clearly specified objectives do not possess the necessary funds for effective operation. Planning and coordination is inadequate at all levels because of the ineffective leadership. Mismanagement of resources becomes a problem among national NGOs because they lack planning capacity. Therefore, donors do not engage in coordinated planning and NGOs operate according to the whims and caprices of the donors. For example, NGOs will rarely identify areas of intervention in grassroots communities which are not in line with the specific needs of the donor agencies. Funds are therefore often misdirected and poorly managed.

Corruption among national NGOs is at its peak. Huge sums of money destined for community-based development projects are siphoned off into private coffers. The population is largely ignorant of NGOs which claim to carry out activities in their area. Some NGO leaders have reported that government is hindering the implementation of most of their projects due to the fact that some of them have not yet obtained the required documents to enable them to carry out their development projects. This explains why most NGOs operate as 'briefcase' institutions and to a certain extent in a clandestine fashion.

As mentioned earlier, the rising hopes and aspirations of the early 1990s were gradually replaced by cynicism as national NGOs sprang up in every nook and cranny causing a cacophony of development-oriented activities. It is against this backdrop that the government promulgated Law No. 99/014 of 21 December, 1999, reorganising and redefining NGOs in Cameroon. According to article 2 (1) of that law, an NGO is any local or foreign association which has been authorised under the law in force, and accepted by the administration to participate in the execution of development activities in the general interest of the local population.

Another noticeable trend is the fact that both government and NGOs are competing for funding from the same sources. Consequently, there is mutual suspicion and tension between government and NGOs. This contributes to the current cynicism around the role of NGOs in development.

The 1999 law exerts excessive control on NGO activities by the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralisation in terms of structure and operation. The administration must be informed about the composition of the NGO hierarchy and any changes within this structure. This new law questions the much-trumpeted talk of NGOs as 'private organisations', as this government interference is viewed as having a negative impact on NGO activities (Owona 2004).

One of the major critiques among Cameroon development watchers on the failure of national NGOs to meet the needs and aspirations of the local population is the absence of an enabling environment in the legal, economic and political aspects of national life. From the legal framework, it was not until 1999 that a law was signed putting an end to the anarchy created by several hundreds of loosely knit associations posing as NGOs (see Temngah in the present volume).

This legal environment came with strings attached, as it introduced a lot of government control over the composition and activities of NGOs.

From the economic standpoint, there is the absence of a resource base (human, material and financial), which national NGOs could use to carry out mainstream rural development projects. Development in Cameroon has been tied to political leanings. Development activity is therefore heavily politicised (see also Yenshu in the present volume). Ndzie (2004) adds his voice to the cynicism that surrounds NGOs today in Cameroon when he notes that anyone who needs money, fame, varied sources of finance, funding and a high standard of living in Cameroon turns around and creates an NGO. This paints a picture of how NGOs have become sources of private wealth and funding.

In spite of the litany of public pronouncements commenting negatively on NGOs, the public seems very concerned about their activities, and still has not lost all hope that they can constitute alternatives to public sector development. However, most NGOs have veered off the path that led to their objectives. Little wonder thus that the public is making a clarion call on NGO leaders to be honest in the management of their funds, create partnerships with the government, and fight corruption etc.

### Conclusions

While the above findings may not exactly capture the current state of affairs regarding NGOs as a whole, they nonetheless give some insight into their various areas of focus, the Cameroonian public perceptions, and their operation and management systems. There is evidence of mixed feelings and scepticism on the part of the respondents. In order to adjust and make fruitful contributions to the development process, it is important for NGO leaders, staff, members and stakeholders to be aware of what the Cameroonian public thinks about them.

NGO staff should consist of men and women with a real understanding of the problems faced by grassroots communities and who are committed to the alleviation of the problems they face. NGOs should budget for socio-economic, environmental and resource management activities, so as to be able to generate effective indicators for monitoring and evaluation, and to identify clearer objectives. Local beneficiaries of projects should be given adequate training by the staff of NGOs so that they will be better able to decide on the initiatives to be carried out, and so that the skills necessary for carrying out projects can be transferred to the local community. While social, political and economic changes continue to affect the development process in Cameroon, development remains a crucial issue that must be addressed at all costs. NGOs therefore have a vital role to play in the development process.

Further studies on the environment in which NGOs operate in Cameroon are needed to examine their successes and failures vis-à-vis the current democratic dispensation. Speculations are rife that the state is frustrating the efforts of NGOs

in Cameroon. This is against a backdrop of the state not creating an enabling environment for their effective operation. However, it is useful to know that there is the need for a self-righting process in the way NGO activities are currently being carried out. The pace at which they are implementing the present development process is inevitably slow. Cameroonians are aware of the challenges. The solutions may not be found as quickly as the problems are acknowledged.

The question can legitimately be posed as to whether international NGOs can serve a liberating or recolonising purpose in Cameroon as new missionaries of development. For now, there is a delicate, thin, dividing line between international and local NGOs, determined by the basic philosophies of intervention fluctuating between direct and indirect approaches. The first phase of international NGO activity was direct and based on the argument of operational efficacy. The major setback to this approach was the fact that it was not adapted or responsive to the needs of local peoples. This led to a change to an indirect approach, which set out to build capacity for local NGOs who would in the long run take over from them. In this regard, international NGOs provided the training to local NGOs and operated through the latter by funding them on the grounds that the local partners were more conversant with local realities. The capacity-building and proxy approach are no longer tenable. International NGOs are no longer sub-letting their functions to the locals but are using the very argument to justify their continued presence in the country. The fear is being entertained that if local NGOs acquire the requisite capacity they will replace or displace international NGOs. This explains why the capacity-building mission is not serious or has no end in sight. In such a situation, there is surely going to be a long period of cohabitation, as international NGOs continue to maintain a posture of paternalism and retain niches in order to escape replacement by local partners or competitors. The image that presents itself is one of international NGOs striving to remain in business, because, after all, the NGO sector is a lucrative one that mobilises substantial funding and provides a sizeable amount of expatriate employment.

## Notes

1. For a detailed analysis of the legal framework of civil society and social movements following these reforms see Temngah (in this volume).
2. This is equally the opinion of Herbert Endeley, Chairman of Cameroon Mountain Conservation Foundation (CAMCOF), a local NGO, who thinks that NGOs failed because retired civil servants who were responsible for failure through red tape became recycled as initiators and managers of the budding NGOs (*Eden* newspaper, September 2004).

## References

- Adelman, I., 1975, 'Development Economics: A Reassessment of Goals', *The American Review*, LXV.
- African Civil Society Contact Directory (see all listings on Cameroon 1999-2003), [www.kabissa.org](http://www.kabissa.org) or [www.nivblodon.kabissa.org](http://www.nivblodon.kabissa.org)
- Amin, Samir, 1994, 'The Issue of Democracy in the Contemporary Third World', in Ulf Himmelstrand et al., *African Perspectives on Development*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Annis, Sheldon, 1987, 'Can Small Scale Development be a Large Scale Policy? The Case of Latin America', *World Development*, (Supplement, autumn).
- Berg, Robert J., 1987, *Non-Governmental Organisations: New Force in Third World Development and Politics*, Michigan: Center for Advanced Study of International Development.
- Bratton, Michael, 1988, 'Poverty, Organization and Policy: Towards a Voice of Africa's Rural Poor', (unpublished).
- Brodhead, Tim, Brent Herbert-Copley, and Anne-Marie Lambert, 1988, *Bridges of Hope? Canadian Voluntary Agencies in the Third World*, Ottawa: The North-South Institute.
- Brown L., David and David C. Korten, 1989, *The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Development*. Boston, MA: Institute for Development.
- Brown, Michael, 1996, ed., *Non-Governmental Organizations and Natural Resources Management: Synthesis Assessment of Capacity-Building Issues in Africa*, New York: World Learning Inc., CARE, WWF.
- Clark, John, 1991, *Democratizing Development*, London: Earthscan.
- Cameron, Greg, 2001, 'Taking Stock of Pastoralist NGOs in Tanzania', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 87.
- Caroll, Thomas F., 1992, *Intermediary NGOs: The Supporting Link in Grassroots Development*. Hartford, Conn: Kumarian Press.
- Cernea, Michael, 1988, 'Nongovernmental Organizations and Local Development', World Bank Discussion Papers, no. 40. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Cousins, William, 1991, 'Operational Directive 14.7', Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Dissanayake, Wimal, 1981, 'Development and Communication: Four Approaches', (unpublished).
- Douglas, James, 1987, 'Political Theories of Non-Profit Organizations', (unpublished).
- Ebune, Joseph B, 2004, 'Contributions of Self-Help Associations to the Growth and Development of British Southern Cameroons, 1922-1962: A Historical Perspective', *Epassa Moto. A Bilingual Journal of Arts, Letters and the Humanities*, Vol. 2, No. 1.
- FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), 1994, 'FAO Collaboration with Asian NGOs for Participatory Rural Development: The Case of ANGOC', Rome: FAO.
- Farrington, John, 1997, *Improving Agriculture/NGO Extension*, London: FAO.
- Fonjong, Lotsmart, 2001, 'Fostering Women's Participation in Development through Non-governmental Efforts in Cameroon', *The Geographic Journal*, Vol. 167, No. 3, September.
- Fowler, Alan, Piers Campbell and Brian Pratt, 1992, *Institutional Development and NGOs in Africa: Policy Perspectives for European Development Agencies*, Oxford: The International NGO Training and Research Centre (INTRAC).

- Ginsburg, M., 1991, *Understanding Educational Reform in the Global Context*, New York: Garland Publishing.
- Hearn, Julie, 2001, 'The "Uses and Abuses" of Civil society in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 87.
- Hansmann, Henry, 1987, *Economic Theories of Non-Profit Organizations*, Boulder, Col: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Kabanda, Pherrys, 1996, 'The Role of NGOs in the Third World', Paper presented at the National Development Studies Week on behalf of the National Coordinator, Uganda National NGO Forum.
- Kengo News, 1993, 'Kenya Energy and Environment Organizations', Vol. V, No. 3, July.
- Mercer, Claire, 1999, 'Reconceptualising State-society Relations in Tanzania: Are NGOs Making a Difference?', *Area*, 31, 3.
- Korten, D., 1989, *Getting to the 21st Century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda*, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.
- Law No 90/052 of December 19th 1990.
- Law No 90/056 of December 19th 1990.
- Law No 99/014 of December 21st 1999.
- Micou, Ann McKinsty, 1995, 'NGO Development Training in Southern Africa: Promoting South-South Linkages Through Information-Sharing, Vol. 1: Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland & Zimbabwe', New York: Institute of International Education: Southern African Information Exchange Working Paper, No. 29.
- Mohan, Giles, 2002, 'The Disappointments of Civil Society: The Politics of NGO Intervention in Northern Ghana', *Political Geography*, 21.
- Monga, C., 1995, 'Civil Society and Democratisation in Francophone Africa', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, No. 33 (3).
- Ndzie, Guy Pancrace, 2004, 'ONG et Business', *La Nouvelle Presse*, No. 129, Tuesday 6 January.
- Neher, William, 2003, *International Communication: Concepts and Cases*, Ontario: Wadsworth.
- Ngwa, George, 2002, 'Communication and Empowerment of the People', in Festus Eribo and Enoch Tanjong, eds., *Journalism and Mass Communication in Africa: Cameroon*, Washington DC: Lexington Books.
- Nyamnjoh, Francis B., 1999, 'Media pluralism and civil society in emerging African democracies', in Luke Uche, ed., *Mass Communication, Democracy and Civil Society in Africa: International Perspectives*, Lagos: Smagh and Company, Nigeria Ltd.
- Owona, Francois, 2004, 'ONGs: Splendeur et Misère', *La Nouvelle Presse*, No 129, Tuesday 6 January.
- Paul, S. and A. Israel, 1991, 'Non-Governmental Organizations and the World Bank: Cooperation for Development', Washington: The World Bank.
- Ramanathan, K.V., 1982, *Management Control in Non-Profit Organizations*, New York: Wiley.
- Republic of Cameroon, 1990, *Cameroon: Rights and Freedoms. Collection of Recent Texts*, Yaoundé: Edition SOPECAM.
- Robbins, Richard, 2002, *Global Problems and the Culture of Capitalism* Second Edition, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.



- Robinson, J. P., 1971, 'Toward Defining the Functions of Television', in Robinstein, E.A., Cumstock, G.A. and Murray, J. P., eds., *Television and Social Behaviour*, Washington, DC: Government Printing House.
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan, ed., 1980, *The Economics of Non-Profit Institutions: Studies in Structure and Policy*, Yale Studies on Non-Profit Organizations, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rostow, Walt, 1960, *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schiller, Herbert and Kaarle Nordenstreng, 1975, *Globalization and Business Practice*, London: Macmillan Press.
- Seers, Dudley, 1969, *Development in Perspective: An Asian Study of Development*. London: Heinemann Press.
- Tanjong, Enoh and Ada Ndeso-Atanga, 1995, *Networking in Natural Resource User Organizations in Cameroon: Field Experiences*, Yaoundé: AMA.
- Tanjong, Enoh, 1999, 'The Politics of Democratic and Media Pluralism, Press Freedom and Civil Society in West and Central Africa', in Luke Uche, ed., *Mass Communication, Democracy and Civil Society in Africa: International Perspectives*, Lagos: Smagh and Company, Nigeria Ltd.
- Tostensen, A., Inge Tvedten and Mariken Vaa, 'The Urban Crisis, Governance and Associational Life', Tostensen, A., Inge Tvedten and Mariken Vaa, eds., 2001, *Associational Life in African Cities. Popular Responses to the Urban Crisis*, Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 2003, *Human Development Report*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Weiss, W., 1969, 'Effects of Mass Media of Communication', in Lindsley, G. and Azonsan, E., eds., *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. 5, 2nd Edition, Addison: Wesley Publications.
- Weisbrod, B. A., 1988, *The Non-Profit Economy*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wellard, K. and James Copestake, eds., 1993, *Nongovernmental Organizations and the State: Africa*, London: Routledge & Keagan Paul.
- Wignaraja, Ponna, 1976, 'A New Strategy for Development' (unpublished), [www.webartery.com/prime/ngostudy.htm-101k](http://www.webartery.com/prime/ngostudy.htm-101k)  
[www.worldbank.com/premnote/ngo](http://www.worldbank.com/premnote/ngo)