

The roles of International NGOs and the dominant factors affecting their operations and management practices and policies in Sub-Saharan Africa: A literature review

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Abstract

For the past four decades, International NGOs have been playing a major role in providing welfare, relief and developmental services to developing countries. In relation to Sub-Saharan Africa, the objectives of INGOs have always been the provision of services that the African governments are unable to provide for their citizens. INGOs' projects in health, education and livelihoods programs help to provide the services that the country's government is incapable to provide to the most susceptible segment of the community. However, INGOs operating in Sub-Saharan Africa experienced difficulties in effectively achieving their operational mandates due to unfavorable working conditions, i.e., political-legal constraints, and safety and security concerns. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the roles INGOs have been playing and the dominant factors that affect their operations and management policies and practices in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study findings demonstrated that external factors such as political and legal systems, economic changes, socio-cultural factors and perception of colonialism, and globalization directly influenced the successful operations and management of INGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Keywords: The Roles of INGOs, Factors Affecting INGOs, INGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa

Introduction

International NGOs have established themselves as significance agents in the social development and economic intervention occurring worldwide (Buny 2017, Carr 2011; Lewis 2009). This establishment is evidenced by a significant change in the expansion of funding channelled to developing economies through them (Fowler 2002; Edwards & Hulme 2003). According to Hulme and Edwards (2002), the number of INGOs registered in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries has increased from 1,600 in 1990s to 2,970 in 2018. In the same period, total spending of these INGOs rose from US\$ 2.8 billion to US\$ 5.7 billion in current prices (Lewis 2002). In general, INGOs account for over 15 percent of total development aid in Africa, which is linked to the growth and development process (Lewis 2009). According to Ipinge et al. (2009), the aid contributed by INGOs to Sub-Saharan Africa over the past three decades has increased the annual growth rate of the bottom billion by one percent. While one percent in three decades does not sound like a lot of progress, credit should be given to the fact that progress has been consistently increasing throughout the years instead of remaining stagnant or failing backwards. Many projects and advocacy initiatives promoted by INGOs encourage sustainable development via a human rights approach and capabilities enhancing approach. INGOs that promote human rights advocacy issues in part try to set up an international judicial standard that respects the rights of every human being and promotes the empowerment of disadvantaged groups such as women and children (Shannon 2003). Still other

INGOs such as those promoting micro-financing and education, directly impact of capabilities of citizens and communities by developing skills and human capital while encouraging citizen empowerment and community involvement (Carr 2011). INGOs, along with domestic and international governmental initiatives, are a critical part of global development (Vakil 1997).

The above important roles that INGOs play in the developmental effort of developing countries, Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, make their operations' and management policies' effectiveness critical (Buny 2017; Malunga 2009). However, difficulties posed by the working environment are problems to INGOs operating in developing countries and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular (Shannon 2003; Irungu 2002). The environment in which INGOs operate in Sub-Saharan Africa is challenging. In Sub-Saharan Africa, conditions for INGOs tend to be quite dangerous in case where governments have collapsed and there is no exerted authority which can provide security. Darfur, South Sudan, DRC, CAR and Somalia in recent years can be used as an example of this, where aggressors recurrently commandeered INGOs supplies and placed bombs in INGOs offices in retaliation to INGOs' interventions in conflicts (Tulloch et al. 2011). Prior studies show that environmental influences are challenges that organizations operating in Sub-Saharan Africa often face (Smock 2009; Webb 2004). INGOs' workers often work under the most difficult conditions, far from their families, often sleeping in tents, on rough terrain, and in inhospitable environments (Kevany et al. 2012).

Problems of operational difficulties are a major hindrance to operational and organizational effectiveness among INGOs in developing countries (Buny 2017). Trivedy (2015, p. 625) observed that "in Sub-Saharan Africa, a particular difficulty of INGOs is not being able to recruit competent and skilled workers, but poor working conditions and lack of staff safety". To demonstrate the magnitude of the challenge, Ipinge et al. (2009) conducted a longitudinal research on the conditions of 40 aid workers from different INGOs operating in the Eastern Africa region and they discovered that only 5 out of the 40 aid workers were remained with their original organizations after two years of service. According to Drucker (2010, p. 100), "the first sign of decline of an industry is its loss of qualified, able and ambitious workers". Losing large number of qualified aid workers can be costly and disruptive to organization's progress (Lucero & Allen 2004, p. 141). Existing of professional aid workers can cause an NGO not to achieve its mission and vision (Malunga 2009; Davidson et al. 2007). Leaving of qualified aid workers from the workforce also limits the ability of NGOs to start building a foundation of knowledge and experience from which to draw future learning and on which to continue building an increasingly competent and rigorous body of practice (Blaikie 2006). Humanitarian and development assistance, being a long-term process, requires organizations to maintain continuity of qualified aid workers as one of the preconditions for success and sustainability (Malunga 2009).

The overall objectives of this review are:

1. To evaluate the roles of International NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa in relation to humanitarian and development activities.
2. To evaluate the dominant factors affecting International NGOs' operations and staff management practices and policies in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Method

The search for published works was done from a variety of sources including academic journals, books, conference papers, professional association journal, newsletters and newspapers and online articles. Those works conforming to the roles of INGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa and the dominant factors affecting INGOs' operations and management policies in Sub-Saharan Africa were selected. Furthermore, relevant sources such as review of relevant literature and government reports, newspaper reports and departmental and organization reports were also consulted. International organizations such as humanitarian and development organizations which are often cited and have been working in developing countries, in particular Sub-Saharan Africa, for over ten years were the only agencies that their documents were selected and reviewed. Thus, 88 papers were available for this review. The selected works for this review are discussed under each section below and listed at the end.

Findings

The Diverse Current Ways of Defining INGOs

The United Nations defines INGOs as “not-for-profit, voluntary citizen’s group, which is organized to address issues in support of the public good” (Otto 2006, p. 110). Vakil (1997, p. 2058), in an early attempt to define and classify non-governmental organizations described INGOs as “agencies engaging in overseas provision of services for relief and development purposes, as well as task-oriented”. Task oriented and made up of people with common interests, INGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens’ concerns to governments, monitor policy and program implementation, and encourage participation of Civil Society stakeholders at the community level (Wamucii 2014; Teegen et al. 2004). In the African context, a working understanding of INGOs is provided by the definition accepted by the South African National Coalition of NGOs that “INGOs are independent, self-governing, voluntary, non-profit organizations operating not for commercial purposes but in the public interest for the promotion of social well-being and development, religion, charity, education, research, human and environmental rights worldwide” (SANGOCO 2004, p. 18). The above diversity reflects the challenge academic researchers face in an attempt to define the INGOs conclusively. Vakil (1997, p. 2057) suggests that ‘lack of consensus on how to define and classify INGOs has inhibited progress on both the theoretical and empirical fronts in the effort to better understand and facilitate the functioning of the INGOs’.

The Roles of INGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa

Usually, the contribution of INGOs to employment in developing countries is not so much as the employer itself, as it is in performing the role of champion of labor and human rights particularly for workers in multinational enterprises (Malunga 2009; Debebe 2007; Mukasa 1999). When INGOs do accept recruits from among local residents to staff its projects, a significant number of them are volunteers who receive little or no remuneration (Merlot et al. 2006; Kiraka 2003). Aside from monetary income which employees are not expected to receive, the other salient benefit to them is the skills transfer and training that they may hope to obtain while working for the INGOs (Buny 2017). Had there been evidence of significant acquisition of new skills, then the talented employees would still have obtained some positive return on their labor. However, studies have indicated that in cases where there were supposed to be a transfer of skills, the local workers and likely even local volunteers hardly received any significant transfer of skills

(Loquercio et al. 2006). This was because the expatriates rarely worked on this basis, that is, in a manner that would have devolved important knowledge or competencies to the locals. Furthermore, since expatriates were anxious to impress the superiors in the home country within the short period of time they were assigned abroad, they essentially chose to work on relatively short-term projects that were unsustainable after the expatriate managers' term in the host country (Mukasa 1999). Therefore, there is little chance that locals would be exposed to experience that has long-term value or that is of sufficient variety or depth to constitute meaningful skills transfer. Corollary to the foregoing attitude of expatriate managers with respect to skills transfer, expatriates tend to concentrate decision making prerogatives among themselves (Buny 2017, Lewis 2002). Among the concerns most mentioned by the local paid staff in a survey conducted by Mukasa (1999) in Uganda was the matter of decision-making. 'Tensions often occurred between staff and senior managers because of the staff expectations that they would be equal partners in the decision-making process (Mukasa 1999, p. 7). Such sentiments and expectations, however, were only prevalent among the paid local staff, as unpaid volunteer staff viewed themselves uninvolved with the management of the INGO, and were therefore reluctant to assume any management duties (Mukasa 1999).

One aspect in which INGOs have predisposed the local employment environment, other than as employers themselves, involves its role as partner and collaborator with the labor sector. For INGOs whose principal concern is the protection of workers' rights under multinational enterprises operating in host countries, the forgone expectation is for the NGOs to be working in close cooperation with the local unions (Zanden & Hyllman 2011). In practice, however, the relationship between unions and NGOs in the host country is often marred by tension and conflict, because of the differences in how unions and NGOs are organized and how they operate (Merlot et al. 2006). The sources of conflict stem from differences in three dimensions: (1) identity construction; (2) governance systems; and (3) resources. The 'identity' dimension refers to the institutional points of reference of their corporate influence mechanism, i.e. international framework agreements (policy) for unions, and codes of conduct (enterprise) for NGOs. Findings showed that union officials do not recognize NGOs are workers' representatives because they are outside the tripartite agreement involving workers, employers, and unions. Unions see NGOs as useful only for organizing consumer campaigns and exerting corporate pressure, but they do not truly represent the interests of the workers (Zandén & Hyllman 2011). For the 'governance' dimension, it is found that the common viewpoint among government officials is that INGOs organizing activities are less legitimate than those of unions because the workers INGOs represent are not their members, and therefore they have no democratic governance. However, union officials acknowledge that INGOs are often more efficient than unions in the short term because they are able to arrive at their decisions faster (Zandén & Hyllman 2011).

Moreover, the 'resource dimension' pertains to each group's source of finances. Unions are self-sufficient in their funding because they are supported by membership fees, since the workers are part of the organization. In contrast, NGOs often do not have members, and they must compete for financial resources from private individuals or sponsors and they must consistently advertise their activities in order to garner more support. NGOs are also mandated by law and their donors to regularly and frequently account for the financial support they receive. Unions are therefore more financially stable in the long terms than are NGOs (Zandén & Hyllman 2011). The union-NGO cooperation is vital for balancing influence against workers' interests in emerging economies. The three barriers to their smooth cooperation tend to cause friction between them and undermine the effectiveness of INGOs as an agent for the protection of workers from the

abuses of multinational enterprises (Merlot et al. 2006). While not too recent, this seminal study was conducted in Uganda concerning the case of INGOs as employers. Mukasa (1999) sought to determine whether or not expatriate staffs were necessary in international humanitarian and development NGOs. It cited six key issues pertaining to the employment conditions at the INGOs. They include: the frequent changes of expatriate staff; the tendency for local staff knowledge to be undervalued; the emergence of structural barriers in staff relationships; cultural sensitivity and awareness; contradictions and lack of clarity in overall staffing policy; and tensions around differences in lifestyle and living standards. The interest placed on the working conditions expatriate staff members are exposed to is relevant; local staffers do not have many of the problems the expatriates endure because they are acclimatized to the political, cultural and social environment of their own country (Mukasa 1999). Expatriate staff members, however, occupy the key senior positions in field offices of INGOs, principally due to accountability to their donors as to how the organization had been managed (Mukasa 1999).

One issue that persists among INGOs that was found in the Ugandan study by Mukasa (1999) is the relationship between the two types of staff they employ – i.e., the paid and unpaid staff, or volunteers. INGOs normally attract people with a high commitment to the principles and aims of the organization. Likewise, these people have high expectations concerning their involvement in decision-making; most of the academic literature which discusses these topics does not, however, make the distinction between paid and unpaid staff (Merlot et al. 2006). Mukasa (1999) notes, however, that volunteers are more averse towards accepting higher positions in the organization or being designated as the decision-maker. One reason is because they shun the additional responsibilities higher positions would entail; they perceive their volunteer work in the nature of something they merely did during their spare time, and saw no further commitment beyond that (Buny 2017, Mukasa 1999). In fact, when asked the purpose for which they joined the organization, the unpaid volunteers usually cited personal reasons such as gaining relevant work experience, rather than a more altruistic motivation (Mukasa 1999). According to Makoba (2002), the prevalence of weak states and declining markets of the Third World in general and Africa in particular has made the work of humanitarian and development-oriented NGOs more significant than ever. The number of INGOs registered in the OECD countries has increased from 1,600 in 1990s to 2,970 in 2018 (Hulme & Edwards 2002, p. 4). In the same period, total spending of these INGOs rose from US\$ 2.8 billion to US\$ 5.7 billion in current prices (Lewis 2009). Makoba (2002) sees INGOs as a catalyst for social and economic change, a vital and necessary Third Sector that must step in to fulfil the humanitarian and developmental aspects which weak African governments could not and private business organizations would not. INGOs are seen as independent, 'efficient, less bureaucratic, grassroots oriented, participatory and contributing to sustainable development in grassroots communities' (Ndegwa 2006, p. 45).

A contrary opinion is advanced by Van de Walle (2009, p. 346) who states that the advancement of aid to Africa through INGO work suffers from a 'complex crisis of legitimacy' due to the fact that the current achievements of the aid fall far short of the official rhetoric about it. The solution lies in changing how both donors and recipients manage aid, to pursue a sound development strategy, where the main impetus for reform emanates from the African countries (Van de Walle 2009). INGOs are viewed by many as having an advantage over local development NGOs in the sense that the grassroots movement has limited issue expertise as well as limited resources (Smick 2007). INGOs, however, have both, but may be short on the knowledge concerning local culture and political knowledge, as well as limited awareness of local economic conditions (Goodhand & Chamberlain 2006; Cooley & Ron 2002). It is therefore plausible that aid and

resources to Sub-Saharan Africa could be better managed by a partnership among INGOs, local organizations, and governments (Domeisen & Sousa 2006).

A more pragmatic view is expressed by some scholars such as Mallaby (2004) who sees the activity of INGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa as actually being more harmful to the poor, because of what may be construed as interference by Western political activists. Protests have been launched by these ideologues to block development projects which they perceive are exploitative of developing countries, but these protests sometimes have the effect of preventing clean water or electricity from being provided to the poorer segments of society. Mallaby (2004) cites a case in Uganda where the World Bank was promoting the construction of a dam near the source of the river Nile, near a scenic spot called Bujagali. At that location, Western INGOs were staging a protest purportedly against industrialization intruding against nature. Local residents, however, viewed the INGOs' actions as unnecessarily preventing the provision of cheap electricity that could fuel economic growth which could benefit the poor Ugandan citizens. The result is that project proponents and governments unduly delay or scrap out of a fear of activist backlash. Some INGOs gain strong but misguided support by waging their protest through the Internet. Many of the protests are based on inadequate or misleading information, yet they gain such impetus that projects are often halted which should have benefitted the developing nation. Mallaby (2004, p. 50) concludes that 'The World Bank has come to reflect the agenda of activists, who insist upon perfectionist safeguards,' in the course of which it loses touch with the realities of developing countries, Sub-Saharan Africa in particular.

With regards to frameworks currently in place for INGOs working in Africa, the African region, as well as other geographical and cultural regions, has distinct features that influence the manner in which INGOs disseminate humanitarian aid and pursue development (Kiggundu 2016). There are also areas of policy which impact upon and define how aid is located within the larger sphere of the continent's development (Docquier et al. 2007). The New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) is a pan-African statement that describes the strategy deemed appropriate for the continent to adopt in order to more successfully attain its developmental goals and address its constraints in this area. NEPAD defines the role that external resources can perform in the course of development, and integrates a number of proposals and ideas for the furtherance of progress in Africa. The NEPAD declaration has been formally endorsed by African Heads of State, and has been adopted as the development statement of the new African Union (AU). The popularity of the strategy espoused is largely due to its attribute of being home grown and the fact that it is politically endorsed at the higher echelons of the national governments in the region (Fowler 2003). The six main development areas identified in the NEPAD are as follows (Fowler 2003): political governance; economic governance; market access; infrastructure; human development; capital flows; and environment. Although the NEPAD's winning attribute is the fact that it is home-grown, the principles and foundations thereof, including its economic assumptions, are consistent with those of the world's foremost developmental institutions including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The reason for this is that the NEPAD was the result of negotiations between its proponents and the G8 group of donor countries. One of the agreements arrived at during these negotiations was that the African nation was to reform its weak and corrupt governance systems, and instead assume full responsibility for its own development and security. On their part, the donor countries have agreed to reform their policies, through World Trade Organization (WTO) processes, in order to provide Africa a greater leeway in international trade, promote foreign

direct investment flows into the region, and increase aid flows in support of NEPAD's programs and eventual progress (Fowler 2003).

Another framework which impacts upon the INGO activity in the African continent is the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). A time-bound law originally set to expire in 2008; the effectiveness of this statute was extended to 2015 by the AGOA Acceleration Act of 2004. AGOA provides trade preferences for quota and duty-free entry into the US for certain goods produced in eligible African countries. In contrast to the NEPAD which is home-grown, AGOA was enacted by an external power which has repercussions in patterns of development in the African continent. An annual AGOA Forum is held wherein government leaders and private sector stakeholders from Africa and the US gather to assess the Act's effectiveness. At best, AGOA is seen to have only marginal success in most African countries; clearly, it played an important role in boosting apparel exports, but the apparel industry has weak linkages with the local economy and there has been little transfer of capital or skills. Other than apparel, AGOA has had no impact on exports (Condon & Stern 2011, Fowler 2003). The more negative comments observe that AGOA is operating in contravention of WTO rules which espouses a level playing field, and is considered by several as being one-sided because there is little, if any, African participation in its preparation.

Dominant Trends Affecting the Work Environment of INGOs

Political and Legal Environment

The political and legal environment refers to the different legal and government systems within which an organization operates (Buny 2017; Merlot et al. 2006). The political-legal environment includes circumstances in places other than those an organization is directly working in (Kiraka 2003). An organization is highly guided and controlled by government policy. Hence, the type of government running a country is a powerful influence on any organization. As a result, an organization has to consider the changes in the regulatory framework and their impact on their work environment (Edwards 1999). Aid organizations prefer to operate in a country where there is a sound legal system (Kane & Palmer 1995). However, in any country, organizations must have a good working knowledge of the major laws protecting employees, competitions and organizations (Kiraka 2003). Aid organizations must understand the relevant laws relating to their operations, foreign exchange and labor (Lewis 2009). Legislation and regulations are also cited as having a direct impact on organizations practices (Kane & Palmer 1995). In South Sudan, for example, the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan sets the basic rules regarding the operations and functions of INGOs (Buny 2017).

Apart from government and legal factors, there are several other political pressures that influence and limit INGOs' operations in developing countries. Political uncertainty, political movements against certain materials, services and organizations, and politicization of trade unions, put a lot of pressure on aid organizations (Edwards 1999). Some of the political situations that had influenced negatively the work of INGOs included the two decades conflict in Sudan, the Rwanda genocide, and the two-decade long civil war in Sri Lanka (Stoddard & Harmer 2006). The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has also exacerbated concerns by INGOs on the security in these countries (Bollettino 2008), and questions arose as to whether any meaningful long-term development activities in these areas were achievable and sustainable (Kiraka 2003). Overall, the collapse of states, civil wars, large population movements due to insecurity in their own countries or the destruction of infrastructure not only made aid work difficult, but put aid

workers at risk (Eckroth 2010). In many cases, long-term development activities had to be suspended to enable the provision of the needed humanitarian aid demanded by such situations (Bebbington 2004). According to Agbola (2004), the problem with these situations is that they also cause people to lose their traditional coping strategies that have helped them survive conflicts and disasters, making assistance and responsibility of the INGOs much greatly needed. These situations also comprise the success of long-term development projects, and threaten the long-term economic independence of the countries being served by INGOs (Lewis 2002).

Economic Changes

Economic changes refer to a status of a country's economic or financial position at a specific period of time. It may also be defined through use of statistics involving unemployment rates, stock market data, and GDP information, among other metrics (Olsen & Høyen 2003). Kane and Palmer (1995) reported that as a result of development of the global economy, the international dimension of organization activities has become more and more significant. The focuses of many organizations have shifted from tradition topics such as emergency relief and environmental issues to concepts such as climate change, malaria prevention or a global ban on landmines, globalization and international competition (Carr et al. 2011). The economic changes in developed countries determine people's ability to make financial contributions. For example, the minimal growth on donations towards INGOs from the Australian public in 1990s was due to the economic recession experienced in Australia in the 1991, and the resultant effect on household disposable income, and level of employment in the country (Kiraka 2003). As Edwards and Hulme (2002) suggested, significant changes are taking place within the development environment and the economic changes in both developed and developing countries could pose a challenge to aid organizations and their activities in poor communities. Economically, government-own corporations are being privatized and a major emphasis is being place on the role the private sector can play in generating growth and creating employment, though the evidence in Western European countries would suggest caution (Bebbington et al. 2005). Politically, donor assistance is increasingly conditional on the development of democratic processes which include good governance, human rights, and an increasing role for local NGOs, especially in Africa, and participation by grassroots organizations (Uphoff 1993). Similarly, the impact of donor supported structural programs often times resulting in harsh cutbacks in social expenditures, leads to an undermining of social cohesion and civil society itself (Edwards 2010). Additionally, policy conflicts merge because the market's focus by definition is on the immediate whereas building participatory democracy is a long-term process (Edwards 1999).

The international policy context and circumstances of humanitarian relief and development action have changes profoundly over the past two decades (Edwards & Hulme 2002). Aid agencies are operating in an increasingly diverse array of war-affected contexts that are also considered by Western governments as major threats to international peace and security (Buny 2017, Edwards & Hulme 2002). The development aid sector is particularly keen to follow closely the trends of EOCED countries with regard to international development. Although the OECD Development Assistance committee (DAC) sets the agenda in terms of trends and levels of aid that each country ought to contribute, it is still at the discretion of each country to determine their level of contribution (Kiraka 2003). The problem is that OECD countries tend to gauge their performance against each other rather than against the OECD DAC targets. Hence, if some of the countries make a contribution that is far below the target, others are inclined to do the same (Edwards & Hulme 2002). The end of the Cold War has meant that aid given by the

superpowers to achieve political rather than development ends, has reduced. Developing countries will therefore have to demonstrate greater efficiency with the aid which they receive. The collapse of the former Soviet Union and a number of economies of Eastern Europe, the settlement of conflicts in such places as Mozambique, and South Africa, and the escalation of conflicts in Rwanda, South Sudan, Darfur and Burundi, means that an increasing number of countries require development assistance to stimulate economic recovery and support the market economy, bolster the effects of reform, to cater to huge refugee populations, or to sustain peace. Yet few countries are increasing their aid budgets; many including the Middle Eastern countries and the US are substantially reducing their contributions (Bebbington & Farrington 1993). The negative cash flow problems experienced by some many developing countries, where debt repayment and servicing are much greater than aid, has led to deterioration in economic well-being, greater poverty, and less ability by countries to match aid with local needs (Kiraka 2003).

For such countries as Sudan, Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda, servicing their multilateral debts accounts for over 20 percent of their export earnings. Many African governments are restructuring their economies but with very mixed results including many negatives impacts on the poorest (Fowler 2013). While their much debate about helping the “poorest of the poor”, there is an increasing trend that aid going to the poorest is in the form of relief rather than development as western government respond to public demands to take immediate and visible action in emergency situations. On the contrary, there must be concern regarding the view that the poor have the capacity to deliver all their own needs, without adequate resources and the support of public services which are invariably severely limited due to cutbacks as part of structural adjustment programs and corrupt undemocratic regimes (Edwards & Hulme 1992). The 20/20 compact reached at the UN Social Summit in Copenhagen Denmark in 2009 is a hopeful starting point in supporting and recognizing the role of the state in service provision, though this is a voluntary compact and action plans are yet to be finalized. In terms of development aid to developing countries, there is an overall decrease in Official Development Assistance (ODA) from OECD countries from \$61 billion in 1990s to \$56 billion in 2000s, a 6% fall in real terms, and large donors such as Germany, the US and Canada are likely to cut aid still further (Smillie 2013). Donors are also debating the need to address growing poverty in the north as well as the south (Tulloch et al. 2011). With the large increase in refugees in both Middle East and Africa there is an increasing demand for emergency and humanitarian assistance. Global media coverage of conflicts, droughts, floods, and earthquake has influenced the public in the North to demand immediate short-term action with visible results, often at the cost of more long-term development programs (Hulme & Edwards 2013). Among the donors themselves, there is a mover towards more comprehensive programming approaches, rather than project by projects approach (Bebbington et al. 2005). In some countries, for instance, donor collaborate and fund different elements of a program, e.g. agricultural sector programs in Zambia, or the integrated transport program in Tanzania (Bebbington et al. 2005).

With this rapidly changing environment, the time has come to have a new vision for how INGOs should adapt to the changing macro-environment. In this changing scenario, there are three key players with which INGOs can cooperate namely, Southern governments, the emerging private sector, and southern NGOs (Lewis 2009). The challenges which faces INGOs is how they are going to relate to these different players, and undoubtedly, the relationship will be influenced by individual contexts and circumstances (Hulme & Edwards 2013). INGOs have a comparative advantage over the private sector and government in relation to sustainable poverty alleviation arising out of their access to the poor, their relations with intended beneficiaries, and their

organizational freedom (Fowler 2013). However, the changes that are taking place in the wider environment in which INGOs operate demand that adaption is required if they are to respond to this dynamic environment. Some people may argue that it is not the role of INGOs to place conditions on governments in exchange for development or humanitarian assistance, and that it is certainly not their role to help the private sector to make profits, and they may well be right. Others may be threatened by the growing southern NGOs sector and its direct access to northern funding (Edwards 1999). Given the dramatic changes in global politics, and the economic fate of developing countries since the early 1980s, the 21st century will require creative approaches and flexibility by all parties (Bebbington 2004). Negotiation with governments and private sector is likely to have a more far reaching and strategic impact on the lives of the poorest, than any number of individual projects (Bryant & Lindenberg 2001). All INGOs will have to make strategic choices in the years to come (Lewis 2002), and the quality of the choices that are made will influence the extent to which the assistance will achieve sustainable benefit for the poor communities in developing countries (Carroll 1992).

Cultural Factors and Perception of Colonialism

Chawla and Ratna (2012) reported that culture has crucial importance in INGOs preferences in developing appropriate structure and methods to manage people in foreign and difficult context. Apart from the national cultural barrier, language is often a problem for INGOs when the target community is in a developing country where education is inadequate. The situation becomes more complicated when the developing country has more than one official language or dialect – for instance, there are parts of Africa where Arabic, French, and the local languages are used, with some communities being more proficient in one than the other. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Algeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Morocco, Senegal, Cameroon, Tunisia and Guinea, French is spoken as a second language, and the native dialect the first (Alexander & Busch 2007; Witt 2006). In Sudan, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Morocco, Arabic is the dominant language (Beamon & Kotleba 2006). Evidently, INGO workers, particularly expatriates, in these countries and other countries like them will necessarily have to learn the principal languages and dialects to effectively communicate with the poorest and least educated segment of society who most need their help. Aside from the expected language barrier, a more difficult situation would be the socio-cultural element of religion (Beugré & Offodile 2001). In many Arabic countries, where the legal systems are pursuant to Sharia law, civil society is often under the control of the monarchy which rules by Royal Decree and commands absolute and divine authority. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the military often has more cohesion and institutional structure than most of the civilian institutions of society (Macrae et al. 1997).

In a regime where religion and culture require complete loyalty and obedience to the state, the role of the INGOs as catalyst for political change, agent of democracy and champion against oppression would seem anathema to the cultural milieu (Fawaz 2005). Local NGOs are generally organized by the government itself and as such would pursue government policies and initiatives. On the other hand, INGOs would pursue goals consistent with Western-style democracy and would assume positions that challenge the status quo imposed by the state. The role of INGOs as countervailing force to an absolutist regime also counters the religious laws and beliefs of the nation; for this region, they tread an uncertain path within the jurisdiction of Muslim states (Lubeck & Britts 2001). Another problem facing INGOs in developing countries is the perception of colonialism. In many developing countries where perceptions of colonialism are still fresh among the populaces, INGOs are often perceived as agents of Western powers

(Edwards 1999; Hassin 2009). A recent study conducted by Hearn (2007) on the role of INGOs in Africa doesn't mince words and calls INGOs in Africa 'the new colonialists'. In many countries though, INGOs have replaced traditional Western donors and absentee states' influence by providing services that are traditionally the responsibility of the home governments (Brinkerhoff 2008). Hamid Karzai, the former president of Afghanistan, prefers to call the growing trend where INGOs wield increasing power and resources in developing countries as 'NGOism' (Waisová 2008). Hamid Karzai has reason to worry. In Afghanistan, 80 percent of public services such as healthcare and education were provided by international and local NGOs rather than national government which was perceived as corrupt, bureaucratic or incompetent.

According to Edwards (1999), the amount of aid flowing through INGOs in Africa rather than governments has more than tripled. Recently, the US government, through USAID, its agency primarily tasked for administering civilian foreign aid, signed an agreement with international NGOs to distribute relief supplies in conflict affected areas in Africa (Buny 2017). In a bygone era this aid would be routed through the Africa governments or locally-established relief agencies. USAID has been channelling billions of dollars of humanitarian and development assistance and HIV/Aids money through intermediary INGOs such as CARE, Save the Children, Samaritan's Purse, and International Rescue Committee (IRC) (Debebe 2007). In another development, considerable British relief and development assistance aid in Africa is sometimes routed through Oxfam or Save the Children, UK (Hulme & Edwards 2014). A study by Kindornay and Besada (2011) shows that spending by CARE, an agency fighting global poverty, with special focus on empowering women and girls to bring lasting change, has increased by 65 percent since 1999 to \$607 million in 2007. Save the Children's budget has tripled since 1998 while Doctors without Borders (Medicine San Frontier)'s budget has doubled since 2001 signalling increasing command of financial resources by INGOs (Fowler 2013).

In recent years, total aid to the developing world from OECD countries amounted to \$325 billion annually (Ager 1999). Just a third of that sum came from governments (Hulme & Edwards 2014). The rest came from non-state actors principally, INGOs. A recent study by Morton (2005) in the US estimates that if the world's NGOs were grouped together as a country they would rank fifth in the world in terms of the value of funds controlled. If truth be told, INGOs have been a godsend for the millions in developing countries who can't cope without aid assistance. From safe water provision, to life-saving health care, to relief supplies, INGOs have reached needy people faster and more efficiently than governments (Bebbington 2004). Most of what they do is ordinarily the preserve of the state but in banana republics, the state is often dysfunctional or simply cash strapped. These states are increasingly unable to and perhaps unwilling to fulfil the functions that have long defined what it means to be a state. Some scholars have observed we live in a period when the nation-state is disturbed, or more precisely, its institutions are considered ineffective and unreliable (Billis & MacKeith 2003). INGOs operating in South Sudan, Sudan, Congo, Burundi and Eritrea, for example, are always under constant pressure from local politicians to locate their operations in more politically expedient areas (Buny 2017), which speaks volumes about the increasing power of INGOs in relation to that of the state in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Globalization

Prior to the ascendancy of INGOs, sovereign states were the only legitimate entities in the determination of international relations. The rise in importance of international NGOs paved the way for a new avenue whereby non-state actors interacted with inter-governmental organizations

and state agencies. The emergence of INGOs as active participants and proponents of international humanitarian and development activities has made this sector a formidable force that 'challenged the monopoly of states and affected the working of international institutions, as they have started to engage in dialog, debate, confrontation and negotiation' with each other (Pandey 2013, p. 60). Evidently, the inclusion of a private-sector (albeit non-profit) participant in this environment has spurred the earnest observance of transparency and accountability among states and their citizens. Various types of INGOs have also shown strong participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO), however not as formal participants because of the intergovernmental nature of the member-based WTO. Instead, INGOs have wielded strong influence as pressure groups and as efficient delivery mechanisms (Pandey 2013). As such, the developmental agendas of international NGOs find representation in the formulation and pursuit of trade programs and agreements between developing and developed nations.

International NGOs also play an increasingly important role in legal globalization as institutional structures for a legal world order continue to be established (Tettey 2006). The institutions have devised and enforced rules of conduct among a growing number countries, which in turn provides structure and legitimacy to the transactions among multinational and national enterprises in a more secure and democratic trading environment. The rules of global trade and investment are reinforced by the rule of international law that strengthens and protects human rights against abusive practices (Dezalay & Garth 2011). It is in this context that INGOs play a strong role. Without NGOs that champion human rights and remain guardian over the welfare of the most vulnerable segment of society, the individual workers and small entrepreneurs will not find a voice in the interaction of nations and multinationals which oftentimes transgress upon their rights. The relevance of globalization in the activities of global NGOs also presents challenges in the field of public health. Market force economics and increased traffic in transportation and communication have accelerated transnational migration, opening up channels by which infectious diseases could easily spread across borders (Merlot et al. 2006). In many cases, the medications and expertise required to address these diseases, particularly those which have newly been discovered, can entail huge expenses beyond the reach of the poorer social segments (Sharma & Sharma 2012). Thus the rapid rate of globalization has not only widened the gaps between the rich and poor, it has also facilitated the transfer of communicable diseases which put the poor at an extreme disadvantage in terms of health care (Salm 1999). It is in this context that INGOs become conduits by which the technologically advanced health care available in developed countries may be brought within the reach of the poorer, less developed countries.

Further, environmental challenges such as climate change, cross-boundary water, air pollution, and over-fishing of the ocean are linked with globalization (Lindenberg & Dobel 1999). Globalizing processes affect and are affected by business and work organization, economics, socio-cultural resources, and the natural environment. Concerning globalization, the issues having to do with employee retention depend upon the particular country or nation which is undergoing the process of globalization, or upon which globalization is being imposed (Teegen et al. 2004). Countries strategically undertaking programs to address or even take advantage of globalization systematically explore the opportunities which may benefit its workforce (Merlot et al. 2006). Countries which have not taken the initiative to manage the effects of globalization are prey to its adverse effects and the repercussions upon its workforce may be disadvantageous to them or even exploitative (Salm 1999). This appears to be the point of Hoffman et al. (2013) which explored the employer-employee contact in the developed world, which it characterizes as

largely concerned about stability. According to this study, the effect of globalization is that it introduces rapid, unpredictable change in the politico-economic stage replaces what used to be a stable, governable state of affairs. The reason is that globalization imposes the collective pressures of the international markets upon a nation, and the state is compelled to sacrifice a part of its sovereign will to comply with the international trade agreements and the operations of multinational corporations. This study explains that the changes introduced by globalization 'demolishes' the 'traditional employer-employee compact' as well as the understanding of a stable acceleration of the workers' career in the private sector of the developed economy (Hoffman et al. 2013, p. 50). When the traditional employer-employee compact is rendered invalid, then employee turnover can be expected to rise.

The effects of globalization on INGOs, especially in relation to employee turnover, are different in a developing country. Tetey (2006), in her study on staff retention in African universities, found that globalization and open economy impacts on individuals' values that strive for faster progress, achievement and growing consumerism, which enhances satisfaction and retention rather than increase stress and anxiety. However, where the individual feels that as a result of globalization, the standards for performance are raised beyond their competence and abilities, the perception of inadequacy leads to anxiety, contributing to higher turnover. Since this particular impact has to do with the raising of the bar in assessing performance, such effect of globalization may be expected only at the beginning when the introduction of global standards has its greatest impact, but when the standards have been in place for some time and have formed the status quo, then this particular impact of globalization should not be a reason for any increase in employee turnover. Another study of globalization and employee retention in a developing economy is that of Nwokocha and Iheriohanma (2012) which focused specifically on Nigeria. In this case, the globalization-linked causes of high employee turnover included inequity in the compensation packages of organizations, employees' dissatisfaction and autocratic managerial patterns in the organizations in Nigeria that are impacted by globalization. Other effects of turnover due to globalization included disruption in production, increased cost of training new employees, increased cost of recruitment and selection, and the loss of knowledge capital in the organization.

Discussions and Conclusion

The purpose of this literature review was to conceptually situate the present study within the pool of existing theories and studies on the non-governmental organizations. The review begins with a definition of INGOs and a discussion on development theories, including rural, development, community development, and community empowerment theories. The scope and role of INGOs, followed by their concerns and goals in developing countries are thereafter elucidated on. A description of the characteristics and features of INGOs is dovetailed by a brief examination of the staffing arrangements within the sector, and the dominant factors affecting their work environment in developing countries, Sub-Saharan Africa in particular. INGOs' contribution to employment and the special case of INGOs as employers in Africa provides insight on the specialized topic of employment. The significance of INGO presence in Sub-Saharan Africa and developing countries in general rounds off the literature review.

This research's findings revealed that the most dominant factors that influence the operations and management policies of INGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa include macro environment factors such as political-legal climate, economic conditions, socio-cultural climate, and technological factors. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the political environment is important and the role of political parties in

shaping the policies of INGOs is also significant. This may affect the way in which INGOs operate and the way they undertake their people management strategies. For example, South Sudan study by Buny (2017) and the South Africa study by Lehmann et al. (2008) emphasized the importance of the perceived macro environment and they found that social unrest and armed conflicts ranked high as the reasons for leaving work in Africa, especially by expatriates. For example, INGOs workers, expatriates in particular, leave Zimbabwe because of political reasons, by far the most important push factor, followed by lack of facilities and despair about the future of the country (Chimbari et al. 2008). The external environment, which is the context in which the organization operates, has an effect on how workers are engaged and retained in organizations (Kiraka 2003, p. 35). Hughes and Rog (2008, p. 747) indicate that the work environment should enable workers to do their best. In fact, this should not only be less intimidating to the new hired staff, but conditions of work should be appealing (Buny 2017; Branham 2005). This is supported by Armstrong et al. (2010, p. 149) who argued that healthy, safe and conducive working conditions should be provided in order to make the work environment conducive for INGOs and their workers. Deery (2008, p. 804) further recommended that humanitarian and development organizations should provide adequate resources for their staff so that they can do their job properly. International organizations and MNCs, according to Deery (2008) and Wood et al. (2015), must ensure that working and living conditions are appealing, safe, healthy and well-equipped to attract the right people to their workforces.

The foregoing literature review provides a thorough theoretical grounding for the further exploration of current developments involving INGOs. Despite the seeming certainty of its delineation in the UN taxonomy of NGOs, the nebulous nature of INGO activity and concerns is evidenced by the broad scope encompassed by its various definitions. INGO work includes aspects of rural development, community development, and community empowerment theories, despite the theoretical distinctions among the three. It includes economic and social development in communities and neighborhoods, countries, and regions, housing assistance, and employment and livelihood creation. However, INGO activity is not limited to these concerns per se; otherwise, there will be no salient results where such activities are conducted in the absence or inadequacy of the enabling conditions. For instance, livelihood creation is nearly impossible if the needed micro-financing was unavailable. Also, the protection of labor and human rights would not be possible unless the necessary legal expertise and counselling were not allocated for.

Furthermore, developmental programs would be more effectively implemented if adverse traditionalist public opinion were not swayed by activist campaigns to inform and enlighten.

The roles and responsibilities of INGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa are therefore multifaceted and may not easily be circumscribed by a fixed definition or categorization. What determines whether such INGOs will be effective or not depends upon a number of factors, the most important of which is the resources available for their use. The academic literature has shown that large INGOs with high-profile and visibility will have the strongest impact among policy makers such as those in government and multinational corporations. However, those pursuing the grassroots development will be most effective if they plan and work closely with the local staff and volunteers who are most familiar with the social, economic, and political nuances of the nation and the immediate community. Much of this innate source of vital knowledge is put to waste by traditional administrative procedures that reserve for expatriates the planning and management functions of the organization. The long-term perspective of local staff would provide continuity and permanence to the development programs and their results, which is an

improvement over the comparatively short-term goals of term-limited expatriates. The achievements of INGOs in the developing countries, Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, where they operate are significant to the extent that governments and large multinationals have been compelled to render accountability to their stakeholders and the public in general concerning ethical practices and good corporate governance. Still INGOs could enhance their effectiveness in the institutionalization of reform and meaningful change. This literature review provides a sound foundation for this determination in this and future academic research.

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