

## **The Critical Role of Philanthropy in Making India Truly Modern**

**Ashok Khosla**

More technological progress, economic wealth, and human well-being has been generated in the past century than perhaps in all the millennia of history that went before it. If the world is different today than it was a hundred years ago, however, it is not just because of the material and physical assets that have been created but even more as a result of the social institutions that have come into being during this period. This can surely be called the Century of Social Transformation.

A hundred years ago, there was little talk, much less concern, on issues such as universal suffrage, human rights, gender equality, the needs of the disabled, the quality of the environment, right to information, child welfare, or care of the aged. Today, these are widely accepted as profound and integral ingredients of civilized society. Although many traditional societies had effective methods for attending to some of these, most had been lost as societies single-mindedly pursued their mechanical and mercantile ambitions. The idea of democracy, as it is understood today, existed only in a very few places. And the notion that every part of the world is intimately and inextricably connected with every other did not exist at all.

Many of the social transformations that have taken place over the past century, and which we now often take for granted, have been the results of people's movements that took on the difficult and sometimes painful challenge of bringing about societal change. Most such movements began with one or more small groups of concerned individuals who went on to form civil society organizations and motivate the wider public to demand and get their governments to restructure their policies and institutions. And these, in turn, were the result of an active collaboration between two highly unlikely partners – civil society and Philanthropists.

*Philanthropy has undoubtedly played a fundamental part in creating societal change.* It has backed the efforts of the activists who identified and espoused such change, and who could not have brought it about without some support, financial and moral. And, in what might seem to be a piece of high irony, it has often done so despite its presumable interests in preserving the status quo in a world that actually enabled it to accumulate the wealth that made such support possible.

The irony disappears, however, when one recalls that most philanthropists are inherently leaders, and leaders have an innate interest in creating a better world around them. Recent studies (eg Putnam), have shown that a strong civil society is essential (though clearly not sufficient) for a well functioning democracy. And democracy is the basis of any sustainable economy. This means that investing in social capital is as important for a well-functioning economy as is creating financial capital or infrastructural capital. This is obvious to any successful leader in any sphere – political, academic, civil or, specifically, corporate – from where most philanthropists originate.

**The World of Today**

### **a. The Way It Is**

Particularly over the past fifty years, the world as a whole has made undeniable, and often quite dramatic, "progress" on many fronts. People in scores of countries have attained unprecedented levels of health, wealth and knowledge. Diseases that were for millennia the scourges of whole nations have been conquered. Food production has grown to levels unimagined even a few decades ago. An ever growing range of products from industry is accessible to an ever growing range of customers. And cheap sources of energy have made possible facilities for travel and communication that enable large numbers of people to acquire knowledge and live a life of convenience and comfort on a scale never known before.

However, the flip side of this development coin presents a very different tale. Most disturbing is the deprivation left behind by the process of development: poverty, hunger, vulnerability, indebtedness and rapid population growth. More than half the persons living on this planet survive or subsist outside the mainstream economy. Largely as a consequence, there is perhaps more alienation today than ever before – with the accompanying proliferation of drugs, crime and violence, often manifested as acts of terrorism and ethnic aggression which are the daily subjects of newspaper headlines all over the world.

The negative impacts of "development" are not confined to poverty issues alone. The forests, rivers and soils of large parts of the world have experienced greater and more rapid deterioration in the past few decades than they had over the preceding thousands of years. Species are becoming extinct at a rate that is rapidly approaching levels comparable to those of the mass extinction that wiped out the dinosaurs. Climate change caused by human activity is now one of the top items on the international agenda.

These pressures on the Earth's natural resources have been extensively documented in The Environmental Data Reports of the UN Environment Programme and by other international agencies. UNDP's annual Human Development Report presents data showing the decline of social capital, particularly in developing countries, and the alarming growth in economic disparities throughout the world. Much of the "progress" we have made has, thus, been achieved at the expense of natural and social capital, which have diminished precipitously as a result. If this bifurcation of the world into those who have and those who do not is a logical outcome of the pursuit of modernity, the very concept of "modern" needs to be questioned. Real progress and true modernization can only be achieved if the manifest benefits appropriated by one half of society are manifestly also available to the other half.

*Unprecedented creation of wealth has gone hand in hand with unprecedented expansion of poverty, loss of societal resilience and destruction of the environmental resource base.*

Although not everyone would necessarily agree with each detail, there appears to be a widespread perception that the outcomes of current development strategies are not commensurate with the inputs that have gone into them. Among the shortfalls, the most commonly mentioned are the gaps in implementation, accountability, continuity, replicability, scalability, multipliers and, of course, sustainability. Even when development projects achieve their output targets, a large proportion never achieve the full impacts they were designed for.

In addition to these, there are some opportunities, crucial to building the *capacity* of a society to design its own future, often missed by international development initiatives, leading to missing links in society such as the gaps in local mastery of technology innovation and delivery, design of institutions and building up leadership.

International recognition of the gravity of these issues was first expressed in the convening of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment at Stockholm in 1972, which engendered a two decade long series of world conferences on environmental and social issues culminating in the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The decade since the Earth Summit has continued to witness a growing international debate on these and related issues, including the Millennium Summit in New York in 2000 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development at Johannesburg.

### ***b. Why It Is The Way It Is***

Experiences with planning and implementation of development programmes differ, of course, from country to country. There have certainly been projects over the years that can be counted, by any standards, as success stories. However, there are many others that cannot, and it is important that the international community derive whatever lessons it can to enable it to design more effective strategies for the future.

A few generalizations are possible regarding some of the basic attributes of development programmes as practiced through much of the developing world. These are set forth in some detail in the Annex.

Briefly, development activity has largely been implemented by or under the auspices of governments, which means that it usually tends to be top down, narrowly sectoral, inflexible and, particularly where the financing is external, donor-driven. Such interventions almost never leave behind real ownership of assets in local hands or capacity among the local people to innovate or implement solutions for their remaining needs.

No matter what the conceptual basis of development policy is at any time, most development action, particularly that funded by overseas sources, is implemented in the form of projects. This, in itself is not always or necessarily undesirable. The project is an excellent, logical framework for achieving stated goals. A well designed project clearly defines the outputs expected and the inputs, in terms of money, resources and time, needed. Before starting, or even before a decision is made to undertake the project, the outputs and inputs can be appraised to determine the worthwhileness of the project. During implementation, the project documentation helps different actors dovetail their contributions efficiently and effectively. Well executed projects can provide for a high level of transparency and accountability, both essential in any development activity.

Despite the demonstrated value of the project as a means of working towards development goals, however, and the long-standing reliance of most development agencies on it, one must also recognize the limitations of this approach. Some of these limitations can, unfortunately, pose severe barriers to the attainment of goals critical to making development sustainable. They include lack of participatory decision making, short time horizons, over-reliance on artificial quantification, lack of attention to upstream and downstream linkages, ignoring the systemic and structural requirements to meet the goals, and the adoption of an engineering-economics mindset to the exclusion of bioscience based systems thinking.

For sustainable development, process based approaches allowing for longer time horizons and using more holistic planning tools and that can deal with intangible side benefits are needed than can usually be addressed by projects.

## **The World Tomorrow**

### ***a. The Way It Is Going***

The direction we must set will be determined not simply by the destination – to bring about a fairer, more just and environmentally sustainable world – but also by the vast and powerful currents of change that are already enveloping our nation and the world around us. This world is everyday becoming more complex, connected and rapidly changing than our institutions, intellects, or instincts have the experience to cope with. At the same time, humanity is sliding into a state of mind that pushes people inexorably towards oversimplification, homogeneity in tastes and thinking, isolation in and among communities and a bland state of stasis.

In the economic domain, the forces of commercialization, liberalization and globalization are leading to large-scale privatization – even of goods and services that are essentially, or best, provided in the public domain. And the social nets that traditionally served to minimize extreme suffering or total exclusion are quietly disappearing.

In the coming decades, a whole range of new issues will come to dominate the national agenda in addition to the current ones: water scarcity and land degradation, falling crop productivity and rising pollution, less wasteful lifestyles, consumption patterns and production systems, waste management, climate change, biodiversity loss, issues of how trade and aid can work to our national advantage without destroying the life support systems of our planet.

Given the significant gaps described above between the expectations from 50 years of international development practice, and the actual outcomes, it was only natural that by the early 1990s there would be a growing demand for new approaches to development. This demand grew in urgency as the imperatives of competing in a rapidly globalizing economy became apparent in even the poorest, most isolated countries. And, with worldwide communications beginning to bring new messages to every home, creating rising expectations for such values as better quality of life, participation and environmental management, this demand became increasingly widespread and pressing. By the time of the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro, there was a broad-based concern among both donors and recipients that international development strategies needed to be redesigned.

With constraints, sometimes come opportunities. One of the outcomes of these trends is accumulation of large sums of money. Although most of it is earmarked for investments that yield high profits, a not insignificant fraction is or could be available for investments in social capital. The world now has a mushrooming middle class with considerable amounts of disposable income and a small group of very high net worth individuals with quite huge amounts of money. And so has India. These sources of funds could well be the agents of change needed by our ship of state to get back on the course we set sail on sixty years back.

### ***b. Which Way It Should Be Going***

There is now a growing understanding that, in addition to redesigning conventional, project based development activities to close the gaps identified above and make them more sustainable, much more emphasis is needed on a particular new form of development cooperation: *the building of local capacity*. Very few international development programmes or practitioners had systematically followed such an approach in the past. Perhaps they considered it effective but difficult to implement. Or perhaps they did not consider it important at all.

Simply defined, "Capacity" is people who have the ability, backed by the decision systems and infrastructure they need, to identify, formulate and analyse the problems of high relevance to their societies and design effective strategies to solve them. To be effective, such capacity needs to be built up in all sectors of society – government, business, academia, media, civil society – with opportunities for strong collaborative experiences leading to a tradition of dynamic interaction among them. To play its fullest role, capacity in this sense has to be built up at all levels of society: the national, provincial and local. It is only when a local community acquires capacity to design and create its own future that genuine development can take place. Basically, capacity is synonymous with leadership, informed leadership in all walks of life.

A country or a community with the requisite capacity should be able to choose among different technology options and adopt those most appropriate for local markets and conditions. Capacity also enables societies to implement solutions and learn lessons from experience so as to redesign future solutions even more effectively. Above all, capacity is needed in each country to recognize issues of self-interest, advocate more sustainable policies and negotiate effectively in bringing these about.

In time, capacity grows with the building of institutions and infrastructure and is reinforced by infrastructure of all types – social, physical, financial and communication. Such local institutions must be able to integrate economic, social and environmental issues into the development process at the national, provincial and local levels.

These local institutions and experts will need to be able to design strategies with longer time horizons that lead to development multipliers by creating public awareness and potential for meaningful participation in decision making. This means strengthening their ability to deal with increasingly complex, "harder" issues such as those concerned with technology, innovation, structures of governance, economic and trade issues and to design new development strategies that are more appropriate to local needs. It also means encouraging national counterparts to confront vested interests, attack business-as-usual mindsets and evolve strategic alliances with others working towards the same overall goals, not always easy tasks for an international agency to undertake.

At the national and local level, a country like India needs to create a new cadre of people with a sense of national purpose, a sense of excellence and a sense of commitment. In order to achieve this, they must evolve better understanding of the inter-relationships between economic, social and environmental issues such as the poverty – population – marginalization cycles and the pitfalls and opportunities offered by emerging issues such as global change, CDM, trade and WTO. At the local level, Capacity Building programmes would have to address such issues as empowering the marginalized, particularly women, and the need for participation and building up a sense of ownership among communities.

### ***c. The Way It Could Be Going***

Building on the earlier efforts of a few donors (such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and some bilateral and multilateral funding agencies) to build capacity, especially in the form of local institutions for skill building, and expertise for integrating economic, social and environmental issues into the development process at the national, provincial and local levels. To do so effectively, there must be widely accepted understanding:

First, that fundamental change is needed to make development processes sustainable and that such change is possible.

Second, that there are effective and powerful alternatives to the development strategies that are followed today. Examples include: greater reliance on local initiatives involving people to people interaction; emphasis on institutions, skill building, decision processes and impacts rather than on hardware, artificial deadlines and inputs; and the value of alliances (partnerships) among government, public agencies, civil society and other sectors including business.

Third, that there are no short cuts to sustainable development but the process can be speeded up by using the type of process used effectively in a few isolated success stories of progressing through a series of stages from Demonstration to Validation to Institutionalization to Multiplication.

To create the capacities, processes and linkages needed to bring about genuine, sustainable development, the capabilities of the various actors in development must match the factors that are needed for successful development action. Genuine development means delivering socially desirable outcomes on a large scale in a short time. Since existing approaches have not worked well, new approaches are clearly needed, particularly to motivate the agents of change and to involve the citizen. Thus the primary factors in development are reach, inventiveness, motivation, socially oriented objectives and participation. The actors in development (government, academia, business, civil society and the people) each has its strengths.

The matrix below shows the relative primary strengths of organizations and their staff in various sectors:

# The Institutional Possibilities

	reach	inventiveness	motivation	objectives	participation
<b>Government</b>	P				
<b>Academia</b>		P			
<b>Private sector</b>			P		
<b>NGOs</b>				P	
<b>The consumer</b>					P
<b>PPP</b>	P	P	P	P	P

The matrix shows that no one actor (sector) has all the strengths needed to bring about sustainable national development. They have to work together, a recognition captured in the phrase “Public-Private Partnerships”, which essentially requires a cooperative form of endeavor that brings together all the sectors.

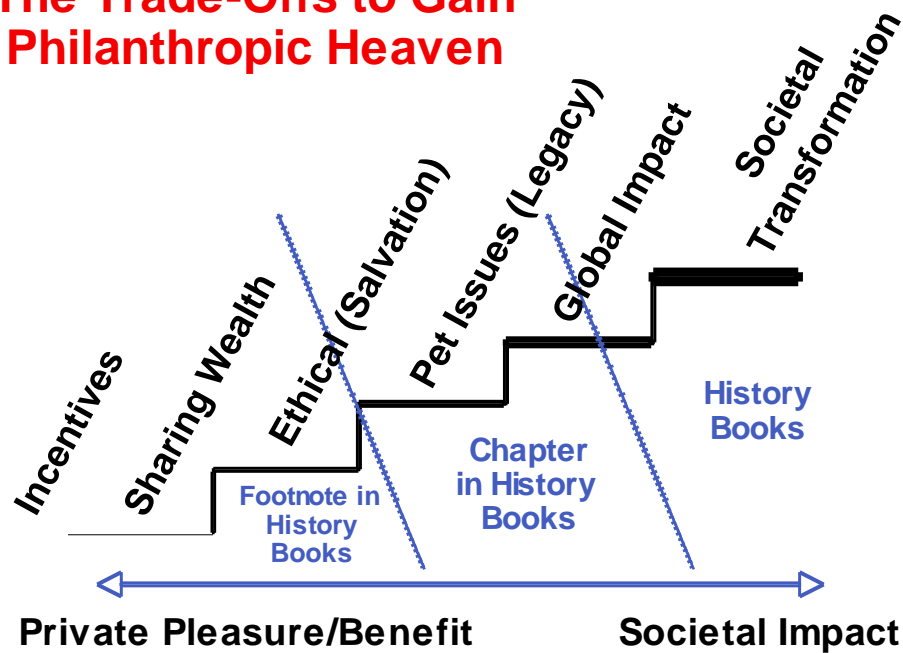
Such partnerships do not come easily to any of the sectors. Each of them has learned over long periods working largely in isolation from the others to find comfort in continuing those practices. And this sense of comfort is heightened by the myths each has of themselves and the others – about accountability, effectiveness, motivation and trustworthiness. Each sector considers the others “nakama” at best or, more often, a “chor”. And, of course, some of the limitations are genuine: rigid bureaucratic procedures can kill motivation to produce results just as effectively as lack of technical or management skills or access to financing can kill the ability to scale up.

To create workable partnerships needs resources additional to those available to the partners. And this is where philanthropy comes into its own.

## Philanthropy

Philanthropy appears in many different shapes and sizes. Corporations as well as individuals give philanthropic money. Individual philanthropy in turn can come from high net worth (HNW) individuals or from middle class individuals. It is guided by almost as many different motivations as there are philanthropists. As shown below, these motivations can range from taking advantage of tax deductions that are allowed by governments with the purpose of encouraging giving, to high moral aspirations.

## The Trade-Offs to Gain Philanthropic Heaven



India has a long tradition of philanthropy. Much of it has been of a religious nature, tied up with the idea integral to many of the sub-continent's faiths that giving is an essential ingredient of life and salvation. And much of that is in the nature of relief -- in the form of alms for the poor and destitute, or donations for places of worship. Other giving was often for the support of educational institutions or health care facilities, again more as a charitable responsibility that as a systematic contribution to generating community self-reliance or national development.

Philanthropy for development-related causes, which has usually come from wealth created by entrepreneurs or enterprises, is relatively recent. There were, of course, the pioneers – Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford, and others in the US – whose contributions to the economic and social development of their respective countries are legendary. Philanthropy existed also in the UK and Europe and other parts of the world, though it was of a somewhat quieter kind. Two of the earliest global pioneers of large scale development-oriented philanthropy were, in fact, from India: Jamsetji Tata, and GD Birla and their families, setting models of the highest order for systematic giving, with no expectation of personal gain.

In more recent times, the succession of very HNW philanthropists that started with John D MacArthur and Ted Turner and more recently with endowments of some 50 Billion dollars by Bill Gates and Warren Buffet has largely been an American phenomenon, with very little emulation among HNW Indians or people of Indian origin. No doubt Indian philanthropy will pick up in the years to come, following the early footsteps of the family foundations of such IT fortunes as Narayan Murty and Sudha Murty, Azim Premji, Nandan Nilekhani and Rohini Nilekhani and Desh Deshpande, but currently the total amount given by them to recipients independent of them is not yet very large.



Many of the larger US and UK foundations operate independently of their founder-creators, some not even having family members of the founders involved in their boards or management structures. Others, usually smaller but much larger in number, continue to be managed or guided by family members.

A potentially large source of financing for supporting grassroots development action on the ground is now coming into being in the form of profitable corporations in India and high net worth Indians in the country and overseas.

### **The Ecosystem of Philanthropy**

The world of philanthropy, as for any ecosystem – natural or institutional-- is complex and multi-functional. Although the interlinkages in the ecosystem of philanthropy may not be as strong as those in a natural one, the more effective they are the higher can be its impact.

The most significant sets of linkages in this ecosystem, in rising order of importance, are:

- i) *Philanthropy-Philanthropy*  
*Sharing of information and reinforcing of each other's efforts through shared financing of projects could well enable philanthropists to create considerable synergies and unexpected benefits. An Association of Indian Philanthropic Organisations could play a very valuable role in facilitating exchange of experience and forming relationships.*
  
- ii) *Philanthropy-Government*  
*Philanthropists are in a unique position to influence government policies and actions by pioneering innovations, demonstrating results and lobbying. Government can encourage and facilitate the work of philanthropy in numerous ways, some of which are described below. Currently, the extent of involvement of Government in facilitating philanthropic giving is making available tax exemptions under Sections 12 (g) and 35 (i) or 35 (a) of the Income Tax Act. A much broader and more systematic set of policies is needed to encourage philanthropic activity, especially aimed at socio-economic development.*
  
- iii) *Philanthropy-Civil Society*  
*The primary relationship is of the philanthropist is, of course, with civil society organizations (NGOs, Voluntary Agencies, Community Based Organisations, Women's Organisations, schools, clinics, places of worship, etc.) and it is the mutuality of this relationship that has made possible so many contributions on the ground. The true potential of this relationship can only be reached when both sectors achieve high levels of systematic and strategic planning, cost-effective programme implementation and commitment to results and impact. To do this, they will both have to attain much higher levels of transparency and accountability. The Credibility Alliance is an important step in this direction, but many additional steps are also needed.*

## The India Social Forum

The Talkathon on Philanthropy being organized by the Poorest Areas Civil Society programme (PACS) and Development Alternatives at the forthcoming India Social Forum in Delhi is meant to launch a process to strengthen the three sets of linkages mentioned above.

Several background papers will be available to participants covering different aspects of the problematique, and suggesting action that needs to be taken to help philanthropists, civil society and government formulate policies and processes by which their collective work in this area can be made more effective.

The Talkathon will take place during the ISF at the Jawahar Lal Stadium, New Delhi from 3.00 pm to 5.00 pm on Sunday 12 November 2006.

Participants who would like their papers distributed by email before the event to those who have expressed interest in taking part in it should send these papers to [vrani@devalt.org](mailto:vrani@devalt.org).

## Annexures

### ***Development Planning and Implementation Over the Past Six Decades***

Experiences with planning and implementation of development programmes differ, of course, from country to country. There have certainly been projects over the years that can be counted, by any standards, as success stories. However, there are many others that cannot, and it is important that the international community derive whatever lessons it can to enable it to design more effective strategies for the future.

#### **Conventional Development Praxis**

A few generalizations are possible regarding some of the basic attributes of development programmes as practised through much of the developing world. There exists a broad consensus, based on analysis of numerous development projects, that a large part of past development activity can be characterized as being:

**By and through Governments:** In most developing countries, the responsibility for planning and executing action for national development rests almost entirely with governments, public sector organisations and external agencies employed by the government. This often leads to inappropriate design of development action and assignment of inappropriate roles, government taking responsibility for activities better done by others.

**Top down:** This means that decisions are often made and legitimized without adequate participation of the people affected by them.

**Narrowly Sectoral:** Designed as projects (see below), most development activity ends up by having a narrow, short-term focus, often in conflict with the requirements of sustainable development.

**Inflexible:** Organised and executed by bureaucratic systems that are heavily constrained by poor professional motivation, fear of innovation, aversion to risk, the tyranny of rigid budget lines and the artificial deadlines of financial year-ends, it becomes difficult to introduce much imagination into development projects.

**Externally driven:** Because of both the inadequate availability of local expertise, and the plentiful availability of external funding, many governments have relied heavily on expatriate consultants to formulate their economic development plans.

Moreover, such development activities almost never leave behind:

**Local ownership of assets:** If the local "beneficiaries" have not contributed to the design or implementation of development action, it is only understandable that they are often alienated from the results – which they sometimes proceed to undermine or not use.

**Capacity for the future:** When there is little involvement of local people or sense of ownership among them, there is little possibility for building up local capacity to innovate, incubate or multiply solutions for their remaining needs.

### **The Project Mode of Implementation**

No matter what the conceptual basis of development policy is at any time, most development action, particularly that funded by overseas sources, is implemented in the form of projects. This, in itself is not always or necessarily undesirable. The project is an excellent, logical framework for achieving stated goals. A well designed project clearly defines the outputs expected and the inputs, in terms of money, resources and time, needed. Before starting, or even before a decision is made to undertake the project, the outputs and inputs can be appraised to determine the worthwhileness of the project.

During implementation, the project documentation helps different actors dovetail their contributions efficiently and effectively. Well executed projects can provide for a high level of transparency and accountability, both essential in any development activity.

Despite the demonstrated value of the project as a means of working towards development goals, however, and the long-standing reliance of most development agencies on it, one must also recognize the limitations of this approach. Some of these limitations can, unfortunately, pose severe barriers to the attainment of goals critical to making development sustainable. Whether these limitations are general — inherent and integral to the project as a device for implementation — or are specific to a project — for example, simply the result of poor project formulation — they are so pervasive that one must accept them as inseparable from the very idea of a project.

Although the project mode of implementation is amenable to participatory decision making, it is often carried out by governments and businesses in a way that is seen to be autocratic and arrogant. This can reduce the value of both its outcome and its impacts significantly.

Even with the sophisticated quantitative techniques evolved by welfare economists to include an ever wider array of benefits and costs in the appraisal of projects, actual calculations are subject to a wide range of interpretations. At the heart of the calculations lies the discount rate, which is supposed to reflect the time preference of consumers and producers for the benefits they receive from the project. Given the nature of the exponential function used in such calculations, it turns out that no realistic discount rate can at the same time reflect the imperatives of sustainability. Any discount rate that could be chosen is either too low for the consumer or too high for nature. This means in practice that benefit-cost analysis almost always overvalues the immediate economic benefits of a project and undervalues the environmental, social and other costs, particularly in the long run.

With all their advantages, for certain purposes projects suffer from severe limitations. As mentioned above, their reliance on centrally conceived, highly focused, narrowly designed processes can help achieve results — but not always of the kind needed. For sustainable development, longer time horizons and more intangible side benefits are needed than can usually be addressed by projects.

### **Limits of Current Development Strategies**

Although not everyone would necessarily agree with each detail, there appears to be a widespread perception that the outcomes of current development strategies are not commensurate with the inputs that have gone into them. Among the shortfalls, the most commonly mentioned are:

**Implementation gap:** Even when development projects achieve their output targets, a large proportion never achieve the full impacts they were designed for.

**Accountability gap:** The mechanisms for holding project authorities responsible for achieving their goals are weak, primarily because the local stakeholders are not adequately involved or do not have the requisite watchdog skills.

**Continuity gap:** Development projects intended to have long term continuity often wind down or close up once the project funding comes to an end.

**Replicability/scalability gap:** Development programmes that serve as exemplary models which are adopted by others for replication and scaling up are not as common as should be expected, given the quality of resources that go into their planning and implementation.

**Multiplier gap:** Real economic transformation occurs when development activity leads to leveraging positive impacts outside its own domain – and yields positive side benefits which produce multipliers that can resonate through the economy. Projects in the past have often led, on the contrary, to negative impacts on the environment and to disruptions in traditional practices that previously were at least viable.

**Sustainability gap:** Most development projects are based primarily on economic criteria and often have negative, unintended consequences on social and environmental issues which could have been avoided or minimized through proper consultation with the stakeholders. In any case, despite extensive development effort, inequity and injustice, marginalization and social exclusion continue to remain at unacceptably high levels and the quality of the environmental resource base is heading toward unacceptably low ones.

### **Limits to Development Outcomes**

In addition to these, there are some opportunities, crucial to building the *capacity* of a society to design its own future, often missed by international development initiatives, leading to missing links in society such as:

**Technology gap:** Development programmes, particularly those that are largely driven by external consideration often lead to inappropriate technology choices and considerable waste of capital resources. Often their biggest failure is to leave behind little or no "technicity", or the ability to master technology and appropriate it for use suited to local needs and resources.

**Institutional gap:** Although development programmes have occasionally led to the establishment of effective institutions for innovation, incubation and delivery of solutions, the achievements over the past fifty years falls far short of what is needed.

**Leadership gap:** Perhaps the greatest failure of international development is its poor record in build local leaders who can help their societies make informed decisions and design

development strategies more in tune with their own aspirations and resource endowments. Rather, in many places it appears to have contributed to an acceleration of the opposite process, the brain drain.

The final impact on the ground of the vast investments made in international development over the six decades is in some measure represented by the figures quoted above. The fact that the development community rarely looks at the impact or even the outcomes speaks for itself.

An active, vibrant and vigilant civil society offers an effective instrument for demanding and ensuring better development practice and impact.

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