

Development

'for all who achieve economic development, profound cultural change is inevitable, but the rewards are considerable'

C.E. Ayres, from *The Development Dictionary*

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Development

What is development? Progress? Access to the basic needs: clean water, food? Or is it much more than that, education, freedom from oppression, industrialisation, democracy? If you were asked to define development from your experience of working in a developing country, what would it encompass?

Q Ask local friends, colleagues what development means to them and their community.

Viewpoints...

'International volunteering is at the heart of VSO's contribution to development. Our distinctive competence is working with our partner organisations to bring together people from different cultures and backgrounds, enabling them to share skills and learning.'

'Neither VSO nor VSO volunteers deliver development. We join a process involving many diverse players and we must be willing to listen, learn and collaborate. The creativity generated by this joint endeavour leads to new solutions in achieving shared goals and has a greater impact than transferring skills or other resources.'

Focus for Change, VSO's strategic plan 2002

'The Comprehensive Development Framework takes a holistic approach to development. It seeks a better balance in policymaking by highlighting the interdependence of all elements of development: social, structural, human, governance, environmental, economic, and financial. It emphasises partnerships among governments, donors, civil society, the private sector, and other development actors. Perhaps most important, the country is in the lead, both "owning" and directing the development agenda, with the Bank and other partners each defining their support in their respective plans.'

*Comprehensive Development Framework, The World Bank Group
www.worldbank.org*

Q Is your home country a developing country?

Q How were you involved in development work in your home country?

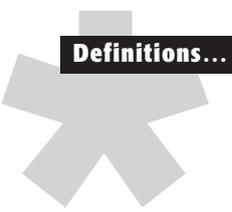
'Development is another name for peace' Julius Nyerere

The road to development

Since the 1940s, the term development was often closely associated with economic development. During the 1970s, the association of development with economic growth came under criticism, and today the development debate encompasses a much wider range of issues.

A development model is a theory about how development occurs or should occur. Development models are expressed primarily in terms of economics, although their roots are in political or ethical values. How they are formed and put into practice depends on interlocking factors like ideology, the nature of political decision-making and the constraints a government faces.

Although many countries may differ on political ideology, the dominant development model today is neo-liberalism.



Definitions...

Neo-liberalism

Neo-liberalism is a political and ethical theory that sees individual freedom as all-important. It encompasses the basic tenets of capitalism such as the primacy of the market, an emphasis on free trade and resistance to state intervention.

Neo-liberalism holds enormous sway in most industrialised nations, transnational companies and financial agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF. It identifies with the 'trickle-down' model because it claims that economic growth will in the end benefit all levels of society.

Advocates of the neo-liberal model argue that if it has failed to bring about the promised benefits in certain countries, this has been due to tradition, the existence of monopolies and state regulation.

Populism

Populism is a model where individuals and small groups are seen as agents of change. One strand can be seen as a reaction against large-scale industrialisation: it emphasises small-scale individual and cooperative enterprise, both in industry and agriculture.

Another strand is the stress on people themselves determining development aims rather than having policies imposed upon them. The work of some NGOs can be seen as a limited form of populism.

However, because populism (like interventionism) is a means of achieving development rather than an all-embracing theory, it is arguable whether it can be described as a development model.

'During the 1970s, the association of development with economic growth came under criticism, and **today** the development debate encompasses a much **wider range of issues**'


Perspective...
China

China is one of the few countries that have defined and then implemented a development model. The dominant feature of Chinese development planning has been its Marxist ideology. Internal debate within the Chinese Communist Party has led successive Chinese leaders to modify the original model and revisions continue to this day.

In pre-communist societies (capitalist or socialist), economic and political life is seen in terms of class struggle. The movement towards communism involves the ownership of the means of production (land, resources, technology, etc) by the whole people. Distribution of what is produced is determined by an individual's need, not by the work they do. In practical terms, this means state intervention in almost all levels of economic and social life.

The Communists won power in China in 1949, and a Stalinist command economy was implemented. This was highly centralised and involved a high degree of bureaucratic planning. Land reform abolished private ownership. Agricultural production was collectivised. After a period of social mobilisation (the Great Leap Forward, 1958–1959) and a brief return to collectivist policies, there was a gradual movement towards elements of market socialism, which allows some measure of individual enterprise and rewards success in production. This policy continues today. Chinese development policies have undergone significant changes over the past 50 years. On one level, the original model of development can be said to have been abandoned. However, certain basic beliefs, such as the belief that poverty is primarily the outcome of unjust social and economic structures, remain unchanged, at least in public statements.

Hong Kong is governed by China.

Hong Kong's economy may appear at first to be marked by the complete absence of government intervention. There are no subsidies or incentives, no currency controls, no controls on external trade and no monetary policy. However, the government is not wholly absent. It promotes exports and defends the overseas interests of its companies. It invests heavily in education and housing, as well as actively developing the area's infrastructure.

The economy, free from government planning, reflects and responds to the international market. The vast majority of companies are small, which also indicates why Hong Kong companies are flexible to changes in demand. In this sense, the openness of the economy is Hong Kong's comparative advantage.

Q Can development work for all the people? Is it possible for development to benefit all the people?


Viewpoint...

'Since the technological revolution is itself irresistible, arbitrary authority and irrational values or pre-scientific, pre-industrial cultures are doomed. The only remaining alternative is that of intelligent, voluntary acceptance of the industrial way of life and the values that go with it.

'We need make no apologies for recommending such a course. Industrial society is the most successful way of life mankind has ever known. Not only do our people eat better, sleep better, live in more comfortable dwellings, get around more and in far greater comfort, and ...live longer than men [sic] have ever done before. In addition to listening to more radio and watching televisions, they read more books, see more pictures, and hear more music than any previous generation or any other people ever has. For all who achieve economic development, profound cultural change is inevitable. But the rewards are considerable.'

C.E. Ayers, quoted in *The Development Dictionary*

Q Do you agree or disagree with this view? Why?

Development policies

A government may operate in a neo-liberal economy, but it will still develop economic, social and political policies at a local, national and international level. All governments have to act within certain constraints:

- **political constraints**
 - limited power over regions
 - limited period of office
 - power of individuals and groups to resist policies
- **economic constraints**
 - international factors, such as terms of trade, debt, adjustment programmes, wishes of aid donors
 - lack of available funds to finance policy implementation
- **social constraints**
 - willingness of individuals and groups to accept changes in behaviour or attitude required by policies
- **geographical constraints**
 - size and terrain of country
 - proximity to neighbouring countries, trading centres, civil unrest.

Activity...

- Add to the list above from your experience.
- Does the country you are working in have a national development policy?
- Identify four or five reasons why the government may be prevented from achieving its development policies.
- Under each of the headings, list how they could influence the development of the local community you are now working in. You may be able to focus on a particular event.

‘within two years after assuming office, the President shall present to Parliament a coordinated programme of economic and social development policies... at all levels and in all the regions of Ghana’

from Vision 2020, Ghana's road map to achieving middle-income country status by the year 2020

Debt

In recent years, campaigns have argued for the eradication of third world debt. The debt came about over the past forty years through loans from institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, and from individual banks and governments. The loans were spent in a variety of ways, some badly. Some money went into the pockets of dictators, and some went straight back to the West through corrupt lending. Campaigners argue that very little of it actually helped ordinary people, and that debt is a major barrier to development.

Perspective...

Senegal

Standard and Poor, the global rating agency, defines Senegal, as a country at 'a low level of development, with per capita GDP of less than US\$500, and deficiencies in the social and physical infrastructure. Low educational standards, high poverty, and other weak human development indicators reflect the subsistence nature of Senegalese agriculture, which employs more than one half of the labour force.' Senegal's population is growing fast, but 60% of the population has no access to health services; and 26% of the population lives on less than US\$1 a day. Life expectancy is only 52 years.

Senegal will pay US\$173.6 million in debt service this year and a quarter of that will go to the IMF and World Bank, US\$21.9 million to the African Development Bank and US\$35.9 million to other multilateral organisations. This is three times more than its expenditure on health (US\$47 million) and almost as much as its expenditure on education (US\$175 million). These figures may slightly increase if Senegal receives external financing.

In order to get Senegal to a level of 'sustainability', the World Bank will provide US\$149 million over the next eight years. This is enough to cover 50% of Senegal's debt service to the Bank. This year (2001), Senegal will pay US\$29.87 million to the World Bank, and receive US\$14.39 million in 'relief' from the Bank. The IMF, on the other hand, will provide US\$51m of relief over eight years, while Senegal will pay the IMF US\$183.3 million over that time. This year, the IMF will grant US\$4.7 million in 'relief', at the same time collecting US\$26million from Senegal in debt repayments, a net transfer to the IMF of \$21.3million from one of the world's poorest countries.

www.jubilee2000uk.org (*Jubilee 2000 is now known as Drop the Debt*)

- Q** Does the country you are now working in have debts to another country?
The programme office may have information on this. Try to find out how this debt was incurred.
- Q** Ask local colleagues, friends what they know about this debt.
- Q** How might this debt affect your local community?

'Campaigners argue that **debt** is a major barrier to **development**'

The market model of development

Globalisation has led some critics to believe that the global economy will influence development policies, irrespective of the development policies chosen by a government.

'on every continent, **millions of ordinary people** have protested against the power of the IMF and the World Bank and the impositions of western power'

John Pilger



Perspective...

Globalisation: Implications for development policy

The links between globalisation and development are complex, involving classic and contemporary issues of political economy, political science and social development. It is also useful to distinguish between various levels of causation and effect: international, regional, national and local.

Some developing countries (especially in east and south-east Asia) have carved a niche for themselves in the world market, and through a combination of factors have managed to attain high and sustained growth. Some of that growth may have 'trickled down' to broad segments of the population, and thus facilitated the partial fulfilment of basic needs, which is an important component of human rights promotion. In the post-colonial period, despite political independence, most third world countries are still economically dependent (and even more so) on Northern countries, their transnational companies and institutions.

In most third world countries, transnational companies [TNCs] have come to play an important and an increasing role. Some governments have imposed various forms of control and regulation over these companies, but in recent years many of these governments have been competing with one another to attract these foreign firms to invest in their countries. Some of the local business elite, and many small local firms, compete with the TNCs and their products whilst others work in collaboration with, and have themselves profited from these big companies. But irrespective of an individual government's or people's attitude and desired policies towards these companies, there are now limited options for third world governments in determining national policies affecting different aspects of TNC behaviour. This is due to recent developments such as the structural adjustment programmes as well as the recently completed Uruguay Round.

www.twinside.org

Urban development

One of the major issues in development has been the increasing urban resettlement from rural areas.

Activity...

Ask friends and colleagues:

- Why do people want to move to urban locations?
- What social/environmental impacts can they identify from urbanisation?

The table below shows the disparities between human poverty in urban and rural Uganda.

Rural–urban disparities in poverty in Uganda, 1996

	Rural	Urban
People born today not expected to survive to age 40	38%	27%
Adult non-literacy rate	16%	43%
People without access to safe water	57%	23%
People without access to health services	57%	5%
Children under five who are malnourished	27%	15%
Human poverty index	43	21

World Development Report 2000, UNDP

Perspective...

Urban Vietnam

Urbanisation in Vietnam reflects the complicated and diverse circumstances of the different periods of development.

From 1986, there was rapid urban development as the open-market economy evolved. However, the state's urban management experience and capability was extremely limited and unprepared for this transformation. Vietnam now faces many challenges as it strives to boost industrialisation and modernisation as well as providing the impetus for rural development. The role of cities as economic, political and cultural centres will become increasingly significant as will the stress of urbanisation.

The largest cities, such as Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Hai Phong and Da Nang, with their economic, political and cultural advantages, are playing important roles in the transition to a market-oriented economy.

The finance ministry estimates that urban areas now contribute about 60 per cent of the revenue and consume about 49 per cent of state expenditure. The economic efficiency of urban areas is much higher than rural areas. Yet urbanisation affects only 20 per cent of the total population; about 70 per cent of the labour force still lives in rural areas.

Studies of the socio-economic impacts of renovation show that the most direct effects are in the cities. Here, living standards and stratification between different social groups has increased, resulting in a polarisation between rich and poor. In spite of increased living standards, there are many difficulties, including a deterioration in education and health care, acute housing problems, spontaneous construction, a loss of architectural and spatial order, urban transport problems and ineffective urban planning. Urban management and planning face many challenges on a daily basis, including the inability to effectively regulate development.

Rural development

Q What do friends, colleagues see as the problems in rural areas? Do they think urban resettlement provides the answer to problems faced in rural areas?

Activity...

Focus on your home country:

- What challenges do people living in rural areas face?
- List how the rural economy supports the development of the country, culturally and economically.
- How important are rural issues to developments in your home country?
- How is this similar or different to the country you are now living in?

VSO/Jon Spaul - China



The rural sector

Do the majority of people in the country you are working in live in rural areas? What economic activities are they involved in? The programme office may have statistics or information to help.

Q Ask friends and colleagues why rural development is important to their country.

Activity...

What are the major differences between rural and urban areas in the country you are working in? Focus on access to: education/health/safe water/food/information/technology/employment/access to goods and markets/transport.

'Rural poverty accounts for nearly
63% of poverty worldwide,
 reaching **90%** in China and Bangladesh, and
 between **65 and 90%** in sub-Saharan Africa'

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2000/12/khan.htm>


Perspective...
The Rural farmer: the village dimension

Today most of the villagers' income depends upon the sale of their cocoa crops. Without cocoa there would be no money for necessities that cannot be made or grown locally, or for school fees. If they are lucky, the villagers have enough left over to pay for emergencies, a family crisis, a doctor's bill or a funeral, a significant and expensive event in Ghana. Chocolate is just not on the menu.

One thing that Asamoah takes very seriously is his cocoa farming. Last year, he retired from his job teaching to devote himself to his eight-acre farm full-time. He is disdainful of the increasing number of Ghanaian farmers, just landowners really, who never work on their own farms but leave it up to caretakers, often Muslims from the poor north of the country. He and his wife Kate are very much partners in their farm.

Asamoah uses a fungicide to protect his crop, but is much more circumspect when it comes to more expensive pesticides and fertilisers. Asamoah and Kate, with the help of their young caretaker, Mamudu, prepare to show us the whole process of harvesting. There are two harvest seasons for most west African cocoa. The pods we are currently picking belong to the early part of the second crop – the first and most significant one is picked in November/December.

It is the care that west African and particularly Ghanaian farmers take with fermentation and drying that has given their cocoa its reputation as the world's best, much superior to the cocoa grown on huge plantations in places like Brazil, Indonesia and Malaysia. One of the keys to the success of small farmers growing cocoa is the use of inter-cropping with food crops. Ghana's Cocoa Research Institute in Tafo has advised farmers on the best ways to do this for decades. It has been, in this area at least, an exemplary use of indigenous science to aid development.

Mamudu and his wife and two daughters live on the farm full-time, watching over the cocoa from dawn to dusk. Asamoah explains to me that Mamudu gets a third of the income from the crop and that this is the general rule of thumb throughout the cocoa-growing regions. Sometimes a farmer shares the crop 50/50, but only when the caretaker has helped prepare the farm, planting the shoots which become cocoa trees and building the necessary accommodation. Neither of Mamudu's two young daughters, Martha and Samata, makes the 3km trek every morning to the school at Camp. Their mother, Zinabu, says it is just too far and they are too little. But one suspects the cost of schooling is also a factor.

Cocoa farming is serious business in Ghana. While there are some 500,000 to 600,000 farmers, there are also at least a million caretakers. In a country of roughly 19 million inhabitants, this makes cocoa by far the biggest contributor to people's livelihoods.

Cocoa is both social security for old age and the only inheritance many families will ever see. However, a large proportion of Ghana's cocoa farmers are in their sixties or seventies. It is hard to get young people to take up farming and stay in the village. A situation is evolving where it is the caretakers who do the actual farming while the owners are absentee city-dwellers.

The Rural farmer: the global dimension

'Ghana, which is feeling the brunt of declining cocoa prices, would welcome any scheme that would reduce price volatility', said Richard Kwame Perprah, minister of finance. 'Since gold and cocoa account for 60 per cent of export earnings, and cocoa accounts for over 50 per cent of tax revenues, it is vital that we can protect ourselves against falling prices', he added.

During the past year, cocoa prices have dropped by 40 per cent. This in turn has slashed government cocoa revenues by 80 per cent.

The Rural farmer, *The New Internationalist*, Issue 304, August 1998

Q What local, national and international barriers to rural development can you and your colleagues identify for the country you are working in?

Development in practice

Activity...

- How many development projects can you identify in the community you are now working in?
- How many are self-help or government led? How many depend on external support?

NGOs and volunteers

If development is about people, one of the ways in which people can participate in development is through NGOs and grassroots organisations.

www.ngos.net

Viewpoints...

'...years of valuable and selfless service to Guyana by VSO in the fields of education, health, infrastructure development, water and agriculture. On behalf of the government of Guyana, I therefore wish to express gratitude for your sterling contributions and unwavering commitment to help us build Guyana and a future of hope and prosperity for our children.'

Hon Minister Clement Rohee, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Govt of Guyana, on the tenth anniversary of VSO in Guyana

'Representatives of independent citizen organizations are increasingly active in policy-making at the United Nations. These organizations, known at the UN as non-governmental organisations or NGOs, are often the most effective voices for the concerns of ordinary people in the international arena.'

'NGOs include the most outspoken advocates of human rights, the environment, social programs, women's rights and more. This page links to information and analysis about NGOs at the UN and in global policy-making more broadly.'

www.ngos.net

Activity...

- What NGOs are working in your local community? How many of them are local? How many are national or international NGOs?
- Ask colleagues, friends what advantages there are for NGOs and volunteers running development programmes/projects.
- What challenges do volunteers and NGOs face?
- Should the work of NGOs reflect wider government development policies in the country they are working in?
- Does the work of NGOs and volunteers deflect government responsibility for supporting development projects to eradicate poverty?

South–South development

Q Is development a North–South process?

Perspectives...

The International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications (INASP) was established in 1992. Since then, it has developed a database which now holds a considerable amount of information of relevance to the transfer of scientific information to the developing world. To date, the focus has primarily been in one direction, ie from North to South.

It is as a consequence of our belief that there is a significant volume of information produced by developing countries themselves which should be made more widely available on a South–South basis that the INASP database is being extended to take into account those Southern institutions which publish the results of their research and experience and are willing to share them with other similar Southern institutions and with interested organisations in the North.

Rural development, in its broadest sense, is regarded as an area where this initiative is most appropriate, and INASP is currently concentrating its efforts on identifying further those southern networks and international, regional and national organisations with information-sharing activities or potential which fall within this category.

South–South Rural Development Network, The International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications
www.inasp.org.uk/south/

The Edhi Foundation has become a respected volunteer welfare organisation since it started work in 1948, a year after Pakistan gained independence. In addition to 2000 full-timers, who receive only a nominal sum, the Foundation relies upon hundreds of unpaid volunteers. 'Edhi volunteers headed by Abdul Sattar Edhi have served suffering humankind in Kosovo, Bosnia, Turkey and many other trouble spots around the world,' says Mahmood-ul-Hassan, 73, who heads the Foundation's office in Islamabad.

Orbit, Winter 2001, No 79

"Some people might say that there is more than enough work for these volunteers to do in our backyard - why bother to help others abroad when maybe millions of disadvantaged Filipinos need all the assistance they can get? Well, if every society waited to "get everything together" before reaching out, the world would be truly a mess. The wonderful thing about VSO work is that it breaks down the borders in the collective consciousness. No more 'us' and 'them'; we're all in it together!"

Role of the South-South volunteer, as seen by a Filipino development Worker

To address a critical shortage of secondary school teachers in the North of Ghana, a national volunteering programme is being set up to recruit graduates from the South of Ghana. This will also help in addressing the widespread problem of graduate unemployment in the South of Ghana. It is hoped that the programme will not only result in supplying schools with trained volunteer teachers but will also help lessen the cultural and social divide that exists between the disadvantaged North and relatively advantaged South.

VSO 2003

Activity...

- Does South–South development relieve the responsibility of richer nations in the North to support development programmes in the South?
- List what you see as the advantages and disadvantages of South–South development.

Sustainable development

In 1987, the Independent Commission for Environment and Development met to discuss climate change and development. The Commission produced the Brundtland Report that offered a definition of sustainable development.

Viewpoint...

'Sustainable development, in the Commission's now classic sense of meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs, relates to all development, not just to development in a specialised third world context, but to the development of all countries, all peoples, indeed, to the development of our human society.'

Our Country Our Planet, Shridath Ramphal

'For two crucial questions remain open. What needs? Whose needs? Is sustainable development supposed to meet the needs for water, land and economic security or the needs for air travel and bank deposits? Is it concerned with survival needs or with luxury needs? Are the needs in question those of the global consumer class or the enormous number of have-nots?'

The Post Development Reader, ed Wolfgang Sachs

Q What does 'sustainable development' mean to you? What does it mean to your colleagues and the local community?

Perspectives...

1994

Today the third world hears a message from industrial countries about tropical rain forests that goes something like this:

We consider that our essential role is to make our people more and more prosperous through industrial and post-industrial economic activity. With present systems and technologies, that means that we will have to go on using fossil fuels at least at today's level. We know that this can have serious consequences for all countries because of carbon dioxide's contribution to global warming; but we also believe strongly that it is in the interest of the whole world that we remain prosperous.

It is necessary, therefore, that your role should be to preserve the tropical rainforests in your countries as storehouses for carbon.

Our Country, Our Planet, Shridath Ramphal

March 2001

In 1997, 160 countries met in Japan to discuss global warming. The result was the Kyoto Treaty. To date, 88 countries have signed the agreement that came out of the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Under the terms of the Kyoto protocol, industrialised countries would reduce their collective emissions of greenhouse gases. The reductions would vary from one developed country to another.

The US was expected to reduce its emissions by 7% of their 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012. The US has less than 4% of the world's population yet it currently emits 24% of the world's carbon dioxide.

On 30 March 2001, President George W Bush announced that he would abandon the Kyoto treaty. The US objects to the protocol on the grounds that it does not seek to limit pollution from developing nations and puts too heavy a burden on the US economy. President Bush declared, 'I will not accept anything that will harm our economy and hurt our American workers'.

Edited from the UK's Independent newspaper, 30 March 2001

Q Are the economic benefits worth the social and environmental costs? Is the US right to protect its own economy and workers?

Viewpoint...**Sustainable livelihoods**

'Sustainable livelihoods (SL) brings together some of the best practices in participatory development and offers new ways of applying them to achieve sustainable development. SL approaches are not revolutionary. What is new is the integrative and unifying way SL principles are applied to address problems.'

This new focus pays particular attention to:

- gaining a more holistic understanding of how people access and control various kinds of capital (natural, financial, social, human and physical)
- the vulnerability context of the poor
- processes, institutions and policies at micro and macro levels that help constrain people's use of capital to achieve their livelihood goals.

SL approaches place people back in the centre of development rather than focusing on the resources that people use.

So the principles of SL approaches are:

- people-centred
- holistic
- dynamic.

SL approaches:

- build on strengths
- promote micro-macro links
- encourage broad partnering
- aim for long-term sustainability.'

Sustainable Livelihoods – current thinking and practice, DFID

Activity...**Has development worked?**

Carry out a quality-of-life survey with two or three people whom you know in your area. Try to make the group varied in terms of age, sex and employment. Use the questions below as a guide and add to them as you feel necessary. You could use this activity in the workplace, or in the classroom. Be sensitive in case anyone finds the questions intrusive.

- In what ways has your life improved over the past ten years? (You may want be specific and focus on education, health issues, empowerment.)
- In what ways has your life worsened over the past ten years?
- What development projects can you identify that have improved you life over the past ten years?
- What development projects can you identify that have failed over the past ten years?
- What improvements would you most like to have in your life?
- What enables you to initiate development projects? What limits you?
- Who do you think is responsible for development, the government or the people? ■

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