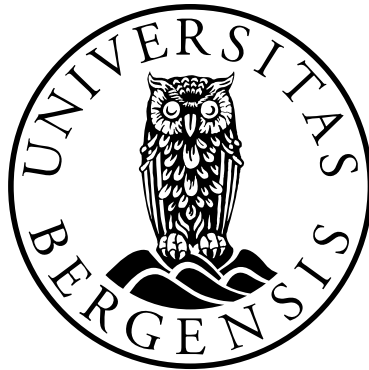# North-South Partnerships for Health:

Key Factors for Partnership Success from the Perspective of KIWAKKUKI

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To the memory of my Mother, my Aunt Anne and my Uncle Neal

Abstract

Background: North-South Partnership (NSP) is a main strategy for health promotion work in Africa. Northern partners contribute funding and expertise and Southern partners contribute crucial knowledge of context and capacity for local action. This model is widely promoted within health promotion documents but actual practice is not well understood. In addition to being largely anecdotal, the literature on NSP is limited by the tendency to draw overly pessimistic conclusions, by comparing idealistic definitions of partnership to real-world examples. There is a failure in the literature to systematically examine NSP by criteria of partnership functioning generally. The few case studies that do exist focus primarily on power relations, characterizing NSP as one-way streets of accountability where Northern partners dictate the agenda and issue demands.

As Southern organizations engage in NSP, those that are successful grow as a result. Some authors suggest that this process of scaling up can draw the organization's focus toward global advocacy and professionalization, and away from their community empowerment work. However, these assumptions are mere speculation without case studies specifically examining these processes in practice. Another complicated interaction within NSP is the empowerment of and relationship to the local Southern community, often an important motivator for Northern partners to engage with Southern partners. Voluntary community members in these grassroots organizations represent tremendous partner resources, however, their motivations, roles and the impact of context on volunteer work is not sufficiently explored in the existing literature.

Objective: The study used a systems model, the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning, to map NSP processes over the 18-year history of a Southern organization's partnerships with Northern organizations, through scaling-up processes and interacting with grassroots volunteers.

Design: A case study design was used. The case was purposely selected because of its reputation of success over many years of operation within many longstanding NSPs. The case, KIWAKKUKI, is a women's grassroots organization working on issues of HIV and AIDS in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania. Documents, observations and, primarily, interview data were collected. Data collection occurred during two field visits in 2008 and 2009. Document data included formal reports, internal forms and records and email exchanges with Northern partners. Observational data was collected during both field trips and field logs were kept. In the first round of interviews in 2008, nine participants were interviewed. An additional 12 interviews were conducted in 2009, nine of which were new participants while three participants were interviewed a second time. The interviews were open-ended and lasted an average of one hour. The Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning was employed to analyze the data. Themes were identified and coded using an iterative process several times during the research. An established framework for scaling up was also used to examine the experience of growth of KIWAKKUKI.

Findings: Mapping KIWAKKUKI's NSP experience demonstrated that even in effective partnerships, both positive and negative processes are present. It was also observed that KIWAKKUKI's partnership breakdowns were not strictly negative, as they provided lessons that facilitated learning and improved future partnership work. KIWAKKUKI, a successful, experienced Southern organization with a grassroots base of over 6000 volunteers described a give and take of power in their NSP relationships. The success and synergy KIWAKKUKI experienced through its NSPs led to rapid growth in both its partnerships and grassroots base. The grassroots growth necessitated an increase in volunteer capacity-building that overextended the available funds for those activities. The result was that new volunteers were not trained as thoroughly as veteran volunteers and participants believed services suffered as a result. Northern partners' mission was identified as being the key factor in determining if they would fund capacity building for grassroots volunteers. Examination of KIWAKKUKI's relationship with grassroots volunteers demonstrated that the volunteers' knowledge of local people and conditions was crucial to

successful functioning within the organization. Volunteers were motivated by their desire to learn to care for family members, to reverse stigma, and to work with other women. Volunteers' engagement was enhanced not just by work-related activities, but also by welcoming and supportive activities (sharing stories and singing together, for example). Volunteers were affected by their experience: positively, through empowerment, improving skills, and by community recognition; and negatively, by burnout, conferred stigma and in extreme cases, domestic violence. The Tanzanian context powerfully affected how and why volunteers engaged with KIWAKKUKI.

Conclusions: The study highlights the importance of acknowledging and reporting on both positive and negative processes to maximise learning in North-South partnerships. This is demonstrated by the new insights illuminated by this research that too much synergy can be bad (growth outpacing capacity-building) and that antagony, or negative processes, can be good by facilitating opportunities to learn from mistakes. The need for capacity-building for volunteers is crucial and would benefit from clear statements of commitment and an agreed mission within individual NSPs to support, empower and train the volunteer base, as much of the value of NSPs is derived from this community contribution. Strengthening the grassroots base not only improves the services and the cultural appropriateness of health promotion work, the findings also indicate that Southern organizations strongly founded on a large grassroots volunteer base (partner resources) can balance the power afforded to Northern partners with their large financial contributions (financial resources).

List of publications

Paper I

Corbin, J.H., Mittelmark, M.B. and Lie, G.T (2011). Mapping synergy and antagony in North-South partnerships for health: A case study of a women's HIV/AIDS NGO in Africa. *Health Promotion International,* advance access: doi: 10.1093/heapro/dar092

Paper II

Corbin, J.H., Mittelmark, M.B. and Lie, G.T. (2012). Scaling-up and rooting-down: A case study of North-South partnerships for health from Tanzania. *Glob Health Action,* **5**: 18369 - http://dx.doi.org/10.3402/gha.v5i0.18369

Paper III

Corbin, J.H., Mittelmark, M.B. and Lie, G.T. (Submitted). Examination of grassroots volunteers in context: A case study of Tanzania's KIWAKKUKI -- working on HIV and AIDS in Kilimanjaro. *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*

List of Abbreviations

ACTIS—Norwegian Policy Network on Alcohol and Drugs

AIDS—Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome

ALICE RAP—Additions and Lifestyle in Contemporary European Reframing Addictions Project

AMREF—African Medical and Research Foundation

BMCF—Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning

COSTECH—Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology

GPHPE—Global Programme for Health Promotion Effectiveness

HIV—Human immunodeficiency virus

ISECN—IUHPE Student and Early Career Network

IUHPE—International Union for Health Promotion and Education

KIWAKKUKI—Kikundi cha Wanawaka Kilimanjaro na Ukimwi (Kilimanjaro Women against AIDS)

NGO—Nongovernmental organization

NSP—North-South partnerships

PHLA—People living with HIV and AIDS

UNHCR— Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

VCT—Voluntary counseling and testing

WHO—World Health Organization

WB—World Bank

Contents

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the subject matter of this dissertation. It will briefly summarize the focus and purpose of the research, provide an overview of its relevance within the field of health promotion, define the conception of partnership adopted in this study and explain the use of terminology.

1.1 Focus and purpose of the study

This dissertation is a case study of factors that positively and negatively affect the functioning of health promotion partnerships for HIV and AIDS prevention and care. The partnership under study is a sub-Saharan African grassroots NGO collaborating with European and North American organizations and local volunteers. The study aimed to give voice to the Southern partner's perspective on this experience. The NGO is the Tanzanian women's organization, KIWAKKUKI. Over the course of two decades, KIWAKKUKI has entered many partnerships with Northern organizations. This experience has had both positive and negative aspects. Yet the positive has dominated the negative and KIWAKKUKI has grown from a grassroots membership of less than 20 founding mothers in 1990 to over 6000 members in 2008 when the study commenced. Numerous reports and evaluations of KIWAKKUKI have concluded that it is exemplary in meeting its mission and that it performs well (1–3). Therefore, KIWAKKUKI has much insight to offer both Southern and Northern organizations on optimizing partnership functioning. Its reputation for success was the primary reason why KIWAKKUKI was chosen as the case in this study.

Little has been written about North-South partnership from the perspective of the Southern partner (4). The literature that exists tends to be pessimistic, comparing real-world experience to idealized and value-laden conceptions of what North-South partnership should be (5). Unfortunately, this literature is further limited in its utility because it fails to employ a frame to guide the inquiry that could make such studies

and experiences comparable to other instances of partnership. The aims of this study were to use a systems model of partnership functioning, the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning (6) to study the processes of collaboration of KIWAKKUKI and its Northern partners, to study the scaling up of KIWAKKUKI over time and how growth affected its work, and to study the role played by KIWAKKUKI's large grassroots volunteer base.

1.2 Partnership in health promotion

There is an almost universal recognition that today's complex and intractable health concerns cannot be adequately addressed through a single organization or sector (7,8). International institutions like the World Health Organization (WHO) and the World Bank (WB) prominently promote international partnerships as key for solving the problems of poverty and ill health (9–16). Heeding the call, health promoters have forged ahead, building partnerships for their work (17). Significant investments by governments, foundations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) have poured out to create initiatives that bring diverse people and organizations working together (8,18–20). Significantly, many public and private funding institutions now require projects they support to involve partnerships with other organizations (8,20).

In an African context, health promotion work is often conducted through North-South partnerships between local community organizations and well-resourced INGOs, NGOs, foundations and other institutions from North America and Europe (21).

The benefits of partnership are perceived to be the increased ability to raise and distribute resources; more efficient information exchange; increased impact, credibility and recognition; reduction of redundancy; the complementarity of skills and knowledge; increased ability to work holistically; and for creating innovation (21–23). However, these assumptions are rarely tested in empirical research. Scriven (23) observes: "Despite the belief in these benefits and the increased emphasis on

interagency collaboration, there is a lack of debate and evidence of the processes that enhance or obstruct joint working and a dearth of empirical research and theory-building on questions of intersectoral collaboration in health promotion (p. xiii)."

The research that has examined the inner workings of partnership reveal complicated relationships that lack close resemblance to the partnership rhetoric at the global level (21). Kreuter and Lezin (24) in their critical review of literature found that almost 50 percent of partnerships dissolve within their first year of engagement. In practice, collaborative work can be complex and challenging (19, 20). Brinkerhoff (21) warns that "unspecified and overly ambitious expectations of partnership, coupled with the overuse of partnership rhetoric and inconsistent practice may lead to an abandonment of partnership work altogether and a forfeiting of its potential value-added (p. 13)."

These problems point to a need to carry out methodologically sound research on collaboration with clearly defined parameters and constructs to enable their rigorous, consistent and comparable examination across diverse settings.

1.3 Theoretical conceptions of partnership

Despite the seeming consensus on the need for partnership, there is surprisingly little agreement on what the term actually means. Guest and Peccei (25) note: "[Partnership] is an idea with which anyone can agree, without having any clear idea what they are agreeing about" (p.207). Many commentators note that there is no generally accepted definition for partnership (26–28).

Research on partnership spans diverse disciplines, research paradigms and theoretical perspectives (27). However, instead of this diversity of experience and expertise strengthening and expanding the knowledge base, these research efforts have remained fragmented with little movement toward shared definitions or conceptions (27,29–32).

The term 'partnership' has been used to describe diverse working arrangements including communication, consultation, coordination and collaboration (26–28). Other terms, often employed interchangeably, are: "alliance," "network," "consortium," "association," and "coalition." Some authors choose to treat these words synonymously (33). Scriven (23) for instance uses the term "healthy alliance" to cover other terms such as "collaborative" or "interagency partnership." Weiss, Anderson and Lasker (34) use the term "partnership" "to encompass all of the types of collaboration (e.g., consortia, coalitions and alliances) that bring people and organizations together to improve health (p. 683)."

Other authors distinguish between these terms. Dluhy (22), for instance, envisions the network construct as a subset of a coalition, where a "network is a loosely coupled group of professionals, people from the community, and agencies and organizations who band together periodically around certain issues or because of specific needs of client groups (p. 28)."

Other researchers discern various collectives working along a continuum. Alter and Hage (35) describe three kinds of inter-organizational levels of working: obligational networks referring to dyadic exchanges of information between organizational partners; promotional networks which are more integrated and share objectives; and the most integrated approach—the systemic production network, which involves organizations collaborating to producing something together. Gray (7) distinguishes between collaboration and the concepts of co-ordination or co-operation, describing the more complex vision of collective working as "an inter-organizational effort to address problems too complex and too protracted to be resolved by unilateral action (p.13)."

Given the variability in the use of these different terms and the lack of consensus on how to distinguish between them, this dissertation treats the terms "partnership," "collaboration," "coalition," and other arrangements of collaborative working as

synonyms defining these concepts practically -- according to their crosscutting intention -- the achievement of synergy.

Synergy describes the intended outcome of partnerships: to work together to produce results that could not be achieved by any of the partners in isolation (8,17,20,21,27,34,36). Indeed, across all the diverse literature on partnership this is the only common denominator.

From this perspective, partnerships and collaboration can be defined as collective working arrangements that intend to produce synergistic output; they are entered into with the intention to function at some higher order than the partners are capable of without one another. The value of this definition is that it places emphasis on partnership functioning, processes, and output rather than on partnership forms. Therefore, this dissertation uses many terms to describe collaboration, conceiving them to be united by their intention to produce synergy, without differentiating between other elements of form or purpose.

Having summarized the present research, placed it within the field of health promotion and defined the key concept under study, the next chapter will describe the theoretical model used to guide the inquiry and to review empirical findings on partnership functioning.

2. Theoretical model, concepts and empirical findings on partnership functioning

The purpose of this chapter is to describe in depth the theoretical model, conceptual underpinning and empirical findings related to partnership functioning which inform the present research study.

2.1 Strategy for the literature search

The literature on partnership functioning was searched through Web of Science, PsychInfo and PubMed databases at the University of Bergen's library. Search terms were purposefully broad and included many synonyms and alternative phrases to return search results relevant to the topics of interest (e.g., partnerships, coalitions, collaboration). I used both practical and methodological criteria to screen studies for inclusion and exclusion (37). The practical criteria dictated all studies had to be written in English; studies had to describe *functioning* of partnerships and had to be relevant to the health promotion conception of collaboration as defined in the previous chapter. The methodological exclusion omitted any commentaries, editorials, letters or reviews that turned up in search results. Only relevant, rigorous studies including detailed information of research methods were included.

2.2 Partnership Functioning

The present research builds on my master's project, a case study of the Global Programme for Health Promotion Effectiveness (GPHPE), which introduced a new model to the literature on health promotion partnerships – The Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning (BMCF) (6,38). The BMCF (figure 1) is an extension of a systems model introduced by Wandersman, Goodman and Butterfoss (20). It keeps

their conception of inputs, throughputs and outputs but expands the model by introducing the possibility of different kinds of outputs (i.e. additive and antagonistic results), depicting the cyclical and interactive processes within the collaboration system, as well as defining distinct categories of tasks and elements of functioning.

BERGEN MODEL OF COLLABORTIVE FUNCTIONING
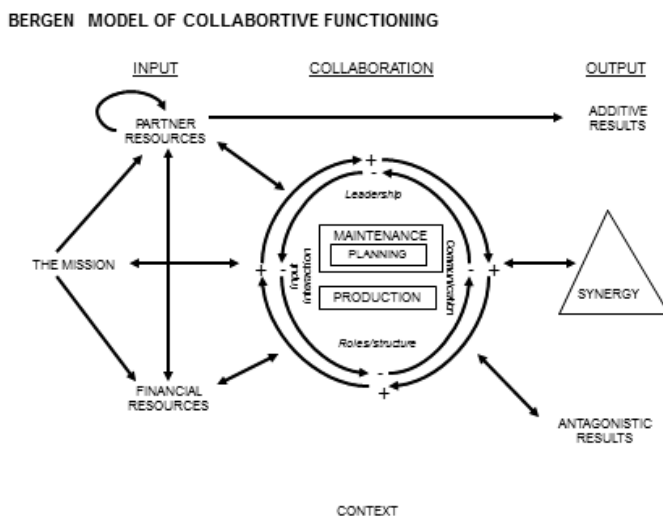
The BMCF was described as "exactly the kind of evaluation of effectiveness that we need more of if we are to comprehend fully what it means to deal with a complex problem in health promotion (39)." Since its development, the BMCF has been used as an analytical frame to examine case studies of several collaborative working arrangements, as a guide for practice (40,41) and as an evaluation tool (42). As an analytical tool, the BMCF was employed to conduct case studies of: ACTIS, a Norwegian consortia of NGOs engaged in affecting alcohol policy (43); a interdepartmental nutrition initiative within a large teaching hospital in Norway (44); an East-West collaboration between the Soros Foundation and the Kazakhstani organization Aman-Saulyk (45); the implementation of the African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) Kibwezi Community-based Health Management Information Strategy project in Kenya (46); and a newly formed public-private partnership between the Norwegian government and local community NGOs for promoting public health

in the Hordaland County (41). The International Union for Health Promotion and Education's Student and Early Career Network, which I founded, was built upon the findings of the original GPHPE research and understanding lent by the model (40). The Haugstad (41) community study also used the BMCF to help implement the new public health collaborative initiatives. Most recently, the BMCF has been adapted to act as a participatory evaluation tool for collaboration in a large-scale transdisciplinary EC-funded research project on addiction, the Addictions and Lifestyles in Contemporary Europe Reframing Addiction's Project (ALICE RAP) (42); and in the community-university partnership funded by the US National Cancer Institute and Center for Disease Control through the University of Texas School of Public Health at Houston, called Latinos in a Network for Cancer Control (LINCC).

The BMCF depicts collaboration as highly interactive processes that are not linear but cycle and flow from input to throughput to output, back again, within and across circuits in the system. Inputs of partners, finances and mission (often working to motivate and recruit one another) enter the collaboration where they interact with one another and with other elements such as leadership, communication and roles and structures. Partners engage in either maintenance or production activities producing the outputs of additive results, synergy or antagony. These elements all interact, influence and affect other elements of functioning in dynamic cycles of positive and negative interaction. The following sections will elaborate on this general description by defining the constructs depicted in the BMCF and will provide a detailed overview of the empirical findings of research pertaining to each construct.

2.2.1 Inputs

2.2.1.1 Mission

Mission refers to the *raison d'etre* of the partnership (38). It is the reason the people, organizations and financers have come together and describes the work they want to accomplish. A survey of 52 health professionals in Israel examining factors that motivated, enhanced and inhibited functioning found that agreeing on the aims of the project and sharing a vision and goals were key factors for partnership success (47). Hanson (48), in a qualitative study interviewing 37 people engaged in four separate

collaborations on environmental issues, discovered a relationship between mission and motivation, finding that without engagement with the mission—partners could not gauge their own incentives for becoming involved. A Canadian multiple-case study of intersectoral community partnerships for the prevention of heart and lung disease found that commitment to shared goals and a visible focus were key to community (partner) mobilization (49).

The case studies which employed the BMCF confirmed the importance of mission in the working of the collaborations under study and enabled a contextualized analysis of mission's importance not in isolation within the partnership but also within the external setting. Endresen (43) found that in the field of alcohol policy, motivation for the mission was highly value-laden. The success of his case was largely due to the leaders' abilities to unite all partners around a single mission by respecting and welcoming their diverse perspectives. Corwin et al. (44) found that the acceptance and commitment to the mission within a complex hospital-based interdepartmental nutrition project was only possible because of the ripe context to which it was introduced. Recent evidence-based recommendations, government actions, media coverage and client demands all worked together to support the adoption of the nutrition initiative. Haugstad's research (41) found similar effects in her examination of community public health partnerships in Norway. These findings contradict those of Zahner's (50) multi-stage survey of local public health system partnerships in Wisconsin, USA which reported that a government mandate of the partnership was not associated with successful outcomes. It would seem the context is the important variable in understanding this discrepancy. In Norway the government pressure had a positive influence, whereas in Wisconsin the "mandate" was not looked upon favorably by participants.

In the poor region of Kibwezi in Kenya, where health services are rare and difficult to access, Kamau's (46) BMCF case study of the AMREF Community-based Health Management Information Strategy further demonstrates the interaction between context and mission. Kamau found the communities were open to the mission of the

partnership simply because of the economic context. One of his participants explains: "The community has many socio-economic problems. Anybody coming with suggestions…is normally welcomed with both hands (46)."

2.2.1.2 Partner resources

Partner resources refer to the non-financial contributions of partners including partner skills, time, reputation, social connections among other things (38). Zahner (50), in her multi-case study found a broad array of organizational partners (diversity in partner resources) predicted effectiveness in local public health partnerships in Wisconsin, USA. In addition to diversity of the partners, she also found having a high skill set also contributed to functioning. In another study from the US, member survey data from 10 cancer prevention coalitions showed that high levels of skilled partners within coalitions correlated with higher levels of membership participation and greater levels of member satisfaction (51).

Research also indicates that the level of emotional involvement and the status of those involved can influence partnership work. For instance, a study examining evaluation data from intersectoral community mobilization in four communities in Quebec, Canada found that the involvement of concerned and influential partners was important for success (49).

The findings of studies employing the BMCF identified aspects of partner contributions that affected functioning and because of the system frame offered by the model, the findings were also able to examine links between partner contributions and other elements within the partnership. For instance, in regard to Zahner's (50) findings that a broad array of partners predicts effectiveness, Endresen's (43) findings illuminate mechanisms to best harness heterogeneity among partners by connecting them along lines of commonality in mission. Further, findings from the original GPHPE case study (38) and those from Haugstad's (41) case from community partnership in Norway demonstrate the ability of partners to recruit more partners to

the collaboration showing how engaged partners can enhance and grow the partnership.

2.2.1.3 Financial resources

Financial resources refer to both the material and monetary contributions of partners and donors (38). A survey of 291 participants of community-based public health initiatives in the US found that of all the factors examined, the importance of financial resources in the functioning of partnership was commonly recognized among both leader and non-leader respondents (52). In Zahner's (50) study, 747 cases of local health system partnerships reported outcomes that were analyzed according to several variables. The regression analyses found that having a budget and many partners contributing financially to the partnership were statistically significant predictors of successful implementation of partnership plans. Using the BMCF, Corbin (38) found that financial resources interacted with partner resources in a motivating way— funding, even in small amounts, could go a long way toward motivating partner participation and ensuring quality of output. Conversely, a lack of funding led to an overreliance on partner resources which overburdened some of the volunteers and made them susceptible to burn-out (6).

2.2.2 Throughput

2.2.2.1 Input interaction

Input interaction refers to the links and influence of the mission, partner resources, and financial resources upon one another in the context of collaborative functioning (38). Some of these interactions have been described above in reporting Endresen's (43) findings on partners and mission and Corbin's (38) results concerning the balance between adequate financial resources and reliance on partner contributions. Other authors have also noted such interactions. In a survey of 815 participants in 63 unique partnerships in the US, Weiss et al. (34) assessed a concept they called "partnership efficiency" by examining the combination of responses to Likert scale

statements related to the partnership's use of financial resources, partner in-kind resources and partners' time. Their results suggested that higher levels of partnership synergy were related to greater partnership efficiency.

The category of input interaction also includes how partner resources interact among themselves (38). One key component of this is power differentials among participants in the partnership. In their multi-method study of 37 coalition coordinators in Israel, Drach-Zahavy and Baron-Epel (53), found that a high degree of heterogeneity among partners undermined effectiveness due to struggles over power and resources. A systematic review of the literature on public health partnerships found that power differences among partners could adversely affect synergy by limiting participation of certain partners over other partners, placing more or less value on the opinions of various partners and by more privileged partners controlling decision-making processes (54). The research presented in this dissertation is the first of the BMCF studies to look specifically at power relations among partners.

Another interaction between partners is the existence, creation and dissolution of trust within the collaboration. Jones and Barry (55), in their survey of 337 partners in 40 health promotion partnerships in Ireland found that trust is essential to the production of synergy and trust-building needs to be purposefully built into the functioning of the partnership at the beginning and maintained throughout its work. Haugstad's (41) BMCF study of community partnerships in Hordaland, Norway confirms Jones and Barry's findings, reporting that partners' felt trust was "decisive" for achieving synergy (p.79). She reported a particular practice of mentorship for new partners that built trust between partners at a formative stage for the mentee and as an ongoing trust-building practice for the mentor.

2.2.2.2 Leadership

Leadership is widely recognized as being an important factor in partnerships. The results of the initial BMCF study of the GPHPE identified important characteristics of leadership within a partnership, including: the ability confer respect, to promote

openness, trust and autonomy (6). Weiss et al. (34) in their exploratory survey study involving 63 US-based partnerships found that leadership was the dimension of partnership functioning most closely associated with synergy. Their work also identified specific attributes of leaders that conferred greater success: the ability to facilitate interactions between partners by bridging diverse cultures, sharing power, creating open dialogue, and by challenging and identifying assumptions that inhibit thinking and action. These findings were confirmed in the BMCF study of ACTIS, wherein the leadership was able to find commonality within the mission (or advocacy platform) among alcohol NGOs with heterogeneous, value-based conceptions of the alcohol problem (43).

Jones and Barry (55) examined leadership in 40 partnerships in Ireland using an 11-item, five-point scale based on Weiss et al.'s work. Confirming the previous findings, their results also showed leadership as a potent predictor of synergy and positive partnership functioning. In their study of 291 partnerships, Lempa et al. surveyed 702 participants on the leadership and leadership ethos within the partnerships. They inquired about leaders' abilities to develop structures and processes, create infrastructure, plan, and oversee work. They found leadership to contribute to more than 5 times the variance than any other factor under study, according to both leader and non-leader responses. Particular attributes of importance in the leadership were found to be the ability to articulate a clear vision and gain consensus among partners (52). A study using path modeling to examine the influence of leadership on member costs, benefit and levels of participation in 25 community care programs across the US found that open and collaborative decision-making, consensus-building around mission are indirectly affected by leadership behavior (56).

While leadership is consistently found to be an important factor in partnership functioning, Baron-Epel et al. al. (47), in their survey of 52 health professionals, also found struggles over leadership were a serious barrier to success.

Again, the BMCF research contributes to the literature by examining the concept of leadership not only in terms of important attributes of the leaders themselves but also in terms of the interaction of the leadership with other elements of functioning. First, partners interact with not only a "leadership" but also with their perceptions of who the leader is and how those in leadership positions should act. In Haugstad's (41) study of community public health programs in Norway, she found that the question of who the leadership was did not produce unanimous answers. Some saw in the partnerships a "constellation" of leaders (p. 50) and some felt the leadership should have more formality. Another example is Endresen's (43) study of ACTIS, the Norwegian collaboration of alcohol NGOs. His study shows how leadership, funding and partners can interact in ways that affect the production of synergy. The ACTIS collaboration enjoyed plentiful government funding, however, Endresen found a negative interaction between their well-resourced leadership and the participation of member organizations. The efficiency and effectiveness of ACTIS led some partners to believe their participation was not needed.

2.2.2.3 Formal roles and procedures

Formal roles and procedures refer to the structures that are either in place within a partnership or the lack thereof. A 3-year Quebec study using evaluation data from four cardiovascular and cancer prevention programs identified formal decision-making mechanisms instituted through clear structures and leadership were among the keys to successful community partnerships (49). Drach-Zahavy and Baron-Epel, in their multi-method study of health promotion teams in Israel examined structural variables including heterogeneity of the partners, the coalition configuration as defined by member engagement and assignments and contractual collaborations outside the coalition. They found that such coalitions should be reconsidered as flexible entities interacting with an external environment rather than as rigid structures. Their results showed loosely configured coalitions that allowed for part-time and part-cycle members were associated with the ability to work on multiple strategies at once and with greater overall effectiveness.

In the initial BMCF study of the GPHPE, a collaboration with few financial resources and a significant reliance on volunteer work from partners, Corbin (38) found that the accountability created by assigned roles and tasks helped to ensure that production activities were achieved and thus that synergy was created. Haugstad (41), in her study of Norwegian public-private partnerships for public health, found that vague structures, unclear roles and uncertain timeframes created negative cycles of interaction within the partnerships which impacted functioning. Corwin (57) found similar negative cycles in an unsuccessful collaboration within the hospital where roles were hierarchal and murky. Her results highlight the interaction of context *vis a vis* roles and structure because a "partnership" within the highly hierarchal hospital setting needed to transcend that inherent structure to enable engaged participation of all partner resources.

2.2.2.4 Communication

Communication processes refer to the ways in which partners (including leadership) convey information within the collaboration. Kegler and her colleagues (51) assessed 10 coalitions working on smoking interventions and cancer prevention in North Carolina, USA, examining (among other factors) the impact of communication on functioning. They used a 5-point semantic differential scale to inquire about the frequency, productivity and quality of communication between staff of the coalitions and members and then also between members themselves. They found that of all the factors they examined, the quality of communication was the only process of collaborative functioning that was significantly correlated with member participation (r=.70). Communication quality was also significant in regard to member satisfaction, successful implementation, good relationships among coalition factors and effectiveness. Frequent and productive communication was also associated with a coalition's ability to "engender a sense of belonging or cohesion among members (p.350)."

Findings from the research using the BMCF reveal not only the importance of the quality, frequency and productivity of communication in partnership functioning but also the mode and the interaction of communication with other aspects of collaborative functioning. Several of the studies found face-to-face communication to be the best mode of communication (43,41,57,6). In Endresen's (43) case of a well-funded partnership of alcohol policy NGOs in Norway, he found that these funds had a positive interaction with communication because ACTIS was able to fund the travel of partners to face-to-face meetings. Corwin's (57) research of an interdepartmental initiative to improve nutrition in a large hospital in Norway demonstrated nuances of context in regard to communication. In the traditionally hierarchical hospital setting, not only was face-to-face communication better than mass communication, the most informal settings were the best at producing exchange among partners. Dosbayeva (45) found context to be important in her study as well. In the Kazakhstani context, where the postal system is not reliable—there were additional obstacles to communication across distances. An interesting finding of the Corbin (38) study of the GPHPE was that individual partners interacted differently with the communication provided. That is, perceptions varied -- some partners felt there was too much information and others felt there was not enough, still others felt there was a lot but that it was not accessible.

2.2.2.5 Maintenance tasks

Maintenance refers to the activities that keep the partnership itself running. According to the BMCF, these activities do not intend to affect the Mission, they serve the purpose of supporting the work by doing things such as seeking more funding, reporting on finances, supporting partners through capacity-building and maintaining communication structures, roles and procedures through future planning and day-to-day management (6,44). Corwin (57) describes it as the "fuel" of the collaboration (p. 7). Kegler and her colleagues (51,58) have researched extensively the importance of capacity-building within the context of collaborations. Their study

examining 10 cancer-prevention coalitions in North Carolina found that capacity-building efforts were correlated with member satisfaction (51).

Endresen (43), using the BMCF to examine a well-financed collaboration of NGOs working to affect alcohol policy in Norway, found connections between financial resources, maintenance and partner engagement. His results showed that sufficient financial resources used to fund a Secretariat to perform maintenance tasks within the collaboration allowed the partner organizations to be a part of advocacy efforts without jeopardizing their own missions, while also enhancing equitable access to policy initiatives to all partner organizations regardless of size or power. Alternatively, in the case study of the GPHPE, which had very limited financial resources, maintenance activities were hampered. Specifically, the lack of funding made collaboration-financed travel impossible so face-to-face planning meetings were challenging to arrange (38). Kamau's (46) examination of a community health information initiative in Kenya found a relationship between unclear roles and poor maintenance. Kamau's data show that the IT equipment was not being maintained properly because there was confusion about whose responsibility it was to service it.

2.2.2.6 Production tasks

Production tasks refer to activities that take place within the context of the collaboration that produce results pertaining to the Mission. The inputs and elements of functioning discussed so far in this section all work together to produce additive results, synergy and/or antagony. Therefore, the factors influencing production tasks are best described in the context of the results produced and thus will be elaborated in the next sub-section on Output.

2.2.3 Output

2.2.3.1 Additive results

By definition, additive results are not actually products of collaboration, they are the products of individual partners working on their own (6). Therefore, additive output is not influenced by the collaboration and does not contribute to it. Additive output is rarely found in the research on collaboration using the BMCF since it is very unusual for no interaction to take place within collaborative contexts. However, additive outputs were observed in the study on the GPHPE which was a professional collaboration based almost completely on voluntary efforts by the partners. One participant from that study describes what additive results look like:

> "I have no images of activities in for example (names many regions of the world) that I would label Global Program Health Promotion Effectiveness activities. At the same time, I have a good and clear image of effectiveness activities in these countries, because I'm well related to key players in those areas, I know their reports, I know what they're working on in the effectiveness arena. But I would have known that without the global program as well."

2.2.3.2 Synergy

As defined earlier in this chapter, synergy is the intended result of collaboration wherein partners join together to achieve more than would have been possible working independently (6,8,34,59). Jones and Barry (59) define synergy as an experience in addition to a result of collaboration. In the context of the BMCF, the experience of synergy would be a "positive cycle" within the collaborative context, whereas synergy would be conceived as a product of that functioning (6).

Weiss and her colleagues (34) examined dimensions of partnership functioning which support synergy in a large-scale study of 63 US-based partnerships through 815 informants. Their study found that synergy was produced in collaborations where the

leadership and efficient processes enabled the successful combining of partner perspectives, knowledge and skills. Jones and Barry (60), in another large-scale study, this time in Ireland, of 337 partners from 40 health promotion partnerships, confirmed Weiss' findings related to leadership and partnership efficiency while also highlighting trust-building practices at both the formation stage and ongoing within partnership work can also positively impact functioning.

Many of the factors related to positive functioning and the creation of synergy found in the studies employing the BMCF have already been described in terms of input interaction, leadership attributes, roles and procedures and communication. Of course, the BMCF depicts interactive processes and therefore has gone beyond analyzing the factors which result in synergy but to extend the analysis to explore how the production of synergy in turn affects functioning. For instance in the GPHPE, success within the collaboration led to the recruitment of more partners and more financial resources, allowing the program to grow (38). Corwin's (57) study also demonstrated this interaction, as success in the pilot nutrition initiative resulted in the adoption of the larger hospital-wide program. Dosbayeva's (45) study of collaboration between the Kazakhstani NGO and the US-based donor further confirmed these findings, demonstrating how achieving objectives increased the motivation of partners and positively influenced collaborative processes. These findings confirm the work of other researchers, although they do not map these interactions and relate them to elements of processes of functioning. For instance, Baron-Epel et al. (47) in their survey of 52 health professionals in Israel found that past success was a highly motivating factor related to future participation within health promotion partnerships.

2.2.3.3 Antagony

Antagony describes negative results of collaboration. That is, the collaborative process used more resources than necessary in what it produced. Time or money was wasted through collaboration. Antagony was first used as a term to describe such output in the original BMCF research (38). While many authors described negative

functioning and negative outcomes, the BMCF was the first model to include negative output as a static element to be examined within all partnerships.

Research employing the BMCF has found examples of negative processes and antagony in every case examined and has thus revealed many processes related to such negative output. One example of antagony was found by Corwin (57) in her examination of the large-scale nutrition initiative within a hospital. She found that the hierarchal structure of the hospital profoundly affected partners' ability to transcend their "role" and collaborate effectively within the partnership. In other words, there was a breakdown between partner resources and formal roles from the external context.

In the GPHPE, one proposed project, which several partners worked on, ended up not materializing—therefore time and effort was wasted. The participants cited two contributing factors to this problem: the lack of financial resources resulting in an over-reliance on volunteers and insufficient mechanisms for accountability. This example also demonstrates the interactive impact of negative output on functioning: one participant admitted to reaching the "point you stop prompting" which indicates withdrawal on the part of that partner.

Another important finding of the original BMCF study on collaboration within the GPHPE was that negative and positive processes were found to exist simultaneously (38). The success of a program was not marked by a complete absence of synergy but by a balance between synergy and antagony which meant more was created than lost through the partnership process. Corbin also found that different partners disagreed on their perception of what constituted successes and failures (synergy and antagony).

2.2.4 Context

Context refers to the environment within which the collaboration is taking place (38). It refers to the people, events, processes, actions, expectations and demands external to the collaboration but still affecting the inputs, processes and outputs (44). While

some authors mention context as having an effect (*see* 31) there is little elaboration on how environment affects functioning in the literature. Some of the findings from the BMCF studies have been described earlier in this chapter especially related to how the context can affect the mission of the partnership (41,44,46). The findings from the GPHPE study also demonstrate how an environment with few funding opportunities for its mission results in limited financial resources and therefore an overreliance on volunteers -- which in one instance led to antagony.

This chapter sought to clarify the concepts of collaboration and partnership functioning and to provide an overview of the empirical findings related to this research project. The next chapter examines the literature related specifically to North-South partnership, the scaling-up of activities within such partnerships and the role of volunteers.

3. North-South Partnership, Scaling Up and Volunteerism

The previous chapter laid the basis needed for understanding the place of collaboration within health promotion, the pragmatic definition adopted for the current research and a review of the empirical findings related to the theoretical framework employed in the present research. This chapter further illuminates the background relevant to this study by providing an overview and critical discussion of the empirical findings on North-South partnership and by describing the concepts of scaling up and volunteerism pertinent to the functioning of these partnerships. I argue that gaps in current knowledge warranted further research and present the aims and research questions addressed by this study.

3.1 Strategy for literature searches

The literature search employed the Web of Science, PsychInfo and Pubmed databases available through the University of Bergen's library. Search terms were again purposefully broad and included many synonyms and alternative phrases (e.g. North-South Partnership, donor-NGO partnership, global development partnerships). The search for empirical findings on NSP applied practical and methodological screening criteria, narrowing the search results for those relevant to the present inquiry (37). The practical inclusion criteria were that the studies reviewed had to be written in English and available through the University of Bergen. Studies were excluded if the focus was public-private partnerships (involving corporations), partnerships with faith-based organizations where religion was the focus of the analysis, or if they were evaluations funded by the Northern partner. The methodological screening excluded documents that were commentaries, editorials, letters or reviews. Studies had to provide enough detail of the methodology to determine the type of study, the setting, participants, and tools of inquiry.

3.2 Overview of North-South Partnership for health and development

As in community and national health arenas, the calls for international partnership are ubiquitous in global health promotion work (61). Partnership between Northern and Southern actors is particularly important because the poor countries worst affected by preventable health issues often do not have the resources needed to address the problems facing their citizenry. Northern organizations offer needed funding, however, they often lack the contextual understanding needed to create and implement culturally appropriate prevention and treatment programs (62).

Since the 1980s, North-South Partnerships (NSPs) for health and development have expanded dramatically in number. The model of Northern organizations and Southern NGOs working in partnership is in theory replacing a much older collaboration model, in which relations are hierarchical, with the Northern donor having control and the Southern organization having only an implementation role (4). The move from hierarchy to partnership is meant to result in more equitable and socially responsible forms of North-South collaboration. This model of NSP is the blueprint for most health promotion work in the global South.

To ensure the best results from these partnerships, practice needs to be guided by rigorous research on functioning. Unfortunately, they are major weaknesses in much of the existing literature on NSP.

3.3 Empirical findings on North-South Partnership functioning

3.3.1 Limitations in the literature on NSP

The empirical literature on Northern and Southern organizations is of limited utility. Part of the issue relates to ambiguity of the meaning of the term "partnership" in the context of NSP (63). As discussed in the previous chapter, this is a problem of partnership research in any context. However, the issue of what constitutes "partnership", which denotes a horizontal relationship (4), between partners of equal power becomes more complicated in the context of NSP in the post-colonial era (64).

NSP is often defined in ideal terms. Brinkerhoff (21) provides such a definition: "Partnership is a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed upon objectives, pursued through shared understanding of the most rational division of labor based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. This relationship results in mutual influence, with a careful balance between synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decision-making; mutual accountability and transparency (p.14)." Brinkerhoff goes on to criticize such definitions because the concepts described are difficult to quantify and measure, and the perspectives of participants can vary significantly in the perception of these concepts in practice. Brehm (5) takes issue with these definitions arguing that idealized definitions lead to overly critical judgments of NSPs since it would be impossible for actual partnerships to live up to such high standards at all times. These issues are compounded by another problem in the literature, the fact that much of the literature on NSP is anecdotal, drawn mostly from professional experience, and without an empirical foundation (21).

Although idealized definitions may be an issue in the findings presented below, the next few sections only describe results from the few case studies in the published literature that describe rigorous methodological approaches to data collection.

3.3.2 Unequal power

The majority of the studies of partnership functioning in the context of NSP identify power relations as a key issue. This power imbalance appears in the literature related to negative processes in agenda-setting, accountability, transparency and reporting.

In a case study involving interviews with 50 practitioners from an unspecified number of NGOs working to fight poverty in Cambodia and the Philippines, Harris (65) found power issues related to agenda setting. Specifically, her respondents felt pressured by Northern funders to implement programs according to available funds rather than according to locally identified needs. Her findings suggest three issues pertinent to this imbalance: 1) The great need for help within the communities motivated the local organizations to tolerate unfavorable relationships with Northern partners to keep their financial commitment; 2) Funders had mandated areas of work that were dictated by their internal policies that were not related to or influenced by local priorities; 3) Donors often failed to consult with local groups when planning activities. Harris' research showed that although funders often claimed to value community participation, they did not often take the time to engage community members.

Harrison (63) conducted an ethnographic study of partnership and participation among stakeholders in natural resource management in the areas of Dessie and Meket in the Wello Zone, Amhara Region of Ethiopia and found that accountability and transparency in North-South relations was a "one-way" street with demands flowing from North to South. A multiple case study of NSP between nine Ugandan organizations in the Adjumani district and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) found the Ugandan partners were expected to file their reports

within strict timeframes, however, they had no means to hold UNHCR accountable to deadlines (e.g. funding delays) (66). Mommers and van Wessel's findings showed that this lack of recourse and information available to Southern partners left them uncertain and anxious about their partnerships. It might be important to note that five of the organizations studied received 50-100 percent of their annual budget from UNHCR. Harris (65) also found issues related to the process of proposal writing -- reporting that practitioners in the Cambodian and Filipino NGOs felt "humiliated" by the proposal writing process (p. 708).

Research suggests that an important obstacle to equity in NSP relationship concerns the internal policies and procedures of Northern partners. In a comparative analysis of four cases of partnership in Kenya and Ethiopia, Ashman (4) found that internal systems for financial and management control were a significant barrier to improving NSP effectiveness. She reports that within her cases the systems were oriented more toward ensuring accountability according to agency theories rather than adhering to collaboration theories emphasizing the importance of mutuality.

The discourse on NSP is rife with reports of power imbalance between Northern and Southern partners but this is not the only perspective. A dissenting voice is that of Ebrahim (67) who describes the relationship between Northern and Southern partners in his case studies of two successful NGOs in India as "interdependent (p. 155)." His findings describe an exchange of power between partners, with Northern partners swapping financial capital for symbolic capital (the reputation, status and authority provided by funding successful programs). Based on his research, Ebrahim criticizes current reporting practices within NSP as being overly quantitative and simplistic because they encourage the reporting of positive results (to enhance the transfer of reputation and legitimacy from South to North) and deemphasize the reporting of negative or contextualized processes that could actually enhance institutional learning.

The studies presented in the previous section present some important clues to issues that may be present within NSP. However, none of the studies were guided by an overarching conception of the fundamentals of partnership functioning. The authors did not systematically look at the inner workings of processes that facilitate and inhibit collaboration, so it is difficult to get a full picture of how these partnerships operated in a holistic or contextualized frame.

Another weakness of the studies presented above is the criteria used to select the partnerships under study are not adequately described. Purposeful selection of cases that are either positive or negative examples of NSP functioning might yield important insights in understanding process that lead to particular outcomes.

3.4 Conceptual frame of scaling up

As Southern organizations secure funding through their partnerships with Northern organizations, it is common for their organizations to expand and for their programs and impact to grow. Uvin (68) developed a typology of scaling up to describe four possible areas of growth. The first is a *quantitative scaling up* which describes growth in the Southern organizations membership base, size or geographic reach. Second is a *functional scaling up* which refers to growth in services and the expansion of activities into new and different projects and programs. Third is *political scaling up* which marks the transition of the organization from strict service delivery toward advocacy with the intention to affect the issue through policy changes. The fourth type is *organizational scaling up* which describes the internal growth of the organization through capacity building intended to develop financial diversification and sustainability, and efficient, effective management. Uvin describes scaling up as an almost inevitable process for successful Southern NGOs, stating that "If things are done well, people whether beneficiaries or interested outsiders will ask for more. Leadership, convinced of its work, typically opts for wider rather than narrower impact (p. 1409)."

The literature on scaling up report three key concerns: 1) The transition from service to advocacy and the increased professionalization of Southern organizations may result in a loss of contact with their grassroots base (69,70); 2) Scaling up may lead a Southern organization to "soften" their mission from empowerment of the local community (71); 3) A reliance on Northern financial support may result in Southern partners working on projects for which money is available over prioritizing locally identified needs.

There is a lack of systematic analyses of how Southern organizations engaged in NSP grow over time and the impact that has on grassroots connections and functioning.

3.5 Volunteerism in NSPs for health promotion

As presented above, one of the main arguments for why NSP is important to global health promotion work is the need to value and integrate local culture, politics, customs and needs into programs designed to address complex health issues. As noted in the introduction, HIV represents one of the most challenging issues and is inextricably linked to the most intimate and culturally charged behaviors in which humans engage. Recognizing this, Northern organizations often seek to partner with Southern organizations with strong volunteer membership (71). Within these types of NSP, the nature of volunteerism becomes an important element of functioning with the partnership.

Much of the literature on volunteerism is compartmentalized between the disciplines of social-psychology, administration, sociology and political science (72). Social psychologists have examined the behavior of individual volunteers, administrative inquiries have examined organizational processes that involve volunteers within organizations, and sociologists and political scientists have examined volunteering in

the context of society and policy. Unfortunately this has produced knowledge which is segmented, with little connection between the interaction between these spheres (73).

The social-psychology literature on individual motivations for volunteer behavior has looked for predisposing factors that might predict participation, identifying both intrinsic (e.g. self-concept, prosocial personality, motive strength) and extrinsic factors (e.g. career aspirations) (74). Gillath and colleagues (75), also looking at attributes that contributed to volunteering, examined the connection between people's experience with healthy attachment in their own lives and a tendency to volunteer. Examining contextual predictors, Bekkers (76) assessed the impact of social, political and psychological characteristics on individual volunteer behavior.

Administrative inquiries have attempted to understand the socialization of volunteers within organizations. For instance, Haski-Leventhal and Bergal (77) introduced a model which purports that all volunteers move through a five-stage volunteer process including: nominee, newcomer, emotional involvement, established volunteering and retiring. In a large-scale quantitative study at the March of Dimes, Farmer and Fedor found that sensitivity in scheduling, building a social web, creating opportunities for recognition and personal growth, and recruiting volunteers highly passionate about the organizations mission help to sustain volunteering over time.

The sociological and political science research has inquired into the impact of volunteering within communities and at a policy level. Research from Japan compared three communities to identify factors that most supported volunteering (78). This research highlighted the importance of community and government legitimization of volunteering opportunities. Examining public policy in the UK, Baines and Hardill (79) found that government should nurture the altruistic motivations for volunteering rather than focus on volunteer work as a way to retrain people who are unemployed, since altruism is better rewarded in the practice of volunteering.

Some steps have been taken to integrate these literatures. For instance, Penner (80) built on the diverse literatures to create a model of dispositional and structural factors

that influence volunteer behavior over time. She identified individual factors such as demographic characteristics, personal beliefs, values, pro-social personality, and linked them to organizational attributes such as organizational attributes and practices, relationships to other volunteers and to social pressure and other external structural factors. Unfortunately, this model only connects these factors to volunteer behavior and fails to acknowledge potential influence of these factors and volunteer behavior on the organization or social context.

Another gap in the literature on volunteerism within organizations is the lack of recognition that volunteer roles differ greatly depending upon the work being done and the structure of the organization. Attempts have been made to create typologies of voluntary associations (81) differentiated along three defining elements: accessibility; the ability of the association to confer status; and whether the function of the association is "expressive" (the mission is to benefit members), "instrumental" (the mission serves an external purpose) or a combination of both "expressive and "instrumental." Another typology, created by van der Meer and colleagues (73) defines voluntary associations by the sector of society in which they fall. Accordingly, they divide all organizations into leisure organizations which serve the family; interest organizations, which serve the market; and activist organizations which serve society. Unfortunately, these typologies of voluntary associations fail to include the large number of governmental and nongovernmental/nonprofit organizations that also provide opportunities to volunteers.

As mentioned earlier, the experience of the individual volunteer, the organization and society will differ considerably depending upon the role volunteers play with their organizations. For example, Alcoholics Anonymous, a truly voluntary association, would cease to exist without the participation of its members (82). However, as a study from Toronto, Canada (83) shows -- a hospital who utilizes volunteers may save significant money by doing so, but would certainly continue functioning in their absence.

Therefore, the main weaknesses within the current conception of volunteerism within the literature is the failure to examine the interaction of all three spheres to best understand how individual volunteers, the organizations where they work and the social context they serve and serve within all intertwine.

3.6 Study aims and research questions

The overall aim of this study was to examine North-South partnerships (NSPs) in a systematized way to better understand the elements and processes that contribute to success and failure by examining the NSP relationships from the perspective of a successful Southern NGO.

The study sought to contribute to the literature on partnership functioning generally by testing and elaborating on the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning's utility for examining collaboration in a completely new configuration and context. The study also sought to fill gaps in the literature on North-South partnership functioning, scaling up processes and volunteerism by providing a systematic examination of input, throughput and output to obtain a holistic understanding of interactive processes while preserving complexity and context to answer the following research questions.

Research question 1: What are the successes and failures in KIWAKKUKI's North-South partnership experiences?

Research question 2: What does applying the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning to the analysis of NSP reveal about the elements and processes at work through the experience of scaling up activities?

Research question 3: What does applying the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning reveal about the elements and processes at work within the collaboration between a community organization and its grassroots volunteers?

4. Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to make explicit the philosophical and methodological position of the present study; describe the case and the process of its selection; detail the data collected and describe the analysis; evaluate the quality and validity of the results; and to reflect on role of the researcher and ethical considerations.

As described in previous chapters, research to investigate the actual functioning of partnership has been widely called for (21,65). Anecdotal impressions of practice are plentiful in the development literature on North-South Partnership (NSP) but are insufficient, as they do not capture a full, realistic picture of partnership (5). Qualitative research can aid in the understanding of the nuances of partnership functioning that quantitative research has no way to measure (84). Case studies are particularly suited for studying contemporary phenomena within its real-life context (85). This dissertation presents the findings of a case study of KIWAKKUKI, exploring through various data, their 20 year experience as the Southern partner in North-South Partnership.

4.1 Philosophical and methodological position of the study

The aim of this research was to understand the elements and processes at work within successful North-South Partnerships from the perspective of the Southern partner. The posing of this aim assumes the ontological position that reality is socially constructed. The phrase "from the perspective of the Southern partner" supposes that Northern partners may have a different view. Indeed, social constructivism accepts that meaning is developed subjectively by individuals through interaction with their environment and thus is multiple and diverse in nature (86,87). Inquiry guided by a constructivist worldview leads the researcher to look for complexity; choosing open-ended questioning and analytical approaches which preserve complicated processes of interaction within a real-world context (88).

As detailed below, the present study followed closely these tenets of constructivist research with each methodological decision firmly based in the quest for data that accurately conveyed and maintained the intricacy of the multiple and varied subjective experiences of the participants' engagement with Northern partners.

The methodology chosen for this study was a qualitative case study design. According to Yin (85), the case study allows a researcher to examine complex social phenomena within its natural context, enabling rich analysis which retains holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life processes. Case studies endeavor to explore one or more "bounded systems" over a period of time through the collection of detailed, in-depth data; making use of several collection strategies including: document data, observational data, audio-visual data and document data (89). The next sections expound on the case, the criteria for selection of the case and the modes and procedures for data collection and analysis.

4.2 The Case

KIWAKKUKI, a women's membership organization located in Moshi Municipality, in northern Tanzania, served as the case for this study. Tanzania is a sub-Saharan African country hit hard by the HIV epidemic. The epidemic is categorized as mature and generalized (90). The first infections occurred in the 1980s and the 1990s saw an increase in prevalence among pregnant women, resulting in many children born HIV positive (91). There has been a decline in rates of infection in recent years, however, the epidemic remains a serious problem with the estimated adult prevalence in 2008 of 6 percent (91). Women are particularly vulnerable to infection in Tanzania. Globally, the proportion of women living with HIV has remained stable at 50%. However, in sub-Saharan Africa that figure is 60% (90). Gender disparities, poverty, lack of education, lack of power and gender violence all contribute to the increased risk of infection for females in sub-Saharan Africa (62).

KIWAKKUKI is the formal organization created by a group of women who originally came together to create education materials for World AIDS Day in 1990. A group of local and expatriate women linked up to discuss the impact of HIV/AIDS in the local community in preparation for the events of that day. One of the "founding mothers" recounts those early discussions:

> *We said—we don't need to look at the world—first, we have to look at our own culture. Then we came up with the truth that women in Kilimanjaro are laborers in the family. They have no education. They cannot protect themselves and another major thing is a woman is never allowed to say "no" to the husband (in response to sexual overtures).*

This deep reflection led these "founding mothers" to first recognize the need to support women in the community and to provide education to help them. After years of informal working out of spare rooms at the local church, KIWAKKUKI was registered with the government in 1995 (2). Slowly, the work of the organization began to grow: developing from strictly educational activities at first to a full-blown program of services along the continuum of HIV/AIDS-related issues including prevention, Voluntary Counseling and Testing (VCT), support of People Living with HIV/AIDS (PHLAs), home-based care for those ill and material and emotional support for vulnerable children (1).

At the time the research was conducted, KIWAKKUKI had a professional staff of 18, more than 6,000 members in grassroots working groups throughout both urban and rural areas within the Kilimanjaro region (*see* Appendix A for maps of the region). Its stated mission is "to sensitize and educate the community in Kilimanjaro Region and facilitate the provision of services to those infected and affected by HIV/AIDS in order to control the spread of HIV/AIDS and its effects (3)." It aims to address issues that affect women, to educate for the prevention of AIDS and to help restore dignity, self-respect and purpose to the lives of all who are affected by AIDS. KIWAKKUKI places great emphasis on the importance of empowerment of women, so they can take

greater control over their own destinies. In its words and deeds, KIWAKKUKI exhibits solidarity with women worldwide.

A great deal is known about KIWAKKUKI's history and activities, since it has collaborated with researchers from its beginning. The definitive work is Lie and Lothe's (1) "KIWAKKUKI: Women against AIDS in the Kilimanjaro Region", which is an in-depth qualitative evaluation of the functioning of KIWAKKUKI. Other important writing about KIWAKKUKI has been produced by Setel and Mtweve (2) and Haffajee (3). All of these studies and examinations have noted challenges faced by KIWAKKUKI but have recognized the success they have had through their programs, largely funded through partnerships with Northern organizations.

For more than a decade, KIWAKKUKI has participated in NSPs, in addition to many partnerships with African governmental and non-governmental organizations. NSPs have been conducted with universities (Bergen, Duke), foundations (Bernard van Leer Foundation, Ebert, Glaxo Wellcome, Terra des Homes Netherlands and Switzerland, Child Foundation Netherlands), national development agencies (Germany, Norway, Netherlands, Ireland, USA), INGOs (e.g. FamFaith), NGOs (The Women's Front of Norway, Oxfam Ireland, Positive Steps Scotland), and services clubs (e.g. Rotary Norway).

4.3 Selection of the case

There are several strategies that can be employed for the selection of samples and cases in qualitative research. The quantitative tradition requires randomly selected samples to avoid systematic biases while choosing a large sample to enable claims toward generalization (92). In qualitative research, where biases are assumed and generalization is not the aim, purposeful, information-based sampling strategies are employed to select the best samples to answer the research questions (89). These strategies include such techniques as selecting cases by "snowball sampling," "politically important" cases or "convenience" samples (93).

The current case was selected by two criteria: first, it was selected on purposive criteria as a "deviant" case; second, it was selected out of convenience. In judgment or purposive sampling, a qualitative researcher "actively selects the most productive case to answer the research question (94)." The present research intended to examine NSPs from the perspective of a Southern partner. According to Brinkerhoff (21), many community-based organizations are weak in terms of their institutional development and resources: they may be created specifically for a particular project, they may be subject to local political and social whims, and may be vulnerable to co-optation. Therefore, to obtain rich data of experience of NSPs over a prolonged history, I decided that examining a "successful" case was particularly needed and would prove valuable given then gaps in the literature on NSP functioning. Deviant cases, such as "successes," provide the opportunity to learn from "unusual manifestations of the phenomenon of interest (93)". Thus, KIWAKKUKI, with its long record of successful interactions with Northern partners, provided an opportunity to systematically examine how synergy (and antagony) is produced in a range of real-life partnerships over many years.

The second criteria used to select KIWAKKUKI as the case was convenience. My co-supervisor, Gro Lie, has been working with KIWAKKUKI since the start of the organization. She has had firsthand experience with its development as an organization. This intimate knowledge not only helped identify KIWAKKUKI as a "success case" but also made possible my access to the organization. Lie accompanied me on my first field trip to Tanzania and made crucial introductions. Her long history of diligent work for the organization lent credibility to my project which was evident not only by the welcome I received and the interviews and access I was granted, but also in the quality of the data -- as participants trusted me with sensitive information (both positive and negative) which may not otherwise have been forth-coming.

Using convenience as a sampling technique can be scrutinized for credibility since the most convenient sample may not be the best sample (94). However, as will be discussed in detail later in this chapter, an obstacle to research of this kind with a

researcher conducting a study in a foreign context is building trust with the research participants. By selecting KIWAKKUKI, this research was able to build upon Lie's many years of work, enabling me to collect rich data of the important details which were the subject of the research.

4.4 Data Collection

As mentioned above, the goal of case study research is to create a holistic and detailed account of the case under study. Therefore, this method makes use of all data available to the researcher to help piece together real-life interactions and processes (85). The present case study collected several types of data over two field visits, including: documents, direct observation and face-to-face, in-depth interviews.

4.4.1 Document and observational data

According to Yin (85), proper case studies collect large amounts of document data including published reports, publications, memoranda and other documents. Document data allows the researchers to become familiar with the "language" of the participants (88). During my field visits, KIWAKKUKI made all of the documentation of their projects and partnerships available to me. While I was present at KIWAKKUKI, I examined quarterly and annual reports of several donor projects, making notes, and getting an understanding of the reporting demands that would later be asked about in interviews. In addition to the numerous documents examined in person, I collected all the documents available in a computer format from KIWAKKUKI's Documenter to take back with me for examination and analysis. These documents included: eight project proposals to four unique Northern partners (spanning the years 2004-2007), one action plan for one donor, four annual reports (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007) for one donor and three examples of annual reports to other donors (from 2007), three internal annual reports for years 2005, 2006, and 2007, an internal department report from 2005, a list of information a Northern partner

expected to be provided with during a field visit, an organizational chart of KIWAKKUKI in 2008, a list of donors and the amounts of their annual contributions for 2007, KIWAKKUKI's strategic plan 2007-2011, financial reports for two donors (2004-2005), KIWAKKUKI's overall budget (2007), a power point presentation of KIWAKKUIKI and its work used by KIWAKKUKI for informational purposes, rosters of school-fee tuition recipients in both primary and secondary schools for 2007 as well as the waiting list, a receipt of school payments, and an example of a "demanding" email from a Northern donor with whom KIWAKKKUKI was experiencing trust issues. These documents were read and notes were kept of important content as well as my reflections on the material.

Another common strategy within case study research is collecting observational data. Observational data has several advantages: it is a recording of a firsthand experience that is observed as events unfold, it allows unusual aspects of the phenomena to be observed and it can be useful for exploring topics that may be difficult to talk about in interviews (88). During both field visits, I took field notes of my direct observations of KIWAKKUKI interactions within their local environment, while engaged in the daily activities of their work, in meetings, interacting with beneficiaries and also hosting Northern visitors, including organizational donors, individual donors and students. I also participated in a day of events about the "Rights of the Child" that included theatrical presentations to inform and educate the community about human rights and children which allowed me to see KIWAKKUKI staff and recipients engage with the wider community. A field log was kept to capture observations and reflections during the field visit. During the field visit in 2008, these observations were shared, discussed and reflected upon with Gro Lie.

The document and observational data provided an important foundation of understanding and informed queries made during the interviews, but were used peripherally in the reported findings of the research.

4.4.2 Interviews

A total of 21 interviews were conducted with 18 participants over the course of two field visits: one in June 2008 and one in June 2009. Nine interviews were conducted in 2008 and 12 interviews were conducted in 2009. All interviews were conducted in English, except one that was conducted by me with the questions and answers translated into Kiswahili by a KIWAKKUKI staff member.

Three participants were interviewed twice during the 2008 field visit, four participants were interviewed as a group during one lengthy session in 2008 and three participants were interviewed once in 2008 and then again in 2009. The two field visits had slightly different aims. The first visit in 2008 sought to obtain data related the main research aim -- the process of NSP. The second visit in 2009 followed up on threads arising from the first round of data collection and gathered data about the history of the organization. Both sets of interviews provided data relevant to the aims of the study.

The interviews were face-to-face and entirely open-ended allowing participants the freedom to choose the direction of the discussion (95). As mentioned earlier, in 2008 my co-supervisor Gro Lie accompanied me to Tanzania. During that field visit, I conducted the interviews with Lie asking occasional questions for follow-up and clarification. The interviews began with an introduction to the study, its aims and interests of the researcher. An example of such an introduction is: "In terms of the partnership project, what I am interested in is your individual experience with partners from the North being involved in projects, providing expertise or whatever the partnership arrangement is. When it works well— how does it function? And what's the communication like? What roles do people play? Who are the leaders of the partnership? And how does the work get done? Can you tell me about your experience working with Northern partners?" The content of the questions asked varied considerably from interview to interview depending upon the person's role in the organization.

The second round of interviews began by asking questions about the participants' first experience learning about HIV/AIDS in the Kilimanjaro region and then progressed to ask about their experience with KIWAKKUKI and the development of the organization (if the participant had knowledge of it). Again, the content of the interviews varied in relation to the participant's relationship to the organization and her or his role.

The interviews varied in length from one 10-minute interview to one lasting three hours. The average interview took approximately one hour. Notes were taken during the interviews and the interviews were recorded for later transcription. I transcribed all of the interviews from 2008. After the field trip in 2009, I transcribed the most data-rich interviews, while others were transcribed by a professional transcription company due to time constraints. Upon receiving the professional transcription, I read them all while simultaneously listening to the recordings to verify their accuracy and made edits as necessary.

4.4.3 Data analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis begins when data collection commences (96). The process of reflection, coding and analyzing is a continuous and ongoing activity during each stage of research and through the process of writing the report (97). Many approaches to data analysis exist within qualitative methods (93). For example, phenomenology has a unique method in-line with the traditions of that field of research where the researcher systematically examines and analyzes the data to drill down from transcript text to the "essence" of experiencing a phenomenon (89). Similarly, the case study analysis seeks to use categorical aggregation to develop naturalistic generalizations and present an in-depth picture of the case under study. All these analytical approaches have several phases in common, including steps for managing data, reading and note-taking, describing, classifying and interpreting, and representing or visualizing (89).

The analysis of data for this study followed the phases outlined by Creswell above. The data were organized and prepared for analysis. Documents and notes were kept in files and electronic data; audio recordings of interviews were organized into computer files and backed up in triplicate, according to when the data was collected (either 2008 or 2009) in password-protected computers. I immersed myself in the data: reading field notes, transcribing interviews, reading and reviewing documents and transcripts several times; taking notes of all impressions and discussing them with Lie and Mittelmark. Emerging themes were noted, coded and condensed to fewer and fewer codes (noting outliers); analyzed on their own and also in relation to the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning and Uvin's scaling up typologies, for Paper II. The codes were then divided into themes related to overall functioning related to research question 1, related to scaling up and thus addressing research question 2, and data related to volunteerism, answering research question 3. The codes, thus divided, were reconnected to passages in the texts (transcripts and documents) for representation and reporting in the respective papers. The process used for this analysis was paper-based. Print outs of the transcripts and documents were examined, cut out and sorted according to codes. This was done multiple times: after each data collection, for each question, each theme, and each paper. The first analysis of the data from 2008 provided significant findings to answer research question 1 and was reported in Paper I. Upon return from my field visit in 2009, I repeated this entire analysis process with the data from that trip, identifying new themes and codes that led me to return for another complete analysis of the 2008 data to examine the data for hints of those newly emerging themes. The results of these comprehensive analyses are presented in papers II and III. The main findings came primarily from the interview data. The document and observational data were used to develop interview questions, provide data on numbers of staff, volunteers and details of programs, and to triangulate data from the interviews, where possible.

4.4.4 Validation and evaluation

The question of research quality is highly contested in the field of qualitative methods. Some authors choose to borrow concepts from quantitative methods, such as validity, reliability and generalizability (98). Others choose to modify those concepts in subtle ways to make them relevant to a more naturalistic perspective (87). For instance, Lincoln and Guba (87) evaluate quality based on criteria such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Still other qualitative scholars choose to reject all notions of research quality in the quantitative sense. Wolcott (99) for instance completely rejects the concept of "validity" in this context, suggesting that it neither guides nor informs qualitative research.

Following the epistemological frame, the evaluation of the research was guided by the conception of validity as a social construction (95) and Morrow and Smith's (100) understanding of transferability. I examined validity according to Kvåle and Brinkmann's (95) criteria across seven stages of the research: 1) The careful thematizing of the research with transparent and logical posing of research aims from theory (I based research questions on gaps identified through literature review); 2) Designing the research strategy using rigorous methodologies relevant to the research questions (selecting the case study since it best answered the research questions); 3) Employing interviewing techniques that continually checked in with participants to clarify meaning (validation *in situ,* stopping frequently during the interview to ensure I was understanding correctly); 4) Care and verification of accurate transcription (I listened to the recordings while reading the transcripts to verify accuracy); 5) Questioning the interpretations of analysis (I did multiple analyses of the data and discussed with my supervisors to explore alternative interpretations, and employed document and observational data for triangulation of data sources where possible); 6) and 7) Being methodical and reflective in these procedures for validation and transparency in reporting, for instance including outliers (outliers are noted in the results, transparency in methodological decisions is reported here).

In-line with the notion that reality is a social construction, the assumption here is that it is my responsibility as a researcher to be transparent in my processes, analyses and biases and that the judgment of the quality of research lies in the mind of the reader or user of the research report. The evaluation of transferability of the present study follows Morrow and Smith (100) who assert: "As is frequently the case in qualitative research, the results of the analysis are unique to the particular investigator, participants, and context of the study. The transferability of this theoretical model… takes place as the reader examines the results in the context of specific circumstances of interest (p. 30)." Thus, the reader of the study findings is the ultimate judge whether the findings ring true for the context of concern to them.

As noted above, transparency is key in determining validity and ensuring research quality, therefore, the goal of the next section is to make explicit the role of the researcher and the possible implications from a methodological standpoint.

4.4.5 Role of the researcher

While the subject of this research is North-South collaboration, the research itself was a North-South collaboration: specifically, a Northern researcher doing a project of my choosing, but negotiated in collaboration with Southern colleagues. As the results of the present study demonstrate, these relationships can be quite complicated and thus, require in-depth reflection on the part of the researcher to ensure data quality and ethical practices. The purpose of this section is to make transparent the issues considered in planning the research, the possible impact on the data and the steps taken to mitigate these issues.

Research conducted by Northern academics in the global South takes place within historical and cultural contexts. These contexts are informed by the collective experiences of all the participants involved. In the case of Africa, the context includes the historical inheritance of structures and discourses of its colonial past (101). North-South power structures are further reinforced by the economic inequity between these

regions. Well-resourced researchers from the North may come to the South and dominate the research agenda by providing generous funding for their projects. Local research priorities may be put on the back-burner or abandoned in favor of projects with greater material support. In some countries, particularly the US, the funding provided by government to academic institutions for Southern research may be used to exert political power in these regions (102).

Some of these concerns have ethical implications which will be discussed in the next section. However, there are also clear methodological problems inherent in imbalanced power relations in relation to data quality, especially in the context of the qualitative interview.

Traditionally, power dynamics in research were considered to be a strictly quantitative problem. Qualitative research was thought of as equitable dialogues between researchers and the marginalized participants whose plights they were giving voice (95). Recently, a number of authors have critically examined qualitative methods for real and potential abuses of power (103–106).

Kvåle (105) breaks down the myth of qualitative interviews as "dialogues." He notes that rather than being equitable conversations between peers, the research interview is a contrived meeting where the researcher controls the setting, the topic, the questions, the timing, and decides when it begins and ends. He explains: "The qualitative research interview entails a hierarchical relationship with an asymmetrical power distribution of interviewer and interviewee. It is a one-way dialogue, an instrumental & indirect conversation, where the interviewer up holds a monopoly of interpretation (p. 484)."

Wengraf (107) believes that well- intentioned interviewers often fail to give attention to these methodological power dynamics and may result in unintentional biases in the data. However, other researchers may purposefully abuse this power or at least willfully manipulate their participants. For instance, it is not uncommon for

researchers to conduct an interview without revealing the true intention of the research or the actual subject matter under study (105).

These concerns informed many of my decisions at every stage of the research process. The project I had funding to pursue was an investigation into North-South Partnership and therefore my Southern colleagues were not involved in the overall theme of the study. However, I actively engaged with them to develop specific research questions according to their perceived priorities— for instance, they were very concerned about the lack of funding for training volunteers, which comprises the prominent findings of Paper II. Also, great care was taken to ask open-ended questions. Allowing the Southern participants to guide the conversation according to their experience and valuation of what was important to discuss. I attempted to include key people from KIWAKKUKI as authors on the various papers, but they preferred to be interviewed and leave the writing to me alone. Awareness and sensitivity were my key strategies for avoiding dominating the research with my Southern colleagues and through this awareness I hoped to avoid the pitfalls other Northern researchers have perpetrated in similar circumstances.

The reality of power relationships in cross-cultural research, however, is that the flow of power is not strictly one-way. While the Northern researcher must reflect constantly on his or her dominant role, they must also reflect on, and position themselves within, a power dynamic where they are in the inferior position. This relationship is the insider-outsider dynamic. This is particularly true of the qualitative researcher for whom gaining the trust and acceptance of their research participants are vital for valid data collection (108).

Foreign researchers have the logistical problems of understanding local nuance of language and culture and using interpreters. Additionally, they must also maneuver themselves within local perceptions of them and their research (108). Casley and Lury (109) recommend that researchers gain the trust of the community by being open and

frank, by participating in local activities, and by maintaining a neutral stance on any local controversies or disputes.

Developing this rapport is crucial for the qualitative researcher. The researcher must, in a short amount of time, develop relationships with their participants that go deeper than polite conversation (95). Rapport, however, is continuously negotiated. A researcher does not establish rapport once and for all. It is constantly mediated by day to day interaction and by contextual variables. This is especially true in cross-cultural contexts (108). One researcher describes seeking this acceptance as an "insider" as "chasing a mirage" acknowledging the impossibility of being all things to all people within a community vastly different from one's own (110).

Ryen (108) recounts the lengths a couple of researchers went to gain acceptance. Hilda Tadria, working in Uganda, followed the advice of a local woman who suggested she needed to change her dress from that of a "government employee" if she was to earn the confidence of local women. However, when she tried to dress more modestly like other women in the community, they accused her of trying to spy on them. Another example is Mario Rutten, who was driven to consume copious amounts of alcohol in an attempt to be accepted by the Chinese businessmen he was researching. Clearly, these researchers were struggling to navigate the dynamics of insider-outsider power relations.

Fortunately, as mentioned above, my co-supervisor, Gro Lie, had been working with KIWAKKUKI for 20 years. Her familiarity and long-standing relationships helped to smooth many of these obstacles that could have affected data quality. This introduction was crucial for my acceptance as an interviewer and this is demonstrated by the uninhibited stories of both positive and negative experiences of NSPs they shared with me during our interviews.

As mentioned earlier, culture and language barriers can introduce obstacles for foreign researchers. The issue of language was not as significant of a barrier as it might have been if I had interviewed more grassroots participants, since the staff

members I interviewed all spoke very good English. I did conduct one interview of a recipient of KIWAKKUKI's services in Kiswahili with a staff member translating for me. It is possible I may have missed nuances or that the translation was not adequate or even skewed to represent the staff member's views. It is also possible that the transcription suffered since the English spoken by my participants was heavily accented. I was painstaking in my verification of the transcripts, however, it is possible these are potential weaknesses of the study.

4.5 Ethical considerations

All researchers have a responsibility to examine the ethical impact of their work. At a minimum, the ethical issues of relevance for the present research are obtaining ethical clearance to conduct the research, ensuring informed consent, protecting individual confidentiality, and fulfilling a professional obligation to disseminate the results of the research. Ethical clearance for the research was obtained through the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) (*see* Appendix B). The study did not collect personal data on individuals, was not medical, and dealt only with official duties of work within KIWAKKUKI therefore ethical permission in Norway was not required and clearance from the National Medical Research Institute in Tanzania was waived (*see* Appendix C).

Steps were taken to ensure ethical treatment of participants by informing potential interviewees about the study and obtaining their consent. To ensure the anonymity of informants, identifying details were carefully obscured or avoided in all reporting. Confidentiality was also protected by ensuring the security of data at all times. Two papers have been published in international professional journals and paper III has been submitted for publications to fulfill the professional obligation to disseminate the results. These ethical issues are straightforward and have clear paths to address them. However, this research also delved into more complex ethical territory and the next paragraphs reflect on how I attempted to address these less obvious issues.

The power inequities discussed above also have ethical implications. Moseley (102) details some of the grievances African development organizations have voiced about their experiences collaborating with Northern academics. A common experience is that Northern researchers take much more from the organizations than they give back. That is, they use valuable resources of time, vehicles and photocopiers without appropriate compensation in return. African collaborators have also been disappointed by the failure of these academics to provide the reports, assessment and feedback they initially promise. In their experience, these researchers have been more concerned with getting published than with furthering the development process. The last concern Moseley (102) describes is a tendency for these researchers to be overly critical of the development projects they research, not fully understanding the myriad challenges facing these organizations. This can have dire consequences on the collaborating organization because negative notoriety can drastically impact their sources of funding.

My supervisors and I took these concerns seriously. We were careful to provide monetary compensation for all materials, gas and other resources we used during our field visits. I provided information about our results and copies of published papers to the organization as promised. I had also agreed to write a history of the organization as reciprocation, however, recent a crisis within the organization has derailed that activity and the key persons collaborating on that project are no longer engaged with KIWAKKUKI or its activities. As for concerns about negative notoriety, the research focuses on KIWAKKUKI as a "successful" case, while challenges were reported, the results do not show KIWAKKUKI in a negative light and thus, the concern is moot. The examples of "antagony" were approved by KIWAKKUKI to share in print.

This chapter provided details on the philosophical and methodological position of the study, detailed the research methods, and reflected on issues related to quality, positionality and ethics. The next chapter summarizes the findings of the research as reported in the three papers.

5. Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the results of the study as reported in the three papers submitted for publication.

5.1 *Paper I*: Mapping synergy and antagony in North-South partnerships for health: A case study of a women's HIV/AIDS NGO in Africa

This paper presented the findings from the first round of data collection and sought to answer the first research question: What are the successes and failures in KIWAKKUKI's North-South partnership (NSP) experiences? The aim was to use the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning (BMCF) to map the experience of the Tanzanian women's NGO, KIWAKKUKI, based on its long history of successful partnerships with Northern organizations.

While the majority of the funding for the NSPs (90 percent) came from Northern donors, careful examination of all relevant inputs including partner resources and material financial resources revealed that the imbalance was not perceived to be as great as the balance sheet suggested. Southern partners, particularly grassroots volunteers, not only contributed labor, skill and expertise -- they contributed significant material resources, usually in the form of gifts to their sick neighbors within the course of their work. In addition to funding, Northern partners contributed human resources, skills, expertise and external connections to the partnership. The results showed a recognition that both financial and partner contributions were necessary to accomplish the mission of the NSPs. Therefore, participants characterized the partnerships as an exchange of skill, material resources and power between Northern and Southern partners.

Mission was identified as an important element of partnership functioning. Participants offered different examples of how NSP relationships had to be designed

to align the missions of both Northern partners and KIWAKKUKI. KIWAKKUKI was guided in these processes by their five-year strategic plan, which clearly laid out the mission of the organization and therefore the kinds of projects they would undertake. An aspect of their mission that was central to their work was empowering the community. Mission also affected NSP functioning at times when funding environments changed due to political whims.

As these inputs combined within collaboration, participants described KIWAKKUKI as having the power at times and Northern partners having power at other times. The participants cited the enormous grassroots base of 6000 members as a source of strength and as a balancing factor in power relations with Northern partners. Another source of strength described by the study participants was diversification in funding sources. KIWAKKUKI had 15 unique donors at the time of the data collection. The exchange of power was accepted and understood by the study participants.

As for output, the majority of KIWAKKUKI's NSP experience resulted in the intended synergy. Participants attributed this synergy to the combining of local expertise and understanding of context to the resources and expertise of Northern Partners to create long-standing programs. KIWAKKUKI's successful work often led to unforeseen synergies -- for instance, one project was adopted by a separate Northern partner and disseminated in other projects external to KIWAKKUKI. Synergy in NSPs also led to more partnerships including both renewals and new projects.

Antagony was reported. Two examples of antagony involved an imbalance between production and maintenance activities. The complicating factor in the first example was distrust in the partner interaction. Distrust on the part of one Northern partner had a negative impact in that it drew partner resources away from production activities (affecting the partnership mission) toward onerous maintenance tasks to provide extra documentation thus increasing burdens on the limited administration staff. The other example was the complicated, multiple and taxing reporting

requirements of many various Northern partners, which also overburdened the Southern partners, often causing staff to have to work unpaid extra hours to accommodate the demands.

The study participants shared another instance of antagony that resulted from a Northern partner engaging in "capacity building" without KIWAKKUKI's agreement to participate. This manifested as very rigorous proposal writing, demanding several drafts of the proposal. Finally, KIWAKKUKI staff confronted the Northern partner who said they were trying to "help" them write better proposals. After a long discussion, the two organizations were able to come to an agreement and learned how to be better partners through overcoming the negative experience.

5.2 *Paper II:* Scaling-up and rooting-down: A case study of North-South partnerships for health from Tanzania

This paper presented findings from both rounds of data collection and sought to answer the second research question: What does applying the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning to the analysis of NSPs reveal about the elements and processes at work through the experience of scaling-up activities? The aim was to use the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning (BMCF) to explore the interactive processes of growth over time within NSPs through a case study of KIWAKKUKI, a Tanzanian NGO with a long history of successful partnerships with Northern organizations. The results conveyed the findings from in-depth interviews with six participants with long-term knowledge of KIWAKKUKI from its inception phase.

The participants interviewed described the success experienced by KIWAKKUKI since its earliest beginnings in 1990, to its formalization in 1995 and its continued growth. Participants attributed their success and growth to their rigorous maintenance practices such as proposal writing, accurate bookkeeping, and detailed, timely reporting. Others attributed success to production activities particularly how

KIWAKKUKI focused on implementation and doing exactly what was planned thus leading to recognition within the community and a positive reputation.

Participants also recognized the contribution of partner resources to KIWAKKUKI's success, citing the 6000-member grassroots base as a strong draw for Northern partners. Those Northern partners would realize that such a large voluntary base could add much value to their financial investments and thereby maximize the reach of their programs. The active participation of grassroots members not only drew more Northern partners, it also worked to recruit more grassroots partners as well. This resulted in the rapid expansion of the membership base.

The results of this growth were numerous. The expansion of the grassroots base eventually led to a reorganization of the leadership structure of KIWAKKUKI to decentralization at the district level. This decentralization led to greater growth in the grassroots membership. The fast growth also affected maintenance and production activities by forcing a change in the way grassroots members were trained. In the early days of KIWAKKUKI each new grassroots group was given two weeks of training to learn service delivery skills. As the numbers of members continued to expand, funding for this capacity building did not keep pace and large numbers of volunteers were not given a foundation in skills and organizational culture. Only one donor consistently funded capacity-building initiatives for grassroots members and that Northern partner had community capacity-building central to its own mission. The data show that this rapid growth, coupled with inadequate financial resources for maintenance activities (training) resulted in antagony. One participant believed that the lack of training not only compromised service delivery but also undermined the values of KIWAKKUKI as a voluntary organization since new members were not appropriately educated on the organizational ethic and culture.

The participants described a paradox between Northern partners being attracted to KIWAKKUKI because of its strong grassroots base but not recognizing their role in maintaining strength and capacity within those members.

5.3 *Paper III:* Examination of grassroots volunteers in context: A case study of Tanzania's KIWAKKUKI -- working on HIV and AIDS in Kilimanjaro

This paper presented findings from both rounds of data collection and sought to answer the third research question: What does applying the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning reveal about the elements and processes at work within the collaboration between a community organization and its grassroots volunteers? The aim was to provide a robust analysis of voluntarism within the context of individual participation, organizational operation and within society.

The contribution of volunteers as partner resources in the collaboration with KIWAKKUKI was profound. Document data from 2008 reported a grassroots base of 6264 members from 160 groups in all districts of the Kilimanjaro region. The monetary value of the contribution of these members in terms of hours of labor were not calculated or recorded by KIWAKKUKI. Participants noted the impossibility of calculating their contribution, especially considering the emotional resources given by volunteers in the course of the work and the suffering they witnessed.

Volunteers represented diverse social, economic and professional backgrounds. There were volunteers who were HIV-positive and many more that were negative. Though KIWAKKUKI is a women's organization they also welcomed men who wished to contribute as honorary members.

Volunteers contributed to the mission of KIWAKKUKI by filling a number of roles. An annual report from 2006 indicated that volunteers helped to serve 412 male and 774 female patients by providing home-based care within their communities. Volunteers also identified 1425 orphans through a locally based debate process to receive support for primary, secondary and vocational school. Staff members interviewed emphasized the importance of volunteers in doing this work since they

had contextualized knowledge of the different children and were accountable to each other to decide responsibly who should be served. The staff recognized that they would not have the knowledge needed to make such determinations from the head office in Moshi. Participants also cited the contribution of many community members in the building of houses for child-headed households—describing how one person contributed stones, another lumber, a builder oversaw the work while others stepped up to contribute labor. Volunteers also distributed food through a partnership with the World Food Programme and KIWAKKUKI.

The context was found to affect the contributions provided by volunteers. Local customs dictate that neighbors bring a gift when visiting someone sick. Therefore, volunteering to do home-based care required members to become material donors as well. One participant noted that the increased disease burden, exacerbated by a difficult economic climate, had over-stretched individual volunteers as well as whole communities in the region. At the same time, a participant shared that these traditional customs of reciprocity could also serve as a motivating factor for some volunteers who recognized that they might be in need of such help themselves one day.

Participants noted the affects volunteering had on members who participated. One staff member described how distributing food led to volunteers feeling like they were making a difference within their communities. Given the gender inequity in Tanzania, participation as a volunteer provided opportunities for some women to gain skills and respect in their villages which might have otherwise been unavailable to them. In some cases, this respect conferred by volunteering with KIWAKKUKI led to special privileges. For instance, one participant described cases where volunteers had been excused from otherwise obligatory community service work because of their contributions through KIWAKKUKI.

Negative effects on volunteers were also observed. Participants noted that in the African context women "never rest" and that the burden of volunteering on top of other responsibilities could sometimes lead to burnout. Volunteers also experienced

some HIV-related stigma for being associated with KIWAKKUKI. In the extreme, one participant reported having observed domestic violence from a husband because of his wife's involvement with KIWAKKUKI.

The findings describe the various motivations of the grassroots volunteers as interactions between partners and mission. For instance some participants described their personal experiences with the HIV epidemic as motivating. Others wished to reduce stigma in the community. One participant described a desire to work within a "women's" organization.

Volunteer contributions to production, that is, work aimed to fulfill KIWAKKUKI's mission, were found to be linked to formal roles and leadership. Each volunteer was given specific responsibilities and were supervised by a local coordinators and staff in a decentralized structure, ultimately governed by the Board of Directors. KIWAKKUKI's leadership was able to incorporate the suggestions of grassroots volunteers in some of its work. For instance, observations from grassroots members that people living with HIV were unable to take their anti-viral medication and that vulnerable children were missing school because of a lack of food, led to KIWAKKUKI's eventual partnership with the World Food Programme. The leadership described, however, that while they sought to involve community members in program planning, they rarely did it unless they knew funds would be available. Otherwise, one participant reported, they ran the risk of not being able to fulfill expectations, dashing hopes and eroding the confidence of community members.

Volunteer interaction with maintenance processes including communication, capacity building and reporting tasks were described in the findings. Communication took place at the level of the individually formed community groups where debates went on about which children should be funded for their school fees and how various home-based care patients were doing. Monthly, all grassroots volunteers from around the region came together to receive training, hear updates and to support each other in their community work. The participants described these as welcoming environments

where volunteers were given the opportunity to share stories both happy and sorrowful. Participants also mentioned singing as an important part of the organizational culture, which the researchers also observed. Participants noted an imbalance in terms of capacity building, with formal training happening sporadically for some and not at all for others depending upon available financial resources connected to certain projects.

An issue described by KIWAKKUKI staff related to maintenance processes and volunteer activities was the overreliance on volunteers to collect data on programs. While this was mentioned as an opportunity for volunteers to gain skills, staff members also reported that delays were common and this sometimes caused problems with reporting deadlines.

This chapter gave an overview of the results of the study. The next chapter discusses these findings in relation to the literature on partnership functioning, North-South partnership, scaling-up and volunteerism. The next chapter also reflects on the limitations of the study, areas for future research and concludes with recommendations for practice based on the study's findings.

6. Discussion

The findings of this study are presented and discussed in the three papers. This chapter focuses on an overall synthesis of these findings especially in regard to what they teach us about the processes of partnership functioning vis-a-vis the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning. Therefore, the first part of the chapter is organized according to the elements of the BMCF and integrate the results of the present study with the literature on partnership functioning, NSPs, scaling-up and volunteering. I then provide an assessment of the study's quality, describe methodological issues and possibilities for future research, and conclude with some recommendations for practice.

6.1 Inputs

6.1.1 Mission

Mission is the term used by the BMCF to describe the problem or overarching goal the partnership has chosen for their work (6). The present research further illuminates the role mission plays in our understanding of the functioning of partnership. KIWAKKUKI as an organization had a highly focused five-year strategic plan that enabled them to recognize opportunities to align their work with that of other partners. The findings here confirm the work of other researchers (47–49,53) further demonstrating how agreeing on mission can be a motivating factor for participants. KIWAKKUKI experienced this with their grassroots members, who volunteered because they wanted to help others in their community, reduce stigma and be involved in a women's organization. KIWAKKUKI also found this to be true among their Northern partners. However, using the BMCF as the frame to look at functioning holistically, previously overlooked processes become clear, particularly that the individual missions of Northern organizations not only motivated initial projects with

KIWAKKUKI—their missions also determined how they participate and what they do. For example, one Northern partner had as one of its central objectives to empower women for community organizing -- that partner allocated funds for the training and ongoing capacity building of KIWAKKUKI's grassroots volunteers.

As previous research using the BMCF has suggested, the context is inextricably linked to the mission's ability to attract and sustain the commitment of resources (41,43,57). KIWAKKUKI often found itself at the mercy of Northern political environments and trends in funding. Participants cited examples of funds drying up for certain missions (e.g. support for people living with HIV) and being plentiful for other areas (e.g. supporting orphans and vulnerable children). This confirms the importance of political context in which Northern partners operate as described by other research (65).

The local context and the mission of KIWAKKUKI at times collided with respect to grassroots volunteers. One participant described how the mission of empowering women had even led to domestic violence for a few volunteers whose husbands felt that such empowerment went against the role of women in their family and culture. Similar to the deprived economic context of Kamau's (46) study in Kenya, many residents from the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania struggle to pay for the necessities of life. Applying the BMCF we can observe the complicated ways this context impacts the various missions of KIWAKKUKI's partnerships. Interaction between the partners and the context helped to define new missions. For instance, grassroots volunteers noticed people could not take their medicine or go to school because of hunger and so KIWAKKUKI sought a partnership with the World Food Programme with the mission of distributing food to people on anti-retroviral medication and vulnerable children. While this is an example of grassroots members identifying a mission, this was a rare instance rather than the rule. In reality, deciding on a mission was a complex interaction of multiple factors of partnership including the Southern context of need, the Northern political context, the availability of financial resources, and the leadership's formal process for making such decisions. A study participant in

a leadership role within KIWAKKUKI explained that the process was not to go to the community and ask them what was needed, but to ensure funding was available before approaching grassroots groups about how to carry out the projects and to be a part of planning once funding was in place. These findings illuminate important pathways for decision-making within health promotion and illustrate the complexities of true community engagement, participation and empowerment. They reveal nuances that go beyond Harris (65) and Harrison's (63) conception of Northern domination in agenda-setting.

6.1.2 Partner resources

Partner resources are the contributions of the people involved in the work. It includes their skills, time, reputation, social connections, attributes and values (6,43). Calls for international partnership argue that complex challenges such as HIV and AIDS cannot be tackled by actors working in isolation (21). Zahner (50) found that diversity in partner resources impacted functioning positively. The findings from the example above, of the partnership with the World Food Programme, demonstrate how local, contextualized knowledge, partnered with a properly aligned Northern organization, can solve real problems that may have been over looked by each of the actors working alone. Zahner's findings also showed that having a high skill set enhances functioning. The results of this study suggest that the reverse may also be true. As KIWAKKUKI moved through a period of quick growth that outpaced the financial resources and organizational capacity for training new grassroots volunteers, several participants noticed negative results in the members' ability to deliver top-quality services and erosion of the organizational spirit of voluntarism.

KIWAKKUKI's experience of rapid growth, urged on by the decentralization of the governance structure, led to further surges in member recruitment. Our findings here further reinforce the notion depicted in the BMCF that partner resources recruit other partner resources (38,41) and further suggests that there can be momentum to that process as numbers and recruitment grow and reinforce the cycle.

6.1.3 Financial resources

Financial resources are the monetary and material resources that contribute to the functioning of the collaboration (38). The importance of having a budget to help complete the work is well established (50,52). Research and practice utilizing the BMCF have shown that gaps in funding can sometimes be made-up for by voluntary contributions (38,40). Endresen's (43) study of the well-funded coalition of Norwegian alcohol NGOs showed that a generously-funded secretariat may lead to a withdrawal of partner resources who feel everything is taken care of. The present study found nuances related not only to the amount of overall funding but funding provided for maintenance versus production activities. Many of KIWAKKUKI's partners concentrated their financial contributions on production activities focused on the health missions, often underfunding reporting, capacity-building and other maintenance activities.

Zahner's (50) study of health system partnerships found that many partners contributing financially to the partnership were significant predictors of successful implementation of partnership plans. The present research offers a unique case of partnership in which 6000 grassroots members not only donated their time to KIWAKKUKI programs but also contributed materially to the work. As will be discussed more in-depth in the section in input interaction, KIWAKKUKI did not experience the same sense of power imbalance suggested in the literature on North-South partnership. Participants felt relations were more balanced and constituted give-and-take on the part of both Northern and Southern partners. The results of this study suggest that the relative financial contribution of all of these grassroots members helped to even the scale. This is another instance, although different manifestation, of the possibility for partner resources to make up for a discrepancy in financial resources.

Therefore, Zahner's insight that many partners contributing could predict success are confirmed as well as challenged by the findings of this study. Examination of this

particular case through the BMCF as a lens illuminates pathways of how the elements of partnership functioning interact to both support positive and negative results. The findings show partner resources interacting with the cultural norms of contributing financial resources (bringing gifts to neighbors), as positively affecting the community by serving patients; but also, at times, negatively affecting the partnership by increasing the burden on volunteers, especially given the distressed economic context.

6.2 Throughput

6.2.1 Input interaction

Once inputs enter into the collaboration, they begin to interact with one another in many significant ways. The above sections have already begun to describe some of these interactions. Given the dynamic and holistic depiction of the BMCF, it can be difficult to know exactly where to report various findings given that observations can be made of how everything is connected when examining each individual element of the model. Therefore, I have already covered important input interactions in the previous sections, including the interaction of mission and partner resources and how that manifests as motivation (6.1.1); and how financial and partner resources interact in terms of funding production versus maintenance tasks (6.2.1). The significant findings of this research presented in this section relate to the interaction between partner resources, specifically power and trust.

Much of the literature on North-South partnerships is focused on power differentials between Northern and Southern partners. Harris' (65) study analyzing interview data from staff of Cambodian and Filipino NGOs found that the Southern partners were pressured by Northern donors to work on projects for which funding was available rather than projects based on local need. She attributed this practice to NGOs being willing to "tolerate" unfavorable working conditions because of the great economic need of the community, Northern donor's internal policies and a failure to consult

with local groups. These finding are somewhat similar to those reported by KIWAKKUKI staff and members, however, our inquiry, guided by the BMCF, warrants a more neutral interpretation. The leadership, also recognizing the economically disadvantaged context of Kilimanjaro residents, created procedures for engaging the community in activity planning. KIWAKKUKI, like the organizations in Harris' study, also ensured funding would be available. However, they did this not out of desperation but out of consideration for the local community -- to avoid setting expectations they would be unable to meet. Rather than viewing the Northern donors' internal policies as dominating the partnership, KIWAKKUKI sought to align their missions with the missions of other organizations working on a variety of projects all complementing one another to offer a range of services. The BMCF takes into account the context of the Northern organization, its mission and how that affects functioning within the NSP.

Another issue presented in the literature on North-South partnership relevant to power between partners is accountability, which is typically characterized as a one-way street where Northern partners require transparency and Southern partners have no recourse (63,66). This is not how the participants of this study characterized their relationships with Northern donors. They conveyed a more balanced power interaction than those found in these studies. Several factors surfaced as important. First, as mentioned above, KIWAKKUKI balanced the Northern resource contributions with the substantial material and partner resources represented by their 6000-strong grassroots base. Second, also mentioned earlier, they were able to exert power over their participation by focusing only on missions outlined in their five-year strategic plan—this gave them the power to negotiate and say no to requests that fell out of their purview. Third, at the time the research was conducted, they had been successfully implementing programs in the region for 18 years and had 15 different Northern partners funding varying projects. This last point contrasts vastly with some of the organizations examined in the Mommers and van Wessel (66) study where 50-100 percent of the total budgets came from a single Northern donor. KIWAKKUKI

did have some problems related to onerous reporting requirements from Northern partners, but the nature of the antagony was not an issue of power imbalance in terms of Northern partners' right to requests such documentation, but rather an issue with having inadequate resources for supporting these necessary activities. The findings from this study come closer to Ebrahim's (67) notion of "interdependence," with both Northern and Southern partners exchanging power in various forms.

Another interaction between partners is the existence, creation and dissolution of trust within the collaboration. Jones and Barry (60) found trust to be essential to the production of synergy and recommended trust-building practices be purposefully built into the functioning of the partnership at the beginning and maintained throughout its work. Evidence from this study of the importance and cultivation of trust can be found related to sharing and singing practices within monthly meetings and other interactions with grassroots volunteers. One example of the impact of distrust between one Northern partner and KIWAKKUKI confirms Jones and Barry's findings. The analysis of the experience through the BMCF allows the holistic observation of previously unobserved processes. That is, the results show how negative partner interaction takes focus from production activities, creating more maintenance activities (to provide documentation to alleviate suspicions) and thus impedes the creation of synergy.

6.2.2 Leadership

Leadership is often cited as the most important element in the creation of partnership synergy (34,52,55,56). As mentioned previously, the leadership instituted certain important planning and structural practices to improve their partnership with community volunteers and their Northern partners that confirm much of the research on partnership leadership. Aside from these, the current study did not illuminate much new knowledge on leadership in NSP. The partnership experience of KIWAKKUKI in NSPs indicates that leadership roles were not static and that leadership was negotiated between KIWAKKUKI and its Northern partners.

6.2.3 Formal roles and procedures

KIWAKKUKI had a formalized governance structure and clear mechanisms for guiding grassroots voluntary contributions. Their North-South partnership were initiated according to an internally developed strategic plan, negotiated through rigorous proposal processes and monitored through quarterly and annual reporting. All volunteers had formal roles that they fulfilled within the various work plans. The results show that these structures enabled positive functioning, thus confirming other researchers' findings in this area (47,49,53).

6.2.4 Communication

Communication is defined as the means through which partners convey information between and among themselves. The findings relevant to communication reported in the papers mainly focused on communication with grassroots members. One particularly successful mode of communication was the local debates that would take place within grassroots groups to determine the neediest children in the area. This face-to-face communication confirms other studies findings on the value of such interaction (38,43). As described earlier, monthly meetings, which served as a venue for sharing stories, singing, engaging with other grassroots members and receiving training, supported functioning by building trust, skills and by providing opportunities for partner interaction. The positive comments from participants about these activities confirm Kegler et al.'s (51) findings as to the importance of such practices.

6.2.5 Maintenance tasks

The significance of maintenance activities comes through clearly in the findings of this research. Many of the issues illuminated by this research have been discussed in previous sections of this chapter. One finding is that reporting activities were not adequately supported by NSP projects. Grassroots members were often relied upon to deliver data for reports from remote areas in the region and this often resulted in

delays because of transportation or communication issues. Even staff time was not properly compensated to meet the requirements of reporting. The results show that it was common for staff members to work on reports in evening or weekend hours. Capacity building for grassroots members also suffered from a lack of funding for maintenance activities. As mentioned earlier, there is a tendency for Northern partners to allocate money for only production activities. Unfortunately, this practice ultimately affects the quality of those production activities by overtaxing employees in their spare time and allowing skill levels among volunteer service providers to erode. These findings also echo those of Kegler et al. (51) regarding the relationship between ongoing training and member satisfaction.

6.3 Output

6.3.1 Additive results

Additive results are not actually products of the collaboration; they constitute a failure of the collaboration. Not to the extent that they waste resources (as in antagony) but rather in that they waste potential. In other words, the partners do what they would have done anyway without the added value provided through collaboration. The original BMCF study was the first to introduce the concept of additive results to the literature on partnership functioning (6), however, it was rarely found even in other BMCF studies. Although the findings from this study did not report instances of additive results, the findings suggest a risk of additive results if capacity-building in the grassroots does not keep up pace with membership growth. Given the Tanzanian culture of collectivism and the tradition of caring for others in the community, neighbors would likely do their best to provide care for sick neighbors and support for orphaned children. A failure to train these community members, to engage them as volunteers and then to train them in the best, most cost effective and safest methods of caring, would fail to capture the added value of collaboration with KIWAKKUKI and their Northern partners.

6.3.2 Synergy

Synergy is the intended output of collaboration. The other sections in this chapter have detailed the elements of partnership functioning which were shown to influence the creation of synergy. This section focuses on how the creation of synergy fed back and affected partnership functioning once it was created.

The synergy KIWAKKUKI experienced resulted in significant scaling-up of activities. Applying Uvin's (71) typology, we see how KIWAKKUKI has scaled up along each of his four categories. In the period from 1992-2007, KIWAKKUKI experienced a quantitative scaling in its membership base from 42 members to over 6000—drastically increasing the organization's size and geographic reach within the Kilimanjaro region. Having begun with education as the primary focus, KIWAKKUKI underwent a functional scaling-up, including the addition of voluntary counseling and testing (VCT) and support for adults and children living with HIV and AIDS into core activities. KIWAKKUKI also engaged in political scaling-up by reaching beyond service-delivery programs to work on advocacy and policy initiative. Finally, KIWAKKUKI undertook organizational scaling-up by availing itself of training and engaging other resources to build capacity at the organizational level, as described above.

The results showed how synergy and its resultant scaling-up affected the partners. Successful programs led grassroots volunteers to feel that they were making a difference in the lives of people in their communities. The success of this women's organization offered grassroots women increasing opportunities to gain skills and respect which was not typical, given gender inequity in the region. Synergy also affected maintenance activities. As KIWAKKUKI was involved, in more and more projects Northern partners would connect them to other potential partners and the process of obtaining new opportunities for projects and access to funding became easier. As described earlier, as grassroots groups grew more and more community members learned of the work and wanted to become involved, so synergy led to

greater recruitment of partner resources both locally and internationally. All of these findings confirm those of previous BMCF research, which have identified the ability of synergy to generate more positive interaction and greater (38,45,57).

A unique finding of this study, in terms of the literature in the BMCF, was the observation that the rapid growth of grassroots members, coupled with insufficient financial resources for maintenance activities provided an example of synergy feeding back into the partnership to negatively affect functioning. In other words, the findings show that synergy has the potential to produce antagony.

Not using the BMCF, other researchers have found that fast growth can lead to unintended consequences. Constantine-David (69) and Fowler (70) describe the possibility that Southern NGOs can lose touch with grassroots members, become too professionalized or soften their efforts to empower the community. The findings from KIWAKKUKI do not suggest an erosion of connection or too much professionalization, but perhaps the lack of training could be interpreted as a move away from community empowerment. The examination of processes through the application of the BMCF, reveals, however, that the failure to train was a consequence of not having sufficient support for maintenance activities.

6.3.3 Antagony

Antagony occurs in a partnership when resources are wasted because working together is somehow more cumbersome, expensive or more labor intensive yet yielding fewer results than if the work had been undertaken by one party on its own (38). Antagony and associated negative processes have been found in all the studies and practical applications using the BMCF (6,40–43,45,46,57).

As described above, several aspects of functioning attributed to antagony within KIWAKKUKI: imbalance of production and maintenance activities, distrust between partners, and failures in communication. These issues fed back into the collaborative process, impacting volunteers' ability to provide services, overburdening partner

resources and requiring excessive maintenance activities in lieu of production. Other research on antagony has also demonstrated this relationship of negative processes resulting in antagony and the antagony further degrading functioning (38,57). Corbin and Mittelmark (6) describe this as negative cycles of interaction.

This study, however, provides a unique finding in terms of the effect of antagony on partnership functioning. One instance of antagony -- the story told by a few participants about the Northern partner who was providing "capacity-building" in the form of overly critical feedback on proposals -- led KIWAKKUKI to talk with the Northern partner who was engaging in this non-consensual capacity building. The two partners were able to talk about the problems and come to an understanding and agreement which greatly improved the functioning of the relationship and they went on to work together for many more years. This demonstrates two things. First, it confirms Corbin's (38) findings that negative and positive processes exist simultaneously because clearly the two partners still had enough positive communication processes in place to facilitate discussion on the issue. Second, it provides the first example in the research using the BMCF, that antagony can result in synergy. That is, the bad experience provided an opportunity to learn from the mistake and improve the relationship between the partners.

These findings are significant in terms of the literature on North-South partnership because is suggests that the BMCF could be a tool to help track processes that can provide nuanced feedback to partners to step away from overly-quantitative reporting, which encourages the reporting of positive results over negative (67). Instead, the BMCF normalizes negative processes and encourages learning from all experience -- both good and bad.

6.4 Study quality and methodological issues

This section critically examines the design and methodology of the study to draw attention to the limitations of the data analysis and interpretation.

Perhaps the most notable issue is that I was a Northern researcher partnering with a Southern organization to conduct research on the nature of such partnerships from the perspective of the Southern organization. It can be argued that I could never have the perspective of the Southern organization and that my limited time in the field was not adequate to accurately ascertain the reality of KIWAKKUKI's experience in NSPs (108). It is also possible that my position as a Northern partner precluded the sharing of unbiased information from my study's participants (109). However as noted in the Methods chapter, my co-advisor had been working with KIWAKKUKI since its inception and thus may have helped to overcome gaps in my own personal relationship with participants. Yet it is also possible that her presence and introduction could have influenced the responses of my participants in ways I could not know. The only indication that participants trusted me and felt they could be open with me about their experiences was that the vast majority of them shared stories of positive and negative partnership processes.

Recognizing that participants may have felt pressured to describe processes that they may have thought I wanted to hear, I decided that I did not want to use a structured guide to conduct the interviews (95). Rather, I chose a completely opened-ended interview style. While this approach may have elicited more organic tales of memorable partnership experiences than might have otherwise emerged, it may have also weakened the study by failing to pursue specific lines of questioning which could have contributed to the literature. For instance, my data do not deeply examine various aspects of volunteerism, or go into as much depth on organizational processes as may have been the case had I taken a more structured approach to the interviews.

It is also possible that I was not entirely successful in achieving a truly open-ended approach within the interviews. As the originator of the BMCF and having worked with it supervising other studies and conducting this one, I undoubtedly asked follow-up questions during the interviews which were colored by my BMCF lens.

The study is also limited by its attempt to examine the entire history of KIWAKKUKI's experience from the inception of the organization to the contemporary period of the study. The second paper is particularly retrospective and the number of participants who had the full historical experience and were able to comment on the growth and development of the organization was limited. One way I attempted to counteract this problem was by interviewing participants who were involved in the organization during the early years but who had subsequently left, in addition to those who stayed the whole time. The encouraging aspect of the data was that these participants corroborated one another's observations about key historical events.

Another potential weakness of the study is that I may have become biased during my field work in Tanzania. I was deeply moved by the experience of HIV and the effects of AIDS in the Kilimanjaro region and impressed by the work KIWAKKUKI was doing to provide services. I also saw their struggles first-hand. I have made every attempt to examine the data as they are and to apply the BMCF to the analysis without introducing my own perspective; however, in qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument of analysis and so it is possible the research was affected by bias connected to my affection for the organization.

6.4.1 Potential areas for future research

These limitations point to some potential areas for further research. The results of this study suggest that the BMCF might be useful frame for increasing learning in NSPs. The BMCF has been developed into a framework for conducting participatory evaluations; future studies could examine the effectiveness of such a tool for evaluating NSPs. This study also highlights the significance of mission in partnership; it is possible that some of this study's results are inextricably linked to the work the NSP was addressing-- HIV and AIDS. Future research could examine NSPs working on other health issues, for instance child malnutrition, in other Southern settings. Similarly, the findings may only be relevant to this area of Tanzania, future research

could be conducted in other Southern contexts. Finally, this research was limited to conveying the Southern perspective of NSP, future research could inquire into the experience of both Northern and Southern partners simultaneously.

6.5 Conclusions and recommendations for practice

The aim of this research was to contribute to the literature on partnership functioning and to improve practices in North-South partnerships by examining the elements and processes that contribute to success and failure from the perspective of a Southern partner engaged in NSPs with multiple Northern organizations over two decades. Previous sections of this chapter have identified and discussed the relevance of the study's key findings in relation to the greater literature on NSPs, scaling-up and volunteerism. This section will illuminate how the findings of the research relate to the practice of NSPs.

This research examined successes and failures in NSP functioning, processes of scaling-up and collaboration with grassroots volunteers through the experience of KIWAKKUKI during their entire history of collaboration with Northern partners. Our findings suggest that Southern organizations wishing to optimize results within their collaborations across all these areas would be wise to take the following steps:

- • Determine the mission of your organization and develop this fully in a strategic plan that can be used to focus and negotiate activities with prospective Northern partners

- • Examine the missions of your partner organizations and maximize synergy by aligning activities across all possible points of connection

- • Actively seek out partnerships with organizations that prioritize capacity building and write needs for capacity building into proposals

• Develop and document contributions of all the partner and financial resources you bring to the NSP table to demonstrate the balance of resource contributions between North and South

• Diversify funding sources, as much as possible, to decrease reliance on any given partner

• Think of the partnership as a dynamic exchange of power and be verbal about your needs as an organization

• Take measures to ensure that growth and scaling-up are in step with maintenance activities needed to ensure continued quality in service and sustainability

• Use the Bergen Model of Collaborative Functioning as a reporting tool to help examine positive as well as negative processes to facilitate learning within NSPs

• Encourage Northern partners to visit your organization as much as possible, to increase face-to-face communication and to build trust between the partners

Recommendations for Northern donors also seeking to maximize synergy:

• Seek partnerships with Southern organizations that have clearly developed missions that align with your organization

• Cultivate and support grassroots participation to maximize the cultural appropriateness of interventions

• Adequately fund maintenance activities including reporting, office space and capacity building to ensure good results related to the mission

- Take time to visit Southern partners to learn of the context and see results

- Consider basket funding, flexibility in reporting format or conducting your own reporting activities to make maintenance practices easier on Southern organizations

- Encourage use of the BMCF for evaluations to facilitate learning from NSP experiences

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Appendix.

Map of Tanzania

Map of Kilimanjaro region

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)

Telegrams: COSTECH
Telephones: (255 - 022) 2775155 - 6, 2700745/6
Director General: (255 - 022) 2700750&2775315
Fax: (255 - 022) 2775313
Email: rclearance@costech.or.tz
In reply please quote: **CST/RCA 2009/52/2009**

Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road
P.O. Box 4302
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

19th June 2009

Director of Immigration Services
Ministry of Home Affairs
P.O. Box 512
DAR ES SALAAM

Dear Sir/Madam,

RESEARCH PERMIT

We wish to introduce to you **Jennifer H. Corbin** from **USA** who has been granted a research permit **No. 2009 –118- NA-2009-52** dated **19th June 2009**

The permit allows him/her to do research in the country: **"North-South Partnerships for Health in Tanzania"**

We would like to support the application of the researcher(s) for the appropriate immigration status to enable the scholar(s) begin research as soon as possible.

By copy of this letter, we are requesting regional authorities and other relevant institutions to accord the researcher(s) all the necessary assistance. Similarly the designated local contact is requested to assist the researcher(s).

Yours faithfully

M. Mushi
for: DIRECTOR GENERAL

CC: 1.   Regional Administrative Secretary: **Kilimanjaro**

   2.   Local contact: **Prof. Kakoko D.C.V. School of Public Health and Social Sciences, MUHAS, P.O. Box 65015, Dar es Salaam**

   3.   Co-researchers: **None**

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)

RESEARCH PERMIT

No. 2009 –118- NA-2009-42   Date **19th June 2009**

1.   Name   :   **Jennifer H. Corbin**

2   Nationality :   **American**

3   Title   :   **North-South Partnerships for Health in Tanzania**

4   Research shall be confined to the following region(s): **Kilimanjaro**

5   Permit validity **19th June 2009 to 18th June 2010**

6.   Local Contact/collaborator: **Prof. Kakoko D.C.V. School of Public Health and Social Sciences, MUHAS, P.O. Box 65015, Dar es Salaam**

7.   Researcher is required to submit progress report on quarterly basis and submit all Publications made after research.

M. Mushi
for: DIRECTOR GENERAL

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

MUHIMBILI UNIVERSITY OF HEALTH AND ALLIED SCIENCES

P. O. BOX 65015   DAR ES SALAAM   TANZANIA

Telephone: 255 022 2150302 Ext 244   *E-mail: knkuru@yahoo.com*

19th June 2009

COSTECH
Tanzania Commission for Social Science and Technology
Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road
Kijitonyama Area
P.O. Box 4302
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

RE: WAIVER OF NMRI CLEARANCE

I certify that in my professional experience and opinion, the project proposed here, **North-South Partnerships for Health in Tanzania: Key Factors for Partnership Success from the Perspective of KIWAKKUKI,** should not require clearance from the National Medical Research Institute (NMRI). The project is strictly social science research. It does not have a medical aspect in any way and therefore is not subject to medical ethical clearance.

Kakoko, D.C.V. (PhD)
Lecturer