

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE AUSTRALIAN BOARD OF MISSIONS

Contrasting with Appropriate Technology and Community Environment, the Australian Board of Missions is an agency with a long history. One of Australia's oldest agencies, the Australian Board of Missions was listed as twelfth in financial size by McLeod, attracting 2.1 per cent of total Australian NGO income (McLeod, 1991:28). Established as a denominational missionary agency, the Board has recently moved away from its traditional emphasis and started to implement discrete development projects. Unlike CAA and APACE, the Board is a church based agency, dependent on the Australian Anglican church for its continued legal existence, and on the church constituency for financial support.

History

The Anglican Board of Missions was a national body, set up by the (then) Church of England in Australia on October 29, 1850 (ABM, 1988a:1). The Board's establishment was initiated at a meeting of the six Australasian Bishops who met to discuss common policies. Missionary work was one of their major concerns. The Anglican Board of Missions became the first agency of the National Anglican Church of Australia concerned with ministry overseas. The initial aims of the Board were:

To elicit action concerning groups 'at risk' in Australia. e.g. Chinese on the goldfields; the Aboriginal people; and the Melanesians blackbirded to Queensland.

To take the Gospel to the peoples to the North and East of Australia (ABM, n.d.a:2).

In 1872 at the Anglican General Synod, the Anglican Board of Missions became an official Board of the senior Anglican Church Synod (Church of England in Australia, 1985:1), and in 1947 was incorporated as a company limited by guarantee - The Australian Board of Missions Trust Ltd. (ABM) (ABM, 1988a:1). The ABM was one of the earliest Australian agencies formed to serve those overseas.

The practice and philosophy of the Australian Board of Missions has changed considerably throughout its history. In its early years of operation, expatriate missionaries were sent to share the Christian Gospel among the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, and in Papua New Guinea and the Pacific region. Missionaries established churches and endeavoured to meet the physical and spiritual needs of host communities. Needs were defined, and missionaries sent and supported by, the Australian agency. Additional missionaries were supplied at the request of other expatriate field staff.

As local churches grew and church members developed the skills to assume local control, a gradual process of nationalisation occurred. This process led to changes in the relationship between ABM and its partners abroad. Expatriate missionaries and people with technical expertise (primarily health and education professionals) were still sent abroad by ABM, but only at the request of indigenous local churches. During the 1950's and 1960's, ABM provided such missionaries with a one year preparation course, including language and anthropology training. Lay people were expected to provide services rather than work as evangelists. As one ABM representative suggested:

In the past, lay people ... were expected to join in the religious life of the community and not to preach against it, but they were not employed as evangelists. Rather, they adopted a 'life style' evangelism approach.

During the 1970's, ABM began to provide block grants directly to overseas churches in Papua New Guinea, requiring little accountability. Power over decision-making and spending lay with the local bishops and priests. While a missionary or voluntary presence continued, expatriate personnel were administered by local

churches rather than by an Australian Board. As one staff member commented, ABM 'backed off', reflecting Australia's own diplomatic disengagement process with respect to Papua New Guinea.

The 1980's have witnessed significant changes in ABM's developmental role, as the agency moved from being a traditional missionary organisation to adopt an approach to partnership based on individual project support. Some staff at ABM believe these changes have been catalysed by contact with ACFOA and AIDAB, particularly by the availability of matching grants through the Project Subsidy Scheme. However, changes were also occurring in the wider Anglican Church. In a summary of the proceedings of an Anglican Mission Agencies Conference With Partners, held in 1986, Nichols wrote of the airing of 'a tension between friends' - between the 'sending churches' and the 'receiving churches' (Nichols, 1987:7). He suggested that:

It probably represents a completely new phase in the development of relations around the world between Anglican churches, missionary and development agencies and ecumenical bodies. ... Partnership between these groups has been tentatively growing from the old paternalistic days ... the relationships have entered a new, more mature phase. To touch one another in a positive way means to be friends. It cannot be done at a distance. It can only happen with equals. And that is exactly what is happening to Anglican churches and agencies around the world - they are beginning to touch one another, to be equal partners (Nichols, 1987:7).

As participants in this process, ABM has also been influenced by the growth of more equal partnerships, and redefinitions of the meaning of development by Anglican institutions throughout the world.

Philosophy

Despite these changes in operational philosophy and practice, the underlying raison d'etre of ABM has not changed. Like most Christian missions, the original mandate of ABM was to share the Christian Gospel. But, for the ABM, this has not meant evangelism

alone. It has also included attention to the physical needs of the people the agency has ministered to. The development philosophy of ABM must be seen within the context of the Anglican Church tradition from which the Board springs. The focus of ABM has been on 'the incarnation of Christ as being inextricably in the world and concerned about whole people and whole societies' as the Executive Officer expressed it. Further, in his words:

Reconciliation between God and man must involve the restoration of relationships, not just between God and humankind, but between believers and between groups of people. This involves the restoration of relationships between societies as well as within one society, and between humankind and the rest of creation.

This concern with people's physical and spiritual needs and their communities has meant that, from its earliest days, ABM has always responded to the physical needs of people by providing expatriates with skills in health and education. More recently, this has led to ABM's willing involvement in government subsidised development projects.

The staff and Board of ABM are in the process of formulating a comprehensive statement of the agency's philosophy of development. Although ABM currently has no formal, written statement, most staff feel the agency has always been 'doing' development, and that many recent statements about 'community ownership' and 'sustainability' are in fact statements of common sense. As one staff member suggested, many in the Church have been doing these things anyway, for they arise from a 'common situation, its people and their need, and what the best response to it is'. Interest in development issues arose from the awareness of missionaries working in areas which were not only poor, but where people faced poverty of opportunity. As ABM's Chairman commented:

Missionaries keenly felt the indignities of the people they worked with, because of the growing and destructive burdens of exploitative bodies tending to institutionalise poverty. This engendered an awareness of what was needed and led to attempts to analyse how change could occur so the results of local labour could be owned by local communities.

In tune with the wider Anglican Church, the agency is trying to formulate a development philosophy which incorporates the personal - the spiritual and moral. ABM's Chairman commented that the word 'transformation' better describes the agency's approach to development because it 'is more easily recognised as a theological term and more readily fits into the religious jargon of conversion'. This philosophical approach reflects definitions prepared after consultation between Anglican mission agencies and their partners throughout the world:

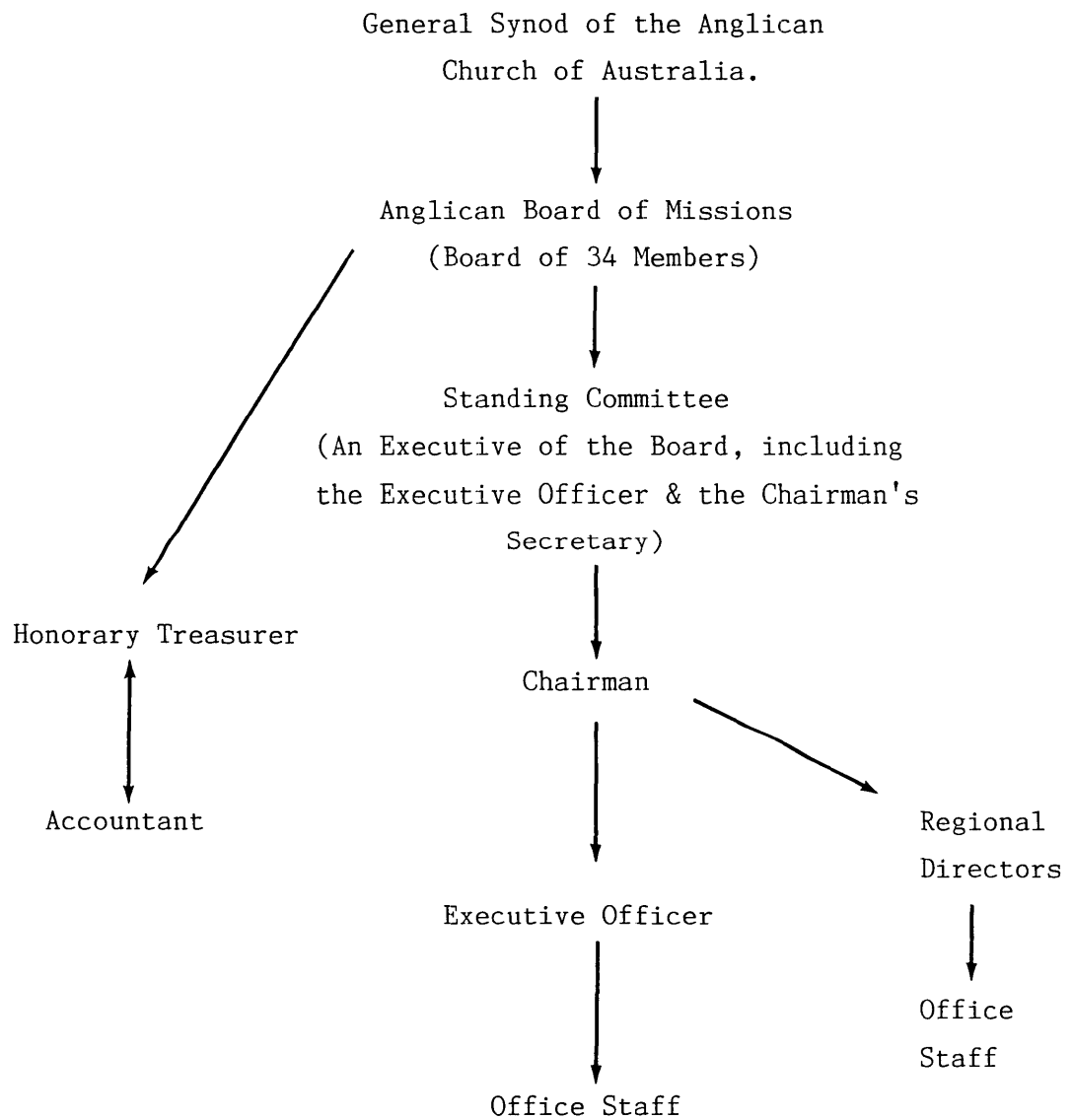
Development is understood as part of the process which creates a community context in which it is possible for all to realize their full potential - physically, socially and spiritually. Development helps members of a community to analyse the factors which prevent them from being able to realize their full potential. There may be individual or personal factors i.e. personal sin, or community based or international factors i.e. structural sin. The development process ensures that the community participates to determine the ways in which the context needs to be changed so that full potential can be realized. Finally, the development process empowers and mobilizes the community to secure the necessary resources and implement change that is sustainable. Thus, the development process promotes transformation - the deep rooted changing of people and the structures of society in order to bring nearer the Kingdom of God (Mission Agencies Working Group, 1988:1).

Structure and Staffing

A national body, ABM operates as a Board of the Anglican Church. While day-to-day decisions are made by employed staff members, major policy decisions are made at an Annual Board meeting (Church of England in Australia, 1985:3). Recommendations are made to the Board by a Standing Committee, which is itself empowered to take some actions under the Constitution. The Standing Committee meets four times each year. The Board of thirty-four members (including a number of seconded positions for women) in turn reports to the General Synod, which consists of members of the Anglican Church in Australia drawn from the Houses of Bishops, Clergy and Laity.

Some staff regard the Board's operation as similar to an annual

Figure 7.1 Structure of the Australian Board of Missions



general meeting, where most recommendations of the Standing Committee are passed. While some staff see the Board as 'fairly on-stream and able to follow the issues well', others admit there are some difficulties in relation to the daily practicalities of administering aid projects. They expressed the view that it is difficult for those attending an Annual Board Meeting, who have little ongoing contact with the agency's development programme or its partners, to understand the development needs of local communities and the complexities of project selection.

The Board employs a total of nineteen full-time and one part-time staff throughout Australia. There are five full-time staff at the national office in Sydney - two regional directors in Queensland, and one in each of N.S.W., Victoria, Canberra and the South West region of N.S.W., South Australia, and Western Australia. Each region has some support staff in the form of secretarial staff, a part-time bookkeeper in Queensland, and a Youth Officer in Victoria. ABM does not have staff in the field apart from missionaries it supports. Missionaries are supplied only at the request of partner churches and are not regarded as field staff of the ABM. Figure 7.1 illustrates the relationship between ABM staff and the agency's decision-making bodies.

Funding and Expenditure

In 1988, the ABM raised and spent close to A\$2 million (ABM, 1989f:5), the bulk of which came directly from parish donations. The ABM budget for 1989 (based on 1988 figures) anticipated that 92.7 per cent of its funding would be drawn directly from parishes (ABM, 1989f:5). Of the remainder, A\$35,000 (1.8 per cent) is expected to be received from AIDAB through the AIDAB/NGO Project Subsidy Scheme, and A\$107,000 (5.4 per cent) from other sources, including bequests, trusts and investments. Also included in this figure were donations exceeding A\$50,000 from the 'Friends' of the ABM - a group of supporters who pay a small fee to belong to a special support

group of the Mission (ABM, n.d.a). Four appeals are held each year for a particular ABM project (ABM, 1989b). For example, in the first half of 1989, an appeal to the Friends of the ABM raised money specifically for theological education in West Malaysia. Dioceses give the ABM an 'objective figure' for the income they hope to donate to the agency each year. For the most part, these objectives are met, and the dioceses are likely to set an objective each year which is slightly higher than that of the previous year. Variations in yearly income can occur as a result of differences in amounts received through legacies. In one year, A\$50,000 dollars was received through legacies, but in another, A\$500,000 was donated. Legacies can not be predicted or relied upon, so the ABM tends to use these for special purposes such as the purchase of real estate for housing staff clergy.

The ABM applies for and accepts Government funding. The amount received from AIDAB has been variable, depending on the number of project requests the organisation receives which meet the criteria of the Project Subsidy Scheme. For example, in 1986, 11 per cent of the ABM's income was received from AIDAB (ABM, 1988a:16) and in 1987 this figure had dropped to 5.9 per cent (ABM, 1988a:16). The decrease in funding from AIDAB in this year was partly due to AIDAB's failure to process some project requests submitted by the ABM - the requests had been 'mislaidd' by AIDAB officials (discussed further on p. 217).

The major difficulty facing ABM in fund-raising comes in the form of competition for the donor dollar - four different official agencies of the Anglican Church compete for the missionary dollar (the Church Missionary Society, the Bush Church Aid Society, the South American Mission Society and the Australian Board of Missions). In addition to these are a myriad of other para-church organisations competing for donations from those in the Church pews. Another difficulty in fundraising is a result of the changing philosophy of the ABM itself. The ABM used to provide direct support for individual missionaries only. This approach is now considered too paternalistic and the ABM began instead to provide block grants to a partner church rather than only supporting expatriate missionaries.

So far as fundraising is concerned, this depersonalisation has raised problems for the organisation. It is easier for the Anglican churchgoers to relate to, and fund, an individual missionary than to give towards a block grant intended for an institution.

The ABM publishes an annual budget and statement of expenditure in a quarterly newsletter, Partners (ABM, 1989f:5). In 1989, 4 per cent of total expenditure was directed towards 'development assistance'; 28 per cent of funds were used for home education and promotion, a recruitment of personnel programme and the maintenance of library resources and 11 per cent of funds used for administration (ABM, 1989f:5). The remaining 57 per cent of funds were given as block grants to partner churches - 28 per cent as mission grants to the Pacific region, 20 per cent to ministry amongst Australian Aborigines and Islanders, and 9 per cent to East Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The organisation aims to distribute 70 per cent of collected funds overseas. The remaining 30 per cent - a high figure for administration costs compared to those supplied by many aid agencies - is used for administration, home education, promotions, appeals, staff and printing. However, unlike other church-based agencies, the ABM does not receive subsidised administrative services, printing services, or free office accommodation from the Church. This figure also includes costs of production of development education materials, an expense many agencies list as a separate item in their budgets.

ABM does not depend on the support of volunteers. Members of the Board serve in an honorary capacity and Regional Advisory Committees, consisting of interested volunteers, exist as part of a support and promotional network. When available, volunteers are used to assist with clerical duties, for mailings, for deputation and promotional work. Volunteers have not been used in any regular, systematic way. According to some staff, it is difficult to attract volunteers with appropriate work skills and an understanding of the complexities of the administration of aid projects.

It is only since 1985 that the ABM has sought to support specific

'development assistance projects'. This is partly because those at the ABM realised, through their contact with others working in church based development aid agencies, that there was 'another milch cow to plunder' (to use the description of one staff member) - the AIDAB/NGO Project Subsidy Scheme. Staff at ABM believe that the organisation has always supported 'development' work, but had not used that terminology. Much work ABM was already funding fell within the guidelines set down by the AIDAB/NGO Committee for Development Co-operation. By funding individual projects rather than disbursing all funds in block grant form, ABM could apply for funds from the AIDAB/NGO Project Subsidy Scheme. Thus, in recent years, a percentage of the agency's funding has been devoted to 'development assistance' - to identifiable individual projects, all of which have received funding from AIDAB. In line with this trend, the Board of ABM formed the Anglican Trust Fund For Development. Money donated to this fund is used solely for individual aid projects for which AIDAB subsidies are sought. Donations to the fund are tax deductible. ABM staff believe it will take some education for Anglican church-goers to send money to the fund rather than to put money into their 'missionary money box', and for the ABM's constituency to support development projects rather than individual missionaries. The ABM is encouraging this by introducing some education about development issues into its promotional material, and by emphasising that by sending donations to the Anglican Trust Fund, the donor dollar works twice - by receiving tax deductibility and by attracting a matching grant from AIDAB (ABM, 1987).

Development Projects

As already outlined, support of specific development aid projects is a recent initiative for ABM. Initially, ABM funded expatriate missionaries to meet perceived physical and spiritual needs of Papua New Guineans, Torres Strait Islanders and Australian Aborigines. As national churches grew, the decision to send missionaries was increasingly based on requests from partner churches overseas rather

than on the decision of an Australian Board. Today, missionaries are sent only in response to requests by partner churches if needs cannot be met using local skills. However, ABM's traditional emphasis on the provision of health and education expertise is evident in the qualifications of the 36 missionaries it supported in 1989. Of these, 11 were clergy or parish workers, 5 were teachers, 9 were medical personnel and the remainder included a pilot, a mechanic, and several with secretarial or administrative skills (ABM, 1989g). These missionaries were located in Papua New Guinea (18), Queensland (6), Zambia (4), Solomon Islands (3), Bangladesh (2), Taiwan (1), Botswana (1) and Fiji (1) (ABM, 1989g). Financial support is still provided to 51 primary schools and 2 secondary schools in Papua New Guinea.

In recent years, catalysed by the availability of AIDAB funding, ABM began to support discrete development projects. Individual development assistance projects accounted for only 4 per cent of the ABM's total expenditure in 1988 (ABM, 1989f:5) and all projects funded received grants from AIDAB. The first major project undertaken by ABM was an animal raising and handicraft production project in the Republic of Korea, run by an Australian husband and wife team from 1985 to 1987 (ABM, 1989e:4). Since then, ABM has received AIDAB funding under the bilateral Special Assistance Program for South Africans and Namibians (SAPSAN) for a media Workshop near Soweto, a project to provide media links with local communities and church groups throughout South Africa and Namibia (ABM, 1989e:4). Subsidy support has been received from AIDAB's Project Subsidy Scheme for training for women from the Mothers' Union in Papua New Guinea in agriculture, bookkeeping and leadership (ABM, 1988d; ABM 1989c) and for a number of other projects in Papua New Guinea which reflect its new project-based approach to partnership. For example, in 1988, two ABM staff members conducted a management training course to discuss accountability, project design and implementation issues with local project and mission staff (ABM, 1988b). In 1989, ABM provided funds to train people how to run a school board and, in particular, how to lobby government for more support (ABM, 1989b). The agency is developing an emphasis on training and management skills

in its project work. In 1990, ABM supported six projects which attracted AIDAB grants in all - two in South Africa, one in Lebanon, and three in Papua New Guinea

The agency has no written selection criteria for its development projects. To date, all projects funded have met the criteria used by the AIDAB/NGO Committee for Development Co-operation (CDC) in determining whether projects should be funded under the Project Subsidy Scheme. ABM has responded to project requests by ensuring they do not conflict with CDC guidelines. Agency staff feel comfortable using AIDAB/CDC criteria for project selection, but are in the process of formalising their own criteria for project selection, as some agency activities traditionally funded by ABM do not meet CDC guidelines.

The agency does not have a systematic project identification process. Where established relationships exist with a partner church, for example in Papua New Guinea, requests for funding come directly from local church communities or their leaders. Extension of project work into other countries has occurred in an ad hoc manner. For example, the Anglican Church in Zambia needed a theological educator. The availability of an appropriately qualified Australian led to ABM's involvement in that country. This initial contact has resulted in further involvement by ABM in Zambia (ABM, 1988c:3). An Australian newspaper, The Church Scene, funded a South African to visit Australia for a year to learn about publication procedures. She returned to South Africa and initiated a project to train local people in newspaper and desk top publishing (ABM, 1989e:4). Contact of ABM members with her while in Australia brought about ABM's involvement in supporting the three-year project, which is funded under AIDAB's SAPSAN program. According to one staff member, another source of ABM's project activity was, on one occasion, through AIDAB personnel. An AIDAB officer contacted ABM, suggested that further funding was available under the SAPSAN program. When ABM had no project requests for the region, the AIDAB officer concerned suggested the agency contact a particular institution to see if they had any needs which met ABM guidelines. As a result, ABM funded an activity of the

Wilespruit Fellowship Centre just outside Soweto for one year, providing a community neighbourhood centre for squatter communities (ABM, 1989e:4). It was suggested that some AIDAB personnel are 'good Anglicans' and wish to see the agency grow and administer more development projects.

When projects have been selected and funding received, ABM relies on its partners to implement the project. In most cases, partner churches have shown themselves to be trustworthy in ensuring project implementation and progress. Ongoing informal contact is maintained with partner churches and this enables some monitoring of projects. Little formal monitoring occurs throughout the life of most projects.

There is generally no physical evaluation of completed projects. ABM usually relies on reports from the field, which are rewritten in the format required by AIDAB as final reports on funded projects. Written financial reports, progress reports and photographs are requested from implementing partners. In addition, there is a constant informal reporting system as information is supplied through correspondence or by missionaries on furlough, as nationals visit Australia to do deputation work, and as ABM staff visit expatriates and partner churches abroad. Since receipt of AIDAB funding with associated demands for accountability, ABM staff have realised they need to have more direct communication with partners for discussions about changes in agency philosophy and management and project design.

A major issue for ABM is the existence of tension between traditional church leaders in Australia and the move of agency staff towards a project centred approach to development. The former prefer ongoing expatriate presence with its close links to the Australian constituency and therefore the donor dollar. Some ABM staff are grappling with the need to develop a philosophy and approach to development which emphasises local control and sustainability, while remaining an Anglican missionary organisation.

The agency's changing development philosophy has stimulated

debate. For example, a request for an Anglican High School in the highlands of Papua New Guinea led to an influential Bishop criticizing AIDAB's prescriptive approach. A local community wanted to establish a school with a traditional, academic curriculum. Believing vocational training would be more appropriate, AIDAB refused to fund the project, leading to accusations of intervention. Similarly, ABM refused funding for the building of a church building, on the grounds that its construction would not help the needy. As one commentator wrote:

ABM finds itself struggling with the moral and philosophical implications of a decision to say either 'yes' (thereby affirming local decisionmaking and ownership of resources) or 'no' (thereby affirming what the agency regards as the common wisdom about 'good' development) (Zivetz, in Rugendyke and Zivetz, 1990:8).

Some at ABM believe that the Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea and its local communities are not yet ready for the AIDAB approach and its associated responsibilities. Many nationals would prefer to retain the services of expatriates, because they frequently bring with them food parcels and other trappings of affluence. In giving block grants, ABM had allowed communities to set their own priorities. Equally, in response to requests for expatriate personnel, an ABM staff member commented:

ABM wouldn't say 'no' on development grounds, or because we think the local church doesn't know what to do, only because of constraints facing the Mission here; especially financial constraints or an inability to find the right personnel.

Today, the adoption of a project approach to development activities, with associated selection criteria and demands for accountability, means ABM appears to be reclaiming power it had previously handed over to local churches and their leaders.

Development Education and Advocacy

The concept of a development education program is a relatively new one for ABM, and the agency, as yet, has no formal strategy for development education. While its activities have always been publicised through the Anglican Church within Australia, it is only recently that ABM's literature has begun to explore the meaning of terms such as 'development' and 'partnership'. Sunday services and mailing lists are the major vehicles for any development education activities. ABM has not undertaken any major educational program in educational institutions or within community groups outside the Church, although regional directors and a youth officer based in Victoria are available to speak at Sunday services, in schools on invitation, and at evening meetings.

The agency currently produces a number of materials which its staff regard as educational. A calendar (ABM, 1989a) and poster advertising the newly formed Anglican Trust Fund for Development (ABM, 1987) are small steps, but are important initiatives in development education for the organization. The Board is trying to educate its constituency about its development assistance work, rather than continuing to emphasize its traditional role as an agency whose goal was to recruit and fund expatriate missionaries and to give block grants to support the work of partner churches overseas.

In addition, ABM produces promotional pamphlets stressing the idea of partnership with the poor as part of God's mission (ABM, n.d.b). A quarterly newsletter entitled Partners provides information about the activities of partner churches and ABM's missionaries and staff. Supporters are encouraged to pray about ABM's work, to contribute financially and to consider whether God is 'calling' the individual to serve overseas. In recent issues, ABM's new involvement in development projects has been emphasised. One such issue of Partners outlined ABM's new direction as 'taking new steps to help partner churches raise the material as well as the spiritual well-being of their people' (ABM, 1989d:1). The idea that development should be initiated by partner churches rather than by

ABM or expatriate missionaries was outlined - an idea the ABM has been trying to sell to its constituency:

The concept of development has changed in recent times. Development today is less institutional. Encouragement is given to local communities to initiate their own programs to deal with their own special and urgent needs (ABM, 1989d:1).

Certainly, ABM's literature has moved beyond the purely promotional and beyond the traditional emphasis on expatriate missionaries serving the needy overseas. Increasingly, emphasis is on partner churches identifying their own needs and on the ABM funding sustainable development projects initiated and administered by partner churches. However, literature provided by ABM has not departed from a view of development which sees project support as a solution to the needs of its partners and their communities. Despite acceptance of the notion of 'structural sin' (cf. p. 202) no discussion of the wider causes of poverty, nor of the responsibility of those in the affluent world to confront these causes, has been addressed through this literature. There is little attempt in any of ABM's printed material to explain the theological basis for the partnership relationship the organisation advocates. This reflects the fact that the ABM has only recently joined the world of what it regards as 'professional' aid agencies in Australia, and has not yet formally articulated its philosophy in the terminology used by other non-government aid agencies.

Although historically ABM has been happy to support some lobbying activities undertaken by Australian NGOs, its small size, funding shortages and what one staff member called its 'poor image' as a development agency amongst other NGOs (cf. p. 217), mean ABM staff do not see the organisation as a rallying point for lobbying activity. In practice, these factors and the comparatively recent adoption of what it calls a 'professional' approach to development assistance mean the Mission is frequently overlooked by other agencies looking for support in their lobbying campaigns. The staff of the ABM feel it would be improper for the organisation to make statements on behalf of either its supporting churches in Australia, or its partners overseas, because it could not fairly represent the diversity of

opinions among them. The agency maintains, however, that it would be prepared to join with other Christian agencies such as the Australian Council of Churches and Australian Catholic Relief in their activities, particularly to lobby the Federal Government in relation to the level of Australia's overseas aid spending.

The cautious approach outlined above should not lead one to assume that ABM avoids political involvement. Recently, the Chairman issued a press release over nuclear testing in the Pacific, urging Prime Ministerial action. Such political acts are an important part of ABM's institutional history. At bicentennial celebrations of white 'discovery' of Australia in 1970, the then Chairman of the Board, Canon Coaldrake, was the only white man to stand with a group of Aborigines as they laid a wreath at the site of Captain Cook's landing at Kurnell. He took this stand with the full permission of the 34 ABM Board members. The same man was the first civilian expatriate to set foot on Japanese soil after the Second World War, despite anti-Japanese feeling in Australia. Similarly, the Tranby Co-operative for Aborigines at Glebe was funded as an initiative of ABM with the full approval of the Board. This initiative marked the beginning of the co-operative movement for urban Aborigines in Australia.

Although ABM does have a history of political involvement, its staff expressed the view that they must try not to be 'thoughtlessly provocative'. Thus, when ABM staff believe they see clearly on a particular issue, they are hesitant to take a stand which may result in alienation of its Australian support base. Agency staff also believe that a certain amount of caution is also necessary to ensure the safety of its partners. For example, the agency works with the partner church in South Africa, and must be careful not to endanger missionaries who work there. While its staff may wish to denounce the evils of apartheid, they believe that they must do so without being seen to be anti-South African, anti-white, or opposed to the South African Government.

Relations with Other NGOs and ACFOA

Generally, ABM has had little involvement in cooperative ventures with other Australian NGOs. ABM attempted to initiate co-financing of one project, but without success. After this experience, ABM has been hesitant to initiate further attempts at co-operation with other Australian voluntary aid agencies.

The Anglican Church in Australia is a member of the Australian Council of Churches. One ABM staff member is on the Executive of the Australian Council of Churches. Through this connection, ABM has been confronted with some of the issues facing the wider NGO community.

The agency became a member of ACFOA in 1987 (ABM, 1988a:1). According to ABM's staff, ACFOA has been instrumental in promoting learning within the agency. Before joining ACFOA, the Board operated in isolation. Now, through attending ACFOA workshops and seminars, ABM has an increased awareness of the need to learn more about development. This learning process has contributed to the situation in which ABM now finds itself: as an agency in transition. ACFOA staff have also assisted ABM to understand mechanisms for relating to AIDAB and for gaining access to the Project Subsidy Scheme. ACFOA staff encouraged ABM to articulate its own development philosophy and to learn to better prepare requests for project funding.

Despite the benefits of having ACFOA act as a lobby group issuing press releases on behalf of the NGO community, and making representations to the Australian Government, ABM staff believe there is a disadvantage in being associated with ACFOA in its lobbying role. Although prepared for ACFOA staff to make statements on behalf of the secretariat, ABM staff expressed concern that occasionally ACFOA was less than circumspect about making statements on behalf of the entire NGO community.

Relations with AIDAB

In the early 1980s, ABM learnt of the availability of AIDAB funding through the AIDAB/NGO Project Subsidy Scheme. As one staff member commented, ABM decided to apply for Government grants as part of 'a purely pragmatic approach to doing something about the budgetary position'. In 1987, it became policy for ABM to be associated with AIDAB in its relationship with NGOs.

The process of dealing with AIDAB and its demands for accountability have prodded ABM into a new level of communication with its partners. ABM had tended to be lenient when requesting accountability from partners for block grants. When indigenous churches had been pressed for detailed financial accountability, they had responded with accusations of paternalism. Staff at ABM suggest that they responded lamely to such accusations, but the current funding relationship with AIDAB has forced ABM to demand accountability from its partners.

Receipt of AIDAB funds has also forced ABM to clarify its own philosophical position. It became evident to ABM's staff that it would be very easy to skew the agency's program to fit AIDAB guidelines. As it assured its constituency in 1989: 'Not all ABM development work falls within the guidelines of AIDAB and ABM does not wish to skew its program to fit government aid requirements' (ABM, 1989c:3). The Board continues to support its traditional missionary program, by funding health and educational personnel and clergy - activities not eligible for AIDAB funding (cf. p. 112-113). ABM needed to be clear about its own theology of Mission to ensure that 'the person paying the piper didn't call the tune' for the whole of the ABM's operation.

Misunderstanding or lack of communication with AIDAB has caused difficulties for ABM. For example, AIDAB requested that the agency administer a special project under the Special Program of Assistance to South Africans and Namibians (SAPSAN) program. ABM was unaware it could build 10 per cent into the total project cost to cover

administrative costs, so incurred the costs itself. Through informal discussions with staff of other NGOs, ABM discovered it could claim administrative costs. Staff believe adequate information should be provided to allow NGOs involved in AIDAB programs to operate more effectively. A similar misunderstanding about AIDAB requirements resulted in the Anglican Trust Fund for Development (see p. 207) being too tightly linked to AIDAB funding, so the Fund can only be used to match AIDAB grants. ABM is currently trying to restructure the Fund so it can conduct its own individual development projects.

In common with other small agencies (see p. 150), ABM finds that the administrative requirements arising from involvement in a funding relationship place an additional load on existing staff - a load agencies feel is often out of all proportion to the financial contributions gained. For example, in one instance mentioned by ABM's staff, the administrative work involved in application and receipt of one A\$800 grant was costed at close to A\$1,000. AIDAB's administrative requirements also affect ABM's partners. The agency finds itself formulating discussions and requirements in AIDAB terminology and it is frequently difficult for the ABM to get adequate feedback and information from partners. Some partners are disgruntled about demands for accountability being placed upon them - the 'AIDAB approach' appears to be prescriptive.

ABM believes it has suffered at the hands of bureaucratic inefficiency. In 1989, AIDAB lost ABM project requests, thus delaying the implementation of projects. ABM submitted project requests for A\$70,000 to AIDAB, but requests for only A\$9,000 were processed. The remainder of the files were 'misaid'. ABM was subsequently given a small amount of funding for the year. As a result, it lost its Indicative Planning Figure for the year. It was then removed from the IPF list for the following year, forcing the agency to wait to regain its status. ABM staff feel that AIDAB's inefficiency has resulted in the agency losing credibility as a growing agency with an IPF. After responding to one invitation to meet with other NGOs, ABM has not been included in further discussions. Staff believe ABM has lost its chance to share with other agencies, to

learn from their experiences, and to grow itself. These problems highlight the fact that ABM has only recently developed a funding relationship with AIDAB, is distanced from the centre of power, and its staff do not have sufficient history in dealing with AIDAB to know how to access information needed to facilitate an easy working relationship.

Despite the difficulties ABM has experienced in pursuing a funding relationship with AIDAB, most staff acknowledge the benefits of being able to use Government funding to extend the work of the Board. ABM has also used AIDAB facilities and personnel to improve the development awareness of expatriate missionaries before they leave for overseas posts. It is clear from discussions with staff at ABM that the growth of relations with AIDAB has had a profound impact upon the Board - an impact extending far beyond the provision of funding. As already outlined, ABM only funds individual development projects which attract AIDAB grants. All projects funded meet AIDAB criteria, and appraisal, monitoring and evaluation procedures are completed to accord with AIDAB expectations. Some at ABM see the changes of the past few years as parallel to those occurring in AIDAB - they perceive AIDAB as becoming 'more professional' in its approach, so NGOs have to follow suit. Despite this (perceived) growing professionalism and the benefits the ongoing relationship with AIDAB offers ABM, the agency is not prepared to sacrifice its traditional grass roots base of Anglican parishioners, and is not prepared to allow its direction as a missionary Board of the Anglican Church to be moulded by its new involvement with AIDAB.

The Future

The most difficult task facing ABM in the future was summed up by one interviewee in the question: 'How do we facilitate church to church partnership rather than church to mission board partnership?' Those in partner churches want to be able to relate

directly to Australian churches, not to a mission board, while parishioners in Australia want to hear and read about people and be able to relate directly to individuals. The agency in the centre of this relationship - ABM - can act as a facilitator, educating the Church in Australia as well as resourcing partner churches. With a shift away from its traditional role of funding expatriate missionaries, ABM began to distribute block grants. Corresponding to this change, the organisation moved towards discussion of issues and policies rather than focusing on individuals. This depersonalisation of the aid process caused a breakdown of individual relationships and alienated the Australian constituency from its overseas partners. Some see a partial remedy in the encouragement of personal links between partner churches by facilitating extended visits of overseas representatives to Australian parishes, but some at ABM fear that this will cause new problems for partner churches. For instance they argue that experience has shown that the best advocates of partner churches tend to develop the strongest personal links with Australian churches and therefore receive most funding for their communities, even though their needs may not be the greatest. ABM is grappling with the problem of how to encourage relationships between partner churches here and abroad. One long term goal of the agency is to facilitate an informed, caring partnership relationship between Australian Anglican churches and overseas Anglican churches and their communities.

Staff suggested a number of other issues ABM plans to address in the future. One relates to the desire of ABM staff to educate its constituency about development issues, including engendering an understanding of the theological basis for concern about the developmental needs of individuals and their communities. Another concern of staff is that they develop a more professional approach to managing the project cycle. As one staff-member commented, 'project assessment and reporting are foreign to the missionary concept.' Staff specified the need for more consultation and contact with partners to enable identification of needs and definition of projects more readily. In addition, there has been little accountability to donors or from overseas partners in the past.

According to some staff, projects have occasionally floundered, but there has been little explanation of this to Australian supporters. When enquiries have been made, they have frequently been met with reports emphasising the positive, and assuring the enquirer of the need for continued financial and prayerful support. Partners have not been accountable to ABM either. Several interviewees maintained there was little assessment of needs of a partner church and its community before a block grant was given, and partners have often failed to account adequately for all funds spent. In line with the demands for accountability AIDAB places on organisations receiving project subsidies, ABM is beginning to expect greater accountability from its partners, and plans to be more accountable to its Australian constituency.

The Executive Officer of ABM wishes to see an extension of the new concept of partnership in its operations, which (in his words) is:

... a step away from the paternalism of the Euro-centric church and from the 'hands off' approach which looked like we were saying the local church knows best. This was like Daddy saying 'there is \$5, don't bother me'. This was our response to their reaction against paternalism.

The new approach involves the establishment of a more deliberate two way communication flow, which is costly and slow. ABM's staff have a commitment to achieving this aim, but it is still unclear how these changes will be implemented and funded. ABM's major strength in this regard (as perceived by its staff), is its small size. The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea comprises about 5 per cent of the local population and is understaffed and under-resourced. Yet this poor, village-based church is in touch with ordinary people and this provides the links for ABM to communicate with those it aims to serve.

Conclusions

A case study of this brevity cannot fully recount the complex history of an organisation which has operated for close to a century and a half. However, this precis of the institutional history, philosophy and current operations of the ABM highlights some interesting trends and illustrates some major influences on the operation of another Australian NGO.

Clearly an agency in transition, ABM has moved away from its traditional focus as an Anglican mission agency providing expatriate experts, to embrace a project-centred approach to the provision of foreign aid. Interviews with ABM staff identified four major factors which contributed to this trend:

1. A move away from the paternalistic provision of expatriate missionaries and experts accompanied the nationalisation of local churches. The demise of colonialism and independence of Pacific nations contributed to this process.
2. Changes in thought in the wider Anglican Church, formally articulated as recently as 1986, urged equal partnership between developed and developing nations and identified the need for structural change in society, as well as personal change. As part of the Anglican church, ABM has been influenced by this wider institutional change which assisted the agency in its attempts to formulate a philosophy of development and corresponding management techniques.
3. Agency staff all stressed the significance of their association with ACFOA in stimulating thought about, and later changes to, ABM's approach to mission and development.
4. Perhaps most striking to the observer, is the impact of the availability of government funding on ABM. While only a small percentage of ABM's total funding has been received from AIDAB, the agency accepted AIDAB's approach to project aid as being 'more professional' and adopted AIDAB's operational style before fully articulating its own philosophy of development. It is not the task of this thesis to explore the AIDAB 'way', but it is clear that ABM

automatically adopted AIDAB selection criteria, monitoring and evaluation procedures in relation to its own development projects. ABM is now in an uncomfortable position, realising that acceptance of AIDAB funding and adoption of the 'AIDAB approach' brought a new set of responsibilities and problems.

Negatively, selection criteria and demands for accountability seem to local communities to have wrested control (previously handed over) from them - ABM has backed away from providing block grants and allowing local communities to determine their own spending priorities. AIDAB's requirements have forced a 'paper society' on recipient groups who lack the necessary communication skills. On the other hand, a positive outcome of AIDAB demands is that a new level of partnership is developing. Accusations of intervention and the unease expressed by partners at AIDAB requirements have resulted in attempts to extend the level of communication between ABM and its partners. In addition, these difficulties have forced the agency to begin to articulate its own philosophy and management approach.

That ABM is an agency in transition, still grappling with its definition of development, is reflected in the lack of a coherent educational program. An agency cannot present a clear and coherent message to its constituency if it is unsure about its philosophical position. ABM is still trying to educate its constituency about the importance of local initiative rather than the provision of expatriate missionaries.

Claims about the comparative advantages of NGOs stress their freedom from political, commercial and strategic concerns (see p. 38). While free of these interests, ABM is inextricably bound to the wider national and international Anglican Church. Paradoxically, its place in this network is a strength and a hindrance. The Anglican Church within Australia provides an in-built constituency for ABM, a constituency sharing the organisation's Christian philosophy and committed to supporting missionary and development work abroad. ABM does not compete with other agencies for support from the wider

Australian community. The fact that the agency doesn't compete in the open market place for the donations means it has been less accountable to its supporters than other agencies have been forced to be. Its constituency's trust has possibly contributed to ABM's slowness to fully articulate its philosophy and develop appropriate evaluation and accountability procedures.

Its place within the Anglican communion provides ABM with direct links to local communities, through local Anglican churches. In Papua New Guinea where the church is a poor, community-based church, ABM has long-established, close relationships with local people and good knowledge of local communities and their needs. Agency staff believe this is ABM's major strength. However, it is unclear how representative of local communities church groups, particularly church leaders through whom ABM works, are. Through recent projects, ABM has attempted to educate local groups to determine their own priorities and make appropriate project requests. This recent emphasis on process and training contrasts with the agency's traditional provision of tangible goods in the form of expatriate personnel and health and education facilities and supplies.

While ABM is undergoing change, showing itself able to embrace and adapt to new ideas, its past development work was neither innovative nor flexible. Provision of block grants allowed recipient groups flexibility in the use of funding, but the recent adoption of a project-bound development approach, dependent on AIDAB funding, militates against flexibility. The agency is bound to AIDAB administrative requirements to obtain funding, and is unable to respond quickly and flexibly to request for funding. However, the growth of ABM's own Anglican Trust Fund for Development should allow rapid response to future requests, without the delays involved in accessing AIDAB funds.

With its non-participatory and non-democratic decision-making structure, ABM has changed slowly. Its Board, elected from within the Anglican General Synod, meets only once each year and is not confronted with the issues involved in the day-to-day administration

of aid projects. The agency has not employed qualified development professionals in the past. However, ABM staff recognise they have not been professional in their approach towards development, and are seeking to remedy this. ABM is not alone in this regard, as lack of clarity about goals and purposes has been identified as a common feature of non-government organisations (see p. 50). Positively, ABM's staff are clearly dedicated to serving the best interests of their partners and they are grappling with the issues involved in becoming a more professional development aid agency with a coherent philosophy and compatible operational style.

CHAPTER EIGHT

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC RELIEF

'Partnership is giving away your power'. Michael Whiteley, National Executive Director, ACR, 1990.

Australian Catholic Relief (ACR) is the official development aid agency of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia. On the basis of average funding over a three year period, McLeod (1991:27) listed ACR as one of the largest Australian non-government aid agencies, second only to World Vision Australia. As a large Australian agency belonging to an international church network, ACR was included in this study to enable comparison with the other agencies profiled; with organisations affiliated with other denominational groups, with secular agencies, with other large agencies, with small organisations and with those formed more recently.

History

Australian Catholic Relief was founded (initially as Catholic Overseas Relief) in 1964 by the Australian Episcopal Conference (Campion, 1987:143) and is incorporated as an agency of the Australian Catholic Bishop's Conference (ACR, 1988a:1). The agency was originally established by the bishops to administer funds collected through the Freedom From Hunger Campaign. The Campaign had been set up by the Federal Government with backing from Australian aid agencies and Australian churches. The Roman Catholic Church was offered some of the collected funds, which were passed by Catholic Overseas Relief (COR) to its United States counterpart, Catholic

Relief Services (CRS). Initially, funds given to COR were administered by the CRS and given to projects it identified and supported. The Australian group, COR, developed its own identity as an overseas aid agency of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia, primarily through the establishment of an annual appeal to the Church constituency.

In early 1963, independent of Catholic Overseas Relief, some members of the Newman Institute of Christian Studies in Adelaide ran an appeal for overseas aid (as distinct from regular collections for missionary work) in one parish during Lent (Campion, 1987:142). In 1964, the Institute organised a Lenten appeal through all of its parish branches in the Archdiocese of Adelaide. The success of the appeals led to the spread of the idea to similar lay apostolate bodies in Perth and Sydney. In late 1962, the Australian bishops attending the second Vatican Council had discussed a draft proposal for a national Lenten campaign. The Bishops asked COR to adopt the idea, so in 1965 the agency called on all Australian Catholic families to donate money saved through self-denial during Lent (Campion, 1987:143).

Documents relating to this early period in ACR's history are scanty. In his brief history of ACR, Campion detailed what he called the "'stop-and-start" realities of those early years' (1987:144). It seems that in the early years of the Lenten campaign, its organisation and implementation were fairly haphazard and varied from diocese to diocese. In the Sydney diocese, the name 'Project Compassion' was adopted for the Lenten appeal in 1966, and after a favourable reaction from the bishops, it was decided to use the name nationally. Project Compassion continues to be a major public feature of ACR's work.

Following the establishment of the annual Lenten campaign, the Australian Bishops decided that COR should begin to administer funds collected through the appeal, rather than passing them to US Catholic Relief Services. Catholic Bishops from Papua New Guinea had expressed interest in receiving some funds, so some COR funds were allocated

to PNG to be divided equally among the seventeen dioceses there. By 1967, a formula for the allocation of funds had been set down - one third for emergency appeals, one third to Southeast Asia, and one third to Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands (Campion, 1987:145).

In April of 1966, the Australian Bishops gave COR a new name - Australian Catholic Relief (ACR). Some wanted the organisation to have a clear Australian identity. Others were concerned that the name Catholic Overseas Relief placed emphasis on sending money abroad, and seemed to exclude the possibility of work within Australia. Money raised during the first Lenten Appeal in Adelaide in 1964 was used to purchase a deep-sea fishing boat for the Aboriginal community on Bathurst Island (Campion, 1987:143). The agency's new name more realistically reflected the nature of its past work, and did not preclude the possibility of continued activity within Australia.

In 1968, William Byrne, ACR's first full-time National Executive Director, was appointed. Much of ACR's distinctive character was moulded under his leadership - particularly its approach to what it calls 'partnership'. Byrne has outlined major changes in ACR's modus operandi, which are summarised below.

In the early 1970s, representatives of Caritas India (the Indian counterpart of ACR) wrote to ACR suggesting that some needy communities did not have access to aid funds, while others were receiving funds from several sources. They suggested that the local Catholic agency would be best able to assess the reliability of local groups seeking funding and to judge how worthwhile and appropriate project requests were. ACR decided that all Indian requests for project funding should be assessed by Caritas India who then presented a report to ACR as a basis for its decisionmaking. Later, a representative of Caritas India, while on a speaking tour of Australia, suggested that ACR was handling unnecessary paper-work, since in eighteen months, ACR had accepted every project recommended by its Indian counterpart. It was proposed that ACR should determine

a total amount for allocation to India each year, and give it to Caritas India to distribute. Having developed a firm friendship with the leader of Caritas India at the Lay Congress in Rome in 1967, Byrne was able to respond positively to his approaches and agreed to Caritas India's request. The first step towards a partnership in which ACR handed decision-making power to recipient nations had been taken. From 1972, Caritas India selected all projects for Australian funding (Campion, 1987:155).

In early 1972, Bill Byrne attended a meeting held by the Co-operation Internationale pour le Developpement et la Solidarite (CIDSE) [a European-based consortium of international Catholic development agencies] in Belgium. The meaning of partnership and the best method for removing paternalism from the donor-recipient relationship were hotly debated at the meeting (Campion, 1987:154). The Australian and Canadian representatives present argued that partnership meant a willingness to transfer authority and decision-making to the recipient nations. In the following year, inspired by the discussions in Belgium, ACR and the Canadians tried to arrange the same sort of relationship with each Asian country that ACR had developed with India. Asian representatives suggested that rather than each individual country relating directly to Australia, a regional body should be formed - a body large enough to attract other donor groups to join it. In September 1973, representatives of Catholic groups from Australia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Indonesia and Canada met in Sydney. The Australians and Canadians agreed to donate A\$100,000 each to the group, which was then to decide how to allocate the pool of funds. ACR's Constitution demanded that the Australian Committee finally approve funding allocations, but the newly formed partnership was assured this would be a rubber stamp.

The partnership concept nearly foundered after its inaugural meeting. The representatives met at Byrne's home for a mass and dinner. The Filipino priest present expressed concern that there was no true partnership if Canada and ACR held a right to rubber stamp decisions made by the group. He refused to belong to the

partnership under these conditions, refused to join in the Mass, and was prepared to leave if the conditions were not altered. Byrne agreed to telephone the then Chairmen of the ACR Committee - Archbishop Gleeson - and asked him to recommend the alterations to the Committee. The Archbishop agreed, and the Bishops' Committee concurred. The Asian Fund for Human Development (renamed the Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD) in 1977) was born.

In 1977 Belgium, France, Hong Kong, Ireland, Korea, Macau, Taiwan, Malaysia, Thailand, New Zealand and the Office of Human Development/Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (OHD-FABC) joined the Partnership, in addition to its founding members. England and Wales, India and Japan subsequently joined. Its formation resulted partly from ACR leadership and partly from the initiative of Asian representatives. That this form of partnership evolved and was accepted by the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and constituency within Australia, has been attributed by Pollard to the 'understanding of the concept of human development in RC circles', including the following norms:

- people ought not to have alien forms of development forced onto them;
 - development strategies ought to be region-specific;
 - those affected (in underdevelopment) ought to be the ones to specify development objectives and means;
 - the above norms are realisable only through the participation of the subjects of development.
- Partnership, as understood in the model of the APHD, is a conscious effort to actualise these norms for human development (1981:145).

The APHD became a model for donor-recipient relationships for ACR and the Catholic aid community in general (Campion, 1987:155) and the major vehicle for distribution of ACR funds throughout Asia.

ACR's changing view of partnership and expanded view of development were reflected in changes in the types of projects it funded outside the Asian region. From an early emphasis on relief and the provision of equipment, ACR began to select projects with an emphasis on self-reliance and the development of expertise. Campion described changes in project funding, noting that ACR

gradually tightened up procedures for assessing requests for funds:

Such tightening of its guidelines showed ACR's willingness to learn from experience. There was now a firm emphasis on the maintenance and replacement of machines, the technical knowledge required to set up and run projects and the need for markets where increased production could be sold --- Hard questions were being asked about local contributions to projects (1987:148).

ACR decided not to fund religious institutions and moved towards self-help projects and away from the provision of housing. ACR's emphasis on agricultural projects and provision of material goods was also challenged by its partners. Indonesian and Filipino groups requested support for the families of political prisoners. Caritas India began to support projects with a conscientisation approach. For example, rather than provide money for the construction of wells in India, they chose to run training courses for oppressed groups like the Harijans, encouraging them to take control of their own lives. The understanding of development held by ACR staff and Committee members expanded. Committee members were encouraged to travel or to attend Caritas India or APHD meetings, thereby expanding their awareness of real needs and conditions and being confronted with new ideas. Despite some opposition from conservative elements within the Church, increasingly, the National Director was able to argue successfully that aid is never apolitical. He believed ACR needed to involve local communities in decision-making and leadership training, and this inevitably upset existing power structures.

Not only did ACR's view of partnership develop and the types of projects it supported change, but the agency gradually extended the geographical extent of its work. Moving beyond Asia and the Pacific, funding relationships were established in Kenya, Tanzania and Ghana, in each case working through Byrne's personal contacts. He searched for Bishops who worked closely with local communities and shared the concerns of those communities. Contacts in Latin America were built up through the Canadians who worked extensively there. They passed on some projects to ACR for funding, which enabled the agency to build up contacts in those countries as a basis for future work.

In addition to these changes, ACR developed as a major priority the promotion of awareness of the realities of world poverty among Australians. Since its inception, the bishops had envisaged this role for the agency and it was never seen only as a professional fund-raising and aid distribution agency. In 1975 a promotion and research officer was added to the ACR team and today five full-time staff work in the area of education and promotions. The current National Director, Michael Whiteley (1978 - present), was instrumental in extending the development education capacity of ACR (Campion, 1987:158-164).

Campion (1987:151-156) identified three significant historical shifts in the concerns of ACR which can be summarised as:

1. Growth of concern for justice and for human solidarity rather than charity. This led to increased emphasis on structures causing poverty. ACR joined with other aid agencies to lobby governments about trade barriers. The agency also decided to reject child sponsorship programs. ACR's development education and promotional materials reflected these changes.

2. Growth of the idea of partnership, leading to the decision to give block grants to Caritas India in 1972, and the formation of the Asia Fund for Human Development in 1973. As the Asia Partnership for Human Development, this was to become a model for ACR funding and for donor/recipient dialogue in the international Catholic aid network.

3. Greater concern for justice within Australia. Provision of disaster relief within Australia was extended by 1977 to include support for Aboriginal development projects. By the late 1970's, ACR was also supporting projects for the resettlement of Indochinese refugees within Australia.

These trends continue to be a feature of ACR's work today, and are reflected in the current philosophy of the organisation which is described more fully below.

Philosophy

The vision of ACR is summed up in the Biblical statement: 'This is what the Lord asks of you, only this: To act justly, love tenderly and walk humbly with your God' (Micah, 6:8). Quoting these words in its Mandate, ACR regards them as more than a vision - as a challenge to the organisation:

We in Australia are called to counter injustice by acting justly, to counter hatred by love and to counter the pride that leads to exploitation and racism by humbly standing with the poor and listening to their voices (ACR, 1982:4).

In striving to meet this challenge, ACR's aim is still to 'work with Christians in dioceses, parishes and groups in the fulfilment of their Christian responsibility to promote a just and compassionate society at home and abroad' (ACR, 1982:5).

To assist it to fulfil this aim, ACR has five specific objectives, the first of which is:

1. To promote among Catholics and the wider community a greater awareness of:
 - a) The reality and causes of poverty, hunger, oppression and injustice at home and abroad.
 - b) The interdependence of poverty and affluence (ACR, 1982:6).

ACR defends its emphasis on development education, arguing that Australians should be fully aware of needs abroad and of Australia's interrelationships with poor nations because 'The economic and political relationships between First and Third World countries have been responsible, to a significant degree, for the poverty existing in most developing countries' (Whiteley, 1986:2). Further, 'Catholic development agencies in Asia reinforced the need for such action by insisting that their partners in Europe, North America and Australia should support development education programs even if this meant less money for projects in their own countries' (Whiteley, 1986:2).

Following from its educative function, ACR's further objectives are:

2. To promote acceptance of the responsibility to act with others to overcome injustice.
3. To raise money for relief aid, partnership in development and development education.
4. To promote financial and other forms of support to programmes and projects of development and relief and to share in their evaluation.
5. To act for the Australian Church in matters of international development co-operation (ACR, 1982:6).

The order of the objectives in ACR's Mandate is a clear sign of ACR's priorities. The agency aims first to raise awareness and promote acceptance of responsibility, then to raise money to fund projects.

Emphasis is placed on the concept of justice by ACR. As one staff member commented: 'Everything we do is about justice rather than charity. ACR is not trying to help people to cope with intolerable situations, but to help them overcome them'. This emphasis is grounded in Roman Catholic Christian tradition and enshrined in the Encyclical Letter of Pope Paul VI (*Populorum Progressio*) of 1967:

The wealthy nations of the world must act today in solidarity, justice and charity. Solidarity cries out that aid be given from rich to poor. Social justice cries out that trade between two countries, one rich, one poor, is not to be one-sided, in favour of the rich. A world-embracing charity cries out that the world be made more human for all. Our world cannot stay civilised, if progress for a few obstructs development for all the rest (Pope Paul VI, 1987:25).

The Papal Encyclical urged justice in trade (Pope Paul VI, 1987:33) and other Papal Statements emphasised the responsibility of every individual to the rest of humanity:

Remember that every man is your brother and be converted into respectful defenders of his dignity ... you can make your brother die little by little, day by day, when you block his access to the goods which God created for everyone's benefit and not just for the advantage of the few (Pope Paul VI, 1983, quoted in CCJP & ACR, 1987:6).

This emphasis on the responsibility of each individual to others was reflected in statements made by many ACR staff. As the National Director commented, 'The Christian philosophy teaches that it is not money, but relationships that matter. Partnership is where

there is a sharing of power'. Similarly, *Populorum Progressio* emphasised the importance of dialogue and sharing between all people:

Pope Paul calls once again all people to dialogue. Dialogue, between the wealthy and those in need, can throw new light on what their needs are. Dialogue can eliminate the ever-mounting debts of needy countries. As it is, the interest they pay eats up their progress. Dialogue can ensure instead that little interest, or none at all, has to be paid on loans. Dialogue can guarantee that loans are wisely spent. Dialogue protects the nations who get help from being dominated. For true dialogue can occur only between two peoples equal in dignity: an effective and mutual sharing (Pope Paul, 1987:31).

ACR staff believe that real development can only occur when people are enabled to control their own destinies. This view is reflected in ACR's development education program, staffing patterns and the partnership model used to determine project funding priorities - all described hereafter.

Structure and Staffing

ACR is a member of *Caritas Internationalis* (a world-wide consortium of Roman Catholic development aid agencies), and through this body is linked with Catholic aid and development agencies in more than 130 countries throughout the world (ACR, 1987a:10). This international link enables quick, co-ordinated responses to emergency situations. The agency is also affiliated with the European-based *Co-operation Internationale pour le Developpement et la Solidarite* (CIDSE) and the *International Catholic Migration Commission* (ICMC) which specialises in assisting refugees (ACR, 1987a:10). According to ACR's mandate, such links 'enable it to participate more effectively in relief and development operations which would otherwise be extremely difficult, if not impossible' (ACR, 1982:9). ACR's major vehicle for funding is through Roman Catholic agencies and Roman Catholic Church communities throughout the world.

Within Australia, ACR is administered on behalf of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference by a National Committee (ACR, 1982:10).

National Committee members are appointed by the Bishop's Committee for Justice, Development and Peace (BCJDP), and ACR's National Committee is responsible to this Bishop's Committee. A Deputy and Assistant Deputy (both bishops) are appointed to ACR's National Committee from the BCJDP. An Honorary Treasurer is appointed by the BCJDP and the Bishops of various Ecclesiastical Provinces throughout Australia nominate a representative from each Australian state and from the ACT. In addition, two representatives are nominated by the Conference of Major Religious Superiors, one each from the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and the Catholic Women's League. There is provision for the BCJDP to appoint an additional member with specific expertise in development or church related areas (ACR, 1982:10). ACR's Mandate specifies that all members of the Committee should:

- (i) Have some understanding of and involvement in the problem of underdevelopment, especially as it affects the poor;
- (ii) be prepared to further this understanding and commitment through study and reflection on the Gospels and the social teachings of the Church, and
- (iii) have the necessary time to participate in ACR activities in their State or Territory (ACR, 1982:10).

The National Committee of ACR meets twice yearly, and is responsible for the general policy-making and administration of the organisation. Its role includes the promotion of the annual Lenten campaign, the supervision of a continuing program of education and information to further the objectives of ACR, decision-making about the distribution of funds, and the overseeing of staff requirements, duties and selection (ACR, 1982:11). No staff member of ACR is represented on its National Committee. According to agency staff, day-to-day operations continue in practice with little reference to the National Committee. While ACR owes its continued existence to the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, it has little direct contact with the Conference, except for the members of the Bishops' Committee for Justice, Development and Peace. In May 1989, ACR was given a day for direct communication with the Bishops' Conference. This was the first such occasion in 25 years.

In 1969, ACR employed 2 full-time staff. This number increased

to twelve by 1990. Reflecting ACR's priority to increase awareness of development issues within Australia first, five members of staff work directly in the area of education and promotions. Two are education officers, one is an adult education officer, one is a communications officer who deals with public contact and media relations, and one is in charge of promotions and the annual Project Compassion Appeal. These staff work under the direction of a National Director and Deputy Director. Other employed staff include a projects administrator and office support staff. Unlike other Australian aid agencies, ACR does not employ many staff to administer or evaluate aid projects. The special nature of ACR's partnership relationships and the distribution of most funds to partner organisations as block grants (detailed hereafter) means that little staff time is devoted to such tasks. Most evaluations are conducted by the partner agency responsible for administration of the project in the field, or where possible, by the local community who were intended beneficiaries of the project. According to the National Director, formal qualifications are not as relevant for the successful fulfilment of most staff roles as commitment - committed staff are generally motivated enough to find the knowledge and information they need.

Although it is not general practice for ACR to use consultants, they are occasionally employed to work in the promotional area and for specific tasks overseas, such as technical evaluation studies. ACR makes little use of voluntary labour in completing administrative or clerical tasks at the national office. However, members of the National Committee work in a voluntary capacity. In addition, ACR relies heavily on voluntary labour in the form of Diocesan Directors - ACR representatives appointed by the Bishop in each diocese. In some dioceses, the Director has appointed a committee of volunteers to assist in the work of promoting ACR in the local area. The abilities and enthusiasm of Diocesan Directors vary, depending on the local bishop's understanding of skills required for the task. ACR prefers to use Diocesan Directors as animators, but success has been limited because many are unsure of their role, lack appropriate skills and interests, and are hampered by time constraints, as most serve in a voluntary capacity in their spare time.

Funding and Expenditure

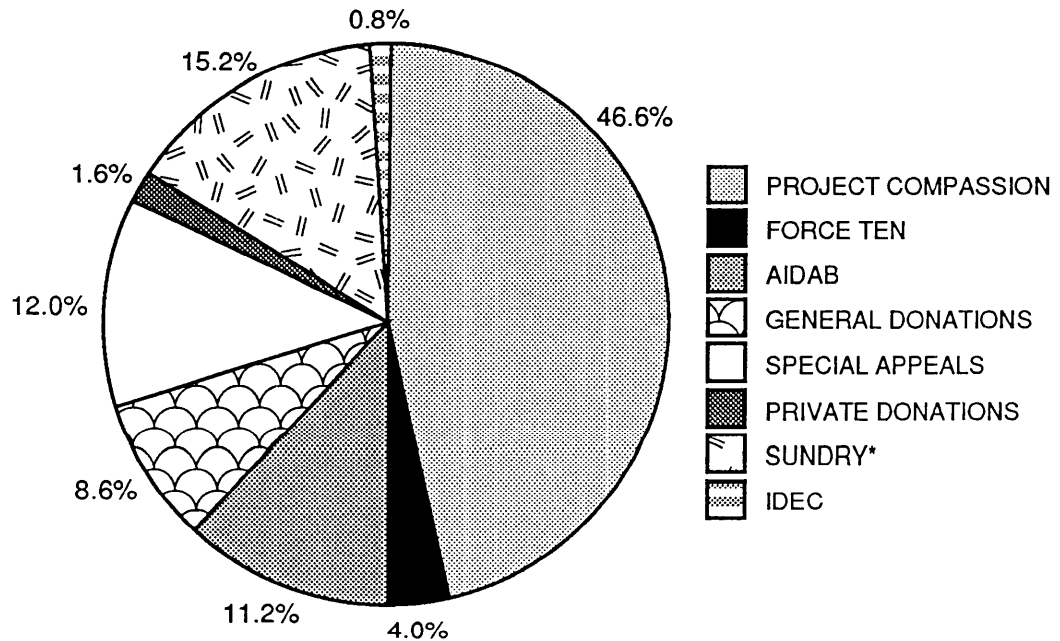
Three types of appeal are regularly used by ACR to raise funds:

1. Project Compassion (cf. p. 226) - an Annual Lenten Campaign, of six weeks duration, is held in every Australian Catholic Parish, potentially involving the one million congregational members of the Australian Catholic Church. The Campaign is designed as a development education activity, as well as a fundraising venture. Building on the Catholic tradition of making Lent 'a time for breaking "the chains of selfishness and sin"', Catholics are urged to make sacrifices, as a 'practical expression of their support for the poor' (ACR, 1988b:1). In 1988, 46.6 per cent of agency income was raised through this appeal (ACR, 1989a:13).
2. Force Ten - An ongoing educational and fundraising campaign, Force Ten is held in conjunction with the Australian Council of Churches. In 1988, Force Ten contributed 4 per cent of agency income (see Figure 8.1). Its 7000 participants (ACR, 1988a:5) sponsor an individual aid project and receive monthly project information and educational material.
3. Special Appeals are held at various times in the event of a disaster or emergency (ACR, 1988a:5). In 1988, special appeals for Lebanon, Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe refugees, tribal Filipinos, Bangladesh, El Salvador, Armenian earthquake victims, Sudan, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu and Aboriginal Projects raised 12 per cent of agency income (ACR, 1989a:13).

In addition to funding received through regular appeals, general donations are made directly to ACR from its supporters (8.6 per cent) and from private donations given for a particular purpose. For example, in 1988, donations of A\$11,259 were given to ACR for support of Mother Teresa in her work (ACR, 1989a:13). ACR is, on occasion, asked to distribute funds collected by the International Disasters Emergency Committee - this amounted to 0.8 per cent of total receipts in 1988 (ACR, 1989a:13).

Funding from AIDAB has provided another source of income for ACR since the inception of the Project Subsidy Scheme (see p. 112).

Figure 8.1 Income for Australian Catholic Relief, Financial Year Ended 31 December, 1988



* Including bank interest, refunded unused project money, remaining balance.

Source: ACR, 1989a:13

Table 8.1 Sources of Income for and Direction of Expenditure by Australian Catholic Relief in 1987

Source of Funds		% of total
Government Sources	Project Subsidy Scheme (PSS)	2.9%
	PSS - Development Education	.3%
	Emergency Humanitarian Aid	6.0%
	Special Assistance Program for South Africans and Namibians	.6%
	Bilateral - Philippines	5.2%
Non-Government Sources	Overseas Projects/Program	74.3%
	Development Education	10.7%

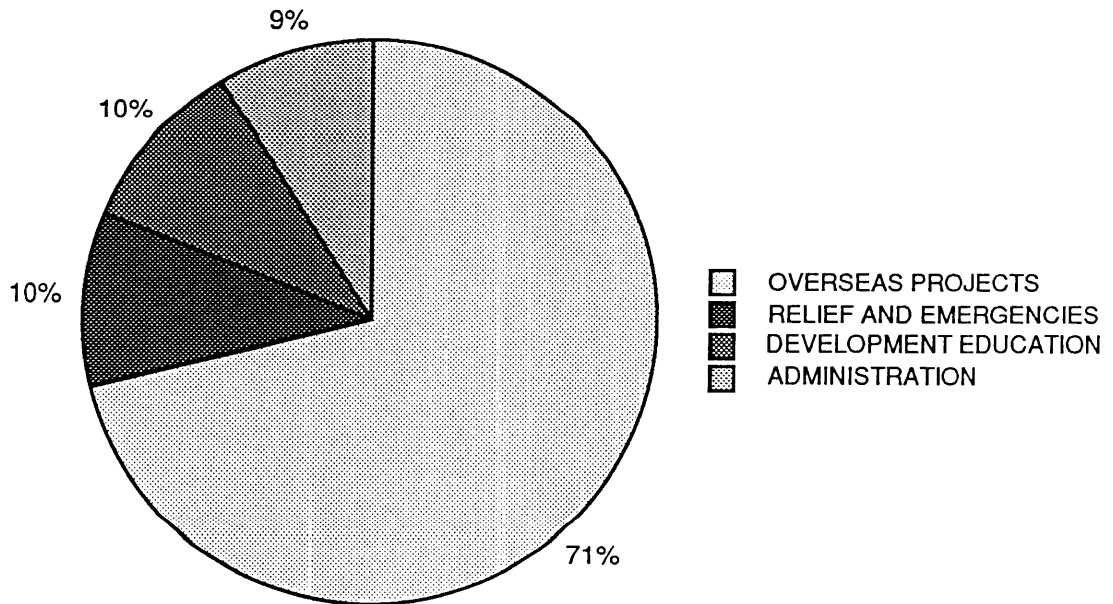
Source: ACR, 1988a:16

In 1987, 15 per cent of total income was from government sources. As illustrated in Table 8.1, a significant proportion of this was accounted for by humanitarian aid and ACR's participation in bilateral projects. In 1988, 11.2 per cent of total income was received from AIDAB.

Each year, ACR publishes an audited financial statement which is distributed to all Catholic parishes. In 1987, 71 per cent of total expenditure was committed to overseas projects and 10 per cent spent on relief and emergency aid (see Figure 8.2). Development education activities accounted for a further 10 per cent of expenditure, while 9.0 per cent was spent on office administration within Australia (ACR, 1988c:5). It is impossible to compare these statistics with more recent figures because more recently published auditor's statements place grants for projects, development education and emergency aid in one category. For example, in 1988, 88.9 per cent of a total A\$5.55 million spent was allocated to grants and donations, including emergency aid and development education. The remaining 11.1 per cent was described as being used for administration, Project Compassion and consultancy fees (ACR, 1989a:13). ACR distributes a 'large proportion of its funding in Asia, Africa and the Pacific through 'partnership' arrangements with the official Catholic Development agencies in individual countries or regions' (ACR, 1988d:7). Block grants are given, and local agencies allocate funds and oversee project administration and implementation. Thus, ACR has little direct involvement in project implementation, and is able to minimise its administrative costs.

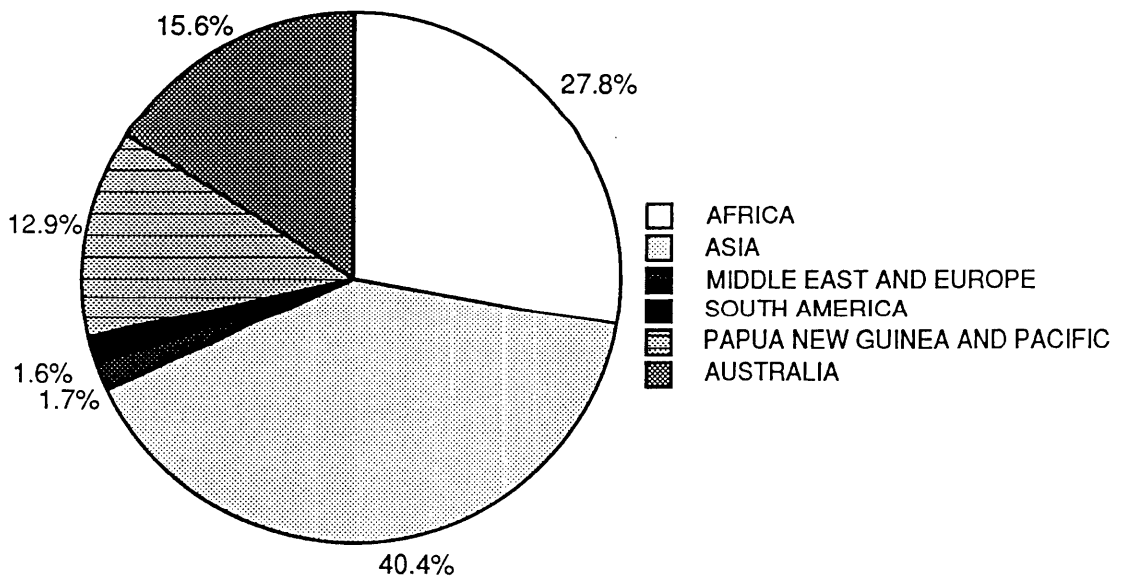
A significant proportion - 40.4 per cent in 1988 - of ACR's project funds are distributed to the Asian region (see Figure 8.3). In 1988, African nations received a total of 27.8 per cent of ACR's project expenditure. Australian projects accounted for 15.6 per cent of project spending and Papua New Guinea and the Pacific received a further 12.9 per cent. Small percentages were sent to the Middle East and Europe (1.7 per cent) and to South America (1.6 per cent) (ACR, 1989a:14-15).

Figure 8.2 Expenditure by Australian Catholic Relief, Financial Year Ended 31 December, 1987



Source: ACR, 1988c:5

Figure 8.3 Australian Catholic Relief's Expenditure on Development Projects by Region, Financial Year Ended 31 December, 1988



Source: ACR, 1989a:14-15

Development Projects

As has been the case for many Australian aid agencies (cf. pp. 104-107), the focus of ACR's development program has changed over time (Anon, 1978:3). Although documentary evidence is sparse, ACR's first director, Bill Byrne (1968 to 1977) outlined some major changes in approach. In ACR's early years of operation, provision of relief aid was the focus of ACR's development efforts. All funding decisions were based on individual project applications or on requests from U.S. Catholic Relief Services. Individual projects were funded, usually in response to requests by a local bishop or priest. All projects had to be approved by local bishops who ensured they were in accord with Diocesan objectives. Many were administered by field staff employed by U.S. Catholic Relief Services or Caritas Internationalis.

Historical changes, outlined earlier, resulted in a swing away from funding of individual projects, to the agency's current emphasis on block grant funding. In most cases, ACR gives block grants to individual countries (ACR, n.d.:3). Partner agencies - usually the official development agency of the Roman Catholic Church in that country, or the local church - are responsible for allocation of the money to areas of need (ACR, n.d.:3). In explanation of its preference for block grant funding ACR stated:

The block grant method of providing funds was done initially as an attempt to overcome the complaints of paternalism, which can be part of the donor/recipient relationship. It is also a recognition that the overseas partner knows much more about the situation and needs of the people in their country (ACR, n.d.:3).

Relationships with most partners are bilateral. Block grants are given to Papua New Guinea and the Solomons which belong to one Bishop's Conference (ACR, 1989a:8). A Pacific Partnership for Human Development (PPHD) is in formative stages, but is not yet able to operate as a funding mechanism. While ACR funds individual Pacific nations bilaterally, PPHD is a useful consultative body, enabling information sharing between Pacific nations and partners. In Africa, Catholic Bishops from seven countries - Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Uganda,

Kenya, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique - meet together to discuss projects, and accept block grants for their nations (ACR, 1989a:6). Little aid is sent to Latin America because ACR does not yet have the same close links with partner agencies in those countries (ACR, 1983:3). A significant amount of funding has been sent to Kampuchea, and to a lesser extent, to Vietnam and Laos. While there are no established Catholic agencies there, ACR has collaborated with the consortium of major European Roman Catholic development agencies to deliver aid to those countries. This consortium (CIDSE) has its own fulltime monitoring staff stationed in Phnom Penh and its representatives make regular visits to Vietnam and Laos. In 1988, ACR decided to commence funding in Kampuchea directly, working through its own office which is staffed by Onesta Carpena, the longest serving Western development worker in Kampuchea (ACR, 1989a:5).

In Asia, a block grant - ACR's largest contribution - is given to the Asia Partnership for Human Development (APHD). The APHD is composed of fourteen Asian and seven non-Asian Catholic development agencies which meet to make joint decisions on the allocation of funds provided by the member agencies for projects in Asia (ACR, 1989a:4). ACR believes that

APHD has provided a forum for joint action on development in Asia that goes beyond the funding of projects. Implicit in APHD is the concept of equality between "donor" and "recipient" countries which we believe is an essential ingredient in building a more just world (ACR, 1983:2).

Through APHD, block grants are given to India and Indonesia, where local agencies are able to select projects and oversee their administration. Other APHD funds are given to individual projects. Project proposals originate from indigenous NGOs or local communities. They are assessed by field officers of local Catholic development agencies. After endorsement by the local bishop and his agency, they are assessed by APHD's Project Review Committee, which consists of a representative from each region (Europe, South Asia, South East Asia, Canada/Oceania) and three technical consultants. A Project summary, budget and recommendations of the review Committee are then sent to the APHD Executive. Meeting twice yearly, the APHD Executive is composed of one representative from each Catholic partner agency

and is responsible for final selection of projects for funding (APHD, n.d.). APHD's general guidelines for project selection are:

- the project should correspond to an immediate need, felt and expressed by the people. The project should be 'of' and 'by' the people and not 'for' the people and this implies people's active participation at all stages of the project.
- the project should involve the conscientisation and self-development of the target group. This would include the development of local leadership potential and moves towards a self-reliant and self-sustaining community.
- the project should create in the community a critical and action-oriented awareness of the situation of the people and the structures which govern their lives.
- the project should have clear and realistic objectives, be financially sound and employ methodology consistent with the objectives (APHD, n.d.).

Such guidelines are consistent with the fundamental principles of the APHD, affirmed in 1977:

The Asia Partnership is a partnership for the development of people so that they may take responsibility for all aspects of their lives.

This partnership is predicated upon the equality of people and their organisations in Asia and in the First World, not as an end in itself, but as a means to a new world order, founded on religious and human values, and supported by the spiritual and moral forces of religions.

The strategy of partnership is organisation, conscientisation and participation of the poor and oppressed in their struggle for self-determination. Partnership also includes the need to change attitudes in the First World to bring about more just structures, for example, in trade, investment and migration (APHD, 1977:1).

APHD-funded projects are evaluated by the local agency responsible for the project proposal (APHD, n.d.). Final reports are sent to APHD to ensure some form of accountability.

In common with other Australian NGOs, ACR believes that NGOs have the ability to reach the poorest of the poor:

In ACR's case, the Catholic Church has a presence in most countries, and even though the number of Catholics may be very small in some countries, it has a base in most communities. This presence is often closely identified with the poor in the community as a result of its involvement initially with welfare programs, and its subsequent association with programs designed to promote

the dignity and human rights of people (ACR, 1983:6).

Although most of its links in the developing world are through the international network of the Roman Catholic Church, ACR maintains that its program support is not restricted to those coming from Catholic sources: 'In deciding on those projects to be supported, ACR makes no distinction between those proposed from within the Catholic Church and those coming from other sections of the community' (ACR, 1983:2).

Project applications are sent to local agencies in recipient countries

for evaluation in the light of the needs and priorities as assessed by the organisation for that country. In a spirit of partnership and sharing, Australian Catholic Relief will work towards the situation where decision-making is carried out in partnership with other agencies so that all those involved can assess the value of the giving and receiving in Christian fellowship (ACR, 1982:13).

In practice, ACR has found that programs of development 'decided on and implemented from within the community itself are the ones that have the best chance of success in providing for the needs of the people involved' (ACR, 1983:11). Accordingly, the development personnel associated with the Bishop's Conference in each country, ACR's partner agencies, are responsible for assessing project viability, selecting projects and supervising project implementation and completion (ACR, n.d.:3). This has not always been an easy relationship. According to ACR's National Director, partnership has sometimes involved telling an indigenous agency that ACR is unhappy about its spending choices. ACR believes that if choices are clearly inappropriate, they should be discussed with partner agencies. However, partnership can also mean allowing partners to make mistakes so they see the problems first hand.

Little formal post-completion evaluation of projects is undertaken by ACR. As ACR's Director commented, 'I don't consider technical project evaluation to be very important - the money used is more important in the processes and relationships it develops than in the end product.' ACR believes emphasis should be on

imparting capabilities in people, and that the agency's greatest success is when a recipient group decides it is no longer in need of assistance. To Whiteley, the only important form of evaluation is 'Did the recipient community still find the project valuable twelve months after it was finished?'. Formal evaluation processes are only seen as useful tools for future agency decision-making. ACR has never employed field officers and relies on local agencies for reports on project progress. Six monthly reports are required for projects ACR funds directly, and ongoing funding depends on these. Recipient communities are encouraged to participate in discussions about the impact of the project, responding to general guiding questions which place emphasis on process - on local participation, and effects of the project on education, social justice and socio-economic change - rather than on quantitative outcomes of project funding (see Appendix 7).

Emphasising a clear geographical focus, ACR's Mandate states that 'priority in the allocation of assistance will go to requests from the countries of Asia and the Pacific, Papua New Guinea and Australia' (ACR, 1982:13). These priorities are reflected in ACR's expenditure patterns (see p. 240). In 1988, nearly 70 per cent of total project funding was spent in the Asian and Pacific regions and Australia. In addition to its concentration of funding on nearby geographical areas, ACR has 'through its close association with its partners in Asia, the Pacific and Papua New Guinea', specified the following priority groups for assistance: the unemployed; workers; peasants, farmers and fishermen; slum dwellers; youth and students; women; cultural communities; political prisoners and their families (ACR, 1983:10).

As most ACR funds are distributed as block grants, it is difficult to identify the precise destination of ACR funds or to describe individual projects supported by the agency. In its regular newsletters, ACR described some projects which were supported by ACR's partner agencies in 1989. They included:

1. A two year, non-formal education program in Cuddapah, near Madras in India, aimed to help overcome illiteracy, ignorance, exploitation

and denial of basic legal rights (ACR, 1989c:4).

2. As part of a program aimed to find a long-term solution to problems of food and water shortages, wind mills with pumps were erected in 8 villages in Dodoma Diocese in Tanzania, providing water for drinking and crop irrigation. In addition, a Primary Health Care Team set up a nutrition and hygiene training program to teach local people basic Health Care and to train village health workers (ACR, 1989c:4).

3. On the island of Negros in the Philippines, the Church assists community groups to confront environmental problems of soil erosion associated with intensive logging activities. Using educational materials, lectures and tree planting programs for school children and community groups, a public awareness campaign aimed to encourage communities to take responsibility for their land and environment (ACR, 1989c:5).

4. In Uganda, a revolving Loan Fund administered by the Ugandan Catholic Secretariat enables returning refugees to borrow money for purchase of farming tools and seeds and to repair homes damaged by war (ACR, 1989c:5).

In its 'Project Focus' bulletins, ACR outlines its relationships with its partners and the type of work partner agencies support with ACR grants. For example, in 1989, ACR gave a block grant of A\$110,000 to Zimbabwe's CADEC (Catholic Development Commission). Funding was spent by CADEC on supplementary feeding programs in drought stricken areas, construction of basic sanitation facilities, drilling of bore holes, training for unemployed rural youth (ACR, 1989d:1-3). Similarly, ACR allocated A\$110,000 to the Department of Socio-Economic Development, the relief and development agency of the Ghanaian Catholic Bishop's Conference in 1989. Twice each year, Development officers of nine dioceses in Ghana meet to allocate block funds and report on projects already funded (ACR, 1989e:4). In 1988, a similar grant was spend on adult literacy programs, vocational training in agricultural and technical skills, public education on land degradation and associated tree planting programmes, and supply and distribution of basic medicines to health centres (ACR, 1989e:2-3). In the Philippines, some ACR funding is used by an organisation - Task Force Detainees - to monitor human rights abuses, provide legal

aid to political prisoners and to assist their families (ACR, 1988e:3).

These project descriptions seem to be consistent with ACR's stated priority to support projects 'which contribute significantly to development and the development of human resources - for example, those that foster local initiative and self-reliance, and maximise the use of local resources' (ACR, 1982:17). The agency has prepared a list of preferred project types:

- * Education: (1) education for broad purposes rather than academic, e.g. leadership training, adult literacy, trades and skills training; and (2) programmes that raise the awareness of Australians about issues of justice and development.

- * Human resources development: projects that create jobs and train people for employment using and promoting local resources, e.g. cottage industries, handicrafts, small industries, co-operatives, marketing outlets, credit unions.

- * Social action: projects that introduce and prepare people for change, e.g. "conscientisation programmes" especially among the lower income and under-privileged groups.

- * Agriculture: training in agricultural methods and the use of appropriate technology, irrigation and water conservation, support for farmers' and fishermen's groups and co-operatives.

- * Health: preventive rather than curative programmes, e.g. training community health workers, child care and nutrition programmes for women, mobile clinics.

- * Community development: projects that combine several of the above areas in an overall programme to develop the total community (ACR, 1982:16).

Changes in ACR's development and relief work have been summarised as 'a development from working for people, through the stage of working with them, to the present realisation that change must come from the people themselves and by their own efforts' (Anon, 1978:3).

Development Education and Advocacy

As outlined earlier, the first objective of ACR is to promote awareness within Australia of the realities of world poverty. Champion (1987:149) recorded that in 1971, A\$25,000 was allocated for the

first time to a development education fund. Along with financial commitment to development education activities came a change in the focus of development education activities:

In its early days, ACR had tried to create a general awareness of the problems of development. Growing understanding, moreover, led to a recognition that to talk of development was to talk of people, wherever they were, in developed or undeveloped countries. This recognition brought ACR to accept the need to change those attitudes and structures in Australian society which offended human dignity anywhere in the world (Campion, 1987:149).

The primacy of the aim to educate in order to change attitudes and structures is reflected in the amount of financial support and staff time ACR devotes to education and promotional activities. In 1988, A\$594,253 was allocated to development education activities within Australia (ACR, 1989a:9). Perhaps a more important indicator of the importance of development education to ACR is the amount of staff time devoted to this activity. Of twelve full-time staff at ACR, five work in the area of education and promotions. So extensive are ACR's educational publications that a twenty page booklet has been produced to publicise the resources available (ACR, 1989b). Materials advertised range from children's board games, posters, action leaflets, films and slides, country profiles and devotional materials, to Papal statements about justice and development and a series on Third World theology.

The agency has two main target groups for development education - its constituency within the Roman Catholic Church and students attending Church schools (ACR, 1988a:6). No formal mechanism exists for adult education and ACR is at present trying to develop a more systematic approach to adult education than has been used in the past. Information about ACR's aims and the projects it supports has been circulated through parishes in the past, but ACR has been attempting to encourage existing groups within the church to introduce a broader social focus based on themes of justice and sharing.

An extensive development education program in primary and secondary schools is co-ordinated by ACR (ACR, 1988a:18). A Lenten program is conducted before Easter, and a 'One World Week' program

is held in August of each year. Some teachers prefer to add a social justice component to their yearly program and integrate the use of prepared ACR materials throughout the year. ACR's education officers visit schools to speak to students and one staff member produces songs for use with school materials. The focus of educational material is always on world poverty, although a new theme is adopted each year. For example, in 1989, One World Week focused on the environment, while themes in previous years have included debt and immigration.

In-service programs for teachers have been conducted by ACR, providing educational materials and showing how they can be used most effectively in the classroom. ACR education officers have on occasion led sessions in teacher training institutions in an attempt to encourage teachers to incorporate justice and development themes into their teaching programmes. There has also been an attempt to foster awareness of world poverty on tertiary campuses, with ACR education officers providing resources or speakers for Roman Catholic student organisations on each campus.

According to the education officers, the role of educational material produced by ACR is to provide a service to Catholic schools. The information is not produced for promotional purposes, but because ACR sees a need to provide information about justice issues. Justice, rather than charity, is the focus of ACR's development educational material. In the most recent statement of its mandate from the Church, ACR's aim is described in this way:

ACR acts in the belief that it is the responsibility of all who follow Christ to work towards the establishment of a more just and compassionate society both at home and throughout the world, a society in which the needs of the poor have priority over the wants of the rich and in which the participation of marginalised groups has precedence over the preservation of the systems that exclude them (ACR, 1982:5).

ACR tries to encourage its constituency here to help in supporting the movement towards change for justice of partners in the Third World; to help partners to empower themselves to work for their own development. Indeed, ACR's educational program has been shaped,

in part, by its relationship with its partners, for 'acting on the strong urging of its partner agencies in Third World countries, ACR has embarked on a program to promote change in values and attitudes within its own constituency' (ACR, 1982:3). Aiming to promote justice and equality for all, ACR's educational material is frequently focused on the international structures or processes which contribute to poverty - western affluence and overconsumption, western contributions to international debt and the exploitation of labour in the developing world by multinational corporations. As Campion recorded:

Increasingly, ACR publicity material was put under close scrutiny to ensure that it did not trivialise any of the partners in the enterprise. The 1973 annual report had already warned: 'Publicity for fund-raising can disregard the dignity of people suffering the effects of poverty. It can also disregard the dignity of those to whom it is directed.' There was too a growing awareness during these years that development work included an attempt to recognise how our attitudes and perhaps the policies of our own government could contribute to world injustice. These insights had to be built into ACR development education (1987:159).

In addition, ACR materials confront the reader at a personal level, insisting that the problem begins at home and change must start with modification of the reader's own lifestyle. Christianity provides a philosophy through which ACR is able to work, as the Christian message demands a personal response and confronts the individual to change his or her lifestyle. ACR points out that the concern for justice demonstrated by Christ should be mirrored in the lives of Christians in the Catholic community (see, for example, ACR, 1987b:6; ACR, 1988b:1; ACR, 1988f:2; ACR, 1989f:1).

As part of its strategy to encourage long-term solutions to poverty, ACR engages in some lobbying activities. The agency has joined ACFOA in its lobbying campaigns, but this is not a major part of its work. The agency protested against cuts in Australia's overseas aid budget in 1986 and against a reduction in government contributions to NGO programs in the same year (ACR, 1987c:11). ACR's supporters were encouraged to write to local Members of Parliament to express concern about decreasing levels of official development assistance (ACR, 1987d:2). Similarly, in 1988, ACR

protested against policy changes in AIDAB which gave preference to working only through Australian NGOs which employ field staff in recipient countries (ACR, 1989a:11).

ACR contributes to the wider development education efforts of Australian NGOs. For example, ACR has been involved with an alternative trading organisation - Trading Partners - and, in collaboration with the Australian Council of Churches, runs the Force Ten program. Both programs are educational and appeal to a wider public than ACR's own constituency within the Roman Catholic Church. Similarly, ACR was involved with the establishment of the World Development Tea Co-operative in the early 1970s. An alternative trading organisation marketing tea within Australia, the Tea Co-operative's primary aim is to increase awareness of justice issues and to build consumer resistance to the exploitative action of Western multinationals operating in the developing world. ACR supports the Tea Co-operative as a shareholder and supports its activities through a bank guarantee.

Relations with NGOs and ACFOA

The policy of ACR is to co-operate with other development aid agencies in their activities. The Roman Catholic Church supports ecumenism, so ACR believes it should work with other church-based groups where it can. However, ACR's staff believe the agency has a special responsibility to bring the Catholic community into the wider campaign about aid and justice issues, so should concentrate its educational efforts on its own constituency.

A founding member of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA), ACR has had a long history of collaboration with the Council. ACFOA's first Treasurer was Archbishop Gleeson, then the Chairman of ACR, and ACR has always been represented on ACFOA committees. In 1989, five ACR staff members served on ACFOA committees, with ACR's National Director a member of the ACFOA Executive. Staff of

ACR believe the agency has played an active role in guiding ACFOA activities - in particular, that ACR's stand on justice issues has influenced ACFOA's stance. This has been a reciprocal relationship. Some ACR staff expressed the view that they have learnt much through their involvement in ACFOA which provides a forum for views and acts as a catalyst, encouraging thought. They maintain that ACR's development philosophy has been refined through association with ACFOA; through being exposed to the perspectives of staff of other NGOs and through ACFOA's attempts to raise consciousness of issues. On the other hand, some of its staff believe that ACR has perhaps pulled more than its weight in joint ventures vis-a-vis its own resources. Although ACFOA statements do not always reflect ACR's official view, ACR believes ACFOA has the right to publish its own views, and ACR is generally supportive of ACFOA's lobbying activities.

The agency has a long history of involvement in joint ventures with other NGOs. ACR has joined with other NGOs in their lobbying campaigns on particular issues, although the agency does not see this as a major priority of its work. ACR is a member of Austcare, which holds an annual fundraising appeal for refugees, and is a member of the International Disasters Emergency Committee (IDEC) and the Australian Overseas Disaster Response Organisation (AODRO) (ACR, 1988a:4). In conjunction with the Australian Council of Churches and other church groups, ACR set up Trading Partners (which ceased operation in 1991) to open Australian markets to the products and handicrafts of developing countries, enabling producers without access to markets through normal channels to sell their produce in Australia. ACR also co-operates with four other major Australian church agencies - Australian Lutheran World Service, Baptist World Aid, Adventist Development Relief Agency, and the Australian Council of Churches. Representatives of these groups meet together regularly and the organisations have combined in several fund-raising ventures, particularly for African famine victims in 1985-6 and 1988. However, although it is prepared to work with other church-based agencies in educational and fundraising programs, ACR's approach to partnership (i.e. the allocation of block grants - discussed previously) generally rules out active co-operation in the field.

ACR has had a particularly close association with the Australian Council of Churches (ACC). The two agencies co-operated in the Action for World Development Campaign of 1972. They were joint tenants of the same building for several years, which facilitated collaboration. At the end of 1971, ACR joined the ACC in its Force Ten program. The Force Ten program was originally developed by the ACC as an ongoing means of spending funds received through the Christmas Bowl appeal. The program is administered by a joint committee of ACC and ACR and the committee employs its own staff to administer Force Ten activities. The program currently supports six projects put forward by ACR and six by ACC and the program has a large promotional component. As a means of maintaining their close relationship, ACC and ACR hold a joint staff meeting every six weeks.

Existing arrangements for NGOs to share information and ideas are believed by ACR's staff to be adequate; in fact, some suggested there are too many seminars and meetings for most agencies to cope with. It is not that interest is lacking, but resources and staff time able to be devoted to attending such events are limited. ACR's staff wish to ensure that such ventures do not impair the efforts of their own agency, believing their first priority to be the education and extension of the agency's own support base - members of the Roman Catholic Church within Australia.

Relations with AIDAB

ACR has had a longstanding relationship with AIDAB (ACR, 1988a:16). Except for a two year period, ACR has had a representative on the AIDAB/NGO Committee for Development Co-operation every year since its formation. ACR staff have made themselves available for project review visits conducted by the Committee, and ACR's National Director served as Chairman of the Committee's organisational review panel.

Although ACR's committee has at times questioned the agency's

acceptance of Government funding, the agency sees its relationship with AIDAB as a beneficial one. The availability and use of AIDAB funds mean that more of ACR's own resources are freed to support other activities, thus giving ACR more flexibility. ACR has an official policy to accept no more than 20 per cent of the agency's total funding from the government. In reality, the percentage of total funds ACR has received from AIDAB has never been close to this figure. ACR's National Director maintains that the agency is not highly dependent on government funding, so the agency has been able to pursue its uncompromising stand while maintaining a funding relationship with AIDAB.

Staff at ACR believe that the Project Subsidy Scheme should remain the focus of relations between AIDAB and the NGOs because the scheme recognises the priorities of NGOs. Recently, there has been major growth outside this area with the increasing involvement of NGOs in AIDAB's bilateral program. ACR is not eager to be involved in such programs, believing that in most cases NGOs working in bilateral programs become agents of the government. Staff suggested that some bilateral programs are created to suit the interests of the Australian government rather than the developmental needs of the local people. ACR has participated in a bilateral program. AIDAB allocated funds to Cardinal Sin as part of a bilateral program in Manila. It was publicly announced that the money had been allocated before ACR's official approval was given. In this instance, ACR felt forced to accept the funding because it had been allocated within the network of the Roman Catholic Church. Although the project was not initiated by ACR, its ongoing involvement in the Manila project is seen as positive by ACR staff.

ACR is unwilling to allow its relationship with AIDAB to impinge upon the philosophy or autonomy of the organisation. The agency refuses to accept funding for projects suggested by AIDAB if the project does not fit clearly into ACR's own criteria. In reality, as the criteria of the Committee for Development Co-operation (CDC) are similar to ACR's own, this rarely occurs. ACR selects projects for Project Subsidy Scheme (PSS) funding from those already approved

for funding by its overseas partners, and where the partners concerned will not find it difficult to meet AIDAB's reporting requirements. ACR's National Director believes this ensures that ACR's project selection process is not skewed by the temptation to access a larger share of PSS funds. ACR admits to having, on rare occasions, passed a project on to AIDAB when it is not a project the agency would normally give priority to, but where there is a legitimate need. For instance, ACR prefers to support projects which assist in developing local initiative and local NGOs rather than provide infrastructure or technology. However, ACR would consider passing on to the CDC a request for equipment where the need was identified by an overseas partner group, even though this would not normally be a funding priority for ACR.

The Future

ACR's future plans have been summarised as a commitment '... to live out Christ's command to care for our neighbours in need' (Pell, 1989a:2), and to '... make that universal brotherhood a reality in our world' (Pell, 1989b:1). In attempting to achieve this aim, ACR's National Director pointed to the need to concentrate on building and strengthening relationships with partners. There are some in the Church who wish to draw back from partnership relationships and block grant funding, to exert more control over the direction of project funding and to demand greater accountability. Yet, Whiteley believes it is imperative that ACR must avoid adopting the normal aid practice of supporting projects selected and administered by the funding agency, and concentrate on building relationships. Those who want such changes do not want the agency to incur greater administrative costs, so this tends to militate against adoption of a project-bound approach.

To ACR staff, the greatest challenge is to make Australians more aware of the role of aid agencies, and of issues of paternalism and interdependence. ACR hopes to increase awareness of itself and

its work amongst the Australian Roman Catholic Church community, and to encourage its constituency to see the responsibility to assist poor nations and their peoples to achieve dignity and overcome poverty. For its Silver Jubilee in 1989, ACR selected 'partnership' as its theme, '... not because it represents past achievements, but because it represents a challenge and a program for the future - the challenge of solidarity' (ACR, 1988f:2).

Conclusions

If the word 'participation' was an apt description of the philosophy underlying the structure and aid activities of Community Aid Abroad, 'partnership' is an appropriate description of Australian Catholic Relief's approach to development aid activities. The concept of partnership is not only rhetorical, for it is reflected in ACR's devolution of decision-making power to recipient groups who have control over project identification, selection, implementation and evaluation.

The approach to partnership adopted by ACR is the result of many factors:

1. The commitment and vision of a few individuals were major determinants of ACR's current approach to aid distribution. In particular, William Byrne (ACR's National Director from 1968 to 1977) and his personal contacts played a significant role in shaping ACR's philosophy. Byrne was receptive to overtures from partner agencies regarding their own ability to select and administer projects suitable for their communities, and actively participated in measures to hand power over funding decisions back to them. The geographical extension of agency activities was also facilitated through his personal contacts.

2. The partners through whom ACR worked in the developing world played an important role in pressing for a partnership in which they

were equals. Their insistence on equality paved the way to the establishment of the Asia Partnership for Human Development (cf. pp. 228-229), which became a model for partnership in Roman Catholic Church development aid agencies.

3. An agency of the Roman Catholic Church in Australia, ACR's place in an international church network has provided links with Roman Catholic development agencies throughout the developing world. Their shared faith facilitated the growth of trust relationships between ACR and Roman Catholic agencies abroad, enabling the establishment and extension of a system of block grant funding. The trust relationship based in common philosophy has eased the way for ACR to allow its partners to participate in and, in many instances, totally control project selection, implementation and evaluation.

4. The ideals of partnership, justice and dignity for all, espoused by ACR, are an integral part of the teachings of Christianity, and are particularly stressed in the Roman Catholic Church in Papal statements, especially in *Populorum Progressio* of 1967. Such theological emphases meant that ACR was receptive to the extension of block grant funding to its partners, as part of its commitment to overcome paternalism and to allow its partners and their communities to determine their own priorities and design the solutions to them. Thus, ACR has been able to adopt a comparatively radical approach to aid delivery and development education.¹

¹ That is, compared to some other church-based agencies which, reflecting the theological emphases of their respective denominations, place emphasis on evangelism and refer little to justice issues. However, this is not to imply that ACR's focus on justice issues has always been uniformly accepted within the Roman Catholic Church. Although agency staff gave little indication that there has been opposition within the Church to ACR's philosophy of justice and dignity for all, there has been controversy over media accusations that ACR funds supported the communist insurgency movement in the Philippines (McAdam, 1986:46. See also Appendix 2). Additionally, O'Brien's moving autobiographical account of his missionary work in the Philippines illustrates that acceptance of the importance of a theological focus on justice and of ideas about the form of its practical application have not been uniform within the world-wide Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and amongst its constituency. To explore further the development and acceptance of the doctrine of justice within the Roman Catholic Church and by its development agencies would be an interesting study in its own right.

Some of the beneficial characteristics popularly ascribed to NGOs are evident in ACR's activities. The agency has shown itself to be innovative and responsive to the needs of its partners, demonstrating flexibility in designing a system of aid distribution which is in tune both with the needs of its partners and with the agency's own philosophy. Block grant funding also allows ACR's partners to be flexible in their own decision-making. ACR has shown itself prepared to take risks - perhaps the ultimate risk for a donor agency - in handing total control over spending to its field partners.

In addition to facilitating the establishment of partnerships with development agencies abroad, ACR's place in an international Church network has other benefits. It claims its links to 130 nations enable rapid responses with relief aid following disasters. As an official agency of the Roman Catholic Church, ACR has a discrete constituency, potentially as large as the Australian Roman Catholic Church and its associated institutions. An undoubted strength of the agency, this support base shares ACR's commitment to the Christian philosophy, is consequently receptive to the agency's message, and provides a reliable funding base. ACR chooses not to compete in the wider community for monetary contributions, so there is little danger that its program design will be influenced by the need to attract donors. Agency staff claim the trust relationships with field partners and the block grant funding system, which are facilitated by ACR's international church links, also have financial benefits, allowing minimisation of spending on agency administrative costs. Thus it seems that, in line with claims commonly made about the advantages of NGOs, ACR is able to provide 'low cost' development assistance.

It is frequently argued that NGOs are better able to assist the 'poorest of the poor' with aid than are government and multilateral agencies. ACR certainly claims that the Roman Catholic network is closely associated with poor and marginalised groups in recipient nations. Accusations of unfamiliarity with the local environment have frequently been levelled at NGOs. Distribution of block grants, leaving decision-making power in the hands of recipient

communities, circumvents this problem for ACR. However, without extensive field work it is impossible to say how representative local Church-based development agencies are of the poorest groups and local communities.

Like Community Aid Abroad, ACR believes partnership should be a two-way process. Its close association with partners has been partially responsible for ACR's strong emphasis on development education. Partner agencies have convinced ACR of the necessity to concern itself with solutions to problems of poverty, particularly with educating its own constituency about the need to modify Western-dominated structures which perpetuate poverty in the developing world. This conviction is reflected in the large amount of staff time and money devoted to development education.

Additionally, responses to partner requests have resulted in a historical shift in the types of projects funded - from an early emphasis on relief and supply of equipment, to an emphasis on empowering local people to change their own lives. Through encouraging projects which emphasise self-reliance, education, support for political prisoners, leadership training and adopt a 'conscientisation' approach, ACR seeks to equip community groups to take control of their own lives and provide skills to enable them to determine their own development priorities and to work towards them. The agency's focus on 'empowering' local communities is common amongst NGOs and places ACR in the third generation of NGO strategies identified by Korten (1987:148-9).

Paradoxically, despite its emphasis on handing control of all aspects of the project cycle to recipients, ACR is not a participatory organisation. It owes its continued existence to the Roman Catholic Church in Australia. Its National Committee is ultimately under control of the Bishops. Apart from a handful of lay persons elected to committees, ACR's constituency has no involvement in agency decision-making or aid activities. Volunteers are not used in agency administrative tasks. The involvement of its constituency is limited to provision of financial support and its place at the receiving

end of ACR's education program, and agency supporters are encouraged to engage in lobbying and advocacy activities. Positively, ACR keeps its supporters well informed of the direction of agency funds.

ACR's strongly established partnership relationships, its commitment to the system of block grant funding rather than support for individual projects, and its determination to remain independent of government support, mean it has generally not succumbed to the temptation to attempt to gain access to AIDAB funds for projects it would not normally support. While it admits to having allowed this to occur on rare occasions, and agency staff readily concede that the availability of AIDAB funds has allowed extension of its own program, its conviction that government aid with its control oriented approach does not operate in the best interests of the poor is likely to prevent heavy involvement in AIDAB's bilateral program. ACR's own philosophical and financial strength allows the agency to maintain its own stand on issues. Its commitment to limiting its use of government funds allows the agency to openly criticise the government aid program and engage in lobbying activities, without fear that its own financial security will be affected.

Despite being inextricably tied to the Roman Catholic Church network, ACR has developed its own identity as an aid agency, and contributed to the formulation of unique sharing arrangements in the Asia Partnership for Human Development. It seems that the block grant funding arrangement ACR has with its partners means that the organisation is not prey to many of the disadvantages commonly ascribed to NGOs. ACR cannot be accused of dependency on government, does not seek to retain control over its funds at the expense of local initiative, cannot be accused of offering unreliable financial support to partners, and nor does the agency suffer from lack of clarity of purpose.

While the block grant funding system seems to offer benefits to ACR and its partners, it is not without its disadvantages. Total control over spending lies with the recipients and ACR demands little accountability from them. This 'trust' relationship distances ACR

from the project cycle - from selection, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development activities. It is only in retrospect that the agency knows the ultimate destination of its funds. Thus, the agency does not participate in the continuing dialogue with recipient groups and their communities which has been a positive source of mutual learning for other NGOs and their partners.

CHAPTER NINE**ADVENTIST DEVELOPMENT AND RELIEF AGENCY -
South Pacific Division**

Ranked the fourth largest Australian aid agency, based on its average annual income over a three year period (McLeod, 1991:27), the Adventist Development Relief Agency is not yet fifteen years old. A church-based aid agency, the Adventist Development and Relief Agency provides an interesting comparison with Australian Catholic Relief, an agency of similar size and similarly inextricably bound to an international church network. Comparison of these agencies should offer some insights into the effects on agency priorities and behaviour of different theological perspectives, church structures, and international linkages. A study of the activities of the Adventist Development and Relief Agency will further extend understanding of the Australian NGO community as a whole and add to the breadth of information available as a basis for conclusions to be drawn about major influences on the behaviour of Australian NGOs.

History

The Seventh Day Adventist Church has, since its origins in the first half of the nineteenth century, believed that it should be concerned for the less fortunate. The Church embarked on a world mission in the late nineteenth century and demonstrated its concern for the poor by initiating a practical program of provision of schools and health care facilities. Following the Second World War, the Seventh Day Adventist Welfare Service (SAWS) was established to assist those affected by disasters. Throughout the last two

decades, development programs and disaster relief operations have expanded throughout the developing world. In 1973, its name was changed to Seventh Day Adventist World Service (also SAWS). Following a vote taken by SAWS regional directors at a world-wide meeting, the organisation was given another new name in 1983. Thereafter known as the Adventist Development and Relief Agency, the new title more accurately reflected the expansion of the agency's operations.

A division of SAWS was established as an official organisation within Australia in 1978. The then Treasurer of the South Pacific Division of the Church - Pastor Butler - initiated the agency's establishment in Australia. He invited Pastor Forbes, a recently retired Associate Treasurer for the Adventist Church in the South Pacific Region, to form an Australian branch of SAWS based on the American model (ADRA/SP, 1989a:1). Although its work was not confined to the Pacific region, SAWS in Australia had a specific charter to meet the needs of people in the developing countries of the South West Pacific Basin. This included being able to respond with relief aid following natural disasters in island nations of the South Pacific, which are frequently battered by cyclones. Following its change of name internationally in 1983, SAWS in Australia became known as the Adventist Development and Relief Agency, South Pacific Division, hereafter ADRA/SP.

In 1980, ADRA/SP's founder was joined by an ex-hospital administrator, George Laxton. By 1985, Laxton was Director of ADRA/SP. Using his administrative experience, Laxton contributed to the rapid growth of an efficient, well-administered, fund-raising organisation. ADRA/SP has grown in size from an organisation which in its early years handled less than A\$100,000 (ADRA/SP, 1989a:1) to an annual total in 1988 of approximately A\$6.7 million (ADRA/SP, 1989b:2). There has been a commensurate growth in the quantity of relief supplies handled by the agency. ADRA/SP maintains a warehouse in Sydney which holds over 60 tonnes of disaster relief supplies - medical equipment, tents, clothing and machinery. An additional 20 tonnes of supplies are held in each of four warehouses in strategic locations in the South Pacific, facilitating rapid delivery of needed

supplies following a disaster (ADRA/SP, 1989a:1).

Initially, SAWS was primarily a disaster relief organisation. ADRA/SP retains this focus, but has gradually changed its emphasis towards support of more long-term community development programs. In 1986, an Associate Director joined ADRA/SP - Peter Truscott. He came to the organisation with '... a sense of frustration that the Church was so good at putting in things, but was hopeless at maintaining them once they are in ...' (pers. comm., April 1989). Truscott encouraged the trend towards long-term development activities which aim to increase self-reliance and independence of local communities, rather than concentrating on provision of school buildings and hospitals. In 1988, another staff member, Neil Hughes, joined the team. With similar experience abroad, Hughes has supported this trend.

A quasi-independent organisation, ADRA/SP claims to operate autonomously, making its own decisions as to which countries it will be involved in and which projects it will fund. In practice however, ADRA/SP cooperates actively with ADRA International. Most projects it chooses to fund are initiated and implemented by regional directors of ADRA branches, by Adventist Missions or by local Adventist churches.

Philosophy

The Seventh Day Adventist Church holds to many of the catholic Christian doctrines (Gerstner, 1987:10). Thus, one of its essential church doctrines is of a God whose central attribute is love (Gerstner, 1987:16). As Truscott wrote:

ADRA, as a Christian organisation, is motivated by the example of Jesus Christ who helped people regardless of race, cast, religion (or lack thereof). He loved people because they were people. He met needs because there were needs (Truscott, 1988:1).

In stressing the Biblical injunction to assist others, ADRA/SP

prefaced its Annual Report for 1988 with Christ's statement, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me' (Matthew, 25:40). In its publicity material, ADRA/SP emphasises the importance of meeting physical needs of all people:

... The belief that man bears the image of God gives us a deep sense of brotherhood, of the common ties of humanity, of being "my brother's keeper".

This understanding means the Christian will never stand idly doing nothing while one of God's children is hurting. Rather than hiding behind a belief system that is so heavenly minded as to be of no earthly use, we need to share the hurts, to do whatever lies within our power to alleviate misery and pain, injustice and neglect.

People crushed by poverty and despair need understanding and practical help now, not just a promise of remedy in a world to come. The reality of a future world compels us to respond to the harsh realities of the world of the present (Truscott, 1989:1).

Staff of ADRA/SP stress that the Adventist Church has always been involved in welfare work, hand in hand with missionary work. In an exposition of the fundamental beliefs of the Seventh-Day Adventist church, Adventists are taught that Christ '... melded together the restoration of the soul and the restoration of the body' (Ministerial Association, 1988:178). Adventists are instructed that Christ emphasised preaching and healing together and that 'Christ's church must carry on both the work of preaching - the ministry of the word - and medical missionary work' (Ministerial Association, 1988:178). This emphasis has resulted in large-scale provision of health and education facilities by ADRA branches throughout the world.

The first draft of ADRA International's Statement of Mission was produced as recently as 1986. A document used by all ADRA branches, it states:

The values which have shaped the agency are the traditional Christian values of the potential of each individual to reflect the image of God, the dignity which is inherent in every person, and the importance of quality in human life. ADRA approaches mankind as an integrated entity, comprised of physical, mental, social and moral facets (ADRA International, 1986:1).

ADRA International stresses that it works on behalf of the poor,

regarding them '... with respect, as partners with whom it works in a learning and sharing relationship' (ADRA International, 1986:1). Additionally, ADRA International claims that its branches operate '... without regard to ethnic, political or religious association ... an outgrowth of a deeply held belief that human life is infinitely valuable' (ADRA International, n.d.:18). In its promotional material, ADRA International describes development as '... an integrated process which addresses the basic sources of poverty, seeking to build self-reliance in the individual and equitable social relationships' (Adra International, n.d.:19). ADRA International has moved away from its historical role as a supplier of emergency relief. In 1986, ADRA International emphasised '... a growing commitment to long term development initiatives which are appropriate to local needs and can be sustained by project beneficiaries upon completion' (ADRA International, 1986:2).

While subscribing to the general philosophy expressed by ADRA International, ADRA South Pacific does have its own objectives, which are to:

- a. Assist in providing food, health-care, and life-support services on an emergency basis for persons and communities in need because of war, political turmoil and natural disasters.
- b. Provide longer-term aid to developing countries for development projects designed to improve living standards and quality of life. Such projects would include education, health, sanitation, nutrition, water supplies, agricultural development and training.
- c. Act either as a discrete unit, or in conjunction with other branches of ADRA under the coordination of ADRA International to respond quickly to emergency situations.
- d. Be responsible for development and relief activities primarily in the Australasia/South Pacific region but to provide assistance to other areas when specifically requested within the limits of available funds (ADRA/SP, n.d.1:1).

ADRA/SP's focus is on the provision of tangible inputs designed to improve health and well-being.

Staff admit that although it is clear about its reasons for involvement in development work, the agency has been less clear about the form of its work and lacks a consciously articulated

development philosophy. In 1988, it expressed its understanding of development as follows:

Development takes place when a community, either alone or in partnership with another organization, improves its overall well-being. Levels of health and economic self-sufficiency are good indicators of achieved development (ADRA/SP, 1988a:7).

While understanding development as an improvement in 'well-being', ADRA/SP does not, like CAA and ACR, emphasise the importance of empowering local communities to design strategies to improve their own living standards. ADRA/SP has no clear strategy for fostering long-term 'health and economic self-sufficiency' of poor communities, apart from continued provision of goods according to needs perceived by ADRA staff or Adventist missionaries. One staff member suggested '... there is growing emphasis on localisation of activities and on sustainability; general agreement that we move that way, but no set policy'. ADRA/SP appears to be experiencing similar changes in role as those undergone by ADRA International. One interviewee suggested changes in ADRA/SP have been stimulated in part by staff who have recently joined the agency (cf. p. 264), and partly as a result of changes which have occurred in its parent organisation.

Structure and Staffing

The 'Statement of Mission' of ADRA International is shared by all ADRA branches, but ADRA/SP has its own 'Constitution and Operating Policy'. However, ADRA/SP's operation is constitutionally bound to that of the Adventist church. The Seventh Day Adventist Church has three levels of church organisation. A number of local congregations in a particular geographical area belong to a Church Conference. A number of Conferences together constitute a Union Conference. Through a representative system, the local churches elect the administrative officers for the Conferences, who then elect these for the Unions. The Unions then elect representatives at an Australia/New Zealand wide constituency; the Executive Director of ADRA/SP is one of the key personnel elected at that meeting, as are

the other administrative officers who fill thirteen positions on the ADRA/SP Board of Management. In addition ADRA/SP's Associate Director, Treasurer and Accountant are appointed by the South Pacific Division of the Seventh Day Adventist Church - not by ADRA/SP or its parent organisation (ADRA/SP, n.d.1:1). All key roles in the Adventist Church are declared vacant every five years, including executive positions of ADRA/SP. In theory, personnel of ADRA/SP could be replaced by others drawn from the church network. According to ADRA/SP staff, unless there are compelling reasons for change, the same people tend to carry on. The make-up of the ADRA/SP Board and the personnel appointed to the agency's staff are thus dependent on a complex church system which, to a certain extent, gives the local church constituency some say in their appointment.

The agency operates under the direction of a twenty-six member Board of Management, appointed for a five-year term by the constituency of the Seventh Day Adventist Church at a quinquennial conference (ADRA/SP, n.d.1:1). The Communications Director, the Education Director and the Church Ministries Director from the South Pacific Division of the Adventist Church are all automatically members of the ADRA/SP Board. The Executive Director of ADRA/SP is responsible to the Board of Management, which meets three or four times per year. The Board of Management deals with policy matters and broader management issues. An ADRA/SP Executive Committee (with eleven members), appointed by and from the membership of the ADRA/SP Board of Management meets monthly to support day-to-day operations (ADRA/SP, 1989b:5). Key development personnel from the region (including ADRA Regional Directors from Honiara, Lae and Suva, as well as ADRA/SP's Executive Director and Associate Executive Director) are members of the ADRA/SP Board of Management, ensuring a link between policy-making and development assistance personnel from the region.

There are fifteen world-wide regional directors of ADRA International, who liaise with field staff and co-ordinate projects for their region. They identify projects, collect field data for use in project appraisal, and submit project requests to ADRA/SP

or other ADRA branches. Regional directors supervise projects funded in their region, and oversee the transfer of funds. They are also responsible for reporting on projects supported by ADRA/SP (ADRA/SP, 1988a:13). Regional Directors play a major role in project identification and implementation for ADRA/SP. The agency uses the extensive network and infrastructure of the Adventist Church throughout the world for support, for provision of personnel and for project identification and administration.

The Australian office of ADRA/SP currently employs three full-time professional staff and two secretarial staff (ADRA/SP, 1989b:6). The Executive Director maintains overall executive and financial control of the agency, and undertakes field visits to selected projects. One Associate Director manages project assessment, appraisal and evaluation, reports on projects to the ADRA/SP Board and to AIDAB, and is editor of the quarterly newsletter ADRA Reporter. A second Associate Director is responsible for the agency's disaster response activities, child sponsorship programs, donor directed project funding, volunteer services, and 'fly and build' teams (ADRA/SP, 1988a:2). ADRA/SP's professional and clerical staff have doubled in numbers in the last four years, in line with the increasing volume of funds the agency has attracted and administered.

In order to keep abreast of trends amongst development aid professionals, ADRA/SP staff attend workshops sponsored by AIDAB and ACFOA wherever possible. In addition, ADRA International Training staff conduct workshops for key development personnel. For example, in 1987 a three week long workshop was held on Water Development and Basic Food for Self Sufficiency/Nutrition Education and the three staff members of ADRA/SP attended (ADRA/SP, 1988a:3). ADRA International also publishes a quarterly staff training journal 'Interface' which is available to all staff and publishes articles relevant to the development administrator (see Buhler, 1988:3-6).

Financial support is given to field workers, including teachers, medical and paramedical personnel, agriculturalists and business specialists (ADRA/SP, 1988a:2). In 1988, ADRA/SP funded eighty-one

field personnel in the South Pacific Region, seventy-one of whom worked in educational occupations and ten of whom were medical personnel (ADRA/SP, 1988b:1).

Volunteers are used extensively in short term assignments such as building schools, clinics or water supply systems, and conducting medical, dental or optical assessments and treatment. Longer term volunteers often fill positions at the request of recipient countries, particularly as specialist teachers, medical personnel, mechanics, electricians and farm advisers (ADRA/SP, 1988a:2). In addition to volunteers willing to serve abroad, ADRA/SP uses a large team of voluntary workers within Australia to stock and maintain warehouse stores. Volunteers from Australian church communities work to despatch goods following disasters, and volunteers from Adventist churches in recipient nations assist with the distribution of material aid and food.

Funding and Expenditure

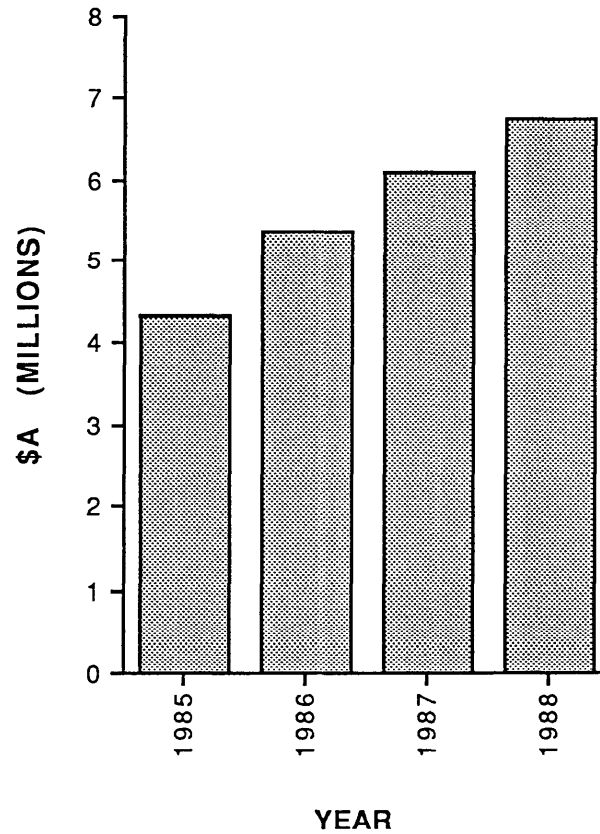
In 1988, ADRA/SP's total income was A\$6.7 million, a 9.7 per cent increase on the total for the previous year. ADRA/SP has grown very rapidly, to become one of Australia's largest income earning agencies (see Figure 9.1).

Private donations are the agency's primary source of income. ADRA/SP has 26,000 regular subscribers to its quarterly newsletter, ADRA Reporter (ADRA/SP, 1988a:4). Seventh Day Adventists are encouraged to give regularly through the Church network. A contribution of a tithe (one-tenth of all income) towards the ministry of the church is considered to be a minimum. Indeed, official Adventist teaching urges more generous giving than the tithe:

Grateful Christians cannot limit their contributions to the church to tithe ... Offerings are needed to build, maintain, and operate churches, and to set up medical missionary work, demonstrating the practical significance of the gospel

(Ministerial Association, 1988:272).

Figure 9.1 Total Income of ADRA/SP, 1985-1988



Source: ADRA/SP, 1989b:2

ADRA/SP thus benefits financially from a constituency taught that it should be strongly committed to regular and substantial giving. The agency encourages such giving with regular appeals. For example, in mid-1989, readers of the ADRA Reporter were encouraged to '... show gratitude for the blessing of a good water supply by sending a donation to ADRA to help someone else gain ready access to adequate clean water' (ADRA/SP, 1989d:4). Supporters were able to select from a number of water projects and send donations for a specific project. Similarly, in 1989 a special appeal was launched to Adventist churches for the upgrading of buildings at an Adventist College in

Fiji (ADRA/SP, 1989e). ADRA/SP also holds a special appeal for disaster relief in all Adventist Churches on one Sabbath (Saturday) each year.

In addition to income from members of Adventist churches within Australia, ADRA/SP conducts an annual door knock appeal which it estimates reaches 32,000 members of the wider Australian public (ADRA/SP, 1988a:5). In 1988, nearly A\$1.5 million was raised by this means (ADRA/SP, 1989b:4). In its door knock appeal in 1988, ADRA/SP advertised that no administrative costs were deducted from tax deductible donations, showing supporters what their donations could achieve - A\$5 to finance a life-saving injection, A\$20 to provide clothing for needy children, A\$100 to keep a flying doctor in the air, and A\$250 to provide a wheelchair (ADRA/SP, 1988c). One hundred schools throughout Australia also support ADRA/SP by raising funds for special projects.

The agency has benefitted from corporate donations of goods and services, discounting of goods by manufacturers and provision of transportation facilities for delivery of relief supplies by the Australian Defence Corps (ADRA/SP, 1988a:4). In the past, ADRA/SP has received tents, medical supplies and galvanised iron at subsidised rates. Qantas assisted by delivering food rations and relief supplies to Armenia following a major earthquake in 1988. Such 'in kind' corporate support assists the agency to achieve more with its income.

Funding from the Australian Government was first accepted by ADRA/SP in the 1978/79 financial year. In 1987, 5.8 per cent of ADRA/SP's total funds were received from AIDAB, 3.7 per cent through the Project Subsidy Scheme and 2.1 per cent for emergency humanitarian aid (ADRA/SP, 1988a:16). ADRA/SP was allocated an indicative planning figure of A\$520,000 by AIDAB for the 1988/89 financial year (ADRA/SP, 1989b:11). The agency also participated in AIDAB's bilateral program in 1987, with projects in Botswana (Southern Africa) and Cambodia. In 1988, ADRA received a grant of A\$65,461 from the Canadian International Development Agency for an irrigation project at the

Pacific Adventist College in Fiji (ADRA/SP, 1989b:12).

Its place within an international church network also offers financial advantages to ADRA/SP. Many agency overheads are funded by the Church. Office space is Church owned, the salaries of two ADRA/SP staff-members are supplied by the Church and the agency is able to use the printing, film production and communication networks of the Church. ADRA staff see the relationship with the Church as a congenial one - the agency operates on a daily basis independently of the Church, while benefiting from it financially.

The agency also derives significant benefit 'in kind' from the work of volunteers. Community volunteers collect, clean, repair, sort and pack clothing for disaster victims. In 1988, these were conservatively valued at A\$74,000 (ADRA/SP, 1989b:9). Teams of volunteers also fly abroad to assist in building construction, maintenance, repair of machinery, supply of specialist medical services, and teaching. As ADRA/SP suggested 'There is no satisfactory monetary evaluation to assess the worth of these voluntary contributions' (ADRA/SP, 1989b:7).

Detailed audited financial statements are produced by ADRA/SP for the information of interested supporters (see ADRA/SP, 1989c). In 1988, ADRA/SP spent A\$5.39 million (80.2 per cent) of its income directly on development activities. Of this amount, 68 per cent was spent on educational and medical programs (the Adventist network of schools and hospitals) in the South Pacific, 21 per cent was contributed to development projects throughout the world, and the remaining 11 per cent financed disaster relief programs (ADRA/SP, 1989b:2). ADRA/SP claims that only A\$157,447, or 2.34 per cent of its total income in 1988 was spent on administrative and warehousing costs within Australia. The agency suggests that this is '... considered very favourable and reflects the substantial contributions made to ADRA by its parent church organisation and the facilities which are made available for ADRA's operation' (ADRA/SP, 1989b:3), hence defraying ADRA/SP's costs. In 1988, operating income exceeded the sum of operating expenses and grants distributed abroad. Excess

funds are held to enable ADRA/SP to respond rapidly with emergency relief in event of a disaster.

Development Projects

As previously mentioned, a large proportion of ADRA/SP expenditure in the field is devoted to meeting ongoing costs of some 250 Adventist schools and medical facilities throughout the South Pacific region (ADRA/SP, 1989b:2). Adventist schools are open to children from non-Adventist families. Tertiary institutions are also funded. For example, the Fijian Fulton College (funded by ADRA/SP) is advertised as the 'Senior Educational Institution of the church in the Central Pacific', training students for 'Commerce, Government Employ, Teaching, Ministerial and other service activities of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church throughout the South Pacific' (ADRA/SP, 1989e). ADRA/SP provides general support for these institutions, including salaries of expatriate staff. In 1988, close to \$2 million was spent supporting expatriate staff in the South Pacific. ADRA/SP does not fund personnel or staff engaged in evangelistic activities of the Adventist church; only those that the agency regards as 'development personnel' (i.e. teachers and medical personnel). Expatriate staff are usually Adventists and, if not, must share a similar philosophy and not teach against Adventism. The Adventist Church is encouraging funded institutions to become self-supporting and to employ more locals. By 1990, no expatriate teachers remained in Adventist primary schools in Papua New Guinea.

The agency's disaster response program is extensive. In 1988, A\$558,000 was used to assist victims of twenty-seven major disasters, including: nine tropical cyclones in South Pacific nations; earthquakes in Nepal and Armenia; famine victims in Ethiopia, Mozambique and Cambodia; flooding in Bangladesh, Thailand and Sudan; and refugees of political upheaval in Fiji (ADRA/SP, 1989b:8). ADRA/SP reported that disaster aid was given 'wherever possible, in the form

in which it was requested ... in most cases a cash contribution' (ADRA/SP, 1989b:9). Assistance in the form of clothing, medicines and food are also frequently supplied (ADRA/SP, 1989b:9). The agency's reserves of funds and its stocked warehouse (see p. 263) mean it is able to respond immediately following an emergency, an ability which ADRA/SP staff regard as a major strength of the agency. Other agencies need to mount an appeal following an emergency, thus preventing an immediate response. In addition, ADRA/SP's place in an international network, with Adventist churches in 192 countries and 89 ADRA offices around the world (ADRA International, n.d.:3-4), means support can be mobilised among local people in almost every country. This allows ADRA/SP to respond rapidly to emergencies. For example, in 1988 following a major earthquake in Armenia, ADRA/SP was able to offer financial support for ADRA International's relief program, which operated through Armenian Adventist Churches. In response to a request from AODRA (Australian Overseas Disaster Response Organisation) twelve cartons of medical supplies from ADRA/SP's medical warehouse were dispatched to Armenia immediately after the earthquake. Qantas voluntarily carried them to Singapore, then Aeroflot flew them to Armenia (ADRA/SP, 1989h:2)

There are two categories of disaster relief defined by staff at ADRA/SP. The first is called 'the emergency phase', lasting from the time of the disaster for approximately twenty-one days. During this time, basic needs for food, shelter and medical provisions are met. The second phase, of reconstruction and rehabilitation, can last for years. Work in the disaster prone South Pacific illustrates both phases of disaster relief. Cyclones do not usually result in large loss of life, but mainly cause the loss of food crops and destruction of housing and infrastructure. Root crops are dug immediately after a cyclone, creating an initial surplus. A food shortage usually follows, approximately three weeks after the cyclone. In this time ADRA/SP prepares and ships food, from within the country if possible. Where local foods are unavailable, ADRA/SP sends foods from the Sanitarium Health Food Company in Australia - a concern owned and operated by the Adventist Church. The agency is involved in the provision of tents for immediate shelter, but also in the

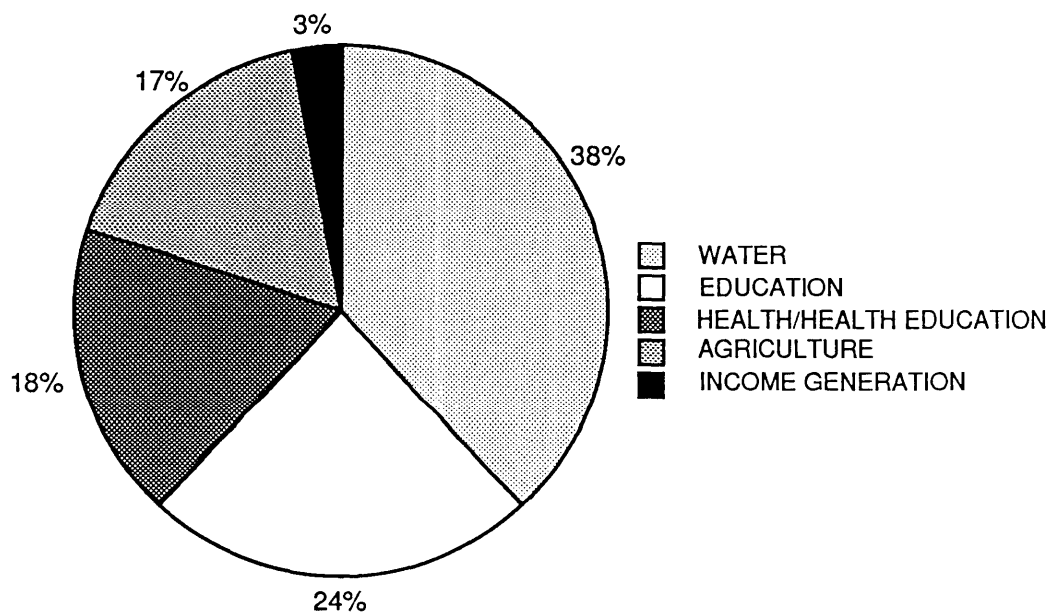
reconstruction process. Following cyclone Uma on Efate Island, Vanuatu, in 1987, ADRA/SP shipped native building materials from other islands, then assisted local people to rebuild their homes (ADRA/SP, 1988r:3). As an example of its involvement in long-term rehabilitation, ADRA/SP contributed to the construction of a rehabilitation centre in the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the 1988 Armenian earthquake (ADRA/SP, 1989h:2).

In 1988, A\$1.14 million (or 21 per cent of monies spent on field work) was committed to individual development projects. Of this, A\$641,410 was devoted to eighteen projects approved for AIDAB financial assistance. These projects included nine water supply projects, four educational programs (one for youth, three to improve nutritional understanding, one to build several new classrooms), two fishing projects, provision of a community health clinic, a solar energy project and a food production project. ADRA/SP's own analysis of types of projects attracting AIDAB funds is illustrated in Figure 9.2.

A regional focus is clear in the direction of ADRA/SP funds (see Figure 9.3). Over three quarters of AIDAB sponsored projects supported by the agency in 1988 were in Papua New Guinea or Pacific island nations. In recent years, in response to the newly available bilateral funding from AIDAB for projects in Africa and Indochina, ADRA/SP has supported projects beyond the Pacific region.

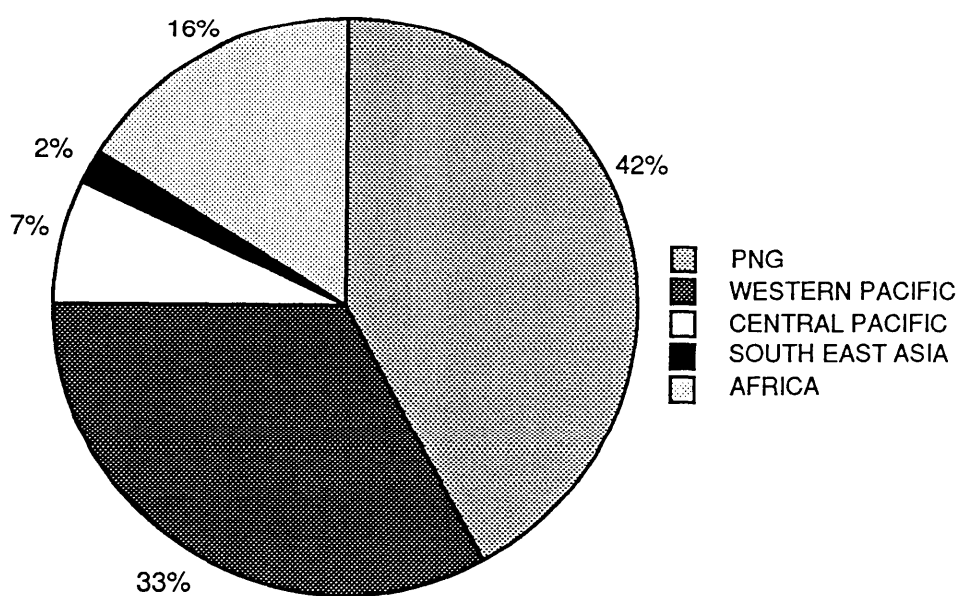
Projects are commonly identified through regional directors of ADRA International. Choice of projects often relates to the relationship ADRA/SP has with these directors. For example, staff mentioned that the ADRA director for Indochina is an Australian they know and trust, so it is easy to work through him. Similarly, a Canadian regional director in East Africa was described as someone ADRA/SP staff felt 'comfortable working through', so when AIDAB funds were made available for bilateral projects in East Africa, ADRA/SP sent AIDAB guidelines to the regional director, asking for appropriate project proposals.

Figure 9.2 Sectoral Analysis of AIDAB Assisted Projects Supported by ADRA/SP, 1988



Source: ADRA/SP, 1989b:10

Figure 9.3 Regional Distribution of ADRA/SP's AIDAB Sponsored Projects, 1988 Calendar Year



Source: ADRA/SP, 1989b:11

As a general rule, ADRA/SP believes requests should originate from local people, not from ADRA regional directors. However, all project requests are assessed by regional directors before ADRA/SP becomes involved (ADRA/SP, 1988a:12). The process of project identification varies in each country. For example, ADRA/SP has a long history of work in the Solomon Islands, and it is quite normal for village communities to approach ADRA/SP directly. Local church conferences or Missions are informed of projects funded there, to ensure local support is available. In Papua New Guinea however, a community network of contacts is only in formative stages. Thus, in PNG, most requests are made to a local church, not necessarily to Adventist people or to an Adventist Church.

The agency has not developed criteria for project selection. Staff suggested they 'work on field officers to send ADRA the types of things they are looking for' and ask particularly for information about:

- a) community ownership, involvement and planning
- b) clearly defined goals
- c) a detailed idea of costing
- d) who will implement the project and when.

The agency also uses the AIDAB/NGO Project Appraisal Checklist as a guide to aid the selection process. ADRA/SP staff identified several types of priority projects: water supply, health education, primary health care, nutrition, food production, agricultural production and economic self-sufficiency. According to its staff, the emphasis of ADRA/SP projects has changed significantly; until recently, virtually all projects involved schools or provision of medical facilities. Where possible, ADRA/SP prefers to use locally available equipment (ADRA/SP, 1988a:11).

The agency tries to evaluate all projects. It lacks the resources for staff to visit many projects, so relies on local regional directors to provide a narrative report, a financial report and photographs on completion of the project. Funds are given in instalments. Satisfactory progress reports are required for further funding. Whenever possible, ADRA/SP staff visit projects in the

field. One staff member suggested the agency has failed to address questions of sustainability, providing buildings, wells and equipment, without consideration of their future use and maintenance.

Study of interim and final reports on ADRA/SP projects funded by AIDAB in 1988 reveal a clear preference for provision of tangible inputs rather than for development of local institutional capacity or leadership and management skills. For example, in 1988, a library building was constructed for the Kukudu High School in the Western Solomon Islands; a primary school was built at Mount Hagen and an extension added to the Tari primary school, both in the highlands of Papua New Guinea; an Aid Post (for basic treatment of common medical conditions) constructed at Inus on Bouganville; a radio network installed in nine clinics throughout the Solomons; tractors were provided at Rakamanda and Tari Habare in Papua New Guinea; and water supply systems and water sealed toilets installed throughout the Solomon Islands (see ADRA/SP, 1988h; 1988i; 1988j; 1988k; 1988l; 1988m; 1988n; 1988o; 1988p; 1989d). While most reports include photographs of completed buildings or technology at work in situ, some revealed that ADRA/SP has a growing understanding of problems associated with provision of inappropriate technology. In relation to a tractor provided to the Tari Habare community, it was reported that:

... this project has confirmed the danger of perceiving development through the eyes of development workers from outside the recipient culture rather than a gradual approach to developing skills, techniques and technologies which are appropriate to the level of skills available within a community.

The most significant factor in the failure of this particular project to become very effective was undoubtedly the fact that full community involvement in the decision making at both original request level and at continued operational level was lacking. As a result of observation of this program and many other agricultural programs in which ADRA is involved, we are much slower now to respond to requests for such high tech equipment (ADRA/SP, 1988h:3).

As well as recording project failures, project reports show that some construction projects produce benefits in addition to the supply of a building. For example, a post-completion evaluation report on the construction of a library at Kukudu High School reads:

As well as the developmental benefits from the formal and informal education which takes place at Kukudu, several other benefits have resulted from this project.

The foundations of the building were dug and poured by a group of volunteer workers who canoed in from many islands around about which send students to Kukudu. Thus they feel a deeper propriety interest in the School, and the interaction between people from various communities surrounding the school was also very beneficial. With this project as the catalyst, they have banded together to do a number of other community projects involving a much wider group of people than was customary before the Kukudu library foundation exercise.

As well, a team of volunteers from Australia went out and worked with local people to put up the walls, roof and finish much of the interior of the building. The local people learned new skills and techniques, and the Australian team learnt a new respect for the culture and lifestyle of Western Solomon Islanders (ADRA/SP, 1988i:6).

Such reports show ADRA/SP staff are aware that supply of tangible objects does not alone constitute 'development'. Despite this, some reports published in ADRA/SP newsletters raise questions about the priorities of its partners and expatriate regional directors and staff. For example, an Australian ADRA worker visiting Zaire wrote of 'development' in one community:

The main village of 7,000 inhabitants has been totally reconstructed on a grid fashion. Streets have been laid out and named with signs. Each housing lot is fenced by a beautiful green hedge. The streets are lined by hedges and through the main intersections dual carriageways with hedge dividers have been built.

Boasting a small hotel, airstrip (unused as yet) and a marketplace replete with a few small boutiques, Kayumba is fast taking on the shape of a small country town far ahead of its neighbours.

There is still much to do, however. No vaccinations have been given for 19 years, medical services are non-existent, pure water still has to be piped from 11 kilometres away. ... (ADRA/SP, 1989g:3).

It would seem surprising that 'community development' is seen to include reconstruction of a village in a grid fashion, green hedges, street signs, an airstrip and hotel, while clean water and medical services are lacking. ADRA/SP has decided to fund completion of a brick health centre for the community.

Similarly, another article reports on the completion of six

new Nepali-style homes for lepers, over a hilltop from the 'degrading filth' of a leper commune:

As the six families were chosen, tears ran down the cheeks of the mothers who were to be the fortunate ones to move into these beautiful new dwellings. The mothers who missed out stood without expression, accepting the fact that this is life. ... These six families are now preparing to leave their prison and start a journey just over the hilltop and receive their new homes!

There are 700 more families still waiting to start the journey (ADRA/SP, 1988q:2).

A development project which divides a community rather than encouraging participation in a program to improve the living standards of all of its members is questionable. Discussions with ADRA/SP staff show they are beginning to question the priorities of some partners and regional directors the agency works through. They believe such questioning will, as revealed in the response to the failure of a tractor project quoted above, result in a gradual change in the agency's understanding of development and in funding priorities.

Development Education and Advocacy

In its 'Operating Principles' ADRA International includes a statement about the need to improve awareness of development issues:

ADRA will seek to improve its visibility and public image through increased public awareness activities, expanded report and information devices, and increased membership in other community based groups, international and voluntary agencies. ADRA will attempt to improve awareness of developmental issues, and provide additional avenues and mechanisms for response (ADRA International, 1986:2).

Despite the focus of its parent organisation, ADRA/SP does not mention development education in the objectives listed in its 'Constitution and Operating Policy' (ADRA/SP, n.d.1). Nor is there any mention in the ADRA Annual Reports of development education activities or of expenditure on such activities in the financial statements of the agency. ADRA/SP representatives suggest that although the agency does not have a formal development education programme, education

does occur through the Church which has a strong emphasis on mission and on the needs of the less fortunate.

The Adventist church incorporates a teaching component about development issues through Sabbath School for children and through Adventist primary and secondary schools throughout Australia. In each Sabbath School session there is a segment which focuses on the needs of the developing world and on current issues in the developing world. The school curriculum also has an emphasis on developing countries. The Adventists have their own teacher training institution and ADRA/SP hopes to have more input into curriculum development and teacher training (ADRA/SP, 1988a:17). ADRA/SP staff believe the Adventist Church aims to ensure that all Adventist children develop an awareness of development issues. Children are encouraged to make their own personal sacrifices to support a particular development project and grow up with a sharing philosophy - that it is 'more blessed to give than to receive'. ADRA/SP staff plan to develop educational materials similar to those produced by other aid agencies with a Christian philosophy.

The agency is involved in the production of resources for use in churches. With the assistance of the Adventist Media Centre, ADRA/SP is involved in the preparation and distribution of videos focusing on the work of the Adventist church in the developing world. Agency staff also do deputation work, speaking to senior citizens' groups, to women's church federations and to other groups meeting within the church structure. As part of its endeavours to educate the church constituency, ADRA/SP has brought nationals from their home countries with expatriate staff or missionaries to speak in church services and at Sabbath School. Educational materials published by ACFOA are also distributed to ADRA/SP supporters and through SDA churches and schools (ADRA/SP, 1988a:17).

The ADRA Reporter has been produced since mid-1986 in response to requests from the community and other organisations and is distributed to every Adventist church family. The ADRA Reporter includes facts and figures about development spending, project

details, anecdotal reports of expatriate field staff and volunteers, and details of AIDAB funding of ADRA/SP activities. The emphasis throughout is on the positive aspects of the agency's development work, of the need to extend this work further, and on the valuable contribution made by volunteers. In the most recent issues, teaching articles about the problems of inappropriate technology have been included, as have discussions about the positive benefits of improved communication with the developing communities ADRA/SP seeks to serve (ADRA/SP, 1989f:1). Agency staff believe the newsletter has a significant development education component. However, despite the recent inclusion of some educative articles, the thrust of the newsletter is primarily promotional. Where a 'development message' is included, it tends to focus on people's basic needs - the right to clean water, to a balanced diet, to basic education and health care. The importance of giving to assist people in attaining these needs is stressed, with emphasis placed on the means of alleviating the symptoms of poverty rather than on promoting understanding of the underlying causes of poverty (ADRA/SP, 1988d:2-3). Reflecting what it calls its 'apolitical stance', ADRA/SP rarely engages in lobbying activities, nor do its newsletters encourage its constituency to do so.

Relations with Other NGOs and ACFOA

The 'Purposes and Objectives' of ADRA International encourage active co-operation '... with denominations, philanthropic organizations, government agencies and development banks which share the Church's concerns and with whom it may participate in meeting human need' (ADRA International, 1986:2). In keeping with the philosophy of its international parent body, ADRA/SP is in favour of cooperation with other NGOs. For example, the ACR branch in Kampuchea provides ADRA/SP's contact in Phnom Penh. World Vision sponsors many children through the Adventist school system in developing countries. ADRA/SP co-operated with a Church of Christ congregation in an appropriate technology project aiming to provide

safe drinking water for a community in Papua New Guinea and to train local people in the installation, use and maintenance of simple pumps (ADRA/SP, 1987:1). Similarly, ADRA/SP has worked in the field with Baptist World Aid on a water scheme in Papua New Guinea. Apart from these instances, little co-operation occurs in the funding or administration of development projects in the field. Because of its ability to work through an existing international network, and ADRA International's field staff, ADRA/SP has not needed to work through other agencies.

Within Australia, ADRA/SP staff have unofficial meetings with several other Church based agencies - Baptist World Aid, Australian Catholic Relief, the Australian Council of Churches, and Australian Lutheran World Service. ADRA/SP staff believe that the Church based agencies share a common philosophical foundation and the agencies have collaborated in some campaigns such as the organisation of a combined churches appeal for African famine relief. ADRA/SP staff do meet informally with other NGOs and there is some interaction at ACFOA training activities. ADRA/SP is represented at ACFOA's Indochina subcommittee meetings, and collaborated on a recent program identification visit to Vietnam. Staff of ADRA/SP have on occasion given development education talks at the Ideas Centre.

A particularly close association is maintained by ADRA/SP with one other Australian aid agency - the Asian Aid Organisation Limited (AAO). A volunteer-operated, independent aid agency, AAO conducts a child sponsorship program, supporting over 3,000 children in South Asia (ADRA/SP, 1988e:3). In April 1987, at the Annual General Meeting of the Asian Aid Organisation, a number of ADRA/SP Board members were elected to the controlling committee of AAO. The Adventist Church undertook to support AAO by providing central banking facilities and promoting child sponsorship in ADRA/SP publications (ADRA/SP, 1988f:11). ADRA/SP staff describe the arrangement as a 'big brother' relationship and claim that AAO appealed to ADRA/SP to ensure that its work would continue if its voluntary personnel passed on. It is not clear what the long term relationship between the two agencies will be, although AAO now advertises itself as 'A Unit of the

Adventist Development and Relief Agency' (Asian Aid, 1989:1). ADRA/SP is offering publicity for a child sponsorship agency and encouraging its constituency to share in the 'joy of sponsoring a child' (ADRA/SP, 1988g:2). Yet ADRA/SP staff insist that they are aware of the problems associated with child sponsorship and their agency would not undertake a sponsorship program directly.¹ ADRA/SP staff also maintained that Seventh Day Adventists are the largest financial supporters of World Vision Australia and its controversial child sponsorship program (May, 1987:19).

In the field of disaster relief, the agency cooperates closely with The Australian Overseas Disaster Response Organisation (AODRO). In 1990, the Executive Director of ADRA/SP served on the Executive of this organisation and was also the Honorary Treasurer of The International Disasters Emergency Committee (IDEC). ADRA/SP recognises that co-ordination is necessary for disaster relief to be efficient and effective. ADRA/SP has the ability to mobilise funding and supplies in the event of a disaster, and co-operates actively with other agencies through these co-ordinating bodies.

The agency has been a full Member of ACFOA since 1978. Despite the high cost of ACFOA membership, staff recognise the benefits of ACFOA as a council for aid organisations with a direct voice to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade and to AIDAB. ACFOA is also seen as having an effective role in coordination and integration of lobbying activities. ACFOA's role as a publisher of information dossiers and disseminator of information has assisted ADRA/SP staff,

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As ADRA/SP's Executive Director pointed out:
 'There are problems with child sponsorship. The family in Australia supporting the child becomes emotionally involved with the child ... often presents are given to children, their sponsors want to visit them or bring them on a visit to Australia. This can lead to jealousy and division in the child's community. Animosity developed in villages between those whose sponsors treat them in this way and those whose do not. This approach often leads to greed not need. Villagers write to sponsors in the West mentioning things they do not have in the house!' (pers. comm. April, 1989).

For a more complete discussion of the disadvantages of child sponsorship programs, which it is claimed are devised primarily to meet the needs of donor agencies rather than those in need, see Rance, et al., 1989.

providing updated country information and encouraging thought about trends in development issues. Staff of ADRA/SP believe ACFOA has provided useful opportunities for sharing of ideas through interaction with other agencies at seminars and training days. Some ADRA/SP representatives feel that this role could be usefully extended if ACFOA developed a mechanism for the sharing of ideas and expertise in particular problem areas, such as discussion about the appropriate use for medical supplies and the provision of medical expertise and equipment.

Despite its benefits, some ADRA/SP staff have reservations about ACFOA's role as a political lobbying force. ADRA/SP prefers to remain 'apolitical' in order to avoid the risk of alienating some of its constituency. At times, ACFOA statements have a political emphasis with the potential to alienate some ADRA/SP supporters. News releases which appear to be speaking for the whole NGO community sometimes present views with which some staff at ADRA/SP do not agree.

Relations with AIDAB

The Operating Principles of ADRA International, which are accepted by the South Pacific branch, state that: 'ADRA will endeavour to enlarge its donor base among individual, corporate, and government entities ...' (ADRA International 1986:2). A publicity brochure of ADRA/SP advertises the agency as working 'In partnership with the Australian Government through the AIDAB-CDC' (ADRA/SP, n.d.2). ADRA/SP has accepted AIDAB funding since 1978 and will continue to do so, provided the Government does not impose any conditions intolerable to the agency or to the Adventist Church. So far, this has not occurred and there have not been any philosophical conflicts in working with AIDAB. To date, ADRA/SP's view is that Government funding is welcome and enables the agency to achieve much more than it could otherwise. ADRA/SP is prepared to meet AIDAB's accountability requirements and regards these as necessary for a

Government body distributing Australian public money. AIDAB's 'Australian identity' requirements - only insisted upon in relation to bilateral projects - have not caused any difficulties for ADRA/SP. Discussions between AIDAB and ADRA/SP staff have been encouraged and ADRA/SP representatives think communication between the two organisations is satisfactory.

Agency representatives regard association with AIDAB as providing benefits extending beyond the purely financial. Questions asked by the AIDAB/NGO Committee for Development Co-operation about ADRA/SP project proposals have forced the agency to confront and consider many development issues. In addition, feedback from the Committee on project requests has been helpful in convincing some higher level expatriates in the Pacific of the inappropriateness of some project requests. As one interviewee commented, 'The idea of a community development project is foreign to some expatriates - they would prefer adding a wing to a school or hospital or something which will generate income for their budget'. The Committee for Development Co-operation has been deliberately used to establish precedents for project rejection. Through the experience of seeing rusting, neglected tractors in the field, one staff member realised that ADRA/SP frequently accepted requests for inappropriate technology. A request for the provision of a tractor was deliberately submitted to the CDC in the hope that it would be rejected for AIDAB funding. The rejection of this request has subsequently been used as a precedent to convince others in ADRA's network of the unsuitability of this type of project.

The Future

Plans for change mentioned by ADRA/SP staff relate to the agency's educational activities and to the selection and implementation of development projects. ADRA/SP hopes to expand its educational program; to educate beyond the church constituency by increasing its input into the curricula for Adventist schools

and for Adventist teacher training institutions.

Agency staff mentioned four strategies they hope to employ to improve the efficacy of the agency's development projects:

- 1) To encourage local autonomy, gradually replacing expatriate staff with trained nationals.
- 2) To place greater emphasis on implementation of long-term projects which aim to increase self-reliance rather than continued provision of bricks and mortar, technology and expatriate personnel.
- 3) To place greater emphasis on sustainability - the ongoing effectiveness of projects after cessation of funding.
- 4) Prompted by a growing understanding of problems of inappropriate technology, ADRA/SP staff hope to encourage greater dialogue with beneficiary communities to ensure that project proposals reflect their needs. ADRA/SP also hopes to facilitate more dialogue between project officers and ADRA International regional directors. Currently, the cost of the process and the limited development knowledge of some ADRA expatriate staff limit this process. To assist in achieving these goals, ADRA/SP hopes to develop its own criteria for project selection.

Conclusions

In common with the agencies described earlier, ADRA/SP's present modus operandi has been moulded by several individuals. It was at the initiative of one individual - Pastor Butler - that the Australian branch of ADRA was established. Its control by two ex-hospital administrators, Pastor Forbes, followed by George Laxton, saw ADRA/SP become a maxi-fund-raising organisation, managing a large relief program and administering aid projects with few staff and low overheads. That ADRA/SP is currently an agency in transition, modifying its traditional aid program in the light of learning about inappropriate aid strategies, reflects the interests and experience of recently appointed staff members. Truscott has recently pushed for more appropriate aid, clearly at variance with the tradition

of funding schools and hospitals at the request of expatriates abroad, and at odds with a conservative element in the Adventist Church who prefer to supply tangible resources to developing countries.

Although ADRA/SP claims to function as an independent agency, its work is inextricably bound to that of its international parent organisation. The Australian branch generally identifies and administers its aid program through the expatriate staff of ADRA International or the Adventist Church. Key staff of ADRA/SP are elected by the Church, through a complex representative system, as are members of the agency's Board. Their appointment seems to be dependent on their history of involvement in Church-related activities rather than their development expertise. While this is a disadvantage for the agency, its close links with the Adventist Church can also be a strength, providing contacts throughout the world to facilitate rapid delivery of emergency relief. This ability to respond quickly with aid is an oft-cited advantage of NGOs.

The commitment of its constituency to Adventist teaching, with its insistence on dedication, service and sharing of wealth, is clearly a strength of the agency. Its strong support base supplies a pool of volunteers to assist at home and serve abroad, and a constituency so committed to giving that the agency has rapidly grown in financial size to be one of Australia's largest. In keeping with the general benefits ascribed to NGOs, ADRA/SP certainly provides opportunities for volunteer service at home and abroad. However, the agency is not democratic and volunteers have little place in the management of the agency.

With few staff and a sophisticated computerised management system, ADRA/SP has low overheads - a positive factor in the eyes of the donor public. Provision of low-cost aid is also frequently lauded as an advantage of NGOs. The agency's preference for provision of relief supplies, buildings, personnel and technology - offering ease of administration and placing few demands on staff time - contributes to minimisation of overheads, as does its ability to work through ADRA and Adventist Church staff throughout the world.

Employing few staff may reduce agency overheads, but limits the time available to employees to engage in dialogue with beneficiary groups, forcing continued dependence on expatriate staff to represent the interests of the poor. Direct communication with beneficiary groups is expensive, and would involve a decision to sacrifice minimisation of costs in favour of identifying more relevant aid strategies. Similarly, in adopting the child support program of the Asian Aid Organisation, ADRA/SP appears to be sacrificing knowledge about appropriate development in the interest of attracting new donors. ADRA/SP places great emphasis on accountability - on its accountability to its donors and to AIDAB and on the accountability of beneficiaries to the agency. The accountability of the organisation to those it seeks to help was not mentioned.

It is surprising that, as such a high-income agency, ADRA/SP lacks a clearly articulated development philosophy and is uncertain about the most appropriate development strategies. Lack of clarity about goals and purposes is purported to be a common disadvantage of voluntary organisations. Its choice of projects reflects this. The agency has an ad hoc approach to project selection, without its own set criteria for choice of projects. Frequently dependent on existing relationships with ADRA International's regional directors for project identification and selection, there is little evidence that ADRA/SP has many direct links to local communities or to non-Adventist national organisations. Unlike many NGOs, ADRA/SP cannot claim to have close contact with and understanding of the needs of the poorest groups. There is little evidence from interviews or in documentation to indicate that ADRA/SP encourages local participation in project design, implementation or evaluation, apart from local contributions of labour or materials in some building projects.

The relevance of the agency's development efforts for local communities is questionable when most projects are defined by expatriates. While ADRA/SP shows growing understanding of problems and issues, it is enmeshed in the worldwide network of ADRA International. To develop its own direct links would be

time-consuming and costly, and is unlikely to occur given the relationship of the agency and its staff to the Adventist Church structure. It is likely that change within ADRA/SP will be limited or catalysed by the pace of change within its parent organisation and its expatriate staff.

A large percentage of agency spending is on support of teachers in Adventist schools, primarily for Adventist children, and colleges, which mainly train Adventists to work in church related occupations. While educational institutions do accept non-Adventists, they are a minority, raising questions about whether such work is developmental or aimed to extend and strengthen the Adventist Church network. ADRA/SP tends to prefer projects which are time and resource bound, and are easily identified, implemented and managed. The visible product can be shown to donors as a tangible result of funds given, financial accountability is straightforward, and such projects appear to be 'apolitical', carrying a low risk of alienating agency donors. ADRA/SP clearly lacks the emphasis on process and 'empowerment' of local people commonly ascribed to NGOs. By their own admission, agency staff have paid little attention to sustainability of development efforts.

As it has for other Australian agencies, the availability of AIDAB funds has resulted in the expansion of the geographical spread and range of agency activities. Contact with AIDAB and with its guidelines for project funding have encouraged thought within ADRA/SP about its priorities in project selection, prompting a swing away from support of expatriate personnel, schools and medical facilities. ADRA/SP staff have used their relationship with AIDAB and its Committee for Development Cooperation to extend knowledge about appropriate development strategies within and beyond the agency. Contact with ACFOA and other members agencies has also stimulated thought about development issues within ADRA/SP.

An agency with a relatively short history, ADRA/SP's development strategies place it in transition between the first and second generation strategies of NGO activity identified by Korten (1987:147-

150). With a clear emphasis on provision of tangible resources (first generation strategy), ADRA/SP is slowly beginning to emphasise community-based projects which attempt to encourage self-reliance (second generation strategy). The agency is clearly rethinking its priorities in the light of its learning about more sustainable development strategies.

Historically, ADRA/SP has placed little emphasis on development education. This is not surprising given that the agency does not have to educate to establish its own support base. The Adventist Church, with its strong emphasis on the needs of the less fortunate, provides a strong support base, committed to generous giving. ADRA/SP plans to extend its development education efforts, placing emphasis on the needs of developing countries and on the importance of giving. In its existing educational materials, wider issues such as the causes of poverty and the interdependence of the affluent world with developing nations are not addressed. Given the agency's desire to remain 'apolitical', it is likely to continue to confine its message to a description of basic needs.