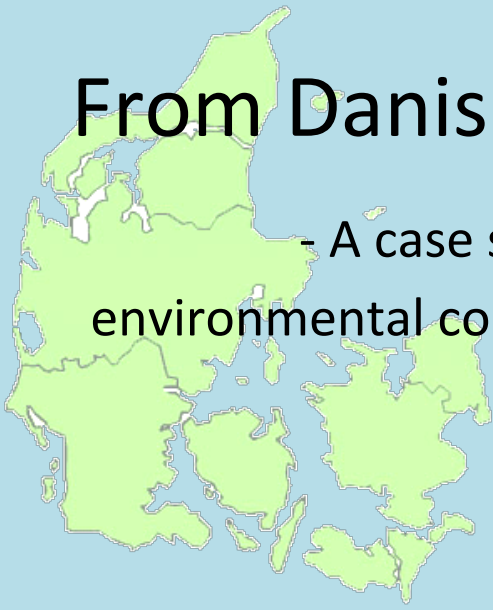# From Danish Policy to Indian Action

- A case study of the implementation of environmental considerations in Danish NGO-assistance

Aalborg University

Department of Development and Planning

Title: From Danish Policy to Indian Action
      - A case study of the implementation of environmental considerations in Danish NGO-assistance

Theme: Sustainability Management in a Societal and Institutional Perspective

Project Period: February 2nd 2011 – June 1st 2011

Semester: M.Sc. in Environmental Management and Sustainability Science, 2nd Semester

Supervisor: David Christensen

Number of Pages: 94 incl. reference list and appendices, excl. appendices on the enclosed CD

Edition Number: 4

Project Participants:

_____   _____

Sanne Jespersen   Ditte Schrøder Haagensen

Synopsis:

This project is dealing with the implementation process for the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in Danish development assistance. The process is analysed with respect to the NGO-assistance with starting point in a chosen case. The case consists of four organisations; Danida which prepare the strategies for Danish development assistance, the Project Advice and Training Centre which by Danida are given the responsibility for administrating a part of the NGO-assistance, the Danish NGO the India Group of Funen and the Indian NGO Jogypalpur Gram Vikas Kendra, which together should implement the project and thereby are the target group for the policy.

Based on implementation theory an analytical framework is developed. This framework forms the basis for the analysis of the different levels in the implementation process. In order to accomplish the analysis, interviews have been conducted with relevant implementation actors and a 14 days long field trip to the western part of India has been carried out.

The analysis consists of elaborations of four overall factors which are assessed as influencing the implementation process. From the analysis it proves that environmental considerations play a significant role in the investigated case. However it is also found that this result is not a consequence of an impeccable implementation process, but it is to a higher extend a consequence of the particular context of the chosen case. During the analysis it can be concluded that there are several critical points related to the different aspects of the implementation process which by an improvement can strengthen the future work with environmental considerations in relation to NGO-assistance.

Preface

This report was prepared in the spring of 2011 as a semester project on the second semester of the M.Sc. program in Environmental Management and Sustainability Science under the Department of Development and Planning, Aalborg University.

The report consists of three different levels; every chapter has one number while sections have two numbers. Furthermore, subsections will be marked as **bold** instead of having a number, and these will not appear in the table of contents. All pictures and figures will be referred to as "figure" and will have one number. This number does not relate to the chapter, but will appear in numerical order throughout the report. All references in the report are organised according to the Harvard method.

During the preparation of the project we have conducted three interviews and we would like to thank Merete Villum Pedersen from Danida, Rolf Hernø from the Project Advice and Training Centre (PATC) and Ganesh Sengupta from the India Group of Funen (IGF) for their will to participate in the interviews.

Besides the interviews, we have undertaken a field trip to the Sunderbans in India to visit the local NGO Jogypalpur Gram Vikas Kendra (JGVK). This was an amazing experience and we would like to thank all who made it possible and made the stay at JGVK unforgettable. First we would like to give a special thanks to the leader of JGVK Biswajit Mahakur for letting us stay at JGVK and for his admirable openness towards strangers. We would also like to thank Engineers Without Borders and our supervisor David Christensen who helped us establish the contact to JGVK and have provided us with important constructive suggestions. In the Sunderbans the used language is Bengali and the English skills among the local people are limited. Therefore our great benefits from the field trip would not have been possible, without help from Deep Kumar Gjarce and Hiya Haimante Mahkurt who during our stay helped us overcome the language barriers. Furthermore they were very helpful in order for us to understand the local culture and traditions. Therefore we would like to give a special thanks to the two. During our stay we were presented with a lot of different projects, all of which were established by JGVK. In relation to these presentations we would also like to thank the project coordinators, Nimai Bhandary, Ramprasad Pramanick and Debananda Das for spending their time on providing us with important information and always be open to our questions. Last but not least we would like to give a great thanks to all of the staff at JGVK and to the local people in the villages we visited who consistently made us feel very welcome.

Without the interviews and the field trip this present project would not have been possible.

We hope you will enjoy the reading!

Ditte Schrøder Haagensen & Sanne Jespersen

Table of contents

Appendices on the enclosed CD:

Appendix D: Audio files with the conducted interviews

Appendix E: Transcriptions of the conducted interviews

Appendix F: Program for the field trip

Appendix G: Summery of visit at the organic demonstration farm

Appendix H: Summery of visit at Gosaba – sand filter project

Appendix I: General PowerPoint presentation about JGVK

Appendix J: PowerPoint presentation about JGVK's environmental considerations

1 Introduction

In 2008, 1.4 billion people of the 6.46 billion global population lived for less than the World Bank's Poverty level of 1.25 dollars a day (Chen and Ravallion 2008). By far, most of these people are living in Africa and South Asia, where 50.9 % and 40.3 % of the population live for less than 1.25 dollars per day, respectively (World Bank 2011). At the same time, the world's population is significantly increasing and it is expected that in 2050 there will be approximately 9 billion people on the earth (USCB 2009). According to statistics made by the United Nations Statistic Division, the population growth has over the last 50 years mainly been taking place in the developing countries. In Africa the population has increased with 321 %, in Asia with 185 % while in Europe it is only 34 % (UN Statistics Division 2008). Based on these statistics it can be expected that an increased number of people will be born into poverty in the future.

In order to fight this poverty and improve the living conditions for the world's poorest people, the international community has since the end of the Second World War put an effort in development assistance. One of the earliest examples of one country helping underdeveloped countries is the former president of the USA Harry S. Trumans "Point Four" program from 1949 (Delanty and Isin 2003). One of the important things from this program was the vision that American technology and know-how could help underdeveloped countries (Delanty and Isin 2003). This resulted in hundreds of Americans coming to underdeveloped countries in order to help them improve their agricultural production and built up health and educational systems (Delanty and Isin 2003). Since then, fighting poverty and improving the living conditions of the poor has taken place by the use of plans and strategies for future development, supported by assistance from several of the industrialised countries. Based on the above estimations for population growth, it is presumable that the future poverty challenge is going to be significantly bigger and even more important than the one we face today. In relation to development assistance policy, it seems necessary to consider the natural limitations for the possibility of future development: Are there any limitations, in form of the amount of natural resources, for the development? And if so, how do we then cope with that in the future plans and strategies for development assistance? A lot of research has been made related to these questions (Ehrlich 1968), (Cohen 1995), (Kahuthu 2006) but it can be hard to draw one final conclusion. However, as the following section will show, the considerations about the environment versus development in development assistance have been on the international as well as on the Danish agenda since the 1970s and 80s respectively.

1.1 Environmental considerations and development assistance

Environmental considerations in development assistance have emerged along with environmental awareness in general, with the 1970s as the decade where environment seriously was put on the international agenda. One of the first studies that focused on the link between environment and development assistance and had a significant effect on international development assistance, was the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* in 1972 (Meadows et al 1972). One of the main conclusions in this report was that growth cannot con-

tinue forever. The Club of Rome came to the conclusion that the Earth's limits to growth would be reached within 100 years if the development continued as it had done until the release of the report (Meadows et al 1972). This could only be avoided if production techniques were changed to take environmental concerns into account and if material consumption was reduced (Meadows et al. 1972).

In addition to this report another important event occurred in 1972, which increased the general interest in the link between development and environment; the United Nations (UN) conference on human environment in Stockholm (Martinussen 1997). The first principle of the declaration of this conference is:

> *"Man has the fundamental right to freedom, equality and adequate conditions of life, in an environment of a quality that permits a life of dignity and well-being, and he bears a solemn responsibility to protect and improve the environment for present and future generations."* (UN 1972)

This principle clarifies that environment is significantly important, since it is a prerequisite of the fundamental conditions for a good life of man. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on the importance of protecting and improving the environment for both present and future generations.

Continuing during the 1980s there was an increasingly greater focus on environmental problems on the international as well as on the Danish agenda. The next important event occurred in 1987 with the Brundtland Commissions report *Our Common Future* (the commission is formally known as the World Commission on Environment and Development, which is a UN commission) (Brundtland et al. 1987). In this report the term *sustainable development* was introduced, and a main point in this regard, was that there are no conflicts between the goals of fighting poverty, having socio-economic development and protecting the environment – all three pillars can go hand in hand (Brundtland et al. 1987).

On the international level the Brundtland Commissions report was a prelude to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (Martinussen 1997). The main goal of the conference was to reaffirm and built upon the declaration of the Stockholm conference from 1972. On the conference, the notion of sustainable development was adopted and in this regard there was a specific emphasis on environment in relation to the development process:

> *"In order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it."* (UN 1992)

And furthermore it is recognised, that:

> *"Peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible."* (UN 1992)

There were high expectations to the UNCED conference, but the outcome turned out to be disappointing; only a few binding agreements were made and all though the develop-

ing countries received additional assistance transfers to preserve and protect the environment, it neither proportionated their expectations nor the extent of the environmental problems (Martinussen 1997). However, one of the important outcomes of the conference was the commitment to Agenda 21, which was the plan of action for how the world could obtain sustainable development in the 21st century (Martinussen 1997). The Agenda 21 would prove to play an important role in later international agenda.

Based on these international events, the focus on the environment also started to emerge in Danish assistance policy. In 1983 it was decided to make the environment one out of three cross-cutting issues in development assistance (the two others are "gender equality" and "democratization, human rights and good governance") (Bach et al. 2008). A cross-cutting issue means that considerations about the issue should be considered in all kind of projects, plans and programs supported by Denmark (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008a). In the years after 1983 the integration of environmental considerations in both policies and projects was still limited, but with the publishing of the Brundtland report and its idea about sustainability, in 1987 the environment became the pivotal theme in Danish assistance policy (Bach et al. 2008). Since then the environment has played an important role in Danish development assistance policy and has been visible in several of the strategies within this area (Danida 1994), (Danida 2000), (Danida 2010a). This also means that the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue is still one of the overall policies of Danida (the part of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs which manage the Danish development assistance).

Also at the international level, the environment continued being on the agenda: As the 20th century came to its end and the UN reflected on how the development of the new millennium should take place, environment was again a central issue. On the UN's 2000 Millennium Summit in New York, the world's leaders came together and adopted the UN's Millennium Declaration committing their nations to what turned out to be the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (UNDP no date a). They consist of eight goals that should be achieved by 2015, and addresses the issues of the developing countries:

Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
Goal 5: Improve maternal health
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development

(UNDP no date a)

The MDGs provides a framework for the entire UN system to work coherently together towards these common goals (UNDP no date a), which has also affected the Danish assistance policy. After Denmark's adaption of the MDGs in 2000, they have remained overall goals for the strategies of Danish development assistance, and together with the cross-cutting issues, they set the frames for the current development assistance.

During the 2000s the importance of the environment has been further underpinned by the increased focus on climate change and its consequences. Both in Denmark and internationally climate change has over the last 10-15 years been on the top of the environmental agenda. There have been organised meetings and conferences as well as several plans, strategies and reports have been made in order to try to mitigate and adapt to climate change. In relation to Danish development assistance policy, climate change has been a significant issue as well; in 2005 Danida published a plan of action for the integration of the aspects of climate in Danish development assistance (Danida 2005) and furthermore climate is integrated together with environment in the newest overall strategy for Danish development assistance from 2010 "Freedom for Poverty – Freedom to Change" (Danida 2010a). Also in UN's Development Programme (UNDP), climate has during the last decade played a significant role as part of their work with the environment. This is underpinned by the fact that climate is one of UN's cross-cutting issues (UNDP no date b).

Overall the current focus on climate change and the above mentioned historical events, with especially the Brundtland Commissions report and the MDGs as most evident, have resulted in a great focus on environmental challenges and on securing sustainable development. Furthermore it has entailed that the perception of seeing environment as something that can go hand in hand with development has gained more acceptance. For example, Danida write in relation to their assistance policy:

> "(...) the environmental problems must be solved as part of a broader strategy to alleviate the poverty, where protection of the environment is combined with the creation of the increasing income for the population."
> (Danida 2002:12)

However, this increased focus on the possibilities of making environment and development go hand in hand also enhances the importance of the commitment of the civil society.

1.2 The importance of the civil society

Overall the civil society have a significant critical role in relation to the effect of integrating environmental considerations in development assistance (Bird 2009) – it is the civil society which have to integrate environmental aspects in their acts, e.g. by stopping the use of pesticides, stop deforestation or managing their waste etc.. This importance of the civil society has also been adopted by the Paris Declaration from 2005 to which more than 100 ministers and head of agencies committed their countries and organisations (Paris Declaration 2005). The Paris Declaration's focus is effectiveness of aid and one of the main elements is the importance of the recipient countries' involvement, and among this the involvement of the civil society (Paris Declaration 2005), (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009a). By committing to the declaration, the countries and organisations also committed to the following:

> "We will deepen our engagement with CSOs (civil society organisations) as independent development actors in their own right whose efforts complement those of governments and the private sector. We share an interest

in ensuring that CSO contributions to development reach their full poten-
tial. To this end:

(…)

c) We will work with CSOs to provide an enabling environment that maxi-
*mises their contributions to development.*" (Paris Declaration 2005)

In relation to the environment, however, it is necessary to take into account that the civil society in developing countries act within some conditions which can make the focus on environmental aspects very complicated; as a Chinese environmental manager presented it in a course about environmental considerations in China: "*People would rather die of pollution than of hunger*" (Wei 2011). These conditions entail an area for further considerations; is it possible to implement the strategies about environmental protection in the civil society in the developing countries, and if so, how? These considerations will be elaborated further in the following section.

1.2 The involvement of the civil society

When looking at the structure of Danish assistance policy there are several different types of assistance. The form of assistance which has a special and an explicit focus on the civil society is the so-called NGO-assistance. Approximately 1.2 billion Danish kroner (10 % of the total Danish development assistance) are addressed to the NGO-assistance which means it should go directly to the civil society through Danish NGOs. About the idea of using NGOs as the link to the civil society Danida write:

> "*The NGOs has a number of comparative advantages compared to other actors in development co-operation. For example the NGOs have specific requisites in creating international understanding and strengthening the public support of development assistance in both North and South. Simultaneously the NGOs have a close cooperation with the local organisations in the South where the target group, which are of high priority in the Danish assistance, are being involved, and the local collaborators are strengthened as a part of the civil society.*" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010a, authors' translation)

By the above quotation Danida underpin the strength of using NGOs as intermediary between Danida itself and the civil society. However the use of NGOs entails that the process of implementing Danida's policies, from the strategic level in Danida to the project level in a developing country, is getting more complex. The structure of the implementation process within the NGO-assistance can be illustrated by figure 1.
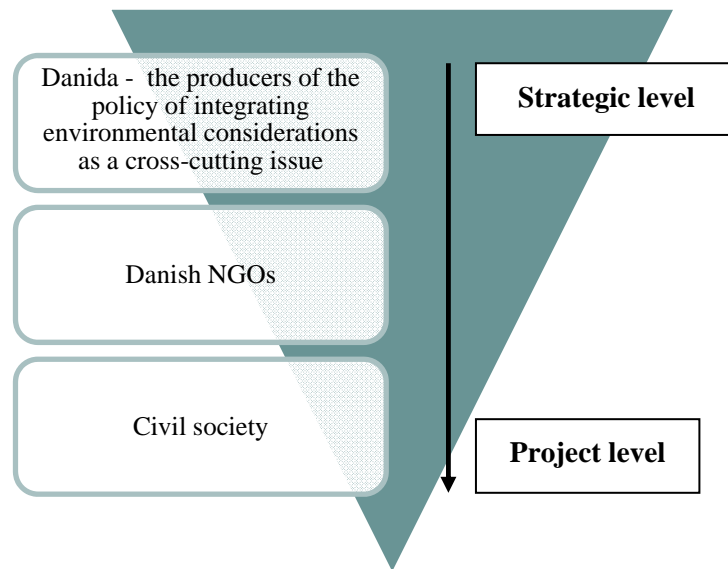
Figure 1: The implementation process within the NGO-assistance.

Though the NGO-assistance has a specific focus on reaching the civil society directly, the figure illustrates that there are three levels in the implementation process. This means that Danida's policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue should be channelled across both organisational and geographical boarders; organisational in form of different organisations which can have different interests, focus and agendas and geographical in form of different countries with different cultures and institutional contexts.

Based on these circumstances it can be questioned if the use of NGO's and their connection to local partners entail that the implementation process is getting too complex? And whether a complex implementation process will result in possible implementation problems where Danida's policy does not affect the project level and the civil society as intended? These questions are the basis for research question which will be the starting point for this present project.

1.3 Research question

Based on the issues clarified through the introduction, this present project seeks to investigate the implementation process in relation to development assistance policy and NGO-assistance with respect to Danida's policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. Thus the research question will be as presented in the box on the next page; the research question will consist of one main research question and, in order to answer this, two sub-questions.

How is the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue, implemented as a part of the NGO-assistance - from the strategic level in Denmark to the project level in developing countries - and how does this process affect the implementation results?

- *What is implementation theory and how can it be understood in relation to development assistance policy?*
- *How are environmental considerations implemented in the different levels in the implementation process?*

The research question and sub-questions will set the frames for the rest of the report. In the following subsection the structure of the report will be presented together with the purpose of the different chapters.

1.4 Structure of the report

The structure of the report is illustrated with figure 2 on the next page. To the left the structure of the report is illustrated and to the right the purpose of the chapter is briefly described. It is furthermore enhanced how the different chapters are related to the research question and the sub-questions.

The structure of the report is:

The purpose of the chapter is to:

Introduction

Chapter 1

Elaborate the problem area and present the research question and sub-questions.

Methodology

Chapter 2

Present the considerations about theories of science and the chosen methods used for answering the research question.

Designing the analytical framework

Chapter 3

Answer the first sub-question by elaborating on implementation theory and how it can be used for the following analysis.

Analysis

Chapter 4,5,6,7 and 8

Answer the second sub-question by using the identified analytical framework. Each of the chapters will constitute an analysis of one of the levels in the implementation process.

Conclusion and discussion

Chapter 9

Answer the overall research question based on the findings from the analysis.

Figure 2: The structure of the report and the purpose of the chapters.

2 Methodology

This chapter will present the methodology of the project, with the main purpose of explaining how the research question has been handled throughout the report. Thus, the applied methods will be described along with the considerations about theories of science. Overall, case study has been the approach to answer the research question, while the methods for the collection of data have been literature studies, interviews and field observations in the Sundarbans in India, which is the area of the case study. In the following, the reflection for the selection of the case study and the three data collection methods will be described, but first some initial considerations about theories of science will be examined.

2.1 Initial considerations about theories of science

When doing research, it is important to have some considerations about theories of science, because these underlying considerations have an impact on the following analysis and thereby on the findings of the research. Reflections on theories of science make it possible to be critical of your work as a researcher and of the conclusions this work leads to. These considerations are in particular important when collecting and processing data, which is why they are related to the methods for collection of data used in this project; literature studies, interviews and field observations. In relation to this it should be noted that various directions within theories of science often can be the approach to the same method, which will affect the results. In the case of this project, it has been decided to work with the two directions *hermeneutics* and *phenomenology*. Hermeneutics is in this project the theory used when *interpreting* written texts, which means that it has been used as a part of the method for literature studies and interviews (as they are being transcribed). Phenomenology however, is applied when *describing* the observations made.

In regard to the different directions within theories of science, ontology and epistemology is often discussed, in order to distinguish the directions from each other. Ontology is "*the study of being*", and is specifying how existence or reality is perceived (Collin and Køppe 2007). Epistemology is about how knowledge is realised (Collin and Køppe 2007). In the following subsections, hermeneutics and phenomenology will be described in relation to the methods of relevance, and their ontology and epistemology will be determined.

Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics comes from a Greek term meaning "interpret" and in the 17th century it became a term for methodological considerations of interpreting theological and legal texts (Pahuus 2007). It can overall be described as the theory of interpretation, meaning that the hermeneutic approach, besides focusing on the five senses and logic, also applies empathy and interpretation as a source to realisation (Thurén 2007). The founder of hermeneutics is considered to be the philosopher and theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) who expanded hermeneutics to include all sorts of texts and he also emphasised the importance of the author's mental motivation for writing the text (Pahuus 2007).

There will not be looked deeper into the history of hermeneutics, but just to mention a few important hermeneutic theorists, Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer can be noted as two philosophers having affected hermeneutic in the 20th century (Pahuus 2007).

In hermeneutics it is important to be aware, that when you as a researcher interpret, you have a *pre-understanding* which affects your interpretation. Maybe you have experienced something which influences your way of understanding in a certain direction. This is the basis for the hermeneutic circle which is essential in the hermeneutic ontology. The hermeneutic circle means that you always have a pre-understanding which affects your way of interpretation (Botin 2010). Through interpretation you will get a new understanding that leads to a new pre-understanding, which again will affect your next interpretation.

Another important thing that has to be mentioned when elaborating on the hermeneutic approach is the importance of the written (Botin 2010), which has been the point of origin for hermeneutics as noted in the beginning of this subsection. According to the hermeneutic way of thinking, it is not the way you experience things that is important, it is, as mentioned, how you interpret it. This means e.g. that when you are conducting an interview with a person it is, according to the hermeneutic approach, not important that you sit in the same room and sense the atmosphere etc. - the important thing is what the one you are interviewing is telling you. Based on this it is decided to conduct the interview over phone and Skype and afterwards transcribe them.

The above paragraphs can be summarised into defining the ontology and epistemology of hermeneutics: The hermeneutic ontology is, that how the world is perceived, is based on a person's interpretation of the world, which is influenced by this person's unique pre-understanding. The epistemology and how realisation takes place in hermeneutics, is through interpretation. Regarding this project, the hermeneutic approach has for this reason been used when written texts are being analysed; this has been present in literature studies and when analysing interviews as they have been transcribed. This means that when we are analysing the interviews and the literature applied in the project, we have a pre-understanding that affects our interpretation. This pre-understanding is throughout the project being changed because of the thinking behind the hermeneutic circle. This influence of a pre-understanding is important to be aware of since it can influence the drawn conclusions. An example of this is e.g. if we as author have the pre-understanding that environment and development always can go hand in hand, then we might be critical if some of the people interviewed are saying something else. However, though we will be critical, the statements of the interviewed might also make us change our understanding of environment versus development. This new pre-understanding can then again influence the interpretation of the next conducted interview. Thereby the different interviews will be interpreted based on different pre-understandings which might influence the conclusions. This influence is an important part of the considerations about theories of science and should be taken into account doing the following research.

Phenomenology

Since one of the methods applied in this project is field observations, it is assessed that hermeneutics should be supplemented with another scientific theoretical approach because in hermeneutics there is not any focus on sensing and experiencing the surround-

ings. This is an essential part of observations, because it implies the importance of actually being present as a researcher and observing the object in its usual surroundings (Andersen 2003). When analysing the implementation process of development assistance, it is assessed as being relevant to observe and experience the actual implementation of a development project. This is important in order to get a full understanding of the context of the area where the project is being implemented, to understand how the implementation has been taken place, whether it has succeeded or not, and to be able to reflect critical on the results. Therefore phenomenology is used as the theory of science when applying observations as a method.

Phenomenology has been one of the dominating philosophical directions in the 20th century and was founded by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) (Zahavi 2007). Since Husserl, phenomenology has developed with the influence amongst others by Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Hans-Georg Gadamer and Maurice Merleau-Ponty (Zahavi 2007). Translated from Greek, phenomenology means "the science of a phenomenon" and can be described as

> *"(...) a philosophical analysis of the objects different appearances and in relation to this as a reflexive analysis of the structures of understanding that allows the objects to appear as they do."* (Zahavi 2004:13, authors' translation)

This means, that in the phenomenological approach it is important to be aware of how an object appears to you as a researcher and why it appears this way. An object can appear different from person to person according to which *life-world* the observer has (this can be seen as a parallel to the hermeneutic "pre-knowledge"). The life-world is a result of the previous experiences a person have had and it changes concurrently with new experiences. This means that the life-world influences the way the researcher study the phenomenon. In relation to this project, the life-world plays an important role because the project group are going to do research that takes place within two very different contexts; Denmark as a developed country giving assistance to India as the developing country where the implementation of the policy of integrating environmental considerations in the projects takes place. In this regard it is important to be aware, that the life-world of the researcher presumably varies a lot from the life-world of the people being observed because the two contexts are so different from each other. Regardless of the individual life-world, the phenomenological approach still assumes that it is possible, that someone else would see the same things as the researcher and therefore would make the same description of the phenomenon if that someone stood in the researcher's shoes. This concept is called "intersubjectivity" and can be defined as *the sharing of subjective states by two or more individuals*" (Scheff et. al 2006:41). Intersubjectivity is often confused with objectivity, but the difference between the concepts is, that when you are objective the world is perceived as an object observed from the outside, while by being intersubjective the world is observed from the world itself – by using a phenomenology term it is called "being-in-the-world" (Zahavi 2004). All in all this means that the ontology of phenomenology is that the world is how it is being experienced through our individual life-world, while the epistemology is that realisation takes place by "being-in-the-world".

Based on the chosen methods for data collection, the scientific theoretical considerations have entailed that two overall directions within theories of science is applied throughout the project; the hermeneutic approach for analysing interviews and texts, and the phenomenological approach for making observations. This means that gathering, processing and analysing data in this project is made in accordance with two understandings of reality (ontology) and realisation (epistemology): *One* is to obtain knowledge through interpretation, and *another* is to obtain knowledge from describing a phenomenon based on experiences. Present for both understandings, is the importance of being aware of the influence of the researchers pre-knowledge and life-world. In many ways, the two approaches have the same characteristics, also by the same philosophers having influenced them (such as Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer). Thus, they are considered a great supplement to each other in regard to this present project.

In the following the case study method will be described as the overall approach for answering the research question. The case study also has an impact on which data collection methods have been applied, and these will be described afterwards.

2.2 Case study

A case study is an empirical study which is often being used when studying organisations (Andersen 2003). Thus, the case study is an obvious approach in relation to this project as it is regarding implementation processes, which take place in various organisations (see figure 1). In case studies, a phenomenon – in this case some organisations - is investigated within its context of operation, and in order to be able to understand and explain the processes taking place in the organisations, it is usually necessary to work with many factors at the same time (Andersen 2003). There are various approaches within the field of case studies. In this project it has been chosen to use a critical case as the overall method for this project due to the complexity of the research area and the constraints in the time available. A critical case is defined as

> *"(…) a case which has strategic importance in relation to an overall problem."* (Flyvbjerg 1998:149, authors' translation)

Bent Flyvbjerg (1998) argues that when the purpose of a study is to get the greatest amount of information about a certain problem, critical case studies can be an effective way to receive this information because they tend to activate multiple actors and more fundamental mechanisms of the studied situation. This can help identifying the underlying mechanisms that can cause problems in relation to the studied topic and which consequences these problems may result in (Flyvbjerg 1998).

Based on this, it has been chosen to select one case that can represent an implementation process of the policy of environment as a cross-cutting issue in Danish NGO-assistance. The case can be presented as illustrated on figure 3 and takes its starting point in the overall structure of Danish NGO-assistance illustrated in figure 1 in the previous chapter.
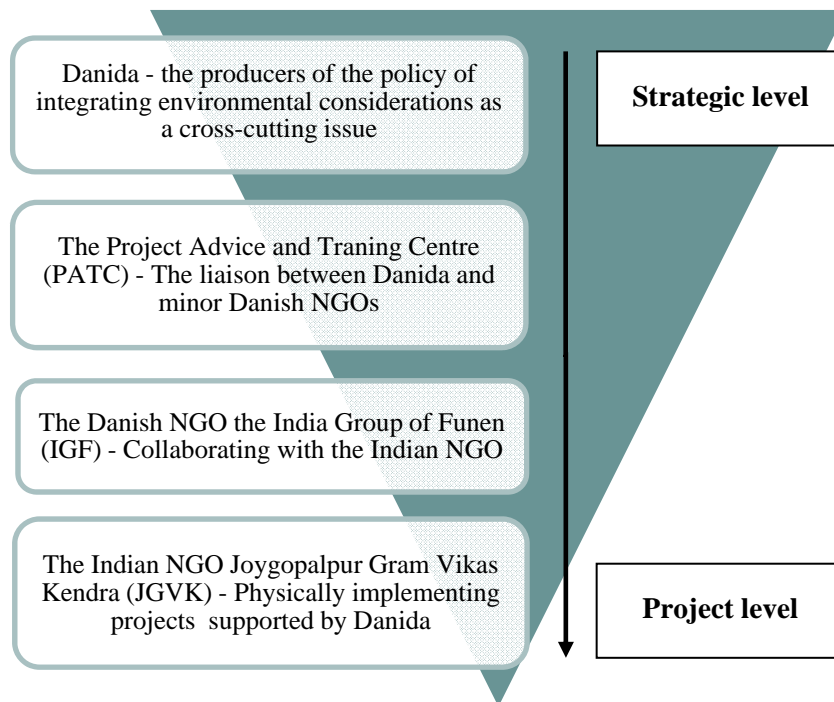
Figure 3: The implementation process of the chosen case.

As illustrated, the case consists of four organisations that all are interconnected in relation to Danish NGO-assistance. The four organisations will briefly be described in the next subsections, and finally the considerations related to the choice of this particular case will be elaborated in order to specify why this is a critical case.

Danida

As mentioned in chapter 1, Danida are the part of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs that manages Danish development assistance. Thereby Danida are preparing the overall strategies, programs, guidelines, policies, etc. related to Danish development assistance, and they have also prepared the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue.

The Project Advice and Training Centre (PATC)

PATC are a union with more than 260 different Danish NGOs all of which are working with development assistance (PATC no date a). PATC receive 80 million Danish kroner yearly from Danida. This amount of money is the part of the NGO-assistance that constitutes the so-called Project Fund (PATC 2011), (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011). The Project Fund is Danida's contribution to help minor NGOs with financing their development assistance projects, and PATC function as the administrator of the fund. The NGOs do not have to be members in order to apply for grants at the fund, and they can be granted with up to 5 million kroner. In order to administrate this, PATC consist of a steering committee which has the overall responsibility for the organisation, and a fund committee that is responsible for the fund and thereby responsible for how the assistance from Danida is channelled to the NGOs (PATC no date a). PATC's activities are overall sub-

ordinated to Danida's policies, and thereby also to the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in the projects they are granting.

Besides being responsible for the Project Fund on behalf of Danida, the tasks of PATC are to provide consultancy services to their members. This is carried out through courses, consultations, facilitation of experience exchange and the development of networks (PATC no date).

The India Group of Funen (IGF)

IGF are a Danish NGO and one of the members of PATC. IGF were founded in 1991 by Ganesh Sengupta and some local voluntary people from Svendborg, Denmark. Ganesh Sengupta is originally from India, but has lived in Denmark for 40 years (Sengupta 2011). He is therefore thoroughly versed in the Danish and the Indian context and thus an important link for the organisation to India (IGF 2010a). Today IGF have approximately 90 members all over Denmark, ten of which are responsible for the practical work such as preparing project applications to e.g. PATC, preparing reports, and accounts (IGF 2010b).

The overall purpose of IGF is to improve the living conditions for the poor people in West Bengal in India (IGF 2010a). Through several different projects IGF try to provide sustainable development in West Bengal, where particularly the involvement of the local community is essential (IGF 2010a).

Regarding finances, the majority of IGF's resources come from Danida through PATC – during the last 10 years IGF have received approximately 11 million Danish kroner from PATC for various projects in India (PATC no date b). Furthermore, IGF receive money from other external sponsors and private donations and funds, and collect membership fees.

Joygopalpur Gram Vikas Kendra (JGVK)

JGVK were formed in 1998 by Biswajit Mahakar (JVGK 2009). Biswajit Mahakur has been working on improving the living conditions at the Sundarbans since the early 1980s (JGVK 2011a). In the middle of the 1990s Ganesh Sengupta from IGF came to the area with the purpose to find local partners to collaborate with in order to support local development in the area and Biswajit Mahakur showed the effort he had made for the local people (JGVK 2011a). This resulted in the official formation of JGVK. Since then IGF and JGVK have been very close related, and they also share the same mission; to improve the quality of life with respect for the civil society in the rural West Bengal (JGVK 2010), (IGF 2010c). The two organisations' starting point was the village Joygopalpur, but as JGVK have grown, they have started to operate in greater parts of the Sundarbans, and have expanded to other districts in West Bengal and also to the neighbour state Orissa (JGVK 2010) (see figure 4). However, the focus of this present project will be on their operations in the Sundarbans, as this is where they have most of their activities. JGVK do not have a particular focus on the environment, but they work with a starting point in a vision about providing a development that is sustainable within the social, environmental and economic context (JVGK 2009).

20
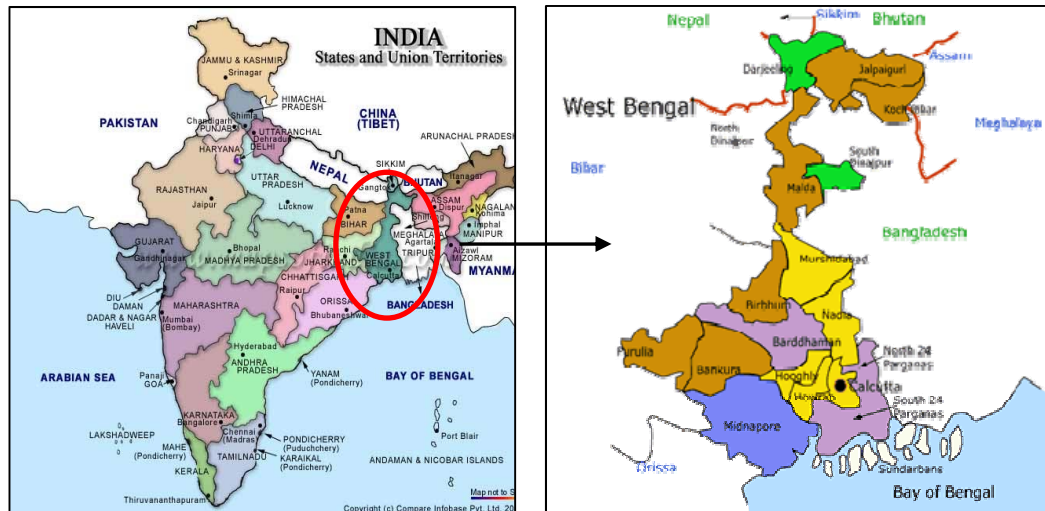
Figure 4: Map of India and the West Bengal where JGVK are operating (JGVK 2011a).

Important for understanding the work of JGVK, is of cause also the area in which it is engaged. As mentioned, the main focus area of JGVK is the Sunderbans in West Bengal, India (see figure 4). This area is the world's biggest mangrove forest and is thereby a very special and vulnerable nature area. At the same time, the poverty in this area is particularly extreme and pervasive, partly because of the remote location and the poor infrastructure, which makes access to the area difficult. Furthermore, the area has within the last 40 years witnessed a significant immigration from Bangladesh, and about 20 million people have fled from Bangladesh to West Bengal and the Sunderbans, which has put greater pressure on the area and nature (IGF 2010d). At the same time IGF and JGVK state that the Government has a lack of interest in the area and the condition of the poor people, and due to lack of resources and the possibilities for education, the local people have limited possibilities for creating development themselves (IGF 2010d), (Mahakur 2011). In chapter 7 there will be an elaborating description of the context of the Sundarbans.

These different circumstances make the area very vulnerable, and the need for help is significant. Since its founding, JGVK have implemented a broad range of different projects – from fishery and agriculture projects to health and education projects. The table on the following page gives an overview of JGVK's nine main projects.

Project	Goal
Organic farming	To secure sustainable cultivation along with higher production of agricultural products.
Pisciculture	To raise the household income through the development of a sustainable fishery production system along with providing nutritional support to the rural people.
Water and sanitation	To reduce the incidences of water, sanitation and hygiene related diseases.
Education	To improve the quality of school education within the local area. The target group is children from 6 to 14 years old.
Health	To reduce the infant mortality rate and maternal mortality rate among the rural community.
Home industry	To increase the income of the households through home industry activities with a special focus on making the housewives and girls from the poor families economically self-sufficient.
Animal husbandry	To increase the income for the local people through animal production, and to consume more protein through increased intake of meat.
Information, Education and Communication	To generate awareness and educational material for the local people that support and strengthen the other projects. The material produced so far is four documentary films, various publications and a monthly newsletter "Ajker Basundharas" (Today's Earth).
Partnership activity	To establish new partnerships with local and international organisations in order to expand the area of operation.

(JGVK 2009), (JGVK 2010)

Common for all of them is a high degree of active participation from the local people, which is one of the organisation's core values (JGVK 2009).

The case selection

To sum up, the case study for this present project is to analyse how Danida's policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue, is implemented throughout the four above described levels/organisations.

There are different reasons for the choice of this particular case; *first* the case is considered as being representative for several of the implementation processes in relation to Danish NGO-assistance, given that it involves Danida at the strategic level and a Danish NGO and a local partner in a developing country at the project level. *Second,* the representativeness is underpinned by the fact that IGF and thereby JVGK, have received a significant part of funds from PATC given for several different projects over time. Thereby the case is interesting in order to identify how the strategies of Danida influences the work of PATC and thereby the work of the NGOs. *Third* we (the authors) have the possibility to travel to India and visit JVGK and study their work. This possibility is assumed to give us a significant benefit in order to analyse if and how environmental considerations are integrated in the activities of JVGK. Furthermore the visit will provide a deeper understanding of the context in which IGF and JGVK are working.

Another thing that should be mentioned in relation to the case selection is the focus on the environmental aspects. Neither IGF nor JGVK have an explicit focus on the environment, which means that it is not obvious how they integrate considerations about it in their work. It is a deliberated choice on the authors' part to work with a case where the environment is not the main focus of the NGOs, because it is assumed that this case will give a better understanding of how the strategies of Danida are implemented. If the main focus of the NGOs was environmental considerations, then it must be assumed that Danida's strategy of environment as a cross-cutting issue is a part of the NGOs' work. By choosing such a case it would thereby be significantly difficult to identify whether or not the implementation process actually have an influence on the results, because the NGOs would integrate environment regardless the implementation process.

In order to collect data for the case study, three methods have been used. These are as mentioned; literature studies, interviews and observations. The approaches for these methods will be elaborated in the following three sections.

2.3 Literature studies

Literature studies have been used throughout the project for various purposes:

- Initial knowledge about development assistance in general (used in the introduction).
- Knowledge about the different theories applied in the project (theories of science, case study and critical case methodology, implementation theory, institutional theory and discourse theory).
- Information about the work of the four organisations that are a part of the selected case.

The literature has mainly consisted of books and reports published by researchers at universities and official authorities such as the UN, EU or the Danish government. All the literature used is considered valid since it comes from official sources and professional researchers. Furthermore, homepages have also been a part of the literature study, mainly in order to provide knowledge about the organisations that are a part of the case study. These homepages are considered valid data as well, given that they are representing data about the different organisations. Nevertheless, it is still important to take in consideration the different authors and their purposes of writing the literature, which has taken place by cross-checking the information.

2.4 Interviews

Interviews have been an important part of conducting the case study and gaining knowledge about the implementation process. As it will be shown in chapter 3, implementation is a complex process which cannot be analysed only by reading official strategies about environmental considerations and then assuming that these strategies has been implemented. Therefore, interviews have been an important supplement to the analysis of the implementation process in order to gain deeper knowledge about the various organisa-

tions of the implementation process and their procedures. It has been decided to interview one representative from each of the Danish organisations involved in the implementation process of the selected case (the procedures of the Indian NGO is investigated through field observations). The interviewed people are:

- Danida: Merete Villum Pedersen. Senior technical adviser in environment and energy
- PATC: Rolf Hernø. Chairman of the fund committee
- IGF: Ganesh Sengupta. Secretary and founder of IGF

Interview guides

As an approach to conducting the interviews, the semi-structured interview has been chosen. This means that an interview guide is the starting point of the interview, but it is also possible to discuss conditions that are outside the scope of the interview guide. The semi-structured interview is very useful when the purpose of the interview is to get deeper knowledge about a certain topic; the interview guide makes sure that the interviewee will respond to everything that seems of importance before the interview, but it will also be possible to dig deeper into various conditions that may come up during the interview.

The starting point of the interview has been to introduce the project to the interviewed and to explain the purpose of this interview in order for the person to understand the context. The questions have been formulated with a point of departure in the theory used throughout the project; implementation theory and discourse theory (see chapter 3). Each of the interviews has individual interview guides, but all involve the following topics:

- What the organisation is doing to implement environment as a cross-cutting issue
- How the organisation is related to the other organisations in the implementation process
- Their understanding of sustainability, environment and development versus environment.

In appendix A, B and C the different interview guides will be found for the interview with Merete Villum Pedersen, Rolf Hernø and Ganesh Sengupta respectively. (The interview was conducted in Danish but the interview guides have been translated into English).

Conducting and processing the interviews

All of the interviews have been conducted by the use of either Skype or phone. During all of the interviews, both members of the group were present: One of the group members took the role as the interviewer, while the other asked follow up questions if it was found necessary. The interviewees had all had the possibility of preparing for the interview, as they had been sent the interview guide beforehand.

The three interviews have, as mentioned, been conducted in Danish, because all of the participants were Danish speaking. All of the interviews have been recorded and transcribed in order to get an overview of the interview, and to make the analysis of them easier. When using quotations in the report, these have been translated to English by the

authors. The audio files and transcriptions of the interviews are attached as appendix D and E respectively.

When making interviews, there are some sources of error that should be taken into consideration. These can overall be described as issues concerning miscommunication and misinterpretation between the interviewer and the interviewee. For instance, the interviewee can misunderstand the questions during the interview, and the reverse; answers can be misunderstood by the interviewer. This source of error is considered as being more present when the interviews are conducted by phone or Skype, because it makes it harder to understand each other when body language is not a part of the conversation. Furthermore, when processing the interviews and analysing them, misinterpretation might take place as well. In order to take these sources of error into account, both of the authors where a part of all of the interviews, and have also been a part of processing them.

2.5 Field observations

In order to get a more comprehensive understanding of the implementation process from the strategic level in Denmark to the project level in India, a 14 day field trip to the Sundarbans was carried out in order to visit the Indian NGO JGVK, and thereby make field observations and study the implementation process related to the project level. The purpose of these field observations is to understand the social context of the area, get an understanding of the way JGVK are operating as an organisation and to see if and how they are working with environmental considerations in their projects. Such a field trip has the following benefits; *first* it gives the possibility of studying the organisation within the surroundings where it normally acts. *Secondly* it gives the possibility to get a better feeling about the context in which the organisation acts. Of course 14 days cannot be seen as enough to get a full understanding of the Sundarbans, the culture and the whole context of JGVK's work. Nevertheless it is assessed that the trip will provide more comprehensive knowledge compared to what could be achieved through books, internet and long distance interviews.

During the field trip, two observation techniques have been applied (see figure 5); 1) *participating observations* where the project group was a part of the activities of JGVK, and 2) *non-participating observations* where the project group was observing activities without being a part of them. During the field trip several reflections have been made regarding these observation techniques, which have been inspired by Andersen's (2003) characteristics of observations. These reflections have ended up forming the characterisations of the observations of the field trip as the following:

- The observations take place in the *field*, which is; the Sundarbans, JGVK's head-quarter and the location of the different projects.
- The observations are *open*, so that all the people observed know that they are the subject of the observation. In relation to the observations, not all of the observed people have been informed with the purpose of the observations, but they are aware of the fact that they are being observed by the project group.
- The observations are *structured* by the project group having prepared which projects to visit during the field trip (see program for the field trip on appendix F).

Figure 5: The two observation techniques applied during the field trip. The two first pictures show the participating observation, where the project group is interacting with the staff of JGVK and the local people, while the third picture shows the non-participating observation where the project group is looking at the activities of JGVK from the outside.

During the observations, several conversations have taken place between the project group and the staff at JGVK. When visiting the projects, the project coordinators were telling about the projects and often the beneficiaries of the projects told about how they came to benefit from it. During these conversations, notes were taken, and those that are being used in relation to this report are attached as appendix G and H as documentation. Furthermore, the staff at JGVK has made some PowerPoint presentations about the organisation and about their environmental considerations in regard to their projects. These presentations have been attached at appendix I and J. However, several conversations with Biswajit Mahakur, the chairman of JGVK, has been taking place throughout the field trip, where he explains about the Sundarbans, the social context, the organisation of JGVK and their activities. Since these conversations have been taking place throughout a long period of time, it has not been possible to make a summary and they have therefore not been documented.

When making observations there are some sources of error which have to be taken into account: *First* it is important to be aware that people who are being observed very often change their behaviour and act differently compared to how they would behave under normal circumstances (Andersen 2003). This can be avoided by extending the observation as long as possible and as the observant try to be an integrated part of the organisation. *Secondly* it is, as observant, important to be aware that you have a specific perspective which can entail that you observe some things and not others. Furthermore you can, as observant, have some prejudiced ideas and understandings of the situation you are analysing, which will influence your way of observing the studied subject. This aspect is closely related to the phenomenological approach and understanding of the importance of being aware of the life-world of the observant.

Based on the above description of the applied methods, the considerations about theories of sciences and how this influenced the methods and understanding of knowledge, the following chapters will attempt to answer the sub-questions and in the end the overall research question.

3 Designing the analytical framework

As presented in section 1.3 Research question, the aim of this present project is to look into how environmental considerations have been implemented throughout the different levels of Danish NGO-assistance, and how this process has affected the implementation results. In this regard, it is necessary to obtain a general understanding of implementation theory in order to be able to apply it to development assistance. This chapter will therefore seek to answer the first sub-research question:

> *What is implementation theory and how can it be understood in relation to development assistance policy?*

The starting point of the chapter will be implementation theory based on the questions: What is implementation in regard to public administration? And which critical factors affect the implementation process and the result of it? Based on this knowledge, the aim is to use the described implementation theory as basis for designing an analytical framework. The objectives for the framework is that it should cover the complexities that are present in relation to development assistance and thereby the specific case of this project regarding NGO-assistance.

3.1 Implementation theory

Implementation is about *executing* or *carrying out* a decision and this decision usually relates to some kind of *change*. Implementation takes place in organisations of all sorts; public organisations operating on both the global, national and local level, private companies and domestic organisations such as families. Thereby it is a very broad concept that covers many different aspects. In the following the focus will, however, only be on implementation of public administration as this is related to the research question.

Implementation in public administration is about how legislation, strategies and guidelines are converted to practice in the meeting between public organisations and their employees (street-level bureaucrats) on the one hand and the citizens (the target group) on the other (Winter and Nielsen 2008). Research on implementation emerged from evaluation research, which can be characterised as research where the main focus is on the result and not the process. One of the first examples of evaluation research was in the 1970s were the United States Great Society policy reform from the 1960s was evaluated (Winter 2003). This research together with others highlighted that the policies very often only had little or no effect (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973). These conclusions stimulated an interest for a deeper look into the reason for this lack of effects which entailed more analysis of the administrative process between policy making and the effects (Winter 2003). These administrative processes can be characterised as the process of implementation.

The first studies of implementation were case studies (Winter and Nielsen 2008). A classic example of this is Pressman and Wildavsky's case study of an economic development project, which should have resulted in reducing the high unemployment among African Americans, but instead the money was spend on other things, such as building an airport (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973). Based on the different case studies in the 1970s and 1980s, it was sought to construct more general implementation theory. This led to two overall approaches: *Top-down* and *bottom-up* (Ryan 1995). The biggest difference between the two approaches is their analytical starting point. The top-down approach can be characterised by a focus on a law or political decision (Ryan 1995). The presumption is that policies can be translated into lucid instructions on how they should be implemented in the "bottom" of the system - meaning instructions on how the so-called street-level bureaucrats and the target group should act (Ryan 1995). On the opposite the bottom-up theorists argue that the behaviour of the street-level bureaucrats and target group in a concrete situation have crucial influence on the implementation process (Ryan 1995).

None of the approaches have been fully accepted and have through time been exposed to critique. Sabatier (1986) presented this critique as following:

> *"Just as top-downers are in danger of overemphasizing the importance of the Centre vis-a-vis the Periphery, bottom-up are likely to overemphasize the ability of the Periphery to frustrate the Centre."* (Sabatier 1986:34)

Hereby Sabatier emphasises that both directions have limitations regarding their focus on the importance of the centre (the political decision) and the periphery (the street-level bureaucrats and the target group) respectively. In an attempt to overcome these problems, Winter (1994) developed *the integrated implementation model* which seek to integrate ideas from both of the directions and thereby make a general implementation theory. Winter has since then been working on the model, and in this project it will be the edition from 2003 (see figure 6) which is the starting point.
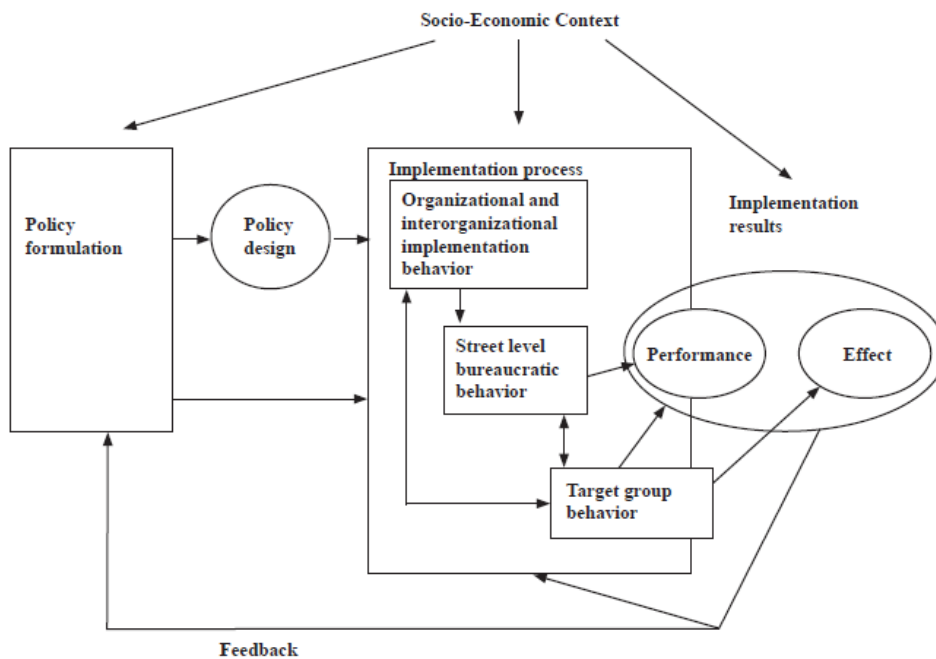
Figure 6: The integrated implementation model (Winter 2003).

The model is an attempt to embrace all factors that have an effect on the results of implementation. This means that there is focus on the background to the policy (policy formulation), on the contents of the political decision (policy design), on how the public administration seeks to implement the decision (implementation process) and on the consequences of them (implementation results). Based on this, the model can be seen as:

> "(…) a framework analysis presenting key factors and mechanisms that affect implementation outputs and outcomes." (Winter 2003:210).

Though the model is not made with respect to development assistance policy, it is assessed to be useful as inspiration for designing the analytical framework. The underlying considerations for this assessment will be elaborated later in this chapter (section 3.3), but firstly the different elements in the model will briefly be described in order to give an initial understanding of the thoughts behind the model.

3.2 The integrated implementation model

Basically the integrated implementation model consists of five different factors which can be used as point of departure for analysing the processes and effects of implementation. These factors are independent variables which can explain why implementation succeeds or fails and why there may be variations in the implementation results (Winter and Nielsen 2008). The first factor "policy formulation and policy design" relates to the process before implementation, which can be referred to as the political process. The next three factors; "organisational and interorganisational implementation behaviour", "street-level bureaucratic behaviour" and "target group behaviour" relate to the actual implementation

process, while the last factor "implementation results" of course relates to the results of the whole process. Furthermore there are some overall factors which are influencing the implementation process as well. These are related to the socio-economic context of where the implementation takes place and the feedback process. In the following subsections the five factors will be elaborated.

Factor 1: Policy formulation and policy design

The policy design is the outcome of the policy formulation process, and even though policy formulation and policy design takes place outside the actual implementation process, it has significant impact on this process and on the results of implementation in the end (Winter 2003): In the policy formulation process, power relations between different political actors and their respective agendas determine the policy and the policy design (Winter and Nielsen 2008). In a policy design the *goals* of the policy is usually defined along with the mix of *instruments* that should be used to obtain these goals, the *organisational structure* of the implementation process and the *appropriation of resources* (Winter and Nielsen 2008). The goals are defining the purpose of the policy, while the instruments are how these goals should be obtained. In this regard there are several opportunities; information/guidance, economic instruments such as subsidies and taxes, sanctions, etc. (Winter and Nielsen 2008). The organisational structure of the implementation process refers to the structure of who should take responsibility for the following process and how this should take place. Finally the appropriation of resources determines the means that are granted for this process. All together these aspects indicate that the policy design is very important in relation to the following implementation process, as it sets the framework for the whole process.

Factor 2: Organisational and interorganisational implementation behaviour

The results of implementation are affected by the behaviour of the organisations that are involved. Usually various authorities and organisations are a part of implementing a political decision and they have often different levels of commitment and coordination as they have different tasks in the implementation process (Winter 2003). This level of commitment is affected by the interests of the organisations, which can be either productive for or restraining to implementation. These interests can be characterised as substantial, institutional or individual. Substantial interests are the organisation's professional or academic point of view on the political decision and the organisations role in the implementation process (Winter and Nielsen 2008). Institutional interests are the organisation's objectives for its own survival, status, economy and growth, while individual interests are the individual members of the organisation's interests regarding their own utility maximization, where they for instance are concerned about status, work load, carrier and salary (Winter and Nielsen 2008). These different types of interests do not necessarily have to be identical to the policy in order for successful implementation to take place, but they should be converging, which means that the same means can be used in order to promote various goals (Winter and Nielsen 2008).

Besides focusing on the role and interest of the single organisation, its dependency to the other implementation actors is also important (Winter 2003). The dependency can be characterised as sequential, reciprocal or a parallel relation (Winter and Nielsen 2008). In

a sequential relation one actor is depended on another while in a reciprocal relation both of the actors are depended on each other. A parallel relation means that different organisations solve different assignments which together constitute to the total assignment work, but still each organisation is independent when solving their own assignment. The different types of dependencies entail different initiatives for the actors and have thereby influence on their commitment to the implementation process and the possibility to create a successful implementation process (Winter and Nielsen 2008).

Factor 3: Street-level bureaucratic behaviour

The street-level bureaucrats are the public employees, which have the direct contact with those that are being affected by the policy (the target group). Therefore they are crucial to the implementation process (Winter and Nielsen 2008). In their direct contact with the target group the street-level bureaucrats can put in their own values and thereby make important discretionary decisions, which can have a great influence on the results of implementation; how the street-level bureaucrats interpret the political decision and what they communicate to the target group tends to define how the target group responds to the policy - even if this differs from the actual policy (Winter 2003).

The street-level bureaucrats' work with the policy is affected by their *will* regarding the political decision, which again is affected by their own interests and positions (Winter and Nielsen 2008). Furthermore, this process is also affected by the street-level bureaucrats' *ability* to implement the political decision; have they been informed properly about the political decision, have they got the education needed, have they got the right resources in terms of money, time and technical equipment? All these factors affect the street-levels bureaucrats' actions during implementation of a political decision.

In the light of this, the street-level bureaucrats actually take important political decisions themselves and they have thereby the most direct and visible impact on implementation, compared to the two other factors just mentioned (Winter and Nielsen 2008).

Factor 4: Target group behaviour

The target group is the last part of the implementation process, and thereby the ones that have to realise the political decisions (Winter and Nielsen 2008). The way the target group respond to the policy and the street-level bureaucrats is thereby crucial for the implementation process as well. This response can be characterised as one of five different categories; commitment, capitulation, resistance, disengagement and game-playing (Winter and Nielsen 2008). The five can briefly be explained as following: 1) Commitment reflects behaviour where the target group interact with the street-level bureaucrats in a positive and active way. This means that the target group is not only co-operative but also proactive. 2) By capitulation the target group is also positive but they have just left all decisions to the authorities and are thereby not proactive in the implementation process. 3) Resistance reflect the response where the target group exercise active resistance to the policy. 4) Disagreement means also resistance to the policy but not an active one. 5) Game-playing reflects behaviour where the target group tries to circumvent the policy. In this situation the target group does not try to change the policy like the resistance response; instead they try to find ways to circumvent the policy. By using these different

concepts of different kinds of responses, the behaviour of the target group can be identified.

In order to elaborate further on why the target group behave in a specific way their *will* and *ability* to act in concordance with the policy can furthermore be analysed. As it also was the case with the street-level bureaucratics, the will is related to the interests of the target group, while the ability is related to whether or not they have the resources and knowledge needed in order to change behaviour.

Factor 5: Implementation results

The implementation results can be measured in two different ways; the *performance* of the behaviour of the street-level bureaucrats and the target group (*output*) and the *effects* of this performance (*outcome*) (Winter 2003). Regarding the performance, the question is whether or not the actions correspond to the policy and the policy design? Regarding the effect it is mainly related to whether or not the policy has the desired effect (Winter and Nielsen 2008). Both ways should be examined in order to get the full overview of the implementation result.

Other implementation factors

As mentioned in the beginning of this section there are some overall factors which are influencing the implementation process as well. These are:

The socio-economic context: Overall the context of the implementation is important because the requisite of implementing a certain policy depends on for example if there currently is a slump or a boom on the market (Winter 2003). The socio-economic context is not only related to economy (as the term indicates), but also to e.g. the social composition of a geographical area or to the culture and religion that is practised. This means, that depending on the socio-economic context, implementation will take place in various ways which can entail that the results can vary significantly.

The feedback process: The implementation process can benefit from working with feedback, which takes its point of origin in evaluating the implementation results. The feedback process can bring new knowledge to the topic of the policy, and improve the implementation process and thereby in the end the results. This can lead to a new policy formulation process (where the whole process of implementation then will start all over again) or it can lead to changes of behaviour among some of the implementation actors (factor 2 and factor 3) (Winter and Nielsen 2008). Thereby, feedback processes are important in order to improve the implementation process over time.

3.3 Benefits of the integrated implementation model

Based on the above description the following three overall benefits are identified and these are the main arguments for using the integrated model for the analyses of the case of this present project:

- The model responds to a lot of different facets of the implementation process since it enhances the importance of the policy design, the interconnection between the actors, and the results.
- The model provides an overview of the different factors and how they are interrelated.
- The model can be used in different contexts.

Though the integrated implementation model is assessed to be useful as a starting point for designing the analytical framework of this project, it should, however, be noted that implementation of development assistance differs from "regular" public administration in a number of ways. The following section will seek to clarify these differences in order to get an understanding of how the integrated implementation model can be applied in relation to the case of this present project. The aim of the next section is, based on the knowledge obtained in the previous section, thereby to design an analytical framework which will be used when analysing the selected case, described in chapter 2 Methodology.

3.4 The model in a context of development assistance policy

As mentioned previously, policy in relation to development assistance often differs from regular policy. This is caused by the fact that development assistance often takes place in at least two different countries. The starting point for the case in this present project is Denmark, who wants to integrate environmental considerations in development projects in India. This means that implementation takes place in two different institutional contexts – the Indian and Danish context, which can be assumed to have a great influence on implementation. In order to understand the reason for this assumption, there will be a brief description of institutional theory.

The institutional theorist Scott (2001) has defined institutions as "*social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience*" (Scott 2001:48). These social structures are found everywhere in society and have a great impact on how people behave – both on the individual and on the organisational level. Institutions consist of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements. The regulative element is *how we must behave* and it consists of laws and rules. If people do not follow these rules or laws, the consequence is sanctions in terms of some kind of penalty (fine/prison). The normative element describes *how we ought to behave*, which is controlled by norms and values of society, of the individuals or of an organisation. These are "unwritten rules" of society that everyone is aware of and follows. Finally there is the cultural-cognitive element, which identifies *how we usually behave*. Here people are not aware of why they behave as they do - it is so integrated in the culture that they just behave as always without thinking about it.

When implementation takes place in two different institutional contexts, it implies that there first of all are two different regulative contexts; for example the form of government can be different - where there is democracy in Denmark it might be more authoritative in the other country. But the normative context will also vary, because there are different ways of behaving in different countries. In Denmark for instance, where environmental issues have been important for a long time, it is a part of the Danes' values and norms that we should protect the environment (this matter has also been legislated with e.g. the

laws of environmental assessments, but can also overall be characterised as a part of the values and norms of society). This means that it would not be popular if e.g. a nature area was destroyed when making a project. However, in developing countries, this might not in the same way be a part of the values and norms of the country. This can lead to a situation, where Denmark "forces" their values and norms regarding the environment on other countries, through their development assistance. For the developing country, this would probably be perceived as regulative rather than a normative element. Finally the cultural-cognitive element will probably also to a great extend differ between the two countries. An example can be that the local people in the developing country which are a part of the implementation process e.g. are favouring family members and close friends to be a part of the projects instead of finding the best professionals (Sengupta 2011). This would be perceived as unethical in Denmark, but might be the way things work and have always worked in other countries, and therefore it is not even questioned whether it is right or wrong. These elements will obviously affect the implementation process, and can be hard to take into consideration when making the plans and strategies in Denmark.

Beside the aspect regarding the different countries, implementation of environmental considerations in the Danish NGO-assistance takes place in various organisations with very different structures as well. In the case of this project there is a public organisation (Danida), a professional NGO with paid employees (PATC), while IGF and JGVK to a higher extend are based on the voluntary work. It is assumed that this might affect the implementation process, because of different ways of operating. Thereby, the professional organisations might assume that something is being taken care of when they point it out, while the organisations based on voluntary work do not have the resources or knowledge to do so.

These above circumstances need to be taken into consideration when designing the analytical framework for analysing the implementation process of environmental considerations in the NGO-assistance. This will be done in the following, where each of the five previously described factors will be examined again, but now related to the particular case. Each of the following subsections will result in some elements that should be analysed. The final framework will be presented in the end of this chapter.

Factor 1: The policy formulation and policy design

There exist several degrees of complexity in relation to development assistance policy formulation and design. As mentioned previously, development assistance takes place between two different countries, which means that formulation of the policy will be a mix of interests of the recipient country and Denmark. Furthermore, Danish policy is also highly influenced by what happens on the international agenda in general, where the UN in relation to development assistance plays a significant role.

As mentioned in section 3.2, Winter emphasises that the policy formulation is influenced by the power relations between different political actors and their respective agendas. These power relations are considered out of the scope for this project and it will furthermore be too time-consuming to analyse the different political processes. This does not mean that the policy formulation will not be analysed in this project, but it will have another focus than what Winter enhance. In relation to the policy of integrating environ-

34

mental consideration as a cross-cutting issue in Danish development assistance, it is considered as important to understand the setting of the policy; what is the history of Danish development assistance in general until the policy, and what is the current structure of the system? These two topics are assumed to give an initial understanding of the basis for the policy and how it interacts with the rest of the development assistance policies. Therefore, the following topics should be analysed in relation to the policy formulation:

> The policy formulation
>
> The history of Danish development assistance
>
> The current structure of Danish development assistance

According to the model, the next step before the actual implementation process is the policy design. As mentioned, the policy design consists of some goals, instruments, a setting of the organisational structure of the implementation process and the resources set aside to implement the policy. These elements will be analysed in relation to the policy design:

> The policy design
>
> The goals of the policy
>
> The instruments that should be used in order to reach the goals
>
> The organisational structure of the implementation process
>
> The resources set aside to implement the policy

Factor 2: Organisational and interorganisational implementation behaviour

As described previously, it is normal that there are several different actors involved in the implementation process. However, this is another element where the case of this present project differs from regular implementation processes. In this case there is only identified one organisation: Danida. This entails that it is only relevant to describe the organisational behaviour, since it takes more than one organisation to have an interorganisational behaviour. Danida are the part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that deal with everything related to development cooperation. They are not an independent institution, but in relation to this project they are perceived as one and therefore the rest of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will not be included in the analysis.

During the analysis of Danida it should be clarified what role Danida play in the implementation process and which interests they have regarding the policy. Furthermore it should also be analysed how Danida are related to the other actors since it is assumed to

have significant influence on the implementation process. Therefore, the following topics will be analysed for the organisational implementation behaviour:

> The organisational implementation behaviour
>
> Danida's role in the implementation process
>
> Danida's interests (substantial, institutional, individual)
>
> Danida's relation to the other implementation actors

Factor 3: Street-level bureaucratic behaviour

In the integrated implementation model, Winter (2003) has a great focus on the street-level bureaucrats. In this present case PATC are identified as the street-level bureaucrats as they have been pointed out by Danida to grant an amount of money to the smaller NGOs (see section 2.2).

As mentioned in the previous description of factor 3 the street-level bureaucrats are of significant importance as their perception of the policy and their work related to it, will influence the target group and their behaviour. Therefore the concordance between PATC's work and the actual policy design most be analysed. PATC's work is assumed to be influenced by their will and ability to implement the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. Therefore, these two factors should also be analysed in order to give a better understanding of the basis for PATC's work with the policy. The final part of the analysis should concern how PATC are related to IGF/JGVK (IGF and JGVK are assessed as being the target group); in what way do they form dependence relations and what does it mean for the implementation process? Based on these considerations, the following topics will be the foundation of the analysis of the street-level bureaucratic behaviour:

> Street-level bureaucratic behaviour
>
> Concordance between PATC's interpretation and the policy design
>
> PATC's will and ability
>
> PATC's relation to IGF/JGVK

Factor 4: Target group behaviour

The target group is, as mentioned, the two NGOs IGF and JGVK, because they in collaboration are formulating and implementing the projects, which thereby makes them the target group for the policy of integrating environmental considerations in their project.

As described in section 3.2 the target group is closely related to the street-level bureaucratics, and their behaviour should therefore be analysed in the light of this correlation: First of all, IGF/JGVK's response to the policy and to PATC should be analysed. Following, IGF/JGVK's will and ability should be analysed as well, in order to elaborate on the reasons why they respond to the policy and PATC the way they do. Based on this, the target group behaviour should be analysed according to the following topics:

> Target group behaviour
>
> IGF/JGVK's response to the policy and PATC
>
> IGF/JGVK's will and ability

Factor 5: Implementation results

As mentioned, the results of the implementation process can be assessed by the use of two parameters; *performance* and *effect*. The idea about using both parameters will also enter into the analysis in this present project. The analysis of the performance will be levelled at PATC and IGF/JGVK while the analysis of the effect will take its starting point focusing on the actual effects on the environment. It is obvious that there are many possibilities – both quantitative and qualitative – that can be used in order to make a comprehensive analysis of the results of the implementation process. However, this is assessed as being a project in itself and caused by the time available it is therefore chosen to make an overall analysis of the results. Especially the analysis of the effect will be based on assumptions and qualitative descriptions. The elaboration on performance and effect will constitute the analysis of the implementation results:

> Implementation results
>
> Performance
>
> Effect

Other implementation factors

As described previously, the two overall factors the socio-economic context and the feedback process also affect the implementation process. The feedback process in this case is related to the evaluation of the implementation results; have environmental considerations been a part of all projects and how? If not, what went wrong during the implementation process? Since the purpose of this project is to look into how the implementation results of environment as a cross-cutting issue are being affected by the implementation process, the project itself is perceived as a kind of evaluation of the policy. Based on this perception and the time available the feedback process will be not be analysed separately.

The socio-economic context is complex in this case. As described in the beginning of this section, the case of this project differs from "regular" implementation processes, mainly because it takes place in two different countries. This implies that there are two different socio-economic contexts that are influencing implementation. It is assessed as being both hard and time-consuming to analyse the socio-economic contexts of Denmark and India respectively. Therefore, it is decided only to look into the socio-economic context of the area where the projects are being implemented: The Sundarbans (see section 2.2). Since the socio economic context will only be elaborated in relation to the Sunderbans it will be described in relation to the analysis of the target group.

Altogether the above topics presented within the different factors constitute the analytical framework for the following analysis of the case. However, it is assessed that the framework based on the integrated implementation model needs to be supplemented by another element in order to embrace more aspects of implementation in development assistance: Since the implementation process goes through four different organisations which operate across different social contexts, it is assumed that there can be a significant difference between how the different actors in the implementation process think and talk about environment and environmental considerations. The question in relation to this is what this difference means for the implementation process – do different *discourses* between the actors have an influence on the implementation process and results? This is an element which Winter (2003) in his implementation model does not fully integrate. In order to include this in the following analysis, it is therefore assessed as necessary to expand the model with another dimension involving the different actors' perception or understanding of central concepts regarding environment as a cross-cutting issue. In order to do so, the following section will briefly go through some of the ideas behind discourse theory.

3.5 Discourse theory

"Discourse" is a term that can be hard to define and make concrete. Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) explain it as:

> *"a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)."* (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:1)

And elaborates further on;

> *"(…) underlying the word 'discourse' is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being 'medical discourse' and 'political discourse'."* (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002:1)

This means that discourses are related to the utterances of people; the words they choose to use and the way they use them when speaking about a certain word or topic, which is what Jørgensen and Phillips refers to as 'patterns'. When making a discourse analysis, these patterns are being analysed.

Discourses can be analysed in various ways, but in relation to this case, a proper discourse analysis is not the intention. Instead the intention is to use the ideas behind the theory; that the way of talking about and understanding a word or topic can differ between individuals/organisations and that this difference presumably can influence the implementation process. Therefore an analysis of each of implementations actors' discourse will be added to the analytical framework. The starting point for the analysis will be the following three terms:

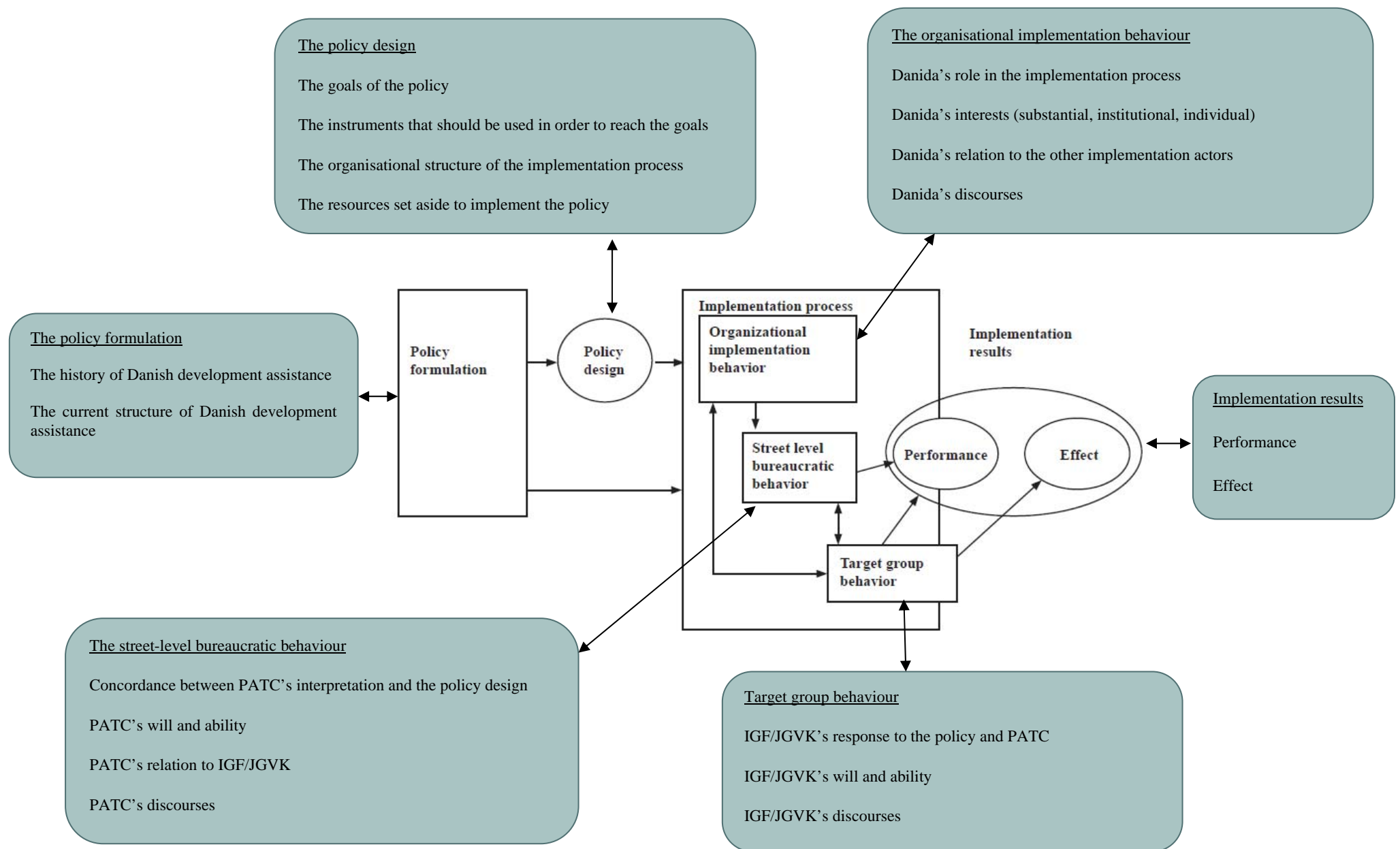- Sustainability
- Environment
- Development versus environment

These three terms is chosen because of following considerations:

- *Sustainability* is often used as an overall term for considerations about the environment. This is also reflected in the four organisations analysed in this present project; all of the actors are using the term "sustainability" in their material (Danida 2010a), (PATC 2011), (IGF 2010c), (JGVK 2009). However it is rarely defined what exactly sustainability means and when something can be characterised as sustainable.
- *Environment* is the basis for the policy analysed in this present project but since environment can be understood in many different ways (from a narrow to a broad understanding) it is not unequivocal how environment should be understood in the policy.
- *Development versus environment* differs from the two others because it is not the understanding of the words which are crucial but more the understanding of the correlation between them. As also described in the chapter 1 Introduction the relation between development and environment has been discussed for many years but no final conclusion has been drawn.

Because of these overall ambiguities within the different terms it can be assumed that the understandings of them differ between the different organisations, which again are assumed to influence the implementation process. Therefore a discourse analysis with starting point in these three terms will be added to the analytical framework, which will be presented in the following section.

3.6 Analytical framework

The integrated implementation model is the foundation of the analytical framework, and section 3.4 and 3.5 have modified this general model to fit to the case of this present project. The analytical framework, and the topics that should be analysed in each of the factors, is illustrated on the figure on the following page. In relation to this it should be mentioned that the objective of the topics is to function as overall guidelines for the analysis. Therefore the listed topics should not be seen as topics which have to be analysed into depth, but just as guidelines for the following analysis.

The policy design

The goals of the policy

The instruments that should be used in order to reach the goals

The organisational structure of the implementation process

The resources set aside to implement the policy

The organisational implementation behaviour

Danida's role in the implementation process

Danida's interests (substantial, institutional, individual)

Danida's relation to the other implementation actors

Danida's discourses

The policy formulation

The history of Danish development assistance

The current structure of Danish development assistance

Policy formulation

Policy design

Implementation process

Organizational implementation behavior

Street level bureaucratic behavior

Target group behavior

Implementation results

Performance

Effect

Implementation results

Performance

Effect

The street-level bureaucratic behaviour

Concordance between PATC's interpretation and the policy design

PATC's will and ability

PATC's relation to IGF/JGVK

PATC's discourses

Target group behaviour

IGF/JGVK's response to the policy and PATC

IGF/JGVK's will and ability

IGF/JGVK's discourses

This analytical framework sets the frames for the following analysis of the implementation process in the chosen case. Therefore the next five chapters of the report will be linked to each of the five factors that affect the implementation and will together constitute the analysis of the implementation of the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. Based on this, the overall aim of the following five chapters is to answer the second sub-question:

> *"How are environmental considerations implemented in the different levels in the implementation process?"*

Each of the next five chapters will be build up based on the identified topics presented in the analytical framework on the previous page and will all end with a recapitulation were the most important findings are highlighted.

4 Policy formulation and policy design

The first step in the analysis is regarding the elements which are present prior to the actual implementation process; the policy formulation and the policy design. Based on the analytical framework designed in the previous chapter, these elements will be analysed in order to obtain an initial knowledge about both the structure of Danish development assistance and the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in Danish development assistance.

4.1 The policy formulation

The analysis of the policy formulation will take its starting point in the history of Danish development assistance, as this is the background for the whole process. Given that the structure of Danish development assistance has changed significantly over time, the aim is to expose some of the overall changes which have led to the formulation of the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. Thus, the objective is not to present everything in details but to a higher extent examine the overall tendencies and thereby obtain an overall knowledge about the policy formulation. The section will end up with an overview of the current structure of Danish development assistance. This will give an initial knowledge about in which context the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue figures and how it is related to the other parts of Danish development assistance in general.

The history of Danish development assistance in regard to environment

Since the end of the Second World War, development assistance has been an important part of Denmark's relation to other countries, and the amount of money spent on assistance is today approximately 0.84 % of the Danish GNI corresponding to approximately 12 billion Danish kroner (Danida 2010a). After the Second World War, Danish development assistance could be characterised as post-war reconstruction and was mainly levelled at European countries which were more negatively affected by the war than Denmark (Bach et al. 2008). In the 1950s the need for post-war assistance was reduced, and the assistance therefore changed its characteristics from being assistance to European countries to be levelled at developing countries (Bach et al. 2008). In this period the assistance was mainly carried out in form of multilateral aid, which by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is defined as:

> "(...) aid channelled through international organisations, e.g. UN's organisations, the World Bank and EU" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010a, authors' translation)

From 1960 to 1962 it was decided to rethink the administration of development assistance. The result was the Law of Technical Collaboration with Development Countries (later changed to Law of International Development Collaboration) (Bach et al. 2008), (Act nr. 541 of 10/071998). The law formed the basis for the first bilateral aid program,

which was established in 1962 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009b). The definition of bilateral aid is:

> *"Aid which is sent directly from one country to another."* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010a, authors' translation)

With the introduction of bilateral aid, Denmark got a direct influence regarding to whom and to what the assistance should be levelled at, as opposed to before 1962 when Denmark's influence on the use of the aid was limited because it was channelled through the UN, EU and the World Bank (Bach et al. 2008). In the 1970s, the objective of development assistance was declared to be fighting poverty which has been the main objective since then, and is thereby the basis for the allocation of Danish assistance (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009b). The increased international focus on environment that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (described in chapter 1), along with the Brundtland reports conclusions began to influence Danish development assistance policy throughout the 1980s. This entailed among others the introduction of the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in 1988 (Bach et al. 2008). Since this parallel progress of the Danish development assistance policy on the one hand, and the emerge of environmental awareness in the assistance on the international level on the other hand, was elaborated in chapter 1, it will not be described further as a part of this analysis.

The structure of development assistance has thereby changed significantly over time; in the beginning Denmark had only little influence on what the assistance should be levelled at, but with the introduction of bilateral aid, Denmark had more influence regarding which kind of assistance they would support. This led to Denmark being able to decide to introduce environment as a cross-cutting issue. The policy was affected by what had been taken place on the international level but it is also assessed that the Danish society's relatively great focus on the environment in general, has had a great impact on this policy. For instance Denmark was one of the first countries in the world to establish a ministry of environment and to adopt an environmental law (Danida 1996).

In the following it will be clarified how the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue is a part of the Danish development assistance in general. Therefore the following subsection will seek to describe the current structure of Danish development assistance in relation to environmental considerations.

The current structure of Danish development assistance

The more or less constant development of the Danish development assistance policy has entailed, that the structure of the current development assistance plans and strategies are highly complex. Overall this political area consists of separate objectives, strategies, plans, guidelines and priority areas, which all interact with each other. Figure 7 is made based on information from the homepage of Danida and tries to embrace this complexity, and thereby give an overview of how the different documents are related to each other. This figure will be the base for the following description in this subsection.
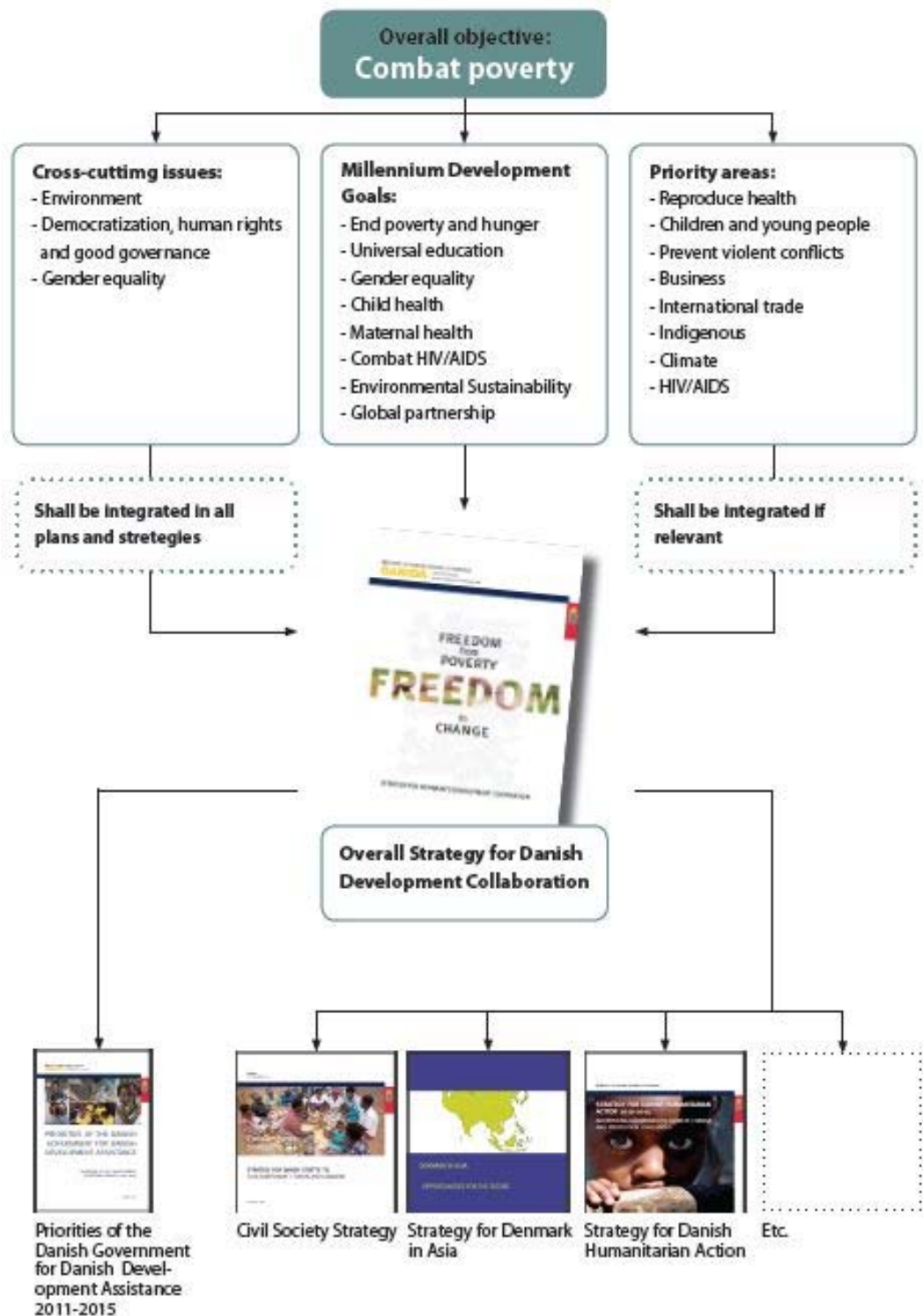
Figure 7: The structure of Danish development assistance.

As mentioned previously, the overall objective for the work of Danida is to fight poverty and this objective is therefore the starting point for all the other plans and strategies of Danida (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009c). In order to manage the process for reaching

this objective, Danida have formulated the three cross-cutting issues and eight priority areas. The cross-cutting issues are, as mentioned in chapter 1, the following:

- Environment
- Democratisation, human rights and good governance
- Gender equality

<div align="right">(Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008a)</div>

And the eight priority areas are:

- Reproductive health
- Children and young people
- Prevent violent conflicts
- Business
- International trade
- Indigenous
- Climate
- HIV/AIDS

<div align="right">(Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008b)</div>

The cross-cutting issues should be integrated into all development projects, while the priority areas should only be integrated if it is found relevant (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008b). In relation to the cross-cutting issues there are strategies that cover all three of them respectively. However, the environmental strategy, which is relevant for this project, covers the area of "environment" in general and not only environment as a cross-cutting issue. The existing environmental strategy is valid from 2004 to 2008, which means that there is not any strategy for the environment valid at the moment. However, the strategy is still the one available on the homepage of Danida, and according to the environmental department of Danida it is still this strategy that is used (Pedersen 2011).

Besides the above mentioned objective, cross-cutting issues and priority areas, the eight so called "Millennium Development Goals" mentioned in chapter 1 have since 2000 been an important part of the Danish development policy (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010b). As mentioned, environment is one of these goals as well. With starting point in the MDGs, the cross-cutting issues, and focus on the priority areas, the parliament adapted an overall strategy for the long-term Danish development assistance in 2010 called "Freedom from Poverty – Freedom to Change" (Danida 2010a). The strategy is build upon the five following priorities:

- Freedom, democracy and human rights
- Growth and employment
- Gender equality
- Stability and fragility
- Environment and climate

<div align="right">(Danida 2010a)</div>

Based on the above mentioned priorities and strategies, Danida have several other plans, strategies, guides and evaluations etc. These are e.g. related to different regions like Asia, Africa, and the Middle East etc., or to the different priority areas such as HIV/AIDS and

children and young people. Furthermore there are different strategies for each type of assistance, e.g. the NGO-assistance which is guided by the so-called "Civil Society Strategy".

The plans and strategies that have been mentioned until now are all covering a broad period of time, and it may seem quite unclear how they should be put into practise in development assistance. Therefore the government prepares a five-year plan every year called "Priorities of the Danish government for the Danish development assistance", which defines some more specific priorities of development assistance (Danida 2010b). In this plan it is acknowledged that Denmark cannot be the solution to all the different challenges that the developing countries are facing (Danida 2010b). Therefore there is a focus on a few specific priorities, which take their starting point in the five overall priority areas from "Freedom from Poverty - Freedom to Change" (Danida 2010b). Furthermore this plan defines how the money for development assistance should be allocated to the different priorities and areas of the assistances (Danida 2010b).

This exposition of the current structure is of course related to environment as a cross-cutting issue, but it can be concluded that environmental considerations plays a significant role in the whole structure of assistance policy. As a concluding note to this exposition, it has illustrated that this structure overall is complex, because there are many different strategies and guidelines which influence the integration of environmental considerations. Furthermore, the term "environment" is being used in many different relations; as a cross-cutting issue, as a priority area, as a part of the MDGs, and as a priority in the strategy "Freedom from Poverty – Freedom to Change". This might seem a bit confusing, because it is not quite clear, what is meant by "environment" and "environment as a cross-cutting issue" – is there a difference between these terms or does it cover the same in the end? Merete Villum Pedersen, a senior advisor in Danida in the area of environment, explains that when "environment" is mentioned (often along with climate) it is related to the *sector assistance* of environment (Pedersen 2011). This is assistance with a specific focus on environment, climate and energy, where an example of this kind of assistance is to help building up a ministry of environment in a developing country (Pedersen 2011). When "environment as a cross-cutting issue" is mentioned, it is something different than the sector assistance. Merete Villum Pedersen explains it as;

> *"(…) environment as a cross-cutting issue is when we seek to integrate environment in various sectors and themes."* (Pedersen 2011:5, authors' translation)

This means that environment should be integrated into all other parts of the development assistance, such as e.g. road projects, educational projects and other overall strategies etc. (Pedersen 2011). This entails that working with this policy can be a complex procedure, where environmental considerations should be integrated into all the different areas of development assistance – both the areas which are directly related to environmental issues and the ones where the relation is indirect. At the same time the environmental focus should be present together with other objectives, goals and priority areas and with the two other cross-cutting issues.

As the current structure of the development assistance showed, there is no strategy or plan that relates to environment as a cross-cutting issue in particular, which means that there is not one document that can make it out for the policy design of environment as a cross-cutting issue. However, Danida have made the environmental strategy that covers all areas of "environment". As it was mentioned previously, the strategy only covers the period 2004-2008, and Danida have during the project period (spring 2011) not yet made a new one. This seems unsuitable because it means that for more than two years there has not been a strategy that covers and is valid for environmental issues. Nevertheless, the environmental strategy is considered as the policy design in relation to this project, and in the following section this policy design will be analysed.

4.2 Policy design

The analysis of the policy design will be based on the four elements which constitute a policy design; the goals, the instruments, the organisational structure and the resources set aside for implementing the policy.

Goals of the policy

According to the environmental strategy, its goal is:

> *"To improve sustainable development and limit environmental degradation at global, national and local levels within the overall development policy objective of poverty alleviation."* (Danida 2004)

By this goal Danida seek to enhance the importance of sustainable development but in relation to that, they of course have the main focus on the environment. Furthermore they emphasise that environmental considerations should be present in all levels of the society – from the global to the local level. The goal of the environmental strategy is assessed as being intangible, and it seems hard to be able to measure whether this goal has been obtained or not.

The instruments that should be used in order to reach the goals

In order to reach the goal for integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in all parts of Danish development assistance, a number of instruments have been presented. The main instrument Danida use is the "Danida Environment Guide", which is the operational tool for implementing the environmental strategy (Danida 2009a). This guide should be followed from the beginning to the end of a project in relation to development projects that receive more than 33 million Danish kroner of bilateral support from Danida (Danida 2009a). According to Pedersen (2011) the guide has been made as simple as possible, but it still requires professional skills to use the environment guide. This means that it is necessary to spend at least one million kroner on following the guide, which is the reason why it only covers the bigger projects where it makes sense to use this amount of money on such an assessment (Pedersen 2011). Thereby the "Danida Environment Guide" does not relate to the part of NGO-assistance which is the focus of this

present project, as this part of the assistance is related to minor projects where the budget is maximum 5 million kroner.

Furthermore, Danida have developed a "good practice paper" that seeks to address some of the lessons learned from designing and programming the environmental sector support (Danida 2006). This document can be seen as a part of the feedback process, where experiences are gathered to prevent mistakes from being repeated and to save time and resources in future projects. However, the paper is related to the environmental sector programmes and therefore it is not clear how and whether environment as a cross-cutting issue is being evaluated. Nevertheless this paper is also assessed as an instrument for the cross-cutting issues as it is listed as one in the homepage of Danida (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009d).

Merete Villum Pedersen also explains that there are some internal procedures within Danida that seek to ensure that environment is integrated to all sectors of development assistance (Pedersen 2011). An example of such a procedure relates to projects that have been granted less than 33 million kroner, and thereby is covering the projects that are not covered by the environmental guide. The procedure is a questionnaire that the applicants should fill out, and amongst others they should explain how they are going to relate to environmental issues (Pedersen 2011). However, since these procedures are internal, the project group have not been allowed to look into them and is therefore not able to make a further analysis of them.

Based on the above analysis it can be determined that though Danida have some instruments related to the policy of integrating environmental consideration as a cross-cutting issue, these are not levelled at minor projects. However, Danida have an internal procedure for the minor projects but this is apparently not available for the public and can therefore not be analysed. These circumstances mean that there are not, at least known to the public, specific instruments in form of e.g. guidelines on how to deal with environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in minor projects. This is considered as problematic since it can entail that the minor projects' focus on environmental issues thereby is neglected.

The organisational structure of the implementation process

It has not been possible to get an overview of the organisational structure of the policy from reading the environmental strategy. However, it is assumed that Danida are going to lead the process of implementing the policy of environment as a cross-cutting issue. This is based on the fact that the policy is only related to Danida's projects, and that they for this reason have the main responsibility.

The resources set aside to implement the policy

The yearly "Priorities of the Danish government for the Danish development assistance" mentioned in the previous section, defines how the money for development assistance should be allocated to the different priorities and areas. From reviewing this paper, it is clear that there is no money specifically earmarked for the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue – only for the sector part of environment

(Danida 2010b). A reason for this might be, that the policy as mentioned differs from regular policies, which is also characterised when identifying the resources; since environmental considerations should be integrated into all development projects, it might be hard to determine how many resources this would take. However it is surprising that the policy is not mentioned at all in the government's priorities.

4.3 Recapitulation

The exposition of the policy formulation and policy design can be summarised into the following main points:

- The policy formulation has been affected by the greater participation of Danida in what their assistance should support since the introduction of bilateral assistance, along with the international and national focus in environmental issues during the 1970s and 1980s.
- There are various plans, strategies and priority areas etc. where environment appears, but not one strategy for environment as a cross-cutting issue specifically.
- The environmental strategy (2004-2008) is considered as the strategy for the policy, in spite of its inadequacy.
- The goal of the policy is considered broad and unmanageable.
- The instruments of the policy are the environment assessment guide for projects over 33 million kroner, a good practice paper for environmental sector programs and internal procedures. No specific instruments are available to the public for projects under 33 million kroner.
- Danida have the main responsibility for the implementation process.
- It has not been possible to find out whether there are resources set aside for the policy.

It can be concluded that the policy design differs from regular policy designs. However this can be explained by the complexity of the policy, as it should be integrated into all projects of development assistance.

5 Organisational implementation behaviour

The organisational implementation behaviour is regarding Danida, as they are the organisation responsible for implementing environment as a cross-cutting issue in all developing projects. The following analysis of Danida will take its point of origin in the topics listed according to the analytical framework. Therefore, Danida's role in the implementation process will first of all be clarified.

5.1 Danida's role in the implementation process

Danida's role, as the administrator of the Danish development assistance, is to be responsible for preparing the strategies and policies on how the assistance should be distributed. In relation to this they are furthermore responsible for the coherence between the different strategies and policies, and that they are carried out in a way so that their objectives and goals are obtained.

Present for this project, Danida have thereby had the role to draw up the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. As concluded in the previous chapter there is not a specific strategy for this policy besides the overall environmental strategy which expired in 2008 and also covers several other aspects of environment besides environment as a cross-cutting issue. Since the cross-cutting issues should be seen as some of the overall priorities of Danida's work (see figure 7 in the previous chapter) it is first of all surprising that Danida have not prepared a strategy or document which is directly levelled at handling these issues. Especially because it appears, on Danida's homepage, that the objective of the policy is to integrate environment as a cross-cutting issue in *all* Danish development assistance and therefore it seems necessary to have some kind of strategy that clarifies how and to what extent this should take place. Furthermore, it is in general assessed as inexpedient that Danida have not prepared a new overall environmental strategy which can set up the frames for the future focus on the environment in development assistance.

Though Danida have not made a strategy for environment as a cross-cutting issue it will still be assessed to what extent they integrate environment in the other strategies and policies regarding Danish development assistance. This because Danida's role, as mentioned, can also be identified by their responsibility for making sure that environment as a cross-cutting issue is integrated in all of their plans, strategies and other policies. Since the case of this present project has a focus on NGOs and the involvement of the civil society, the starting point for this analysis is the "Civil Society Strategy". This strategy was introduced for the parliament in 2000 and was in 2008 updated to the present version (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010c). In this version appears the objective of the strategy as following;

> *"(…) to contribute to the development of a strong, independent and diversified civil society in developing countries."* (Danida 2008)

In order to fulfil this objective, eight goals are listed. These are e.g. promotion of a vibrant and open debate nationally and internationally, and promotion of focus on human rights (Danida 2008). By analysing the content of the strategy it can be concluded that the environmental aspects is not mentioned at all. Nevertheless, Danida have also prepared some; "General principles which governing the support to development project implemented by NGOs" (the General Principles). With starting point in the "Civil Society Strategy", the "General Principles" put up principles for which NGOs there should receive assistance, to what the assistance should go to and with whom it should be coordinated (Danida 2009b). In these principles the environment is explicit enhanced as a cross-cutting issue which should be integrated in the development assistance.

From the above analysis it is assessed that there are some critical points in relation to Danida's role in the first part of the implementation process. Danida have not made a strategy for the policy that is valid for the current period nor followed up on their own policy by integrating environment in the "Civil Society Strategy". However, they have still integrated it in the "General Principles". Based on this it can be assumed that this identified lack of overall concordance between the policy, the strategy and the matching guidelines will have a negative effect on the rest of the implementation process because it can make the implementation process unclear for implementations actors. The question is then, why Danida do not fulfil their role and make concordance between the different documents? The degree of fulfilment of the role of Danida is assessed as being close related to their interest and therefore the next section will seek to identify this and thereby answer the question.

5.2 Danida's interests

Danida's interests can, as mentioned in section 3.2, be identified as substantial, institutional or individual. In this section the focus will mainly be on the substantial and the institutional interests, but an analysis of the individual interest will be discharged because it is assessed as having minor influence in relation to this particular case. Furthermore, it will be too time-consuming, since it will demand interviews with several of the employees of Danida.

As mentioned in relation to the analysis of the policy design, Danida are working with an environmental guide for assessing different projects but this guide is only levelled at projects that have a budget on more than 33 million. This means that it does not cover the minor projects present in relation to the part of the NGO-assistance which goes to PATC. Danida's professional point of view on not using the procedure for environmental assessment for all types of projects is that it will be very resource demanding to go through all the procedures and therefore it will not be worth the resources for the minor projects (Pedersen 2011). Thereby it is assessed that Danida do not have a substantial interest in using the environment guide on minor projects because the workload is too big. However, this does not mean that environmental considerations in relation to minor project are not a part of Danida's interests; Danida's professional point of view is that environment should be integrated in minor projects, but not by using environmental assessments as the one

presented in the environment guide. Merete Villum Pedersen presents the procedure for the minor project as:

> *"Within the NGO-assistance there exists a format which the NGOs use when they apply for a project and in this they will be asked about cross-cutting issues and how the cross-cutting issues, inclusive environment, will be treated and how considerations about among other things the environment and climate is integrated."* (Pedersen 2011:3, author's translation)

However, the fact that Danida have a substantial interest in integrating environmental considerations in *all* types of projects and thereby also in relation to the NGO-assistance, must be assessed as a bit opposing to the fact that the consideration about the environment is not mentioned at all in the "Civil Society Strategy". There can be different reasons for this lack of concordance between the policy and the strategy but it is assumed that all the different objectives, goals, priority areas and cross-cutting issues within the Danish development assistance entail that it is almost impossible to integrate all the elements in all documents. This is interesting because it emphasises that Danida have the role of preparing the strategies and policies, they have a substantial interest in integrating the considerations about the environment in all types of projects which is in accordance with the policy of cross-cutting issues, but when it should be integrated into other plans and strategies, the analysis determine that it is difficult to handle. This is assessed as underpinning the need for an overall strategy for the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in which guidelines for how this policy should be implemented is described.

Besides the substantial interest it is also assessed that Danida have some institutional interests in integrating environmental considerations; that environment is a part of the status of Danida. As mentioned previously Denmark can to some degree be characterised as front runner within the field of taking environmental initiatives and in general environment have a high priority in Danish development assistance. Merete Villum Pedersen presents it as following:

> *"I think that we emphasise environment a lot when we are having it as one out of five priority areas. You will notice that health is not one out of five, education is not one out of five, but environment is. And this is because environment and climate is on the top of the list of things we want to do something about."* (Pedersen 2011:10, authors' translation)

Environment can thereby be characterised as one of the main focus areas of Danida and it is assumed that this also have a lot to do with status of both the Danish policy in general but also in relation to development assistance; Denmark is a "green" country and it can be understood as a trade mark and an important part of Danida's status.

Based on this it can be concluded that Danida have both a substantial and institutional interest in working with environment, which also could be assumed since they were formulating the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. However, the above analysis also clarified that there is a lack of coherence between the policy, strategy and the guidelines which can affect the others implementation factors. In

order to elaborate further on this, the next section will contain a focus on Danida's relation to the other implementation actors.

5.3 Danida's relation to the other implementation actors

In relation to the case of this present project the other implementation actors are PATC, IGF and JGVK. However, when referring to Danida, the relation to IGF and JGVK is only indirect, since the connection to them goes through PATC. Therefore this present section will only focus on Danida's relation to PATC.

As mentioned in the description of the case in section 2.2, Danida are giving an amount of money – the NGO-assistance - to PATC who administrate them, according to the guidelines given from Danida (the "Civil Society Strategy" and the "General Principles"). The chairman of the fond committee in PATC Rolf Hernø presents it as following:

> *"PATC belong under a fund agreement which Danida use to delegate some administration of funds for assistance. (...). There is a political wish for supporting the small Danish voluntary organisations in development work and since Danida do not themselves have the possibility of doing so, they make others manage the money."* (Hernø 2011:2 authors' translation)

By this relation between Danida and PATC it is obvious that PATC are significantly dependent on the money from Danida; the money from Danida is the basis for the existence of PATC. However, this does not mean that the relation between Danida and PATC should be seen as a sequential relation where it is only PATC that are depended on Danida. Danida are also to a high extent depended on PATC, in order to secure that their policy is implemented to the local level in the developing countries. Rolf Hernø expresses furthermore how the relation is between Danida and PATC:

> *"We are subjected to all the guidelines and the Strategy of Danish support to civil society, but we are still operating within some very wide limits. (...) it is by far PATC that set the frames for how the system of assistance should work."* (Hernø 2011:2 authors' translation)

Given that PATC have the power to decide how the assistance should be divided between different NGO's and projects, and thereby have a high influence on the implementation of Danida's policies, the relation between Danida and PATC can be characterised as a reciprocal relationship, where the two actors are depended on each other in order to fulfil their objectives. The relationship can be illustrated as figure 8:
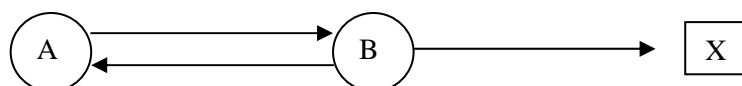

Figure 8: A reciprocal relationship (Winter and Nielsen 2008).

This kind of a relationship is preferable, compared to the sequential relationship, since it gives both actors an incitement to assist each other (Winter and Nielsen 2008). However, in order to benefit the most from this relationship it is important that Danida's policy is clear for PATC. In relation to this, the previously determined lack of concordance between Danida's policy, strategy and principle is assessed as being critical. How this lack of concordance has affected the work of PATC and thereby the following implementation process will be analysed in the next chapter.

The last part of this present analysis of Danida's organisational behaviour will contain an identification of Danida's discourses.

5.4 Danida's discourses

As a political institution that has adapted the idea about sustainability from the Brundtland report, it is not surprising that Danida's understanding of sustainability reflects the same ideas as the Brundtland report presents. Merete Villum Pedersen states:

> *"Overall sustainability is defined as three pillars; social, economical and environmental sustainability and this is also how we understand it in Danida. Therefore sustainability does not only mean environment to us - it is much broader than that; it is development which takes all three pillars into account."* (Pedersen 2011:10 authors' translation)

Regarding the environment, Danida furthermore work with a so-called broad understanding of environment. This means that Danida's environmental considerations are not only focused on the traditional environmental aspects such as e.g. waste, pollution and noise, they are also related to aspects of e.g. health or to make sure that children get education within the field of environment.

This way of seeing environment is also reflected in Danida's understanding about the relation between environmental considerations and development. Merete Villum Pedersen elaborates it as following:

> *"In the old days when you built a road or a cement works then you had to look at the environment, and in these situations it is clear that environmental considerations was considered as a barrier – why do we have to look at the environment? But this is not the case anymore; the way we look at it today is much more oriented against which kind of opportunities it gives to focus on environment. How can we create win-win situations in the way we work? It is e.g. by preventing health problems, by investing in urban environment or to work with environment in an education program (…)."* (Pedersen 2011:11, authors' translation)

By seeing the possibilities of working with environment it can thereby also be clarified that Danida no longer consider the two aspects, environment and development, as contrasts; they can go hand in hand and thereby create win-win situations.

Based on the above analyses, the following closing section will present the recapitulation of the chapter where the most important conclusions will be accentuated.

5.5 Recapitulation

By analysing the organisational implementation behaviour of Danida, the following five conclusions can be drawn:

- It is Danida's role to draw up strategies for their different policies. Therefore it is surprising that a strategy for the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue does not exist, and that the existing overall environmental strategy expired in 2008.
- It is furthermore Danida's role to secure that there is coherence between the policy, strategy and guidelines. Also in relation to this there were identified some critical points, since the integration of environment was not consequent in all of them.
- By analysing Danida's interests it could be concluded that Danida have a substantial interest in integrating environment as a cross-cutting issue in all types of projects, but according to their professional point of view this has to be done in different ways in order to obtain the most benefits from the efforts. Furthermore it is assessed that there also is a degree of institutional interest in integrating environment in Danish development assistance since it underpins the understanding of Danida and Denmark in general as a "green organisation" and a "green country" respectively.
- Regarding the NGO-assistance levelled at minor NGOs, Danida have delegated the administration to PATC. The relationship between them can be characterised as reciprocal where the two organisations are dependent on each other in order to fulfil their objectives. This underpins the importance of a clear strategy for the policy in order to implement it in a beneficial way.
- By analysing Danida's discourses it can be concluded that they are working with the understanding of sustainability as consisting of three pillars; economical, social and environmental sustainability. They furthermore understand environment as a broad concept which should not be seen as a contrast to development.

As a final note there are some critical points in relation to Danida's organisational implementation behaviour, but on the other hand, Danida's interest and the reciprocal relationship to PATC enhance that the implementation process can be successful.

6 The street-level bureaucratic behaviour

The analysis of the street-level bureaucratic behaviour will be an analysis of the behaviour of PATC. PATC are the link between Danida and the target group and is therefore, as mentioned previously, crucial for the implementation process. The analysis of the behaviour will take its starting point in the analytical framework and thereby will the concordance between PATC's work with the policy and the policy initially be analysed.

6.1 Concordance between PATC's work and the policy design

In order to analyse whether or not there is concordance between PATC's work with the policy and the policy design, it much first be clarified how PATC understand the policy and their role in relation to it.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, PATC are assigned to the "Civil Society Strategy" and the "General Principles" from Danida, and it was concluded that environment as a cross-cutting issue is not a continuous focus throughout these two documents. Rolf Hernø elaborates in the following, that it is not clear where the policy actually appears throughout Danida's various documents;

> *"I would say that it* [environment as a cross-cutting issue] *is common knowledge in the Danish assistance, but it is not clearly formulated anywhere."* (Hernø 2011:5, authors' translation)

He thereby knows about the policy, but it is more because of "common knowledge" than because of having been explicitly informed about it. The fact that some of the policies of Danida are more "common knowledge" for the people involved in the work than actually written in their materials is assessed as interesting. This contributes to the consideration that there can be elements in the implementation process which superficially are invisible but actually play an important role in the process. The question is then, whether or not this use of common knowledge influence the way PATC work with the policy – do they have the right understanding of the intention with the policy (is the common knowledge correct)?

In order to answer this it is relevant to look into how the policy is reflected in PATC's guidelines. The guidelines are based on the "Civil Society Strategy" and on the "General Principles", and in these PATC note that when they assess which projects to grant, it takes place with point of origin in five assessment criteria;

1. Assessment of the partnership: The Danish organisation, local organisations and the collaboration between them.
2. Assessment of the target group / participants and their relation to the project.
3. Assessment of the project's coherence, relevance and expected results.
4. Assessment of the project's sustainability and long-term effect.
5. Assessment of the project's cost-effectiveness.

(PATC 2011, authors' translation)

Environment does not appear as an assessment criterion, but it figures as a part of the fourth criterion; assessment of the projects sustainability and long-term effect. According to this criterion it is by the fund committee assessed, which considerations the applicants have regarding the projects' long-term sustainability – among others in relation to the environmental aspects (PATC 2011). Thereby environment figures in the assessment criteria, but only as a part of many other aspects in relation to the sustainability of the projects. The assessment criteria are all being taken into consideration when assessing the different applications, but as PATC put it in their guidelines:

> *"The fund committee's decision is always an expression of an overall assessment of the application. Weak points can be compensated by strong points and not all criteria are relevant for the various types of projects."*

And:

> *"The more experience the organisation has with development assistance, the greater projects can be applied for. And the greater amount of money applied for, the higher requirements. The requirements rise according to the total budget and to the grant applied for."* (PATC 2011:23, authors' translation)

Hernø (2011) explains these two principles as a progressive scale that can be hard to practice but is very important in relation to the projects they are assessing. Otherwise most of the applications would be dismissed and especially new, inexperienced NGOs would not have a chance to get started (Hernø 2011). Therefore PATC are not strictly requiring all assessment criteria to be followed (Hernø 2011). In relation to environmental considerations in the projects, Rolf Hernø explains that;

> *"(…) if they are engaging in something of environmental relevance, it would be important to look at the environmental sustainability, but it is far from all where it is a direct part of the projects. The projects that has not any demonstrable or direct environmental effects will not be assessed from this criterion."* (Hernø 2011:8-9, authors' translation)

This means that environmental considerations are not necessarily a part of all projects, which should be the case with the policy. The street-level bureaucrats, PATC, are thereby actually taking some important discretionary decisions as a part of the implementation process, as it was explained in chapter 3 Designing the analytical framework: They are aware that environment is a cross-cutting issue, but they choose not to meet the requirement of the policy because they acknowledge that it in practise cannot work.

6.2 PATC's will and ability

As noted in chapter 3 Designing the analytical framework, PATC's behaviour can be analysed with point of origin in their will and ability towards implementing the policy. In order to analyse the will of PATC, the interests and values will be clarified.

PATC's main objective is to support Danish organisations' collaboration with partners in developing countries by:

> *"Capacity building of the member organisations through courses, counselling, professional promotion, experience exchange, network formation, etc.."*

And by:

> *"Support to building up strong, independent civil societies in the South through collaboration partners and networks with Danish organisations"* (PATC 2011:2, authors' translation).

This can be perceived as the values of the organisation. They have by these values an interest in providing their members with money to their projects. The focus for PATC is on the minor NGOs that might not be so experienced with development assistance projects, but they want them to be able to get started. As Rolf Hernø puts it:

> *"We have this principle of rewarding the good idea, so if it is a good project idea but they have not been very good at writing the application, they will sometimes be credited anyway. So there are not any firmly demands that everything should be in order. Because then there would not be many applications that would go through. The idea is that you apply for small projects at first, and eventually you get better and better at writing the applications and then you also have shown that you have the capacity to carry out the projects properly."* (Hernø 2011:8, authors' translation)

The interest of PATC is thereby to give the less experienced NGOs a chance to get started with development assistance projects, which means that they may slacken their demands and assessments criteria. It is thereby assessed that their will to integrate environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue in all of their projects is overshadowed by their will to help the member NGOs get started with development work.

When analysing the ability of PATC, the resources of the organisation and the knowledge they have about the policy, will be examined. PATC are provided with 80 million kroner from Danida yearly (PATC 2011). It is not possible to find out if there is money specifically set aside related to environment as a cross-cutting issue, but it is assessed as this is not the case when considering the policy design (section 4.2). Regarding PATC's knowledge about the policy it is assumed that they are aware of it, because as Rolf Hernø said – environment as a cross-cutting issue is common knowledge in the Danish assistance and in PATC. However since there is not much documentation about this policy in the plans and strategies of Danida, it is not certain that all employees of PATC are aware of the policy or have the same understanding of it. The fact that there is little coherence between the policy and PATC's interpretation of it, signals that there are some critical points in this regard and that the employees might not fully understand the objectives for the policy.

Besides knowledge about the policy and its objectives it is of course also important that PATC have the competences needed in order to secure that environmental considerations

is integrated in all types of projects. In relation to this it can be concluded that PATC do not have specific competences within the field of environment. From the homepage of PATC the following appears about their possibilities of consulting the member NGOs:

> *"PATC's core competence is to make you* [the NGOs] *able to combine and understand different considerations within the general frames for development policy. (...) On the other hand we do NOT have expert knowledge within all the themes (environment, children HIV/AIDS etc.)"* (PATC no date c, authors' translation)

This statement emphasises that even though PATC have the knowledge about the policy they still do not have all the needed knowledge to make it influence the work of the NGOs.

6.3 PATC's relation to IGF/JGVK as the target group

PATC are related to IGF, by IGF being a member of the organisation, and to JGVK as they are the partner organisation of IGF. However, the relation to JGVK is assessed as indirect and this section will for this reason mainly focus on their relation to IGF.

The structure of PATC is that their member organisations (IGF as one of them) can use them for counselling in relation to their work with development assistance, and they can apply for funds at the Project Fund administrated by PATC. This means that IGF are very dependent on PATC, because they are an important way for them to receive money for their projects. As Ganesh Sengupta, the chairman of IGF says;

> *"95 % of our funding comes from PATC (...) because that is our only option"* (Sengupta 2011:11, authors' translation)

However, this dependency is going two ways. PATC are also interested in a strong collaboration with IGF because they have grown to be an experienced organisation with many successful projects;

> *"(...) they* [PATC] *have gradually become very interested in collaborating with us, because they thereby get important information about our experiences. So it is both ways."* (Sengupta 2011:13, authors' translations)

Since an important part of PATC's work is to council their member organisations, they are thereby also dependent on the organisations to share their experiences with them, in order to improve their counselling. Furthermore, PATC are also dependent on their member organisations to implement their projects in coherence with the policies and strategies of Danida, as they themselves are assigned to these. This means that there is a reciprocal dependency between PATC and IGF where both organisations benefit from and need each other (see figure 8 and read more about reciprocal relationships in section 5.3).

6.4 PATC's discourses

As it was the case with Danida, PATC have also adapted the idea of sustainability from the Brundtland Commissions definition. Rolf Hernø explains their perception of sustainability as;

> *"(...) it origins from the Brundtland Commission and the idea that things should be long lasting throughout generations (...) it is partly a question of resources and not spending the whole heritage at once and then it is a question of the long lastingness of what you build (...)."* (Hernøe 2011:9, authors' translation)

Rolf Hernø furthermore explains the three pillars of sustainability as being environmental, social and economical (Hernø 2011). This seems very similar to Danida's perception of sustainability as they both define it with point of origin in the Brundtland Commission's report and are aware of the three different pillars.

Regarding how PATC perceive environment, it is clear from section 6.1 that it is only being taken into consideration when the projects are directly levelled at or impacting environmental aspects. This is interpreted as PATC have a narrow view on environment compared to Danida that had a broad view, where environmental aspects were also seen in projects related to e.g. education and health. PATC also have another perception than Danida when it comes to the relation between environment and development:

> *"In general you can say that China is an example of how severe economic growth can have enormous environmental consequences (...). On the other hand, we try to promote that development and environment goes hand in hand. So it is not necessarily contra dictionary, but it depends on your approach to it, so I think it is hard to say something general about this"* (Hernø 2011:10, authors' translation)

PATC thereby see the relation between environment and development from two sides; it can be a problem as it has been the case with China, but they try to deal with it as an opportunity where both aspects can go hand in hand. Danida only saw it from one side and did not have the same reservations as PATC have.

6.5 Recapitulation

The analysis of the street-level bureaucratic behaviour can be summarised into the following main points:

- Environmental considerations are not necessarily a part of all projects and are mainly taken into account when then projects are directly related to environmental problems. This means that there is a lack of concordance between PATC's work with the policy and the policy design.
- PATC have the principle of rewarding the good idea even though the application may not live up to all their assessment criteria. Their will to implement the policy is therefore controlled by a pragmatic approach where the members' possibility

- of getting started with development work in some situations is a greater priority than the policy of integrating environmental considerations in all projects.
- It is assessed that PATC to some extent have the ability to implement the policy, since it according to Rolf Hernø is common knowledge for people working with development assistance that environment is a cross-cutting issue. However, the little concordance between the policy and PATC's interpretation of it, signals that there are some critical points in this regard and that the employees might not have fully understood the objective of the policy. Furthermore PATC write on their homepage that they do not have all the expert knowledge needed in order to secure that environment is integrated in all type of projects.
- There is a reciprocal relationship between PATC and the target group IGF/JGVK; IGF are dependent on the funds, while PATC are dependent on IGF to share their experiences and to implement the projects according to the policies and strategies they are assigned to by Danida.
- From the analysis of PATC's discourses, it can be concluded that they have a similar perception of sustainability as Danida. However it differs when talking about "environment", where PATC have a more narrow perception of it with a focus on the direct and traditional environmental impacts, than Danida have. Their perception of the relation between environment and development also differs from Danida, since PATC think it can both go hand in hand, which they attempt to do, but development can also cause environmental consequences.

Overall it can be concluded that PATC have a pragmatic approach to the policy and take some important discretionary decisions in their assessment of the projects applied for. They do this because otherwise their members would not have a chance to receive money and get started with development projects. Furthermore it seems as the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue, has not been communicated clearly to them, which affects their interpretation of and work with the policy.

7 Target group behaviour

In the case of this present project the target group is, as mentioned, IGF and JVGK. IGF was contributory to the foundation of JGVK in 1998 and they have since then continued a close partnership where the two organisations cooperate in the formulation of new projects and applications to PATC (for further information about the two NGOs please see chapter 2 Methodology). Because of this close partnership they are analysed as a joint target group and the following analysis will therefore be based on both organisations. According to the analytical frame, an understanding of the context of the Sunderbans is essential for the implementation process and therefore this context will be described as the first part of the chapter.

7.1 The socio economic context of the Sundarbans

In the presentation of the case in chapter 2 Methodology, the area in which the target group act was briefly described. As follow up on that description, this section seeks to extend the focus on the area of the Sundarbans in order to give a deeper understanding of the context in which the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue should be implemented as a part of the target group's projects. The starting points for the description will be the island Basanti and the group of islands named Gosaba (see figure 9). This is chosen because it is on these islands that most of the target group's projects are implemented and because it mainly was these islands which were visited during the field trip. Because of this the presented illustrations in the following are also from these islands.
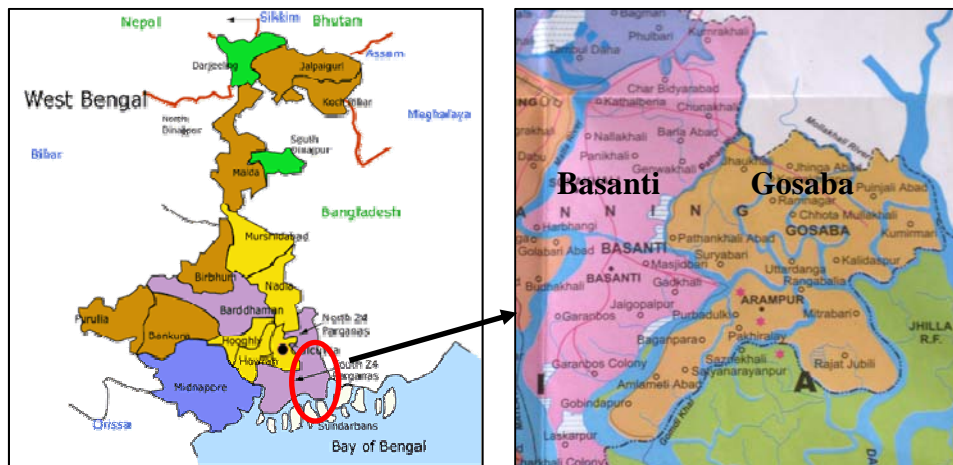

Figure 9: Map of West Bengal and the island Basanti and the group of islands named Gosaba.

The Sunderbans is one of the poorest areas in India and an increasing population has entailed a significant demand for and thereby pressure on natural resources. The people in the area are living in small cottages made of mud or bamboo and with thatch roofs. In average each family owns approximately ½ hectare of land, which they use for agriculture and besides this most of them have access to a pond which they are using for fishery,

housekeeping needs and personal hygiene (JGVK 2011a) (see figure 10 and 11). The land and the pond together with a little livestock constitute the main part of the families' basis for living. For the families which have no land or too little land to provide enough food for survival, they supplement their income by taking small jobs. However many people in the Sundarbans meet with periods where they cannot provide as much food as they need and they have to restrict themselves to live with only one meal pr. day (Vaarst et al. 2008).

Figure 10: The small cottages, the pond and the little livestock.

Figure 11: The village people use the pond for housekeeping and fishery.

There are more reasons for the lack of food security; *first,* the increasing population entails more land than available, and *second* the soil is in many places exhausted because of monoculture and heavy use of pesticides and fertiliser (Bhandary 2011). *Third* the animals are often unproductive because of the poor fodder and bad health, and many of the local fish species are close to become extinct because of pollution and unsustainable use of the ponds (JGVK 2011a).

The above described circumstances entail that the people in the Sunderbans often need to find other sources of income in order to survive. Besides finding small jobs an often used approach is to cut down the mangrove forest in order to provide more land for agriculture and at the same time be able to sell timber and thereby get money. This has entailed a

very unsustainable use of the forest and a great part of the forest area is today changed to arable land (see figure 12).

Figure 12: The forest area is in many places transformed into agriculture land.

This development is very problematic; the Sundarbans mangrove forest is the world's largest mangrove area which embraces a special and vulnerable wild life, e.g. the threatened Bengali tiger which is a trade mark for this part of India and an important part of the area's culture (JGVK 2011a). Also very important for the people in the area, the mangrove forest protects the area against nature disasters as cyclones and floods. Every year the Sundarbans are struck by some kind of nature disasters (Mahakur 2011). Thereby the deforestation of the mangrove forest can have fatal consequences. An example of this was in 2009 were the Sunderbans was struck by the cyclone Aila which destroyed great parts of the areas closest to the sea. Besides flattening all the trees, cottages, etc., the cyclone entailed that the flooded land has become barren because of the great amount of salt from the water (Mahakur 2011). After Aila, the government has forbidden fishery in the sea in order to protect the fish stock which was heavily damaged after the cyclone (Mahakur 2011). Thereby the government has deprived the local people of one of their main source of livelihood – the fish. These circumstances have created a paradox; since the local people in some of the areas cannot cultivate the land in a sufficient way because of the salt in the soil or get food by fishery, they are forced to cut down more of the mangrove forest in order to provide an income which again will have negative consequences when at new cyclone or flood hits the area. Thereby the area is facing a big challenge; to increase the income of the village people so they do not use the natural resources in an unsustainable way.

In relation to generate such a development, the lack of infrastructure in the Sunderbans is essential. The infrastructure from the mainland to the Sunderbans and between the islands is very poor. Not until 2004 was a bridge established from the mainland to the island Basanti (Mahakur 2011). Until then, all transport from the mainland to the island had taken place with small boats and this is still the only possibility between the other islands in the Sunderbans (see figure 13). This means that it is not possible to use cars or trucks to transport materials on many of the islands, and the only possibilities the local people have for transporting materials is thereby bikes and motorbikes with truck beds (see figure 13).

Figure 13: One of the boats used for transport between the islands and one of the bikes with truck beds.

The access on the island is furthermore reduced because of the bad conditions of the roads; only few (the ones in relation to the bridge) are made of asphalt, otherwise they are made of bricks or mud. Especially the ones of mud are problematic in the period with monsoon when they get very slippery and hard to use. This makes development of the area complicated, since it limits the local people's possibilities for trading with the mainland and the possibility of importing materials to the Sundarbans.

Also the infrastructure in relation to electricity and water is very poor. By far, most of the households do not have access to electricity and the few who do obtain it from generators or solar power cells. Regarding the access to clean drinking water this is problematic as well, especially on some of the islands (e.g. the group of islands Gosaba – see figure 9) where the phreatic surface and the pressure in the pipelines are often too low for using the normal pumps. On these islands the local people have to walk several kilometres in order to get enough clean drinking water. The problem about access to clean drinking water is assumed to be even more significant in the future because of the increased population's need for water and because of the effect of the climate change which makes the amount of water more unstable (Mahakur 2011). According to Mahakur (2011) the problem with clean drinking water can be one of the biggest future problems for the local people of the Sundarbans.

Another issue which is a critical point for the possibility of sustainable development is the lack of education in the area; 80 % of the children in the Sundarbans drop out of school before they have finished class ten (JGVK 2011a). The lack of education also entails that the local people get a minimum of new inputs related to e.g. cultivation of the land, managing the livestock, sanitation and hygiene etc. This means that the local people often stick to "business as usual" even though this is not the best and most sustainable way of doing things. Thereby there is a significant need for better education in order to obtain a more sustainable development in the area.

The above description of the Sundarbans has pointed out some of the overall issues that the area and thereby IGF and JGVK are facing. These issues can be understood as the basis for the work of IGF and JGVK. In the following section it will be elaborated whether the target group's actions is in concordance with the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue.

7.2 IGF/JGVK's response to the policy and PATC

In chapter 2 Methodology it was determined that neither IGF nor JVGK have a particular focus on the environment in their written materials and though they mention sustainability they do not explicit mention environmental considerations. Nevertheless, based on the observations undertaken doing the field trip, it can be concluded that the target group actually has a great focus on the environment in more or less all their projects – both the ones which are directly related to environmental issues and the ones where the relation is more indirectly (further analysis of how environment is integrated will be elaborated in the following chapter). Based on the field trip it can thereby be concluded that there are a high degree of concordance between IGF/JGVK's work and policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue.

However, the question is whether or not this focus on environment is an effect of Danida's policy or if it is an effect of the contexts in which the target group act? Through conservations with Mahakur (2011) it was stressed that considerations about the environment is a natural part of IGF/JGVK's work with development work in rural areas; when improving the quality of life for the people in the rural area it is implicitly related to environment, for example by providing clean drinking water, providing food security through better cultivation approach or protection against natural disasters by protecting the forest. This illustrate that the context in which the target group is working is very important for the extent of integration of environmental considerations.

In relation to the effect of Danida's policy it can be determined that IGF/JGVK are aware of Danida's focus on environment and that it is something they have in mind when they apply for funds (Mahakur 2011). However, in relation to IGF/JGVK's contact to PATC which consists of use of PATC's guidelines and participation in the consultation PATC offer, neither Mahakur (2011) nor Sengupta (2011) from IGF mention environment as a particular focus. This is also consistent with the conclusion drawn in the previous chapter; PATC are only focusing on environment when the project is explicit dealing with environmental issues. By this it can be determined that IGF/JGVK are committed in their response to and interaction with PATC as the street-level bureaucrats, which confer section 3.2, means that they are interacting with PATC in a positive and proactive way.

Thereby it can overall be concluded that it is not because of encouragement or demand from PATC that IGF/JGVK are working with environment but to a higher extent because of the context in which they are acting, together with their knowledge about Danida's focus on environment. Based on the lack of encouragement it can be assumed that if the target group was another NGO which were working in another context where environmental considerations did not have the same direct importance, the environmental considerations would presumably not be integrated in the projects. This is assessed as unfortunate both because of the fact that it is inconsistent with the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue but also because there could be a lot of possibilities for integrating environment in development projects, even though the NGOs are not directly focusing on environmental issues.

In order to elaborate further on the basis for the target group's work with environmental considerations, the following section will seek to analyse their will and ability to act in accordance with the policy.

7.3 IGF/JGVK's will and ability

Like the case with the analysis of PATC's will, IGF/JGVK's will can also be analysed by identifying the values and interests of the organisations. The overall interest of IGF/JGVK can be identified by looking at their mission (as mentioned in the description of the case the two organisations share mission). The mission of the two organisations is:

> *"To improve the quality of life with respect to food and social security through a strengthened civil society in the rural West Bengal and Orissa."*
> (JGVK 2010)

Based on this it is clear that the organisations have their main focus and thereby an interest in the local people and their possibilities of improving their life conditions. In order to reach the mission, IGF/JGVK work with five core values as starting points. These values are:

1. People's participation
2. Sustainability
3. Positive globalisation
4. Learning
5. Being methodological

(JGVK 2009)

As it shows sustainability is listed as one of the core values which also includes environmental considerations. This value underpins that the target group has an interest in working with environment though it is not directly the main purpose of the organisations.

Even if the organisations have a will to implement the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue the final implementation is also closely related to their ability to do so. In order to analyse the ability for integrating environmental consideration in the projects, it is necessary to elaborate briefly on the construction of the organisations and the approach for generating ideas for new projects.

The generation of ideas for new projects follows a bottom up approach, which means that the local people present what they are missing and what they need. In order to get in contact with as many local people as possible IGF/JGVK work with a concept of self-help groups for women. (The women are very important in the society of India because they often are the ones who take care of the family but also in charge of providing income, therefore IGF/JGVK have their focus on women (Sengupta 2011)). A self-help group consists of 10-12 women from the same village. Today IGF/JGVK are involved with more than 1000 self-help groups and by working with these groups IGF/JGVK have an entrance for involving a great number of local people and thereby get their inputs from "the bottom". At the same time the groups contribute to the possibility of IGF/JGVK distributing new knowledge and projects to a broad range of the local society.

JVGK consist of 242 staff and volunteers, whom in different ways are involved in the activities related to the projects or in the daily work at the head office such as cleaning and cooking for the staff and visitors (see figure 14) (JGVK 2010).

Figure 14: The head office and the staff working in the kitchen of the head office.

For each of the projects a project coordinator is affiliated who has the overall responsibility for the projects. All the project coordinators have an educational background within the topic of the specific project and have as minimum a bachelor degree. However, it is still significantly important for the organisation to get inputs from outside the organisation in order to develop sustainable solutions to the problems identified by the local people (Mahakur 2011). Based on this it can be determined that IGF/JGVK do not alone have the ability to integrate environment in all their projects – they need inputs and ideas for solutions from outside the organisation. In order to get these inputs they are collaborating with various educational institutions and organisations such as the Danish Technical University and Aalborg University (Mahakur 2011). Beside these technical inputs, IGF/JGVK are of course also very depended on financial support from outside in order to establish the projects. Though IGF/JGVK endeavour to make projects which are economically sustainable, they do not have the ability to run the organisation and integrate environmental considerations in their work without financial support. Based on the above paragraphs it can be ascertained that IGF/JGVK have a will to act in accordance with the policy but they need support from outside to be able to do so.

Another important dimension regarding IGF/JGVK's will and ability is the local people and their will and ability to protect the environment. All the projects IGF/JGVK have implemented are based on the local people's inputs and are thereby levelled at the local people. Therefore it is very important that the local people also act with respect for the environment in order to obtain the overall objective of the policy of environment as a cross-cutting issue. For the local people to act with respect for environmental considerations it is first of all assumed to be essential that they understand the importance and vulnerability of nature. However, it has not been the purpose of the field trip of this present project to clarify the local peoples point of view on environmental protection, but another project group has in 2008 (Vaarst et al. 2008) prepared a study where they among other things identified some of the local peoples thoughts about nature and environment. From this study the following statements from some local people can be presented:

"We do harm nature – we know that we are doing it." (Vaarst et al. 2008)

And:

> *"We look on nature as our mother, because she is the only source of food, clothing and everything else. However, at present we are destroying our mother, nature."* (Vaarst et al. 2008)

By the study of Vaarst et al. (2008) and the above quotations it can be determined that the local people are aware that they are harming nature and that it is problematic because nature provide them with their basic needs. However this does not automatically mean that they are able to stop their harmful actions; it is often a matter of life and death for them – as stated in the introduction; "*people would rather die of pollution than of hunger*". Furthermore it is a question about having the knowledge to change behaviour. As mentioned in the first section the lack of education and new inputs entail that the local people very often are acting like "business as usual". Thereby they are continuing harming nature though they are aware that it is problematic. Based on this it can be concluded that the local people have a will to protect nature but they do not always have the ability in form of knowledge or possibilities to do so. Therefore it is important for IGF/JGVK to help the local people to change their behaviour if IGF/JGVK should have the ability to follow their will to act in accordance with the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue.

7.4 IGF/JGVK's discourses

Like both Danida and PATC, IGF/JGVK also work with sustainability based on the concept presented in the Brundtland report. From the annual report of JGVK (2009) the following appear about their work with sustainability:

> *"Development without sustainability is wastage of energy. So all the JGVK's projects are integrated towards a holistic sustainable development-strategy which includes economical, social and environmental issues."* (JGVK 2009)

However from the interview with Sengupta (2011) it appeared that especially the focus on the users, which can be seen as the social part of sustainability, is very important in IGF/JGVK's understanding of sustainability. He presents it as following:

> *"Sustainability is when it is based on the users."* (Sengupta 2011:15, authors' translation)

This discourse reflects the focus of IGF/JGVK on the bottom-up approach and thereby the participation of the local people; IGF/JGVK's perception is that if the local people are not involved in the process related to the project then the project will never be sustainable. However, as also illustrated with JGVK's definition of sustainability in their annual report it is clear that also the environment and economy play a significant role.

Regarding the environment IGF/JGVK work with a broad understanding of environment, like it was the case with Danida. Ganesh Sengupta elaborates:

> *"Environment can also be the social environment."* (Sengupta 2011:17, authors' translation)

This understanding of environment as a broad concept is also reflected in the different projects of IGF/JGVK. They do e.g. work with education of children where the teaching is about natural science but also about cultural heritage and health and hygiene.

As also mentioned in the above analysis the environmental aspects in general play a significant role in the projects implemented by IGF/JGVK; from conversations with Mahakur (2011) and the project coordinators it can be determined that they understand environmental considerations as something that goes hand in hand with development in the Sundarbans - it is a necessity if the area and the local people's living conditions should be improved, but also a necessity if just the present conditions should be maintained. However, in continuation of this Mahakur (2011) also reflects upon whether this connection between environment and development will continue; for example he mentions that the new bridge from the mainland to Basanti have entailed a lot of tourists from the mainland which put further pressure on nature, especially on the mangrove forest because of among other things an increased amount of rubbish in the area. This is an example of a conflict between the wish to develop better infrastructure and at the same time protect the environment.

Based on this it can be determined that IGF/JGVK have an understanding that environmental considerations can go hand in hand with development but that it is not always the case. This discourse also reflects what Rolf Hernø from PATC point out with China as an example where the development has harmed the environment.

7.5 Recapitulation

In order to sum up on the chapter, the main findings can be listed in the following main points:

- The Sunderbans is one of the poorest areas in India and they are facing several different issues in relation to development; 1) there is a lack of food security, 2) the need for money entail deforestation, 3) the infrastructure is poor, 4) the educational level is low.
- Though IGF/JGVK do not write anything explicit about their environmental consideration it plays a significant role in their projects and thereby it can be concluded that IGF/JGVK work in accordance with the design of the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue.
- This accordance is not caused by encouragement or demand from PATC but because of the context in which IGF/JGVK are working and because of their knowledge about Danida's focus on environment.

- It can be determined that IGF/JGVK have a will to integrate environmental considerations in all of their projects but regarding their ability they are significantly dependent on technical and financial performance from outside.
- Also the local people's will and ability are important in relation to IGF/JGVK; the local people know that nature and the environment are important and they have a will to protect it but their ability is limited because of lack of knowledge about alternative behaviour.
- From the analysis of the discourses it could be concluded that IGF/JGVK have a similar perception of sustainability as both PATC and Danida, but they stress the social aspect by focusing on the users of the projects. Regarding environment it can be determined that IGF/JGVK are working with at broad understanding of environment in the same way as Danida. On the opposite IGF/JGVK share to a higher extend the same opinion as PATC about the connection between development and environmental considerations; the two aspects can go hand in hand but this is not always the case.

As a final note it can thereby be determined that the target group to a high extent are acting in accordance with the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue, but that it is not assumed to be caused by an impeccable implementation process. Instead it is to a higher extent considered as being caused by the context in which the target group is acting and their overall knowledge about Danida's focus on environmental issues.

8 Results of the implementation process

The last part of the analysis is about the results of the implementation process and thereby the result of the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. As mentioned, the results can be divided into two different types of results; the *performance* of the street-level bureaucrats and the target group, and the *effect* which is the actual effect of the performance. Therefore the analysis will be divided into these two sections.

8.1 Performance

According to the analytical framework, the performance of the implementation process is related to both PATC as the street-level bureaucrats and to IGF/JGVK as the target group. Therefore, this present section is divided into two subsections levelled at PATC and IGF/JGVK respectively.

PATC

The performance of PATC is related to what they do for their members according to the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue. As mentioned in chapter 6 The street-level bureaucratic behaviour, PATC have provided their members with some guidelines for them to follow when applying for funds at the Project Fund. As it was concluded, environment is not very conspicuous in these guidelines, and environmental considerations are not necessarily a part of all projects they are granting. This means that the performance of PATC in regard to communicating the message of environment as a cross-cutting issue to their members is insufficient, when it comes to their guidelines.

Furthermore, PATC have a consulting role towards their members, as they consult them in how to write their applications. These consultants are independent from the fund committee (Hernø 2011). However, the consultants and fund committee are still communicating, in order for the consultants' guidance to be in accordance with the fund committees' decisions:

> *"We are coordinating and communicating regularly about how to give grants, about disputed points in correlation with the guidelines and Danida's rules and so on."* (Hernø 2011:7, authors' translation)

Thereby it is assumed that the consultants are consulting in accordance to the guidelines of PATC, which entails that environment as a cross-cutting issue can be assumed not to be very well communicated to the members of PATC.

IGF/JGVK

IGF/JGVK are operating with many different projects. The nine main projects are:

1. Organic farming
2. Pisciculture
3. Water and sanitation
4. Education
5. Health
6. Home industry
7. Animal husbandry
8. IEC (Information, Education and Communication)
9. Partnership activity

For further information about the projects, see section 2.2 Methodology. Due to the time available it is not possible to look into the results of all the projects. Thus, three projects have been selected which will constitute the analysis of the performance of IGF/JGVK. These three projects are; organic farming, water and sanitation, and home industry, and they have been selected because they cover three different needs (food, water and money) which make them diverse and with various focuses. In the following subsections, the three projects will be described in order to analyse the performance of them.

Organic farming

Organic farming is a project coordinated by Nimai Bhandary and it has been running for three years. One of the main reasons for initiating this project is that the families in the Sundarbans in average only have ½ hectare of agricultural land available (JGVK 2011a), (Bhandary 2011). This means that it is very important to make the best out of the small piece of land that they have, but at the same time not exhaust the soil (Bhandary 2011). Thereby, environment and sustainability is a very central issue in relation to this project. The objectives of the project are to:

> *"Develop and promote agro- ecological farming activities through the use of natural fertilizers among the farmers."*

And to:

> *"Conduct research on innovative techniques in diverse organic farming."* (JGVK 2011b)

The way they want to obtain these objectives mainly takes place through a demonstration farm they have established in relation to the project, which is where they experiment with new techniques and teach the farmers how to reorganise to organic farming (Bhandary 2011). This demonstration farm consists of three hectares land and a building where teaching of the farmers takes place (Bhandary 2011). The project is levelled at agriculture in terms of growing alternative, more efficient and less water consuming crops, which means that there is not a focus on the livestock part of agriculture.

An example of one of the things they are experimenting with is to use techniques so that the crops need less water, which as mentioned is a scarce resource in the area. In a part of the demonstration farm they are experimenting with growing crops that has deep roots. In order to prevent the water from evaporating before it reaches the roots of the plant, they have put some clay pots in the ground, which they use for irrigation (see figure 15). From the pots, the water slowly soaks into the ground and directly to the roots of the plants where it is needed. The crops are planted around these pots in order to be able to get as much water as possible. As a result the farmers will be able to reduce their water consumption and the plants will get the amount of water needed. Another example of their experiments is that they are trying to find the right combination of different crops that can be grown at the same field at the same time. At the moment they are experimenting with three different crops that will get nutrition from different parts of the soil, and they can furthermore protect each other against insects, which mean that pesticides are not needed. This will lead to a higher yield every year. In general they have great focus on showing the farmers how to produce alternative crops to the traditional crops such as rice, which is very water consuming. In figure 15 Nimai Bhandary is showing some banana trees, which are a part of the demonstration farm because they are not very water consuming and a crop that the farmers are not aware that they can grow in a more systematically way at their farms.

Figure 15: Nimai Bhandary at the organic farming program's demonstration farm, showing their experiment with clay pots in the ground and their field with banana trees.

In order to make the farmers reorganise to organic farming, an important issue is to make them stop using pesticides and inorganic fertiliser. Traditionally all of the farmers use inorganic fertiliser and pesticides, and they trust the people selling them these items when they tell the farmers that they need more fertiliser or pesticides in order to get a higher yield (Bhandary 2011). It can therefore be very hard to change such traditions, especially when the farmers do not understand that there is an alternative. In such case, the demonstration farm is very important. Here they make their own fertiliser made from cow pat, water and weed, and use it on their fields. The farmers can then come and see that it is actually working, and they are being taught in the technique of making their own fertiliser. So far 500 farmers have been taught the technique at the demonstration farm.

74

When analysing the performance of the project in regard to environmental issues, two main performances have been found; 1) IGF/JGVK have made the demonstrating farm, which is an important part of the research they are doing on organic farming and on more efficient agricultural techniques, and 2) they invite the farmers to the demonstration farm where they teach them the new techniques and can show them that these new methods actually work and pay off.

Water and sanitation

The water and sanitation project is coordinated by Debananda Das, and has the objective to reduce the water and sanitation related diseases through safe drinking water (JGVK 2011b). As mentioned, access to clean drinking water is a great challenge at the group of islands named Gosaba, especially on one of these islands. Because of the small amount of ground water at the island, the water comes from pipelines up to 20 kilometres from the villages, and the pipes are not very good (Das 2011). This means that the pressure in the pipelines is low and it takes a lot of time to get water (Das 2011). Furthermore, the pipelines are sometimes blocked and the water cannot come through (Das 2011). This can especially be a problem during the monsoon, where the water stations for getting water from the pipelines also gets flooded, as it is assumed to be the case with the water station on figure 16 (Das 2011). In these cases, the village people have to travel four to five kilometres to get water (Das 2011).

Figure 16: The water at Gosaba comes from pipelines with low pressure and the water stations can be flooded during the monsoon. Therefore the sand filter project is important and can provide the villagers and the hospital with clean drinking water from the local area.

In order to secure clean drinking water in the local area, there has been established a sand filter project, where a sand filter cleans the water in a pond (the technical aspect of the sand filter will not be elaborated further). Figure 16 shows the first sand filter situated close to the hospital at the island. Once a month, JGVK make tests of the water quality which since the beginning of the project has shown that the water is clean and pure after being filtered (Das 2011). The filter costs about 7000 rupees, which corresponds to about 820 Danish kroner – a lot of money for the village people that often does not have a regular income and survive from the food they can grow on their own field and in their ponds (Das 2011). However, this is relatively cheap for such a system, and the aim for JGVK is to make the government see this project and help financing it in other places (Das 2011).

The sand filter is being maintained by a "beneficial committee" that consists of some of the beneficiaries (the 40-50 families that use the pond and the hospital), and of women from some of the self-help groups (Das 2011). The purpose of having other members than the beneficials is to make them see and know about the project in order for them to establish a similar project near their houses. Thereby, the sand filter at the hospital can be seen as a demonstration project, where other people can get a demonstration on how it works and learn from it, in the same function as the demonstration farm did for the organic farming project.

The performance of the sand filter project in regard to environmental issues is that JGVK are starting a process, showing the local people that it is possible to get clean drinking water from the local ponds and the government that this can be done in a relatively cheap way. The performance of IGF/JGVK is therefore that they make the opportunities for environmental improvement in regard to water quality visible with the use of a test filter.

Home industry

The purpose of the home industry project is to create income for the local people, especially the women, whom are the focus for IGF/JGVK. The indirect purpose of the project is to protect nature by giving the local people alternatives to exploit nature as they otherwise would be forced to do (see section 7.1).

The project primarily takes place through the self-help groups, where JGVK get in contact with the women and invite them to learn to e.g. weave or sew (see figure 17). It takes four months to learn the techniques, and afterwards, the women can take the weaving or sewing machine with them home in order to produce clothes to sell (Mahakur 2011). They do not receive the machines from IGF/JGVK, but pays them off gradually as they make money from selling the clothes they make (Mahakur 2011). After the machine has been paid off, IGF/JGVK buy a new one so another woman can be trained, which is how the project runs by itself. IGF/JGVK help the women to sell the clothes, but the aim is that the women over time will organise themselves and in collaboration sell the clothes at markets, which is why they are also taught in marketing during their training (Mahakur 2011). During the project more than 1500 women have been trained, and the income of these women varies from 500 rupees (58 Danish kroner) to 4000 rupees (470 Danish kroner) pr. month, which makes a great difference to them and their families (JGVK 2010).

Figure 1: The home industry projects where the women are being taught in weaving and sewing. On the picture to the right, the four women have finished their four months and can take the sewing machine home.

The performance of the home industry project is that IGF/JGVK provide the women with an alternative income in order for them not to be forced to exploit nature and the environment. Furthermore they help the women sell the clothes and items they make, which is encouraging them to continue the work and make them see new possibilities. Thereby, IGF/JGVK are setting the frames for the local people to be able to survive without exploiting nature.

The three projects have shown that the performance of IGF/JGVK in regard to environment as a cross-cutting issue is that they have a great environmental focus in their projects, even though they are not directly levelled at environmental issues, as it is the case with the home industry project. This is very different from the performance of PATC, which should have affected JGVK and their performance: It was concluded that their performance regarding environment as a cross-cutting issue was inadequate. This underpins the assumption from section 7.2, as it appears that JGVK's focus on environment is not because of PATC and their guidelines, but more because of the social context of the Sundarbans and because of IGF/JGVK's awareness of Danida's environmental focus.

As mentioned, the performance of the street-level bureaucrats and the target group does not always show the full picture of the results of the policy, which is why the actual effect will be analysed in the following section.

8.2 Effect

When looking at the analytical framework, it is the target group that has the impact on the effect of the implementation process. Therefore, this section will focus on the environmental effects of the three projects of JGVK that were described in the previous section.

Organic farming

The effect of this project can be very hard to measure. As mentioned, IGF/JGVK are implementing the demonstration farm, but in order for this to have an actual effect on the environment, the farmers need to change their behaviour and reorganise to organic farming instead of conventional. Thereby the local people have an important role in relation to the actual effect of the project. As it was also described in section 7.3 it is really hard to make this happen in practise; the farmers traditionally have been using inorganic fertiliser and pesticides, and they trust the salesmen of these items. Therefore, the change from conventional to organic farming will take place gradually and not just from one day to another; slowly the farmers will start making and using their own fertiliser and partly replace it with the inorganic (Mahakur 2011). When they realise that this gives the same yield, they will use less fertiliser until they in the end have reorganised (Mahakur 2011). The same goes for the pesticides, where the farmers will realise that the new cultivation techniques can have the same effect as the pesticides and replace them. Furthermore it is of cause important to know how exactly the transformation from conventional to organic farming will affect the environment. However, this is assessed as being out of the scope of this project and will therefore not be investigated further.

Because of these circumstances it cannot be determined what the exact effect of the organic farming project is. Nevertheless, it is assessed that there is a great potential for a positive environmental effect, since more than 500 farmers have been taught the technique of making organic fertiliser and have seen the demonstration farm.

Water and sanitation

The main effect of the project with the sand filter is that the local people and the hospital get access to clean drinking water. The monthly test of the water quality is documenting the effect, that the water is pure and clean. As a result of this, the doctor of the hospital states that he has observed a positive effect on the patients after the sand filter has been implemented. (Das 2011). Another environmental effect of the project is that it reduces the pressure on the ground water, which is a scarce resource on the island.

The effects of the project are still not that big, because of the small size of the project and the relatively small number of beneficiaries. However, if JGVK succeed in making the government install more sand filters, the effect is assumed to increase. Especially because of the fact that the water resources on the islands in Sundarbans are still getting smaller and smaller which entails that something has to be done if the local people should be able to remain on the islands (Mahakur 2011).

Home industry

The environmental effect of the home industry project corresponds to the effect of the organic farming project; IGF/JGVK are providing the women with the training and equipment needed in order to generate an alternative income so they do not need to exploit nature, but the women have to do the job themselves and learn to sell the clothes on the long run – just as it was the case with the organic farming where the farmers themselves have to reorganise to organic instead of conventional. Thereby it is up to the local

people to make the change take place and start working with home industry. Furthermore it is up to the local people to stop cutting the forest and at the same time spend their extra money they earn in a way that do not harm nature. Because of this influence from the local people, the environmental effect of the project is hard to measure. However, JGVK have trained more than 1500 women, generating income from 500 to 4000 rupees pr. month, and when asking the women what they want to spend their extra money on, most of them answer "education for our children" (Mahakur 2011). This entails that it can be assumed that the project has a significantly positive environmental effect.

The effect of the projects is thereby, that all of them have a positive effect on the environment. However, it cannot be determined exactly what this effect consists of, and furthermore it is to a great extend up to the local people's will to change in order for environmental improvement to take place in the end.

8.3 Recapitulation

The analysis of the results can be summarised into the following main points:

- The performance of PATC is that they do not communicate the message of environment as a cross-cutting issue very well to their members, and thereby neither to IGF/JGVK.
- The performance of IGF/JGVK is that they have a great environmental focus in their projects; in the *organic farming* project, JGVK have established a demonstration farm where they experiment with alternative methods of cultivation, and where they teach and show the farmers these new techniques. The *water and sanitation* project with the sand filter is also demonstrating the local people and the governmental authorities a new method in cleaning the pond water in a cheap way. At last, the *home industry* project is helping the local women generate an alternative income in order for them not to be forced to exploit nature and the environment because of poverty.
- The effect of the three projects are all hard to measure precisely and are depending on whether the local people's will change behaviour; the *organic farming* has taught farmers the new techniques, which will have a positive environmental effect if the farmers are actually reorganising to organic farming. The *water and sanitation* project is documenting that clean water comes from the sand filter, which benefits the hospital and the villagers and also reduces the pressure on the ground water on the island. The *home industry* project has provided more than 1500 women with techniques to create an alternative income and thereby not being forced to exploit nature.

All in all, it seems from the results of the case study, that the policy of environment as a cross-cutting issue is a great success and that it is an issue in all of IGF/JGVK's projects. However, it should be emphasised, that the performances of PATC, which in theory should guide and affect the performance and effects of IGF/JGVK, is inadequate regarding environment as a cross-cutting issue. The great focus on environmental issues in the projects of IGF/JGVK is thereby assumed to be because of the social context they are operating in, and their knowledge to Danida's policies.

9 Conclusion and discussion

Based on the answers related to the two sub-questions this concluding chapter seeks to present and discuss the most important conclusions from the previous chapters and thereby answer the overall research question:

> *How is the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue, implemented as a part of the NGO-assistance - from the strategic level in Denmark to the project level in developing countries - and how does this process affect the implementation results?*

In order to answer the research question it was chosen to use a case study. The selected case consisted of four organisations which represent different steps in the implementation process. The organisations are: 1) Danida which prepare the policies for Danish development assistance, 2) the Project Advice and Training Centre (PATC) which by Danida are given the responsibility for administrating a part of the NGO-assistance 3) the Danish NGO the India Group of Funen (IGF) and 4) the Indian NGO Jogypalpur Gram Vikas Kendra (JGVK), which together should integrate the policy of environmental considerations in their projects and thereby are the target group.

With the case as a starting point it was necessary to apply some theories which could embrace the implementation process and thereby be used in order to set the frames for the following analysis. Based on an elaboration on Winter's (2003) *integrated implementation model* in relation to public administration, it was determined that this model could be used as inspiration for an analytical framework for this present project. Winter's model takes its starting point in five factors which are related to different aspects of the implementation process and in different ways are assumed to influence the process. By having a focus on the more different facets of the implementation process it was possible to analyse the process - from the strategic level to the project level - which is the aim of this present project. Though the model was assessed as being useful it was, however, at the same time concluded that the implementation process within the field of development assistance differs significantly from most other implementation processes within public administration. The main differences are related to the fact that the implementation process goes across at least two different countries with different institutional contexts. This is assumed to influence the implementation process because e.g. the regulative basis in the two countries can vary or the norms and values in the different countries can be conflicting. Besides the circumstances related to the different countries, it can also be stated that the four organisations which constitutes the case study are very diverse. This means among other things that there can be several different perceptions of the policy of integrating environmental considerations in Danish development assistance and that there can be several different ideas about how the work should be done. These aspects of different institutional contexts and different discourses within the organisations are something that Winter (2003) does not integrate fully in his model. In order to apply the theory for this present project these elements were therefore added to the analytical framework.

Based on the analytical framework the different steps in the implementation process – from the strategic level to the project level – were analysed. From the analysis of the policy formulation and policy design it could be concluded that Denmark, since the introduction of bilateral assistance in the beginning of the 1960s, have had a greater influence on what Danish development assistance should be levelled at and that the focus on environmental considerations have been present since the 1970s and 1980s. This environmental focus is also expressed in a great part of Danida's strategies, plans, priority areas etc. In order to manage all these different aspects of environmental considerations, including the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue, Danida are using the so-called "Environmental Strategy". However this strategy expired in 2008 and furthermore it is not only related to the policy of environment as a cross-cutting issue, but to all the different aspects of environment that Danida are working with. Likely because of this broad focus of the environmental strategy, the goals, the use of instruments and the amount of resources set aside for the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue have not been specified.

Based on the analysis it can be concluded that Danida have the main responsibility for implementing the policy. By elaborating on Danida's role in relation to the policy it becomes clear that their role is to prepare the different strategies and plans for Danish development assistance and that it thereby is their responsibility to make sure that there is concordance between the different documents. In relation to this it can be concluded that there are some discrepancies in the way environmental considerations are handled in the strategy levelled at the NGO-assistance; the "Civil Society Strategy". In this strategy environment is not mentioned at all, even though it is the objective of the policy that environment should be integrated into all parts of the Danish development assistance – and thereby also the NGO-assistance. The fact that environment is not mentioned in the strategy is assessed as a critical point in relation to fulfil the objective of the policy, since it can make the process unclear for PATC who are the next actor in the implementation process (PATC are guided by the "Civil Society Strategy"). On the other hand it is also acknowledged that it can be a hard assignment to make environmental considerations appear in all other documents, just because it is a cross-cutting issue. If that was the case, human rights and gender equality should also be present in all of Danida's documents since they are cross-cutting issues as well. Besides the cross-cutting issues, Danida have several other strategies, goals and objectives for the development assistance policy which in theory also have to be taken into account. This can make it very unmanageable to integrate everything of importance in all relevant strategies, plans and projects. Overall the conclusion is that it can be hard to concretise the policy of cross-cutting issues in one strategy since the policy is levelled at so many different aspects of the development assistance policy. The following question is; how do the missing frames for the policy affect the next organisation in the implementation process?

Though environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue do not explicit appear in the "Civil Society Strategy", it can, based on the analysis of the street-level bureaucrats, be concluded that the policy is well-known in PATC and characterised as *common knowledge* among the people involved in this organisation. Nevertheless it can also be concluded that PATC only integrate environmental considerations when the projects are directly related to environmental issues. This must be understood as conflicting with the

overall objective for the policy which, as mentioned, is that environmental considerations should be integrated in all kind of projects. It is assessed that there are two main reasons for PATC's way of working with the policy. *First* PATC have the same problem as Danida have; Danida have so many different focus areas, making it almost impossible to integrate all aspects in all types of projects. *Second* PATC have the philosophy that they want to help minor NGOs to get started in development assistance. Therefore they have the policy that they slacken the rules and the demands for the applications from the minor and new NGOs in order to give them a chance. This means that PATC have a pragmatic approach to the policy, where they make some important discretionary decisions when assessing which projects to grand, in order to fulfil some of their other objectives such as helping the minor NGOs. Though both of the arguments for not always integrating environmental considerations in all projects are assessed as plausible, it is still assessed as an element of the implementation process that should be improved. This especially because it is assessed that there are many projects where the focus is not directly on environmental issues but with success it could still be integrated and thereby increase the number of benefits achieved from the project.

JGVK are together with the Danish NGO IGF assessed as being the target group for the policy. The two NGOs work very close together and they share the same mission. Though environmental considerations do not appear from the two NGOs materials as a main focus, it can be concluded that it plays a significant role in all of their projects, also those which are only indirectly related to environmental issues. Based on the analysis it can however be concluded that this focus on the environment is not something that they are encouraged to have by PATC. Instead it is to greater extent the context in which JGVK are operating, which makes them include environmental considerations in all of their projects. The Sunderbans has the world's biggest mangrove forests and is overall a very vulnerable nature area. At the same time the area is one of the poorest in India and the local people are struggling in order to provide enough food for their families. This affects nature and the natural resources negatively and if the local people continue doing what they are doing today (cutting the forest, exploiting the water resources, exhausting the soil by the great use of fertilisers and pesticides) they will destroy their own possibility for living. These circumstances make the environment to an important part of the work of the two NGOs and it is obvious that they have a great will to act in accordance with the policy even though they are not encouraged by PATC to do so. Furthermore, IGF/JGVK have knowledge about Danida's different strategies and policies, and are for this reason quite aware of their great environmental focus.

The conclusion that the context the NGO is operating in is influencing their focus, entails the following assumption; if this present project had been made with a starting point in another case NGO operating in a context where the environment did not play such an important role, then environmental considerations would most likely not have been a part of the NGO's projects. This is assessed as a place with potentials for improvement; by having a greater focus on environment in different contexts, it is assumed that it could be integrated in many different projects; JGVK are an example where the environmental considerations are present also in the projects which are not directly related to environmental issues.

82

The last part of the implementation process which had to be analysed in order to answer the research question was the results. When analysing the results of an implementation process they can be divided into two; performance and effects. In relation to the performance it can be concluded that the performance of PATC is limited because of the fact that environmental considerations is only integrated in projects which are directly related to environmental issues. On the other hand the performance of IGF/JGVK is very good since they, as mentioned, integrate environmental considerations in almost all of the projects which have been analysed. In relation to the effect it is more complex to analyse this part of the results since it to a high extent is the local people and their will and ability to protect the environment which are pivotal for how the actual effect of the implementation process will be. Based on the analysis it can be concluded that there is a great potential for improving the environment in the area where IGF/JGVK are operating, and thereby the result of the implementation process is assessed as being positive.

Overall it can thereby be concluded that the implementation process in the investigated case has succeeded to integrate environmental considerations in all of the projects of the NGO supported by Danida. Based on the analysis it can furthermore be concluded that the assumption that the different organisation have different discourses which could have a problematic influence on the implementation process did not turn out to be as significant as expected; overall the organisations have more or less the same understanding of sustainability, environment and development versus environment. However, it was determined that Danida had a more positive perception of the possibility of letting development and environment go hand in hand than PATC. This also reflects the behaviour of PATC because they do not always integrate environmental considerations in their work with development assistance. This part of the implementation process together with the incoherence between the different plans and strategies of Danida emphasise that though the result of the implementation process turned out to be positive, there are still room for improvements. It is therefore assessed that there is a need for Danida to have a strategy or document that is directly related to the policy of integrating environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue, in order for the policy to be more operational and understandable in regard to explain how to actually implement the policy in all sorts of projects, regardless of the context.

10 References

Act nr. 541 of 10/071998. *Consolidation act of international develop collaboration.* https://www.retsinformation.dk/Forms/R0710.aspx?id=87734 (24.5.2011).

Andersen 2003. Ib Andersen. *Den skindbarlige virkelighed.* 2nd edition, 2nd printing. Forlaget Samfundslitteratur.

Bach et al. 2008. Christian Friis Bach, Thorsten Borring Olesen, Sune Kaur-Pedersen and Jan Pedersen. *Idealer og realiteter – Dansk udviklingspolitisk historie 1945-2005.* Gyldendal. 1st edition, 1st printing.

Bhandary 2011. Nimai Bhandary. *Summary of visit at the organic demonstration farm.* 2nd of May 2011. Attached as Appendix G.

Bird and Caranavi 2009. Neil Bird and Alice Caravani. *Environmental sustainability within the new development agenda: Opportunities and challenges for civil society.* Overseas Development Intitute. London.

Botin 2010. Lars Botin. *Lectures in Theories of Science and Research Design at Aalborg University.* 1st semester of Environmental Management and Sustainability Science 2010.

Brundtland et al. 1987. Gro Harlem Brundtland et al.. *Our Common Future.* World Commission on Environment and Development. Oxford University Press.

Chen and Ravallion 2008. Shaohua Chen and Martin Ravallion. *The Developing World Is Poorer Than We Thought, But No Less Successful in the Fight against Poverty.* Policy Research Working Paper 4703. The World Bank.

Cohen 1995. Joel E. Cohen. *How many people can the earth support?* Essay & Comment in "The Sciences", November/December 1995.

Collin and Køppe 2007. Finn Collin and Simo Køppe. *Humanistisk videnskabsteori.* Edited by Finn Collin and Simo Køppe. DR Multimedie. 2nd edition, 2nd printing.

Danida 1994. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *En verden i udvikling - Strategi for dansk udviklingspolitik frem mod år 2000.*

Danida 1996. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Den grønne vej – miljøhensyn i dansk udviklingsbistand.*

Danida 2000. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Denmark's development policy strategy – Partnership 2000.*

Danida 2002. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Greening Development – Danish environmental assistance from Rio to Johannesburg.*

Danida 2004. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Environmental strategy – strategy for Denmark's environmental assistance to developing countries 2004-2008.*

Danida 2005. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Danish Climate and Development Action Programme.*

Danida 2006. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Environmental sector programming – good practice paper.*

Danida 2008. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *The Civil Society Strategy – Strategy for Danish support to civil society in developing countries.*

Danida 2009a. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Danida Environment Guide – Environmental Assessment for Sustainable Development.* 3rd edition.

Danida 2009b. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *General principles which governing the support to development project implemented by NGOs.*

Danida 2010a. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Freedom for poverty - freedom to change.*

Danida 2010b. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Danida. *Regeringens udviklingspolitiske prioriteter - plan til udgiftetsrammer for udviklingssamarbejdet 2011-2015.*

Das 2011. Debananda Das. *Summary of visit at Gosaba - sand filter project.* 3rd of May 2011. Attached as Appendix H.

Delanty and Isin 2003. Gerard Delanty and Engin F. Isin. *Handbook of historical sociology.* SAGE Publications Inc. 2003.

Ehrlich 1968. Paul R. Ehrlich. *The population bomb.* Balantine books. 1968.

Flyvbjerg 1998. Bent Flyvbjerg. *Rationalitet og Magt Bind I – Det konkretes videnskab.* 1st edition, 7th printing. Akademisk forlag.

Hernø 2011. Rolf Hernø. *Transcription of interview with Rolf Hernø.* April 14th 2011. Attached as Appendix E.

IGF 2010a. India Group of Funen. *Organisation.* http://www.indienfyn.dk/organisation/ (23.5.2011).

IGF 2010b. India Group of Funen. *Forside.* http://www.indienfyn.dk/ (23.5.2011).

IGF 2010c. India Group of Funen. *Målsætning.* http://www.indienfyn.dk/m%c3%a5ls%c3%a6tning/ (23.5.2011).

IGF 2010d. India Group of Funen. *Nye projekter.* http://www.indienfyn.dk/projekter-aktiviteter/ (23.5.2011).

JGVK 2009. Joygopalpur Gram Vikash Kendra. *Annual Report 08-09*.

JGVK 2010. Joygopalpur Gram Vikash Kendra. *Sowing the seeds for change… Annual Report 2009-2010*.

JGVK 2011a. Joygopalpur Gram Vikash Kendra. *General PowerPoint presentation about JGVK*. April 30th 2011. Attached as Appendix I.

JGVK 2011b. Joygopalpur Gram Vikash Kendra. *PowerPoint presentation about JGVK's environmental considerations*. April 30th 2011. Attached as Appendix J.

Jørgensen and Phillips 2002. Marianne Jørgensen and Louise J. Phillips. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE publications.

Kahuthu 2006. A. Kahuthu. *Economic growth and environmental degradation in a global context*. Article in "Environment, Development and Sustainability".

Mahakur 2011. Biswajit Mahakur. *Conversations between Biswajit Mahakur and the project group during the field trip*. 30th of April to 11th of May 2011.

Martinussen 1997. John Martinussen. *Society, state and market: A guide to competing theories of development*. Zed Books Ltd.

Meadows et al. 1972. Donella H. Meadows et al.. *The limits to growth*. Universe Books.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008a. *Tværgående hensyn*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/OmUdviklingspolitik/BistandIPraksis/BistandensResultater/TvaergaaendeHensyn/ (23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2008b. *Prioritetsområder*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/OmUdviklingspolitik/BistandIPraksis/BistandensResultater/Prioritetsomraader/ (23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009a. *Paris-erklæringen om bistandseffektivitet*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/OmUdviklingspolitik/BistandIPraksis/BistandensResultater/PariserklaeringenOmBistandseffektivitet/ (23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009b. *Bistandens historie*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/OmUdviklingspolitik/BistandensHistorie/ (23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009c. *Fattigdomsbekæmpelse*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/TemaerIBistanden/Fattigdomsbekæmpelse/ (23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009d. *Cross-cutting issues - environment*.
http://amg.um.dk/en/menu/PoliciesAndStrategies/Cross-Cutting+Issues/Environment/ (23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010a. *Bistandsformer*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/OmUdviklingspolitik/Bistandsformer/
(23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010b. *Mål og strategier*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/OmUdviklingspolitik/MaalOgStrategier/
(23.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010c. *Civilsamfundsstrategien*
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/HumanitaerBistandOgNGOSamarbejde/N
GOSamarbejde/Dokumenter/Strategier/Civilsamfundsstrategi (24.5.2011).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2011. *Projektpuljen*.
http://www.um.dk/da/menu/Udviklingspolitik/HumanitaerBistandOgNGOSamarbejde/N
GOSamarbejde/Civilsamfundsstoette/Stotteformer/Puljeordninger/Projektpuljen/
(24.5.2011).

Pahuus 2007. Mogens Pahuus. *Humanistisk videnskabsteori, chapter 6 Hermeneutik*.
Edited by Finn Collin and Simo Køppe. DR Multimedie. 2nd edition, 2nd printing.

Paris Declaration 2005. *The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness*.
http://www.adb.org/media/articles/2005/7033_international_community_aid/paris_declar
ation.pdf (27.5.2011).

PATC no date a. The Project and Advicement Training Centre. *Om Projektrådgivnin-
gen*. http://www.prngo.dk/Default.aspx?ID=19047 (24.5.2011).

PATC no date b. The Project and Advicement Training Centre. *Oversigt over alle bevil-
linger fra Projektpuljen og minipuljen*.
http://www.prngo.dk/Default.aspx?ID=18907#187416 (24.5.2011).

PATC no date c. The Project and Advicement Training Centre. *Rådgivning om ansøg-
ninger til Projektpuljen*. http://www.prngo.dk/Default.aspx?ID=23318 (24.5.2011).

PATC 2011. The Project and Advicement Training Centre. *Projektpuljen – En støttemu-
lighed for folkelige organisationers samarbejde med civilsamfundet i udviklingslandene*.

Pedersen 2011. Merete Villum Pedersen. *Transcription of interview with Merete Villum
Pedersen*. April 14th 2011. Attached as Appendix E.

Pressman and Wildanvsky 1973. Jeffrey L. Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky. *Implemen-
tation*. University of California Press.

Ryan 1995. Neal Ryan. *Unraveling conceptual developments in implementation analysis*.
Article in "Australian Journal of Public Administration" Vol. 54, 1995.

Sabatier 1986. Paul A. Sabatier. *Top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation research: A critical analysis and suggested synthesis*. Article in "Journal of public policy" Vol. 6, 1986.

Scheff et al. 2006. Thomas Scheff et al. *Goffman Unbound!: A New Paradigm for Social Science (The Sociological Imagination)*. Paradigm Publishers. 2006.

Scott 2001. Richard W. Scott. *Institutions and Organizations*. 2nd edition. SAGE Publications. 2001.

Sengupta 2011. Ganesh Sengupta. *Transcription of interview with Ganesh Sengupta*. March 29th 2011. Attached as Appendix E.

Thurén 2008. Torsten Thurén. *Videnskabsteori for begyndere*. 2nd edition, 2nd printing. ROSANITE. 2008.

UN 1972. United Nations. *Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, chapter 11*. 1972.
http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=97&ArticleID=1503&l=en (15.4.2011).

UN 1992. United Nations. *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*. 1992.
http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?documentid=78&articleid=1163 (15.4.2011).

UNDP no date a. United Nations Development Program. *What are the Millennium Development Goals?* http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml (30.3.2011).

UNDP no date b. United Nations Development Program. *Climate change*.
http://www.undp.org/climatechange/ (24.5.2011).

UN Statistics Division 2008. United Nations Statistics Division. *Demographic Yearbook 2006. World Summary table 1*. Released in August 2008.
http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/dyb/dyb2006.htm (24.5.2011).

USCB 2009. United States Census Bureau. *International Data Base. World Population: 1950-2050*. http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/worldpopgraph.php (9.4.2010).

Vaarst et al. 2008. Mette Vaarst et al.. *Identification of a sustained basis of survival of the poverty stricken civil society in the Sundarbans, India, through an organic/agro-ecological agriculture system*.

Wei 2011. Li Wei. *Lecture 1 in Current Topics at Aalborg University*. 2nd semester of Environmental Management and Sustainability Science 2011.

Winter 1994. Søren Winter. *Implementering og effektivitet*. Systime.

Winter 2003. Søren Winter. *Handbook of public administration, chapter 5 Implementation*. Editorial arrangement by B. Guy Peters and Jon Pierre.

Winter and Nielsen 2008. Søren Winter and Vibeke Lehmann Nielsen. *Implementering af politik*. 1st edition, 1st printing. Academica.

World Bank 2011. The World Bank. *Data - Poverty*. http://data.worldbank.org/topic/poverty (24.5.2011).

Zahavi 2004. David Zahavi. *Fænomenologi.* 1st edition, 2nd printing. Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Zahavi 2007. David Zahavi. *Humanistisk videnskabsteori, chapter 5 Fænomenologi.* Edited by Finn Collin and Simo Køppe. DR Multimedie. 2nd edition, 2nd printing.

Appendix A

Interview guide - Merete Villum Pedersen, Danida

Danida's environmental work in general

1. Can you tell about on which levels Danida are working with environment? In the environmental guide you have sent us, it seems as it is only levelled at big projects (> 33 million Danish kroner) – what about the minor projects?

2. What is the difference between multi- and bilateral aid? Is the NGO-assistance a part of the bilateral aid?

3. We have looked through some of Danida's plans, strategies and priorities and it is obvious that environmental considerations appear in the majority of those we have looked in to. For instance, you have environment as a cross-cutting issue, as one of eight priority areas, as one of the five priorities in "Freedom from Poverty – Freedom to Change". Can you explain the difference of the understanding of environment in the different cases?

4. The environmental strategy available on Danida's homepage, which is the only one we know about, is valid for the period 2004-2008 and is developed under the frames of "Partnership 2000". Is there a new strategy on the way and if yes, how will it differ from the existing one?

5. Can you explain how you overall ensure that your environmental strategies are being implemented in the projects you support?

6. In continuation of the previous question, can you mention which instruments you use and why?

Danida's relation to the Project Advice and Training Centre (PATC)

7. How do you collaborate with PATC? And are there other players affecting this collaboration?

8. How do you ensure to communicate the cross-cutting issues (especially environment) to PATC so they will be integrated on the project level?

9. In relation of the previous question – which instruments do you use to ensure that environment is being integrated as a part of PATC's basis for decision when they are granting money to the NGOs?

10. In regard to the "Civil Society Strategy", we were wondering why environmental considerations are not a part of it. Can you explain to us why this is the case?

11. How do you evaluate on how environmental considerations are being integrated in the projects?

Environment as a part of sustainability

12. What do you relate to the term sustainability in relation to development assistance?

13. How important is sustainability in relation to your work?

14. How do you/Danida perceive environment as a part of sustainability (what is your understanding of environment – broad or narrow)?

15. Can you try to put some words on what you think about the relation between development and environment?

Appendix B

Interview guide - Rolf Hernø, the Project Advicement and Training Centre

PATC in general

1. Can you start by roughly explaining about the work of PATC?

PATC's relation to Danida

2. How do you collaborate with Danida? And are there other players affecting this collaboration?

3. Which of Danida's strategies/plans do you have to apply to?

4. As far as we can see, the "Civil Society Strategy" is setting the frames for the work of PATC. However, we have been wondering why it does not say anything more explicit about, that environmental considerations should be integrated in all the projects you are supporting at PATC. Do Danida put up demands for this in any other way?

5. Does an evaluation take place of how you are implementing Danida's strategies/plans?

PATC's relation to the NGO's

6. Can you explain how your contact to your members and your collaboration take place?

7. Which criteria do you have when deciding which projects should be granted? And how do you weight these criteria?

8. How does environmental considerations as a cross-cutting issue appear in the projects you are supporting?

9. How do you ensure that the projects you are supporting are being implemented in line with the basis that you have been granting them? Does an evaluation of the projects take place?

Environment as a part of sustainability

12. What do you relate to the term sustainability in relation to development assistance?

13. How important is sustainability in relation to your work?

14. How do you/PATC perceive environment as a part of sustainability (what is your understanding of environment – broad or narrow)?

15. Can you try to put some words on what you think about the relation between development and environment?

Appendix C

Interview guide - Ganesh Sengupta, the India Group of Funen

Regarding the IGF's work with and without JGVK

1. Can you start by telling about the IGF's work in general?

2. Since when and how have you been collaborating with JGVK and what is the background for this collaboration?

3. We have read about the projects you have in collaboration with JGVK, amongst others animal husbandry, water and sanitation and micro credit. What have been your overall objectives with the projects? Has it been economical development, improvement of life conditions or something else? And how has the prioritisation between these objectives taken place?

4. How does a project process usually take place (from idea to implementation)?

5. How do you ensure that your objectives for the project are being implemented in India?

6. Do you work with some sort of monitoring/evaluation of your projects?

The relation to PATC

7. How are your projects financed? Through funds, PATC or something else?

8. How are you collaborating with PATC? Do PATC have a fixed procedure for applications for the Project Fund or does it take place through a dialogue? And do you use PATC's counselling and courses?

9. Have you the impression PATC have some specific topics that are especially important to them in relation to the projects they support? For instance gender equality, education, environment, health or anticorruption?

10. Do you use PATC's guidelines when composing project proposals for the Project Fund? And if yes, how?

11. How do you make sure that what you have proposed to PATC is being implemented? And is this something that PATC is evaluating?

Environment as a part of sustainability

12. How do you perceive the term sustainability?

13. How important is sustainability in relation to your projects?

14. How do you perceive environment as a part of sustainability (what is your understanding of environment – broad or narrow)?

15. How do you weight environmental considerations in relation to your projects, compared to social and economical considerations? And how does this take place?