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MULTI-STAKEHOLDER OWNERSHIP AND SUSTAINABILITY IN THE CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

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Multi-Stakeholder Ownership and Sustainability in the Context of Development Projects

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Foreword by EBA

The issue of ownership has been at the heart of the international development debate for several decades. While the Paris Declaration from 2005 contributed to (at least an alleged) consensus on the centrality of ownership, or partner countries' effective leadership over development strategies and actions, the principle is ambiguous and not always enforced in practice.

Against this background, EBA decided to publish this working paper, written by Pranvera Muçaj. The paper digs into the concept of ownership and explores the effects of a specific approach to ownership, namely "multi-stakeholder ownership", on the sustainability of project results. The working paper is a summary of Pranvera's master's thesis from 2020, "Ownership and Sustainability in the Context of Development Projects: The case of the Kosovo Environmental Programme".

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Stockholm, November 2021

Jan Pettersson, Managing Director

Summary

Ownership, one of the five principles of the aid effectiveness agenda,¹ is considered a precondition for sustainable results of development projects. Since the adoption of the Paris Declaration in 2005 and the Busan Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) in 2011, the concept of ownership has undergone changes beyond the classical understanding of the term as centered on governmental or local ownership in favor of moving towards an inclusive approach involving many actors, including both state and non-state actors. This warrants a new form of ownership approach in the form of its multi-stakeholder iteration, which centers on how to best delegate and address responsibilities between different stakeholders in a project.

Yet the impact of the relationship between sustainability and ownership on the different project stages is not clear. This paper therefore analyses the ownership-results sustainability nexus at the project level, focusing on the implications of multi-stakeholder ownership, and how sustainability of results relates to stakeholder ownership of impacts throughout the project life cycle.

The paper analyses a multi-stakeholder project, the Kosovo Environmental Programme (KEP), mainly financed by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). The study uses data from 20 online semi-structured interviews with key individuals from different stakeholder categories involved in the project: donors, service providers, national and local governments, civil society organizations (CSOs), the private sector, academia, and the local community. This paper does not aim to assess to what degree the KEP has been successful in fulfilling its objectives. Rather, it uses an analytical approach to assess how stakeholders engaged in KEP adopted multi-stakeholder ownership, and how this approach may contribute to the sustainability of development project results. Thus, the Local Engagement Assessment Framework (LEAF), adjusted to the needs of this paper, was used to assess the ownership of KEP stakeholders in different project stages: priorities/design, implementation/resources, monitoring and evaluation, and sustainability.

¹ The five principles include ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing for results, and mutual accountability.

By assessing KEP, the paper arrives at several key findings of relevance for development projects more broadly: Firstly, ownership develops over time and is a process that goes on throughout the project cycle. If there is active and effective cultivation of ownership along the process, sustainability will be strengthened in a systemic and comprehensive way. Promoting ownership and sustainability throughout the project cycle is therefore necessary for sustainability, and this should start at the initial phase, not at later stages of the project cycle.

Secondly, ownership does not belong to one actor; rather, it sits with different groups of actors, and these can include both relevant international and local actors. Thus, a multi-stakeholder approach is considered especially relevant in broad-based projects and where the right conditions exist, such as mutual understanding and trust between stakeholders, awareness, communication, partnership, etc. In the absence of these elements, the attempt to promote multi-stakeholder ownership might even delay the implementation process and have a negative impact on the sustainability of project results.

Thirdly, in the case of KEP, where the promotion of ownership was mainly based on partnerships between the donor and recipient government, while local authorities and other non-state actors were largely excluded, this study finds that effective ownership requires widening the true engagement of actors beyond the executive levels of government. Therefore, this paper observes that there is a huge gap between the central government and other stakeholders in the recipient country. So long as this gap exists, the multi-stakeholder ownership approach will remain difficult to implement.

Finally, the paper concludes that while there have been attempts to fill the ownership gap between donor and recipient governments in the KEP case, the gap between the recipient government and other state and non-state-actors is evident and remains an issue. Therefore, further efforts and research are needed to extend ownership beyond central governmental institutions.

1 Introduction

This paper assesses multi-stakeholder ownership in the context of development projects. Specifically, it explores the relationship between stakeholder ownership throughout the project cycle and the sustainability of project results beyond the period of funding. The research question is addressed through an in-depth examination of the Kosovo Environmental Programme (KEP), assessing the impact of multi-stakeholder ownership and the engagement of relevant stakeholders on the sustainability of the project.

The importance of ownership in international development cooperation has been emphasized since the late 1960s. However, it was not until the early 2000s that ownership became a core element in development cooperation. The lack of coordination and harmonization of development assistance with the national development policies of recipient countries was emphasized in the Paris Declaration (OECD, 2005). Thus, the declaration, which highlights five principles to further aid effectiveness, is the most important document in terms of fostering ownership as a central development principle. Brown, in reading the Paris agenda, refers to ownership as “the efforts of recipient countries to define and implement their own development objectives and agendas” (2017:174).

The importance of ownership approaches in relation to aid effectiveness, and how it enables aid to drive positive development in partner countries, is acknowledged by most major development actors, as evidenced by the emphasis on ownership in the 2030 Agenda. Nevertheless, aid donors still face substantial challenges in promoting and implementing ownership approaches, often resulting in difficulties in ensuring that aid is used effectively (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). After decades of investments in the promotion of ownership approaches in development projects, programmes, and policies, it is important to question the effects of such efforts. The listening project (2011) found that the results in practice are lagging in relation to the ambitions and targets of aid effectiveness policy documents. The project suggests that to improve the situation, stronger efforts are needed to promote ownership approaches to ensure greater aid effectiveness.

This study contributes to the literature on ownership and sheds light on this gap by approaching the issue of ownership from a different angle, namely, by assessing the relationship between ownership and sustainability of project results. The motivation for this approach stems from my own

experience of working for several years with international donor-funded development projects directed at Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Kosovo and other Western Balkan countries. A key concern that came out of my experience did not concern how to produce the required results but instead how to maintain, expand, and integrate these results in the long term. In other words, we who were tasked with implementing these results were primarily concerned with how the emphasis on ownership would affect the sustainability of the development projects.

It is therefore important to analyze the impact of specific approaches to the promotion of ownership, especially multi-stakeholder ownership, during the project cycle on the sustainability of the development projects' results. Additionally, most of the efforts and debates concerning ownership among donors, academics, and policymakers are concentrated at the macro level, more precisely at the policy and strategy level, which has led to a neglect of the importance of ownership at the project/programme level. Moreover, studies on ownership typically focus on ordinary government-to-government or direct donor-recipient relationships (Edgren, 2003), rather than multi-stakeholder ownership or, as found in the literature, under the terms "shared ownership", "co-ownership" or "broad-based ownership". Hence, the paper's contribution is multifaceted as the study focuses not only the impact of ownership approaches on development projects' sustainability, but also on the project level, which has received limited attention in previous research.

The study addresses three main questions:

1. What impact relations can be found between the ownership of stakeholders involved throughout and beyond a typical project cycle and the sustainability of the project results?
2. How does multi-stakeholder ownership impact the sustainability of development projects?
3. Does ownership require multi-stakeholder involvement to ensure the sustainability of development projects?

2 Development concepts and ownership steps

The project cycle

The term development project refers to a project that aims to contribute to improving the quality of people's lives (Veltmeyer, 2017). Even though development projects have a start and an end date, this does not mean that the project activities are terminated once the project has concluded. The project activities ought to be translated into results that become part of a continued routine, so long as someone takes responsibility for the achieved project results (Potts, 2017).

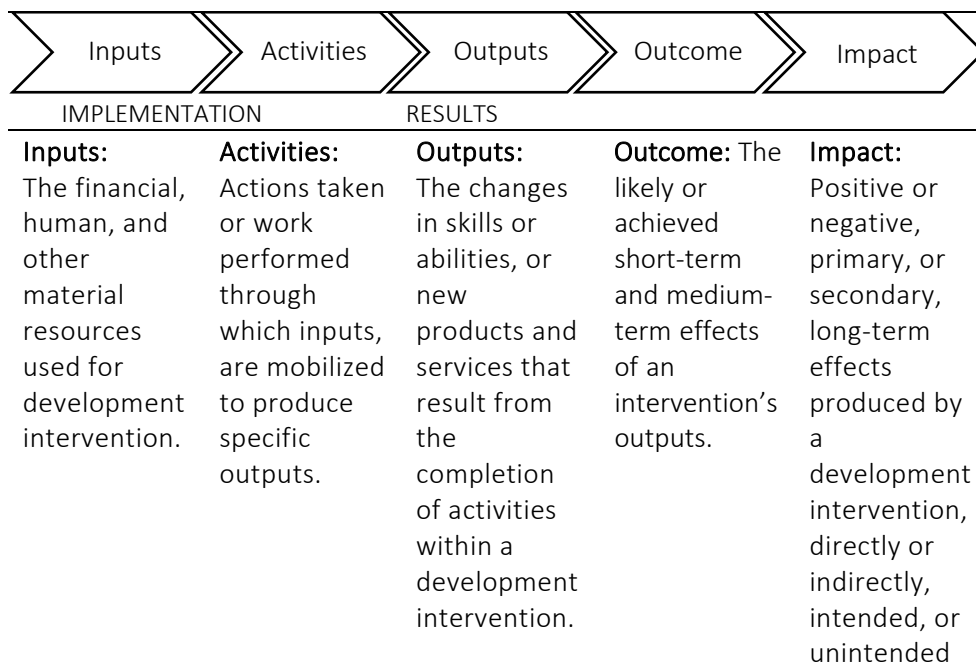
The most common model for development projects is the "Project Cycle", originally developed by Baum (1978) for the World Bank. According to Baum, a project goes through several phases, such as identification, appraisal, formulation, implementation, and evaluation & audit. This project cycle is completed when the last phase, evaluation & audit, leads to a new project idea, and the cycle begins again. Mikkelsen (2005) suggests that using participatory approaches throughout all project phases is necessary for a successful project cycle and to begin a new cycle thereafter.

Results and sustainability

Results are defined as changes, empowerment, and improvement in a country, and these are derived from a cause-and-effect relationship. There are three types, or levels, of such changes: outputs, outcomes, and impacts.

Figure 1 presents an overview of the so-called results chain based on OECD/DAC (2002) definitions. The results chain is "the causal sequence for a development intervention that stipulates the necessary sequence to achieve desired objectives – beginning with inputs, moving through activities and outputs, and culminating in outcomes, impacts, and feedback" (OECD/DAC, 2002:33).

Figure 1: The Results Chain



Source: OECD/DAC, 2002

In order to start a new project cycle, these results (as described in the above table) should be first and foremost sustainable. In the context of donor-funded development projects, sustainability can be defined as “the continuation of benefits after major assistance from a donor has been completed” (OECD, 2000:4); more precisely, the continuation of long-term benefits.

Stakeholders

The development actors, whether international or local, involved in development projects are usually referred to as stakeholders. OECD/DAC (2002:35) defines stakeholders as “agencies, organizations, groups, or individuals who have a direct or indirect interest in the development intervention or its evaluation”.

Stakeholders are divided into several categories and may include target beneficiary groups, local affected groups and individuals, government ministries, implementing agencies and consultants, project workers and their representatives, local authorities, CSOs, NGOs (both domestic and international), academics, private sector entities, donors, and financing institutions (UNDP, 2017). Stakeholder categories and the stages of their engagement in the project cycle are presented in chapter 3.

2.1 Ownership

When speaking of development cooperation, ownership is considered important in stimulating effectiveness. However, although the ownership principle is considered important to all development actors, the interpretation and definition quite often differs between actors as well as in research. The sections below discuss the definition of and different approaches to ownership.

Ownership refers to “relations among stakeholders in development, particularly their respective capacity, power, or influence to set and take responsibility for a development agenda, and to muster and sustain support for that” (Saxby 2003:2). Furthermore, this study highlights the dynamic view of ownership: “[O]wnership should not be considered as a static property, but as both a function and feature of relationships between various factors involved in development cooperation” (Keijzer et al, 2018:6).

The concept of ownership is far from new and has undergone numerous changes. The question of who owns a project has always been at the center of discussions about development cooperation. In 1969, the World Bank published the report ‘Partners in Development’, written by the Pearson Commission of International Development. The report highlights the importance of ownership and partnership as guiding principles for development cooperation (Pearson, 1969).

Thus, ownership was incorporated into development cooperation based on the assumption that a lack of ownership in development aid would result in a lack of sustainability of the results of development interventions. This assumption led ownership to become a central principle in development policy. However, as this concept was elevated to a central principle, critics of the promotion of ownership in development aid became more vocal.

Though ownership has been argued to be a key element in reaching long-lasting, sustainable results in development interventions (Keijzer et al, 2018), exactly which approach and what level of ownership throughout the project cycle is optimal in relation to the sustainability of the development project results remains debated. There are many different definitions of ownership in the literature on development cooperation. According to Whitfield (2009), the popularity of the concept of ownership in development cooperation may even be the result of the ambiguity of

the term and the challenge in defining what it entails. As a result, throughout the history of international development cooperation, many different ownership approaches have been applied. Hence, the term is perceived differently among different development actors and academic publications alike, as we shall elaborate on in the following subsections.

2.2 Country ownership

Following the failures of development cooperation in the 1970s, it became increasingly clear that development cooperation too often failed to meet its targets due to the lack of cooperation with and limited capacities of the recipient countries coupled with the strong influence and imposition of donors' own agendas (Edgren, 2003). As a result, the international donor community jointly concluded that country ownership is a precondition for sustainable results. In response, donors began to align the objectives of their cooperation strategies with the national development strategies of recipient countries.

Yet country ownership has been criticized for being equated with government ownership, leading donors to view the central government as a representative of all country actors. These critics argue that there is a need for broader approaches to coordinate the development initiatives in practice. Buitter (2004) argues that since a country consists of many other non-state actors, the government cannot be seen as a representative of all interests and needs in the country, despite whatever legitimacy the government may hold. Furthermore, Buitter emphasizes that the concept of "country ownership" has been used in so many ways that it is almost unhelpful and potentially even misleading. Further, Keijzer and Lundsgaarde (2018) emphasize that the coordination efforts should include a wider range of stakeholders and different governance levels.

Country ownership is contrasted to an opposing approach known as donorship, where development initiatives are donor-driven, and donors decide which initiatives and objectives are good for the aid beneficiaries (Edgren, 2003).

2.3 Local ownership

After years of investing in the promoting country ownership, donor countries came to the understanding that they needed to broaden the approach to ownership beyond the involvement of partner governments by making it a more inclusive, bottom-up approach, through which local actors, such as local authorities and communities, would also be involved.

The term local ownership originated in the 1950s, as observed by Mansuri and Rao (2013) who studied the community development projects initiated by the United States Development Agency (USAID) during this decade. Later, the participatory approaches were introduced in the 1990s in response to large-scale, top-down development. Mansuri, in turn, defines local ownership as “the active involvement of members of a defined community in at least some aspects of project design and implementation” (2004:10).

Kyamusugulwa (2014) describes local ownership as an approach where local actors are in control of the project management and important project decisions, and they perceive a foreign donor project as theirs. Chambers (1994), on the other hand, elaborates local ownership as a process where local people are involved in the project implementation while also being part of management and monitoring.

It is worth mentioning that local ownership also at times is used in the literature to refer to development projects that include the national government, local government, civil society, the private sector, and the local community. The term local ownership may also be used as an equivalent to community ownership or target group ownership.

2.4 Multi-stakeholder ownership

In addition to the concepts used in development practice and studies (including donorship, government and country ownership, local ownership, and target group ownership), the concept of “multi-stakeholder ownership”, which implies that ownership cannot be associated with only one actor, has emerged. According to proponents of this perspective on ownership, a broader involvement of stakeholders is needed in order to sustain development results (Stephan & Keijzer, 2019).

In 1996, the OECD/DAC published the report “Shaping the 21st Century”, which argued that development cooperation should focus on building true partnerships, recognizing the importance of a dynamic private sector, local authorities, and civil society participation. The engagement in development interventions of several actors was seen as a step towards the idea of inclusive ownership. In addition, the concept of multi-stakeholder ownership was broadened to include donors as well, following the realization that successful ownership depends on strong relationships between local and international actors (Graham, 2017).

In 1999, the World Bank introduced the Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) as a tool for countries to develop, manage, and implement effective strategies for economic development and poverty reduction. The Poverty Reduction Strategy approach, which was initiated in 1999 and led to the formulation of national Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs), was based on CDF’s fourth principle: Ownership. In order to ensure that the PRSPs were successful, the CDF emphasized “partnerships between government (at the national and local levels), civil society, the private sector, and external assistance agencies” (World Bank, 1999:1). Thus, the need for a broader involvement of different stakeholder categories in order to stimulate effective development interventions was recognized several years before the adoption of the development effectiveness agenda.

Although the international development agreements of the 2000s, especially the Paris Declaration, encourage the involvement of non-state actors, they have also been criticized for their narrow and static understanding of ownership (Keijzer, 2008). This critique was considered at the third high-level forum in Accra in 2008, where it was emphasized that recipient country governments should lead their own development policies while also involving other country actors in shaping these policies.

Stern et al (2008) support a broader ownership approach at the policy, programme and project level, where, besides central government ownership, efforts should be made to include other development actors, such as local governments, civil society, and the private sector. In the context of development projects, Valk et al describe multi-stakeholder ownerships as a phenomenon “when individual parties fruitfully cooperate along different incentive structure to achieve project success” (2005:5). Furthermore, the authors argue that the ownership of a project can be shared between donors, implementing agencies/consultants, local organizations and authorities. They define the multi-stakeholder

ownership approach as one where more than three stakeholders are involved. Likewise, Leutner and Müller (2010) argue that ownership is not an object or property pursued for effective development cooperation, but an objective that is jointly promoted and is shaped by the ability of every actor involved to contribute to and benefit from the joint effort. However, such an inclusive approach gives rise to potential conflicts of interest between actors. As such, there is no perfect solution to the promotion of ownership, therefore the right actors should be selected.

Keijzer (2008) argues that in order to attain more sustainable results when carrying out development interventions, these must be based on a broader involvement of stakeholders. As such, there has been a shift from government-based ownership approaches towards multi-stakeholder ownership. Therefore, multi-stakeholder ownership combines the strengths of previous ownership concepts to create an approach in which non-state actors are involved and included while not trying to circumvent the national and local governments and recognizing the role of donors as coordinators.

3 Method and analytical approach

3.1 Case study design

This paper is structured as a case study, drawing on qualitative primary data collected through semi-structured interviews with KEP stakeholders and the analysis of KEP documentation. Thus, the study constitutes in-depth investigation of a single case, the KEP project. The investigation of a single case allowed a focus on the roles of the different stakeholders in the KEP.

KEP is an externally funded environmental project with the overall objective to contribute to improving the environmental conditions in Kosovo. The specific objective is to develop the capacities and knowledge of the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning of Kosovo (MESP) and other stakeholders, such as local authorities, CSOs, academia, businesses, and the community, in the monitoring, management, and protection of the environment. The programme is co-financed by Sida and the Kosovo Government and was implemented with a support of a technical assistance provided by Finnish Consulting Group Sweden (FCG) in consortium with Eptisa Servicios de Ingenieria (KEP, 2015). The KEP was selected as a case study mainly because it constitutes a large project that consists of an array of actors in different categories (as shown in figure 3), enabling the analysis of multi-stakeholder ownership and its impact relation with the sustainability of the project.

3.2 Data collection

The study uses two main sources of data. First, document analysis was conducted by collecting primary and secondary data, mainly from the KEP website and the websites of the stakeholders involved in the project. The documents were categorized into three broader phases corresponding to the project cycle: inception reports and project design documents; documentation relating to the implementation phase (e.g., project progress/interim reports and project outputs); and documents within the category of evaluation and sustainability.

Second, 20 semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with stakeholders from different stakeholder groups in the KEP. Participants for the interviews were selected from each stakeholder category in a

strategic way based on stakeholder analysis. The stakeholder analysis was conducted by gathering and analyzing project documents and data from the internet, providing a clear picture of which representative from each category was relevant to include. It was considered essential to include all stakeholder categories engaged in the KEP.

Interviews were carried out with four categories of stakeholders. The first category included the experts who were responsible for the design and development of the KEP, as well as the experts responsible for evaluation of the project. The second category included the project donor, i.e., representatives from Sida in Kosovo. The third category consisted of service providers/consultants, including the international consulting companies FCG Sweden and EPTISA. The fourth category included KEP beneficiaries, such as representatives from IMWC, MESP and its agencies, CSOs, the private sector, universities, and communities.

3.3 The Local Engagement Assessment Framework (LEAF)

This study uses the Local Engagement Assessment Framework (LEAF), which is an analytical framework designed jointly by Oxfam America, Save the Children, and the Overseas Development Institute as a tool to assess ownership and stakeholder engagement in development projects. The framework is structured around development projects and their cycles. It is composed of elements of ownership, implementation, resources, and engagement in relation to the sustainability of the results (OXFAM, 2017).

The selected framework made it possible to analyze the case by probing who among the project stakeholders were engaged, in which project cycle the respective stakeholder was engaged, and how their engagement impacted the sustainability of the project. The findings observed by applying this framework produced a clear picture of the impact of ownership during the different project phases on the sustainability of the results.

Ownership was assessed in each project stage and through three steps, as presented below.

Phase I. Identify stakeholders

The first step in assessing ownership and impact on result sustainability, as suggested by LEAF, is to identify the stakeholders involved in the project. The identification process was conducted by reviewing KEP documents and through interviews.

Phase II. Map stakeholders' engagement levels and sustainability


The level of engagement of the KEP stakeholders was assessed by interviewing the identified actors regarding their degree and form of engagement at different stages of the project cycle. The level of engagement was mapped in categories, as shown in the below section.

An important aspect of the LEAF framework is to map sustainability. It considers if the stakeholders have a clear plan of how to maintain, expand, and integrate the project results. Additionally, it assesses if the project had a plan to strengthen the abilities of stakeholders involved to maintain results. Therefore, the framework allows me to shed light on the impact of and connection between the involvement of the different stakeholders throughout the project life cycle and results sustainability.

Phase III. Assessment of ownership by category

The last step entailed the assessment of the level of ownership experienced by each stakeholder involved in the KEP partnership. The ownership was evaluated for each stage of the project cycle. These stages include priority-setting/design, implementation/resources, monitoring and evaluation, and finally sustainability. The interview data related to each category provided information on the level of engagement in every project phase, which allowed an assessment of stakeholders' level of engagement/ownership. The level of engagement of a stakeholder corresponds to one of five categories as described in table below.

Figure 2: Stakeholder engagement in project decision making



Inform	Consult	Collaborate	Consent	Empower
Provide stakeholders with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions	Obtain stakeholder feedback on project analysis and design, alternatives and/or decisions and consider stakeholder concerns and aspirations	Partner with stakeholders in reaching all key project decisions and ensure stakeholder input incorporated to maximum extent possible	Respect freely given decisions of rights-holders to proceed or not proceed with project or certain project activities	Transfer control over decision-making, resources, and activities to stakeholders

Source: UNDP, 2017

The table outlines different levels of engagement, from the lowest level of engagement (inform) to the highest level of engagement and ownership, involving consent or delegated power.

Supplementing LEAF for analyzing multi-stakeholder ownership

This study has adjusted and advanced the LEAF structure according to the needs of the study, by expanding the assessment of stakeholders to include international and regional actors.

Figure 3 derives from the UNDP Multi-Stakeholder Engagement Process (MSEP) report and was adjusted to the needs of this study within the LEAF framework. Particularly, actors that are positioned between national and local authorities and their possible engagement were added.

Figure 3: MSEP organized by levels

Level	Possible Engagement
International	Dialogue, Consensus building, Informing policy processes. Influencing decision-making, Monitoring and Evaluation
National Authorities	Dialogue, Consensus building, Informing policy processes. Influencing decision making, Planning, Implementation Monitoring and Evaluation
Actors between national and local level, such as CSOs, private sector, academia etc.	Dialogue, Consensus building, Informing policy processes. Influencing decision making, Planning, Implementation Monitoring and Evaluation
Local Authorities	Dialogue, Consensus building, Informing policy processes. Influencing decision making, Planning, Implementation Monitoring and Evaluation
Community	Dialogue, Planning, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation

Source: UNDP, 2006

In order to expand the LEAF so that it can be fully compatible with the aim of this study, factors such as power balance, equity participation, trust, capacity-building of less powerful groups, awareness, partnership, and networking among others were added as factors that might influence the ownership of stakeholders. In sum, the LEAF framework was adjusted to accommodate multi-stakeholder ownership.

4 Analysis of findings

4.1 Understanding ownership

While defining ownership was not one of the objectives of this paper, it was nevertheless necessary to ask all interviewees how they perceive ownership in order to clarify what they meant going forward when referring to the concept.

A majority of the interviewees, in defining ownership based on their practical work with development projects, clearly related the concept to the sustainability of the project results, emphasizing that it is a necessary precondition for the sustainability of development projects. The interviewees argued that without ownership, there is no foundation for building something sustainable. Communication and building partnership and trust were also emphasized as key elements of ownership, but also in achieving the intended results and extending them beyond the funding period. Therefore, finding the right partners – international, national, and local – is a crucial step that heavily affects the process of a development project and its aftermath. The main challenge is to identify the specific factors that affect ownership (in a positive or negative manner) in the specific country context and from there, try to influence/strengthen ownership towards a common understanding among key actors in a development process.

One component of ownership which was recognized as important by most interviewees was awareness. According to stakeholders, ownership starts with awareness, namely by understanding your role as a stakeholder in the larger context as well as of the problems and opportunities, after which you can commit to doing your part of the work in the process. Furthermore, interviewees stated that it is very important to understand your political priorities, interests, resources, and situation outside your role in relation to all the other stakeholders.

Moreover, it is necessary to commit practically by following up on every part of the process. An evaluator of the KEP highlighted the importance of ownership of stakeholders throughout the project cycle as well as the necessity of having a multi-stakeholder approach in order to achieve results sustainability:

“Commitment and ownership in design, commitment and ownership in implementation, through joint partnership are conditions for success, impact and sustainability.”

Furthermore, it was also emphasized in discussions about ownership that the engagement of the relevant stakeholders in just one phase of the project cycle is insufficient. Constant consultations and involvement are required throughout the project cycle in order to build sustainable results. Therefore, it can be concluded that ownership is a process that builds up throughout the project cycle and requires joint efforts, active participation, partnership, trust, cooperation, engagement, commitment, and, above all, awareness.

Lastly, the interviewees concluded that ownership does not belong to one actor, but rather to the group of stakeholders in joint efforts. Therefore, interviewees strongly argued that project results are likely to be more sustainable when multiple partners with a strong interest in the thematic area of the project are involved.

Most importantly, ownership does not have to be exclusively local, belonging only to actors in the partner country. Multi-stakeholder ownership should also include donors and service providers/consultants. Finally, it has a positive effect on mutual enforcement of not only the project process but also of the project's results.

4.2 Assessing and analyzing multi-stakeholder ownership in the project cycle

The KEP document states that the programme will engage a large number of stakeholders of different types and at different levels in the environmental and natural resource areas, there is no evidence that such engagement was promoted. Important stakeholders for the implementation of the programme, such as local authorities, CSOs, and the community, were barely informed. On the other hand, Sida, as a KEP donor, stated that it was involved in project design while insisting that beneficiary institutions work more on their own, or consult MESP if lacking the capacities to design the project on their own. In this way, the donor transferred ownership during the design phase of the KEP,

but since the project concerns many stakeholders apart from central institutions and donors, such as the local authorities, CSOs, and the local community, this study nevertheless included them in the interviewing process. There was a noticeable lack of information concerning KEP in general among these stakeholder groups.

For broader projects, a stakeholder analysis is essential for ensuring participation and ownership during the remainder of the process. Mapping stakeholder interests and power relations, and prioritizing engagement across different stakeholder groups, contributes to an effective engagement process and, consequently, towards ownership and sustainability. Though there is a list of stakeholders in the KEP document, there is no evidence, however, that a stakeholder analysis was conducted during the planning phase. As such, interviewed participants from local authorities seemed to have very little knowledge concerning the entire programme cycle, although the programme concerned capacity-building at the local level as well. The situation was similar with regard to CSOs. Environmental CSOs in Kosovo contribute significantly to implementing and monitoring environment policies and strategies, yet the interviews revealed that the CSOs meant to benefit from KEP knew very little about the programme.

The community in a region that was entitled to benefit from the project results highlighted the importance of engagement in all project phases, and the impact of such engagement on the sustainability of the results. Their community representative emphasized that:

“[The central institutions] will understand when seeing in practice that what they have put on paper is impossible to implement. If you try to communicate with people at the beginning, then you build the road for the rest of the process. But when you do it without the local community, it is hard to achieve success. Unfortunately, they do not advise us nor consider our suggestions. We need to be consulted first, to create a basis that the foreseen project results are useful for us. Without prior consulting, and only engaging us during the implementation because they need the numbers, is not effective at all. This way you can no longer implement the process nor achieve long-lasting results.”

Moreover, the local community highlighted the importance of donors in the process by pointing out that local people are not surprised anymore when central institutions do not consult them regarding issues that affect them. However, they were very surprised by the fact that donors or people sent by the donor (referring to designers of the project) did not advise or suggest to the central institutions that without wider participation, the project will not function or be sustainable.

The KEP governance planned to use both partnership (collaboration) and participation (consultation) approaches through the establishment of so-called technical committees, consisting of the project stakeholders. As the main decision-making bodies, the technical committees would be responsible for overall project planning, management and implementation, coordination, and monitoring and evaluation of the project. Follow-up activities would ensure the long-term sustainability of the project. Yet in the mid-term review, it was stated that the technical committees had not been established. According to the interviewees, the technical committees constituted one of the critical ownership functions, which would affect the sustainability of the programme. These committees were not established because of their complex structure, referring to the difficulties in management and implementation due to the broad involvement of stakeholders. However, multi-stakeholder initiatives should also serve as a mechanism for dialogue among different stakeholder groups. Dialogue and communication contribute to building trust, which is the basis for successful joint action. These committees could have served as a multi-stakeholder platform for meeting, engaging in dialogue, networking, cooperating, and harmonizing different interests. This would have led to broader engagement in decision-making and management, and, eventually, to a higher level of ownership in the implementation phase.

In the KEP case, donor entrusted the process to central authorities by trying to build country ownership, resulting in a very strong government focus. Several interviewees highlighted this strong focus on the central government, which resulted in the failure to engage local authorities and non-state actors, whose participation was weak. This was the result of the gap between the local and central levels, which is difficult to overcome in broader projects like KEP. The director of KEP, in trying to highlight this gap and its consequences for results sustainability, explained:

“I could see that by sitting in the central level some days, and in the field with farmers also with local authorities, and their reality is totally different, there is no real connection between them. If we do not have that connection, it is very difficult to implement a programme and trying to reach this impact sustainability. For sure there will be a lot of reports, documents, very nice ones, but the implementation and sustainability are still a challenge.”

Similarly, it was observed that, even though KEP is a programme that requires a broad engagement of different stakeholders in the environmental sector, most representatives of national authorities did not consider stakeholders outside the ministry when asked about broader stakeholder involvement. The term broader involvement was extended only to within the ministry boundaries. This centralized mindset is likely to take time to change, which will affect the outcomes of projects that require the engagement of different stakeholders, such as KEP.

There are abundant examples where central and local authorities have consulted local communities prior to investing on their behalf, which had a great impact on the project implementation and the aftermath of the project. Likewise, there are examples of the opposite scenario, where a project did not persist because the community was not consulted. This was confirmed by a KEP beneficiary, a member of the local community, who emphasized:

“I think it has a great impact if we get consulted prior. We do not ask for much, just to take our suggestions in advance, that would affect a lot the rest of the project.”

The lack of engagement of a broader spectrum of relevant stakeholders is an indication that the wide participatory aspect was very low throughout the project cycle due to an over-emphasis on country ownership, resulting in a gap between central and local levels. The disconnect between central and local levels in terms of cooperation and communication, and the lack of an inclusive and participatory approach on the part of the central government, were obstacles to the promotion of ownership and sustainability of results.

Though an adequate involvement of and engagement with key stakeholders are preconditions for the sustainability of any development intervention, the rules of engagement must also be well-designed, disseminated, and well-understood for this type of approach to be efficient. Gathering stakeholders is not enough; it must be ensured that they have a clear understanding of roles and responsibilities and, most importantly, actively participate. Engaging the relevant stakeholders, rather than just considering the number of stakeholders engaged, is the main challenge for ensuring ownership. In multi-stakeholder partnerships, such as the KEP project, coordination and partner engagement may be challenging to sustain due to a lack of a clear division of roles and responsibilities. Therefore, it is important at the outset of the project cycle to engage the stakeholders and have a clear understanding of what resources and benefits partners will gain by engaging in a multi-stakeholder partnership (Clarke & MacDonald, 2019).

Concerning KEP, there was also criticism towards consultants that were meant to assist MESP in technical matters. Some of the beneficiaries observed that the programme hardly even functioned under the control of the ministry, let alone non-state stakeholders. Consultants that were there to build capacities ended up leading the programme and taking over too much control. As for the reasons behind this, it was commonly stated that these consultants were more interested in “making money” than in producing qualitative deliverables. Consultants and the rest of the project team can be an essential element in promoting ownership. Thus, a lack of skills in participatory approaches among the consultants in some of the KEP components became an obstacle in fostering ownership and a greater sense of responsibility for the results among the beneficiaries.

This being said, the fact that a project is well-designed is not sufficient, but capacities to implement the project results are also required. It is often argued that developing countries struggle with the required capacities and resources to maintain and expand the results produced during the implementation process. MESP representatives stressed that, although having strengthened the professional capacities of the ministerial officials, there were insufficient human and financial resources to implement the results. Therefore, they considered it necessary to prioritize existing interventions and receive further external assistance from donors. But in order for project results to be sustained and continue beyond the funding period, interviewees highlighted the need for sufficient resources and commitment from the beneficiaries to follow up on results.

Some of the beneficiaries interviewed mentioned that many draft documents require extended support from Sida in order to be finalized. One of the interview participants stressed that:

“We have documents left unfinished, now that the project is over, we do not have any support. But I sincerely hope that there will be a follow-up KEP II that will enable us to finalize these documents. Otherwise, the documents will remain unfinalized and all the work that was done throughout the project period will vanish.”

According to the interviewed staff from the Embassy of Sweden in Pristina, there will be some KEP follow-up activities after the implementation period to ensure that the project results are anchored and fully implemented. In the KEP case, the beneficiaries are not equipped to sustain the project results on their own. Thus, Sida's exit strategy to ensure ownership and sustainability should be considered efficient and as promoting shared ownership between donor(s) and beneficiaries. Though full domestic ownership beyond the project implementation period is desirable, the lack of human and financial capacities in the KEP case prevents this.

In cases like KEP, when dealing with a sensitive issue like the environment, which will involve many stakeholders, it is not only unrealistic to “throw” ownership on the host country, but it also becomes a missed opportunity considering the potential that the donor has and its role in monitoring and coordination. It is understandable from the donor perspective that the government is responsible for the engagement of stakeholders and other beneficiaries throughout the project cycle. But as emphasized by Sida (2015), staff should work pro-actively to strengthen ownership of other actors even when the project is proposed by the central government. The Sida report further highlights that staff should use the dialogue to encourage the partner country government to promote a more participatory project approach. Therefore, it does not have to be seen as an expression of donorship if the donor contributes to facilitating a broader participation of stakeholders in overseeing the projects. It may be time-consuming for the donor, but it is likely to ensure more efficient projects.

In such cases, project results can persist beyond the project period and should not be considered donor dependency. As the coordinator of KEP component 3 pointed out:

“The stakeholders have become aware that they by themselves have to maintain the results of certain activities that were once funded by donors. But they also feel the absence of donors after the project is finalized, so it would be good that sometimes the results of previous project activities to receive support and attention through monitoring mechanisms from donors.”

In projects that require the involvement of various actors, it is necessary to adopt a more participatory approach. The ownership should be ensured before the implementation phase as the lack of ownership increases the risk of conflicts and the lack of a clear division of roles and responsibilities. So, to ensure the sustainability of the results, it is very important to proactively involve the stakeholders from the beginning and throughout the project cycle.

The potential of multi-stakeholder ownership

The lack of participation was not observed within all KEP deliverables, for instance, in the case of gender mainstreaming. People working at the unit of Human Rights and Gender Equality within the ministry mentioned that they had “thrived” since the initiation of the project. The interviewed participants pointed out that this progress was owed to the great teamwork between MESP and the local and international consultants. The coordinator for gender issues within the MESP unit highlighted the importance of multi-stakeholder cooperation. She pointed out that:

“We did things together, and this has naturally enabled capacity-building. They (referring to consultants) have always considered my opinions and I have always been able to decide what is more convenient for us. We did not get documents served ready, they did not tell me that this is how you are supposed to do, and there is no other way ... No, we, instead, did it jointly by combining international and local expertise. As a result, we have produced documents that are conducted for the first time in Kosovo and those that we managed to finalize within the project period will have a great impact in the future.”

Clearly, consultants play a crucial role in the process of building ownership. The beneficiaries in certain components valued the process of shared responsibilities during the project cycle, which is a sign of good cooperation between the local and international stakeholders. This observation strengthens the arguments that ownership is not limited to locals only and that multi-stakeholder participation is the most effective approach towards achieving sustainable results.

Overall, ownership of the KEP project cycle was shared during the design and implementation phase between consultants, MESP, and Sida in Kosovo, while there was a lack of engagement with other local stakeholders. An exception was the successful engagement of multiple stakeholders within component 2, “Conservation of biodiversity through Red Book of animal species in Kosovo”. Here, a large number of stakeholders from different categories managed to produce the first “Red Book of Fauna” in Kosovo, thanks to proper cooperation and joint efforts.

This success story reinforces the notion that multi-stakeholder ownership is achievable and can contribute to sustainable results if proper planning regarding the engagement process and the respective roles and responsibilities of stakeholders is ensured at the outset. If this fails, the implementation process will struggle in terms of participation and commitment, and this, of course, affects the sustainability of the project activities. KEP stakeholders argued that multi-stakeholder ownership had a positive impact due to the opportunities for consultation and stakeholder involvement. This affirms the potential of multistakeholder ownership when certain conditions are in place, such as properly defined roles and responsibilities and a sufficient level of knowledge and capacity of involved stakeholders. Provided that these conditions are in place, the multi-stakeholder ownership approach is particularly useful in initiatives where sustainable results require cooperation between different actors, and when decisions made only by one stakeholder may be inadequate. This was emphasized by a member of the local community:

“The situation has started to change, we [the local community] have understood that to have development and sustainability, without them [the central institutions] cannot succeed. But they have also understood that without us they cannot implement development processes. Both sides have become aware that without the joint participating and partnership, neither them nor we can achieve anything.”

Hence, ownership cannot belong to one actor; it must be shared. A designer and evaluator of KEP, stated that:

“Ownership cannot belong to one individual; ownership belongs to the group. It seems like idealism or a dream, but there is no other way, ownership should be shared. Almost everything has ownership that cannot be individual.”

Multi-stakeholder ownership may appear unrealistic to achieve to some extent because of the difficulties, such as how to harmonize different interests. Nevertheless, multi-stakeholder ownership is possible by communicating and making efforts to identify common goals. When there is shared ownership, sustainability is enhanced. Without cooperation, the project cannot be sustainable.

5 Conclusions and recommendations

Sustainability of project results beyond the project cycle is heavily dependent on effective stakeholder engagement and on ensuring multi-stakeholder partnership. The findings of this study suggest that there is a strong relationship between stakeholder ownership throughout the project cycle and the sustainability of the results.

Ownership develops over time and must be ensured throughout the project cycle. If there is an active and effective cultivation of ownership through all stages, the sustainability of project results will be strengthened in a systematic and comprehensive way.

In projects where stakeholders are actively engaged in identifying priorities and in overall project design, the ownership is likely to be strong also during other phases. To lay the foundations for more sustainable results, ownership requires multi-stakeholder involvement.

Therefore, multi-stakeholder ownership is a necessity in broad projects like the KEP. It has a positive impact relationship with the sustainability of the results when there is an active engagement, a clear division of roles and responsibilities, trust, partnership, and cooperation among stakeholders. In the absence of these elements, the implementation phase will not reach the anticipated objectives nor produce the targeted results.

In many cases, donors are excluded to avoid the donorship approach. However, donor monitoring and coordinating is very important at certain points in the project cycle in order to ensure the engagement of non-state actors. Additionally, in order for results to sustain and consolidate, donors should, if necessary, remain committed beyond the project period.

The promotion of ownership is often based mainly on donor-to-recipient government partnerships, where local authorities and non-state actors are excluded. Effective ownership requires widening the true engagement of actors beyond the central government.

This study concludes that there was a huge gap between the central government and other domestic actors in the KEP case, which obstructed the realization of the multi-stakeholder ownership approach. Thus, for projects that require broader involvement of different stakeholders, such as KEP, effective stakeholder engagement of all relevant categories is critical to secure multi-stakeholder ownership and to advance and sustain the achieved results.

Recommendations

To promote ownership and the sustainability of development project results, the findings of this study points to the importance of:

- Conducting an initial stakeholder analysis to identify the project's key stakeholders and assessing their potential interests in and influence on the project. This is likely to prevent conflicts in subsequent project phases. Moreover, an engagement plan should be made for the identified stakeholders, fostering good communication along with consultations and possible consent through the design and implementation phases of the project.
- Drafting a sustainability strategy or plan. The lack of a clear plan of how to maintain and expand the project results is a major risk factor that threatens sustainability.
- Paying close attention to project team selection. The professionalism and skills in participatory approaches of those providing technical assistance are key elements fostering ownership and sustainability. Their approach to collaboration with colleagues and target groups has a strong influence on ownership and sustainability.
- Raising awareness and building capacity concerning the need to involve other domestic stakeholders than just the central government.
- Considering if it is necessary towards the end of the project cycle to consolidate the results of the project by providing some limited follow-on assistance, rather than moving on to new projects. In some cases, project beneficiaries do not possess the human and financial capacities needed to ensure sustainability beyond the funding period, which might necessitate additional efforts on the part of the donor.

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