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Lessons from Africa,
India and the Americas**

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Experience of “hybrid” organisations in promoting meaningful rural livelihoods: Lessons from Africa, India and the Americas

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Abstract

A Ford Foundation Rural Livelihoods Learning Group carried out a study into ‘hybrid’ organisations and strategies between July 2008 and September 2009. Twenty –one case studies were completed of hybrid organisations spread over India, Africa, North, Central and Latin America. The paper describes the services offered by the eight African case studies ranging from micro-finance, business development services to value chain development, and draws out the approach and characteristics of hybrid organisations as identified in the global study. Hybrid organisations offer multiple services, either internally or through partnerships, in order to build a comprehensive systemic response to multiple needs. Success requires the ability to create access to assets, to build agency and voice of individuals and communities, to support the development of secure livelihoods through technological, business and market improvement and relevant training, and changing the rules of the game to make them work more in favour of the poor.

1 The RLLG hybrids research study and aims of this paper

During the period between July 2008 and September 2009, the Ford Foundation initiated and funded a Rural Livelihoods Learning Group. Through this group, Ford Foundation programme officers collaborated with development practitioners from around the world to look for innovative solutions for rural poverty reduction. The Learning Group initiated a research project into what came to be called “hybrid organisations.” Although the group felt that the term is not an entirely satisfactory one, it was used as a shorthand way of referring to organisations that used unusual combinations of strategies to promote livelihoods. All the organisations had been in existence for a good number of years and so had reached a level of maturity and most were operating at scale. The hybrids research project set out to understand what these organisations are doing and learn from their experience. There were

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four geographical foci of research – India, North America, Central and South America and Africa. The research has been completed. It includes 21 individual case study reports and a global synthesis report which was finalised in early 2010. The purpose of this paper is to draw on this extensive data to highlight some lessons for South Africa in tackling poverty and promoting livelihoods more successfully. The paper examines the services offered by the African case studies and describes the approach and characteristics of hybrid organisations as identified in the global study.

2 The African case studies

There were eight African case studies covering two organisations in each of four countries. The four countries were Tanzania, Kenya, South Africa and Mozambique. A brief summary of the case studies is included here to create a picture of the work of each organisation. The organisations are not organised by country but in terms of the type of service. The first three organisations have finance as their core service, the other five are not primarily finance organisations and are more varied.

2.1 GAPI, Mozambique

Established in 1990, GAPI has 84 staff with a national presence through its subsidiary offices. GAPI offers financial services to small and medium enterprises combined with a package of business development services. The financial services are offered largely through financial intermediaries and GAPI specialises in institutional development of these intermediaries. GAPI does not work with individual small enterprises but with associations. For instance, GAPI worked with a marketing organisation called Ikuru which represented 29 smallholder farmer associations totalling 13,500 farmers in all which had been supported for ten years by another organisation called CLUSA. The smallholder farmer associations were able to borrow money wholesale from GAPI, using a solidarity loan approach, whereby if one group defaults other groups have to make good the loan. The associations were also given business management training and credit management training by GAPI. The groups could then on loan to their members as small solidarity groups, or as individuals. Through CLUSA, the associations were also able to access technical training. As a result, Ikuru has developed international markets and achieved fair trade certification for its key crops. GAPI has used this approach widely.

GAPI recognises the need to provide integrated business development services to support loans. GAPI supports the whole chain of production, working with specialist organisational partners. It is very entrepreneurial and pro-active, looking for viable opportunities for small scale producers, developing interventions and taking them to scale. Business development training packages are developed in house. GAPI goes to the clients and to communities, and tailors its services to the specific needs of the clients. Core training is supported in some cases by coaching and follow-up. GAPI also partners universities and other institutions to work on technological innovations in the value chains of food, agriculture and fisheries. In 2009, its loan portfolio was over \$16 million.

2.2 Kenya Gatsby Trust

Kenya Gatsby Trust (KGT) works with the economically active poor through support to small and micro-businesses. KGT has a permanent staff of 18 and a turnover of US\$1.5 million. It works to alleviate constraints on small businesses, whether in business management, finance, technology, value chains or markets. It works particularly with artisans, farmers, agribusiness, and in natural resource management as it has identified these as areas with growth potential. It works from policy level right down to community level where it builds existing institutions, local capacity and leadership.

2.3 Tanzania Gatsby Trust

Tanzania Gatsby Trust (TGT)'s focus for poverty reduction is to support the small enterprise sector in Tanzania. Its core service is retail and wholesale microfinance services i.e. it lends directly to borrowers and also finances organisations for on-lending. Alongside financing, the organisation offers a range of support mechanisms to increase the success rate of small businesses such as business development services and marketing support. It funds research for technological innovation in the agro-processing sector and promotes technology transfer. TGT provides microfinance to 629 Upatu women's groups with a total membership of 3,650, offering the groups training in management, credit, technical aspects and leadership skills. TGT only works with groups that have been in existence for some time and have developed stability and trust. Women's groups in Zanzibar requested loans for house building. TGT arranged loan financing and developed housing designs, collaborating with Habitat for Humanity on this programme. Tanzania has 400,000 cotton farmers. TGT funds and supports a cotton and textile development program involving cotton farmers, the Tanzanian Cotton Board, the Ministry of Agriculture and cotton research centres. The programme aims to double the yields and catalyze value-adding such as manufacturing towels.

2.4 National Youth Development Agency, formerly Umsobomvu Youth Fund

The former Umsobomvu Youth Fund (UYF), now the National Youth Development Agency (NYDA), is a government-established organization which promotes youth entrepreneurship, job creation and skills development and carries out research and policy development relating to youth. It also monitors government departments and programmes such as the World Cup organising committee for their inclusion of youth in their programmes. The NYDA offers financial products, ranging from very small loans to large loans for SMEs; business development services administered through its voucher programme and skills development programmes to help young people get marketable skills and work experience. It offers information and career guidance through its website, call centre and advisory centres. It works in conjunction with other government departments to implement the National Youth Service Programme. The BOSS database – Business Opportunities Support Service – links

youth owned businesses with businesses offering procurement opportunities. NYDA is extending its reach into rural areas by piloting group loans. It also offers wholesale finance to successful microfinance institutions which penetrate rural areas that NYDA does not reach. NYDA has 13 youth advisory centres based around the country and approximately 100 smaller youth advisory centre points. At the time that the case study research took place, the then UYF had approximately 370 staff. In the period since its inception in 2001 up to 2008, UYF trained over 200,000 youth, gave out R244 million (\$30.5 million)² worth of business development support services through the voucher programme and created over 116,000 jobs. It has leveraged more than R350m in funds from partners such as FNB, Business Partners and Limpopo Development Corporation. UYF secured an ISO 9001:2000 accreditation, which recognises adherence to certain standards.

2.5 Laikipia Wildlife Forum, Kenya

Laikipia Wildlife Forum (LWP) is an organisation operating in Laikipia District, north of Mount Kenya. LWP has 11 staff. Laikipia is not a protected conservation area yet it has unique biodiversity and hosts a number of endangered species such as black rhino. The area is ethnically diverse and home to some of the poorest people in Kenya; 44% live below the poverty line. The mission of the Forum is to conserve the integrity of the Laikipia ecosystem by creatively managing natural resources to improve the livelihood of its people. Forum membership includes 40 tourist operations, 27 large scale ranchers and 24 community groups. The membership base represents over 200,000 people. LWF has 5 core programmes: community conservation; environmental education; tourism development; wildlife management and conservation security. Community groups are organised into ranches which elect range committees. Four ranches which neighbour the Mukogodo Forest have, through their umbrella organisation, obtained legal ownership of the forest and rights and responsibilities in relation to its ecosystem services. LWP is developing new opportunities for enterprise based on planting woodlots for sustainable fuel, developing bio-fuels, wild fruits and mushrooms, commercialisation of medicinal and body products from plants, the carbon market, aloe commercial production, honey, wood and paper products and eco-tourism. LWF and the African Wildlife Foundation have created the Desert Edge Bio-Trading Company. Desert Edge will provide marketing services and trading structures and access to fair trade markets. The company's strategy is to secure initial loan capital based on the provision that an agreed percentage (i.e. 45%) of the total shareholding is eventually released to small scale producers.³

2.6 ACAT: Africa Co-operative Action Trust

ACAT is a 30 year old Christian development NGO operating in the KwaZulu Natal area of South Africa. ACAT's mission is to assist the poorest of rural people. There are two prongs to its work with the poorest. It assists people to start a survivalist business, farming or non-farming, which will improve their position economically and it also works to reduce people's vulnerability through strengthening social networks and offering education in nutrition,

² The exchange rate at the time of writing was approximately R8 to \$1.

³ <http://www.laikipia.org/lwf-programmes-gg/bio-enterprise.html>

home gardens, soil conservation, understanding the causes of poverty, HIV prevention and management and spiritual development. ACAT encourages indigenous savings and loans groups and also offers microfinance to support the business venture. They work based on solidarity groups of five people, who are trained at the ACAT centre and supported at home by ACAT staff and community volunteers. In December 2008, it had 850 groups of five.

Representatives of the groups form zone committees which are represented in wider community management committees (CMCs). ACAT mentors these structures and builds community leadership. ACAT's strategy is to remain in a community for 5 to 7 years, leaving behind the community management committees to sustain the organisation's work. Individuals initiating similar business ventures e.g. pig rearing, block making or home-based care for orphans, are assisted to form interest groups and linked with government departments, NGOs or private businesses for support or partnering. ACAT has 35 staff. Its annual operational budget is approximately R9 million.

2.7 Tanzania Traditional Energy Development and Environment Organisation (TaTEDO)

TaTEDO has a staff of 58 and works in 19 districts across Tanzania, where only 12% of people have access to electricity and only 2% in rural areas. Widespread use of wood and charcoal has multiple negative environmental effects and is very demanding on the labour and time of women and children. Cooking is traditionally done on a three stone stove with an energy efficiency of less than 10%. TaTEDO develops improved wood and charcoal stoves, more efficient charcoal processing and small scale biofuel and solar technologies. TaTEDO takes villages through a participatory process to identify energy technologies of their choice. The communities then identify entrepreneurs who can take on the small business of selling and maintaining the energy systems. TaTEDO makes links with financial institutions which can finance both the energy service small businesses and the energy customers. Both the finance company and TaTEDO support the emerging energy entrepreneurs with business development skills. Where villages are linked to biofuel electrification mini grids, village energy teams are set up to develop plans and village by-laws and to supervise the energy companies. The improved stoves halve the amount of wood that needs to be collected and reduce smoke inhalation.

2.8 CEDARTE, Mozambique

CEDARTE's mission is to create economic livelihood opportunities and equity for the artisanal sector in Mozambique. The organization has 6 staff based in Maputo, but works in 3 other provinces through operational partners. CEDARTE directly provides or facilitates access to services that build the skills of the artisan, improve access to raw materials, improve production processes, and enhance business effectiveness. CEDARTE works with designers and technicians to develop new product lines, organizes trade fairs and facilitates access for artisans to national and export markets. It has established a strong visible brand and is raising the profile of the sector. CEDARTE has been able to facilitate artisans' access to small loans. However, larger scale finance is needed if the sector is to expand and CEDARTE

is in discussions with GAPI about how best to increase the availability of finance for artisans. The staff have a deep understanding of the challenges, needs and opportunities of the sector. The service is built round respect for the creativity and autonomy of artisans. CEDARTE has an operating budget of \$500,000.

3 Services offered

3.1 Overview

Table 1 summarises the services offered by the different organisations, either directly or through partners and intermediaries. Three of the organisations – GAPI, KGT and TGT - are similar in that their core service is financial services to the SMME sector which is combined with business development and other support services. The other organisations are more diverse.

Figure 1: Services offered by the case study organisations

D = directly offered;

I = indirectly offered, i.e. subcontracts or funds others to provide the service, or works closely with a partner who provides the service.

Services offered	GAPI	KGT	TGT	NYDA	ACAT	TaTEDO	LWF	CED
Research department								
Business development services	D	D	D	I	D	D	D	D
Solidarity group lending schemes	D	D	D	I	D			
Microfinance	D	D	D	D ?	D			
Larger loans	D	D	D	I				
Technology improvement / product development	I	I	I			D		I
Business and market linkages	I	D	D	D		D	D	D

Services offered	GAPI	KGT	TGT	NYDA	ACAT	TaTEDO	LWF	CED
Supports community based organisations, associations	D	D	D		D	D	D	D
Prioritises environmental sustainability					D	D	D	
Wholesale financing to intermediaries and community associations for on lending	√	√	√	√				
Works closely with government and influences policy	√	√	√	√		√	√	

3.2 Research services

HOs are learning organisations. They research the wider environment in order to understand the systems that are the context of their work – whether environmental, economic, political, or business systems such as value chains. They also research the effects of their own actions and make space to reflect and change over time. TaTEDO carries out original research and coordinates networks for reinforcing information sharing on sustainable energy in Tanzania. It also trains village enumerators to monitor its programmes. GAPI staff write papers for academic journals and policy makers with the aim of influencing policy and practice in the SME sector. Thus HOs use research and evaluation to broaden understanding, as the basis of internal learning and to provide evidence for driving systemic change in favour of the poor.

3.3 Financial services

The hybrid organisations (HOs) either provided financial services or saw it as a priority to bring in partners which could offer financial services. Financial support is differentiated according to the vulnerability of the client. Savings and loans schemes are used with the extremely vulnerable poor. In these schemes, people form small groups with trusted

neighbours. Group members regularly contribute money which is lent to members at an agreed rate of interest over an agreed time, so building up the capital in the group. There is strong social pressure to pay back and repayment rates are very high. Such groups are more popular and successful with women. The GAPI case study illustrated the use of solidarity loans with farmer associations with no collateral but with assets and skills which they use as a means of livelihood. These could be described as coping poor. Members of group schemes who build up a good credit record in group lending schemes can be graduated to individual loans.

GAPI was asked to provide loan finance to an association of 10,000 smallholder farmers which had formed a marketing arm, Ikuru. GAPI provided the loan finance for the farmers but also took a 45% stake in Ikuru so that the company would have the capital to achieve organic and fair trade certification and access international markets.

GAPI and KGT offer another service known as factoring. It is common for an SMME to run into cash flow problems in the gap between delivery of an order and payment of their invoice. Factoring involves an organisation bridging the gap by paying the SME most of the value of the invoice on delivery of the order and then receiving payment from the SMME's client.

Thus the HOs had a range of financial products for use with less strong and stronger clients and in different situations and programmes. The HOs which gave loans also put in place support measures for the loan recipients to increase the likelihood of success. These additional services are discussed below.

3.4 Technology improvement and product development

HOs promoted technical innovation and supported product development as a strategy to support SMEs. HOs generally subcontracted relevant expertise or created alliances with partners who had the expertise. Examples include TGT funding research to double cotton yields and working closely with the University of Dar es Salaam over a period of 8 years to develop appropriate technologies for small-scale agri-processing. KGT organised product development training to help Masaai women beadmakers adapt from a local market to more distant markets. CEDARTE works with ISCTEM, a Mozambican Institute for Science and Technology on design and innovation in materials and technology for artisans.

3.5 Business development services and market linkages

The HOs all also delivered or facilitated access to business development services (BDS) including technical aspects of running a business such as managing production control systems, purchasing, budgeting, record-keeping, invoicing and financial management. Market linkages are seen as equally essential. Indeed, as one HO put it, start with the market and work backwards, not the other way round. KGT set up the Centre for International

Market Access (CIMA) as a marketing arm for 6000 micro-level artisans in Kenya, most of who work in associations that KGT supports. CIMA produces catalogues, brochures and websites and organises trade shows. CIMA manages fair trade certification and has helped the wood farmers and carvers achieve Forestry Stewardship Council certification. CIMA also carries out quality assurance, and deals with invoicing, packaging and shipping for international buyers.

Among the artisans are 1200 Maasai women beadworkers. KGT has assisted them with product development and design, business skills, book keeping, pricing, quality assurance, marketing and networking among the beadworker groups.

CEDARTE organizes and regular craft fairs and facilitates the exposure of selected artisans to international fairs and trade missions. It negotiates export contracts. It is establishing a commercial operation, GreenArte, a social enterprise that will provide marketing services and generate income for CEDARTE.

3.6 Building community-based organisations, associations and co-operatives

HOs recognise the value of association for building agency and, secondly, for increasing business efficiency. ACAT uses solidarity groups to build agency. ACAT asks the poorest of the poor to choose 4 people they trust to form a group. The group members then assist each other with savings and loans, with creating their home gardens, with passing on information from ACAT training sessions and with nurturing their survivalist businesses. Representatives of these groups come together in zone committees which are further represented in community management committees, thus creating true grassroots associations with leaders that can be their voice in forums where they need to be represented.

LWF also organises community members into organisations to defend their rights of ownership of land and negotiate legal agreements relating to their rights and responsibilities in relation to its natural resources. As pressure on natural resources grows, assisting the rural poor with defending their rights to natural resources and with ways of creating livelihoods from the natural resources without over-depleting them will become increasingly important. LWF is an umbrella organisation itself which acts as the voice of all the members in dialogue with all the institutions which have some role or interest in relation to the area, be they government departments, national and international wildlife agencies or private interests.

The marketing associations described earlier illustrate what can be achieved when micro producers form associations which can be serviced by a co-operative or intermediary

company. Another example covered in the research is a Triple Trust Organisation (TTO)⁴ project in Cape Town which illustrates the power of association in term of bulk buying of supplies. TTO invited home (spaza) shops to join an organisation which took each individual shop's tiny weekly order combined them into a bulk order to wholesalers and arranged delivery to the door of the shop. The association was able to negotiate large price discounts as a result and the shop owners save the time and money they spent travelling individually to the wholesalers. Many HOs work with associations e.g. small holder or artisan associations which enables economies of scale for the HOs and makes it feasible to carry out in-depth research into market structure, institutional environment and value chains.

3.7 Working with government and influencing policies

GAPI encourages its staff to produce academic papers aimed at communicating its experience in the area of SMEs to academics and policy makers. NYDA carries out and commissions research to influence policy development relating to youth and to set up programmes with companies to create opportunities for youth. Lobbying for policies that support wildlife conservation, and negotiating rights to land and natural resources is an essential part of LWF's work. TaTEDO strongly promotes clean energy in policy forums in Tanzania and internationally. These are examples of HOs engaging with policy makers to create change on a systemic level.

4 How these organisations work

4.1 Agency and transformation⁵

HOs recognise that giving people assets will not transform people's lives. HOs recognise that poverty is caused by powerful groups setting up the rules of the game for their benefit, expropriating more than their share of resources. Deprivation creates hopelessness and depression. Thus helping people out of poverty includes helping people develop their individual sense of agency and self-efficacy. For example, TaTEDO assists villages to work out their own energy needs and manage their own solution. This kind of local problem solving builds agency. ACAT's self-help groups and LWF's community ranches build social capital and when these groups are represented in wider associations this builds collective voice and leadership to claim the community's rights in the greater scheme of things.

Thus the HOs differentiated their strategies depending on people's level of agency and vulnerability. Strategies for the least resilient include building self-help groups and associations, investing in leaders, enhancing food security, offering appropriate education and training and creating intermediary companies. With the more resilient, the

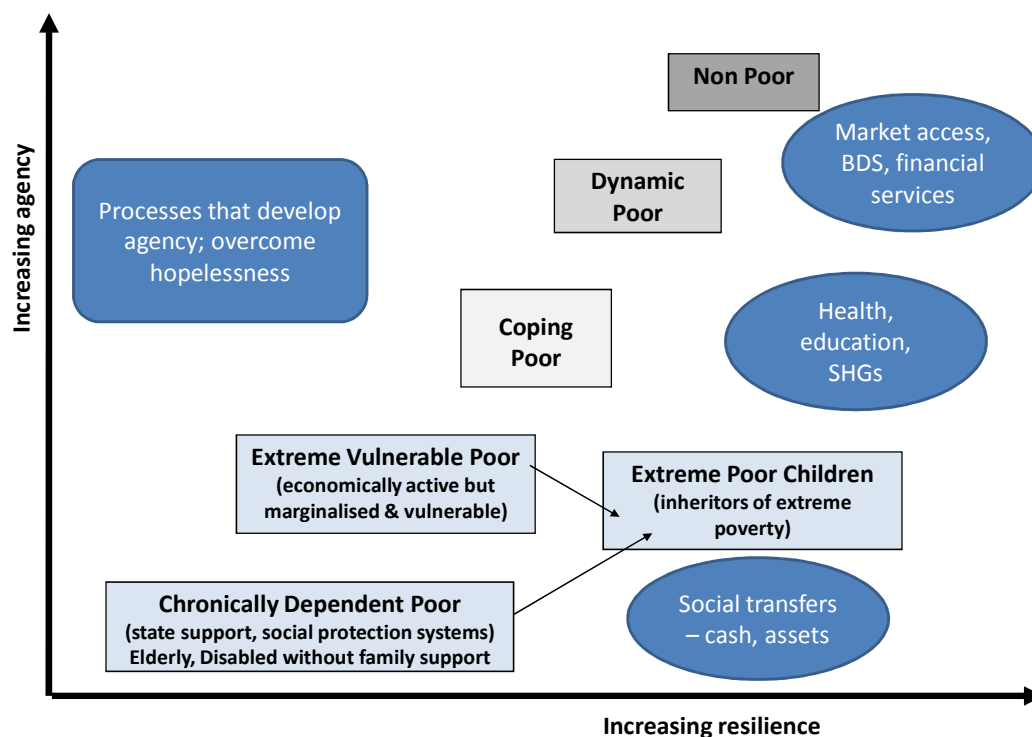
⁴ This project was researched during the initial stages of the hybrid research.

⁵ This section is adapted from Hobley, M and Joshi D with Ogakaki, A and Froistad, J (2009) which synthesises the findings of the global research.

organisations graduated people from small group loans to larger group loans and individual loans, and worked to consolidate their ties to markets, to value chains and government schemes. Figure 2 below illustrates how different strategies are appropriate depending on degree of agency and resilience.

Hybrid organisations engage in processes which are transformative and not just transactional. Transactional approaches, such as micro-finance services, focus on economic dimensions of empowerment and service delivery i.e. assets but not agency or changing the rules of the game. Transformational processes focus on empowering citizens to claim assets and influence decisions, procedures and the formal and informal rules of the game. Most of the organisations studied adopted a combination of transactional and transformational approaches. However, for sustained change to occur, it is necessary that the transactional approaches be framed within an overall strategy that moves towards transformational approaches. Hybrid organisations, then, are defined not simply by their combinations of strategies but by their ability to think and act simultaneously and intentionally in the three dimensions of agency, assets and changing the rules of the game, as illustrated in Figure 3.

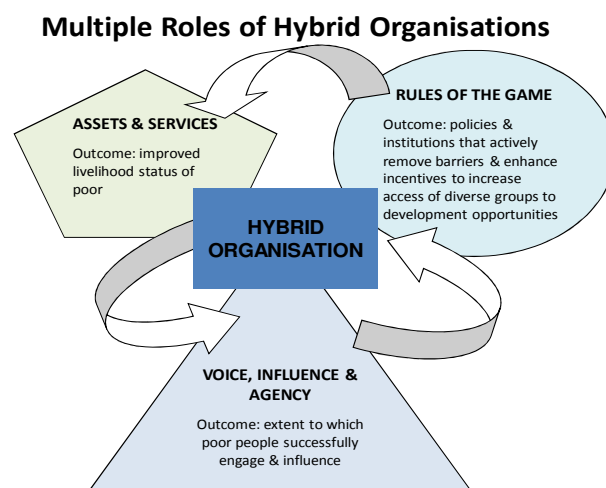
Figure 2: Interventions at different levels of poverty (RLLG, 2010)



The research drawing from Jha et al (2009) identified three forms by which organisations engage poor people:

- 1) As **beneficiaries** – where organisations hand out assets and services to them. The implicit assumption is that poverty is merely a result of accumulated deficits and would go away with an injection of assets and services.
- 2) As **clients** – the relationship is essentially transactional, and is limited by the suitability or worthiness of the client. Investment is not made if it does not bring assured returns at acceptable/manageable risk.
- 3) As **responsible citizens** – with rights and obligations and who are agents of their own change. The organisation believes *a priori* that people have capability, that they are worthy and sees its own role as actualising that capability so that people drive change for themselves.

Figure 3: Multiple roles required to support meaningful rural livelihoods (DFID/World Bank, 2006)



4.2 A systems approach

When supporting small enterprise, HOs unpacked the entire value chain or entire system needed for an individual business to operate and recognised that managing all the necessary business functions is not always feasible or viable for poor, unskilled people. One strategy was to help small producers form associations, or the HO itself creates an intermediary company, which takes over functions which are easier to do as a collective, can create economies of scale and can add a level of organisation and sophistication that enables the small producers to access markets that they could not otherwise reach.

In South Africa, analysts have pointed out that it is extremely difficult for small scale producers to compete with highly centralised, capital intensive companies which are able to distribute low price, consistently good, known brand products to every corner of the country (TIPPS, 2009). Pradan, an Indian NGO that participated in this research, faced the same problem in India when it wanted to help poor women participate in poultry farming. Box 1 summarises their experience. Pradan took on the challenge of meeting the high standards of the competition by setting up equally sophisticated systems using modern technology and professional managers where necessary but also creating a defined and manageable role for poor women and supporting their agency and power base through a co-operative structure.

Box 1: PRADAN's experience in India

Pradan recognised that poultry is a growth area in India but that existing players in the sector were highly sophisticated. The organisation spent 10 years researching and developing a decentralised small holder poultry business model which now involves thousands of poor women. The model involved setting up individual women with their own broiler small holding at their homes. The women

received loan finance from the government for the start up costs. They were grouped into associations which formed part of co-operatives and given 40 days intensive training covering an entire production cycle. Pradan set up other co-operatives which mix and sell the feed to the producers and others which hatch the day old chicks as this was cheaper than buying in these inputs. There is a system of traders which collect the chickens from the women and take them to market. The co-operative employs supervisors, trained as paravets, who visit the women producers to ensure the chicken's health and exercise quality control. The co-operative helps to cushion the individual businesses from fluctuations in market prices and in times of crisis such as outbreaks of bird flu. The brand of the co-operative has succeeded in achieving recognition and popularity in the market place. The women attest to greater confidence and resilience from the experience of being part of a successful co-operative.

4.3 Organisational structures

The HOs adopted different organisational structures to manage delivery of services and also to operationalize delivery at scale.

Organisations often started with one service in response to a particular need, but then as their understanding of the clients' needs deepened, they realised that other needs have to be addressed. ACAT started off supporting savings and loans groups but now offer much more extensive support. Some organisations have added different departments or even different entities. For instance, KGT has the following departments: an enterprise development unit, financial services, technology transfer and CIMA. CIMA was added in 2004 when KGT, Oxfam and Worldwide Fund for Nature decided they needed a vehicle to certify 'good woods' i.e. wood that has been taken from sustainably managed forests. Other organisations formed partnerships in which each partner provides a complementary service e.g. one partner offers technology transfer and one offers finance. Partnerships have the advantage of organisations being able to stay lean and focussed on their core competence and avoids one organisation becoming too powerful. However, integration of values, interests and strategies between partners can be a challenge.

Organisations also formed partnerships or worked through intermediaries as a strategy for scaling up. NYDA is a national organisation and wanted to extend its coverage but also to be as cost-effective as possible and avoid duplication or competition with existing service providers. So an early strategy was not to set up its own youth advisory centres but to deliver its products through existing business advice centres. However, people accessing the products associated them with the business advice centre they had walked into and not with NYDA⁶ and this limited NYDA's visibility resulting in low youth awareness of their services. NYDA now has its own 13 youth advisory centres spread around the country but it also has 100 youth advisory points which operate in partnership with further education institutions and municipalities. The partner recruits and employs the personnel to deliver the service on its premises while NYDA supplies funding and training. However, the staff do not receive the same ongoing training that NYDA internal staff receive and NYDA expressed

⁶ At this stage, it was still Umsobomvu Youth Fund

dissatisfaction with the commitment of the partner organisations, particularly municipalities.

GAPI started out as a retail finance organisation. Having mastered the art of managing loan finance, it has now taken a step back and focuses on wholesale finance to intermediaries for on-lending. By building the capacity of intermediaries GAPI can obviously extend its financial service provision much further. It can be likened to franchising its services.

CEDARTE provide the full range of services directly to clients in Maputo and works through partners in other parts of the country. In some instances, the partner is funded by CEDARTE and implements CEDARTE's programmes, in other cases the partner has its own funding and programmes but relies on CEDARTE for certain services such as marketing.

It is clear then that all of the organisations relied on partnerships of different types and to different degrees, and skills in managing partner relationships are key to true integration and synergy of different partners' contributions.

5 Summing up

The eight African case studies describe organisations offering a range of services from research, financial services, business development services, market linkages, improvements in technology, building groups and associations and lobbying for policy change. The services were offered through different departments within the same organisation or through partnerships of different types and levels of formality. All the organisations offer multiple services, work at different levels simultaneously and use differentiated strategies for people at different stages of resilience.

The learnings which emerge from these case studies are as follows:

- Multiple services are required for system-wide responses, either horizontally or vertically. A hybrid strategy means understanding the entire system and building a multidimensional response.
- A differentiated and dynamic understanding of poverty is required. People at different stages require different types of support.
- Group processes and associations are important for creating agency, social capital and systemic transformation on a large scale.

- Intermediary organisations can support individual small businesses, taking over functions which are more efficiently done as a collective.
- Giving people physical or financial assets is insufficient. The human capital and the social capital to use those assets has to be supported.
- HOs connect poor people to the wider environment within which they are seeking to create a livelihood, advising on risks and opportunities in the form of market structures and trends and new technologies.
- Successful organisations are those that build the agency and voice of individuals and communities so that they have the confidence, skills and social strength to take on future challenges. This is the meaning of sustainable development.

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