

## 16. Cross-sector Collaboration in International Community Development Initiatives: Learnings from the Millennium Villages Project in Tanzania

KARIN DAHLSTRÖM, ANNA NYQUIST & JOHANNA FERNHOLM

Cross-sector collaboration between governments, the private sector and civil society is encouraged as important means of achieving a globally sustainable socio-economic development (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011; Van Huijstee et al., 2007; UN, 1987a). Cross-sector collaboration facilitates the sharing of knowledge, resources, and capabilities (Bryson, Crosby & Stone, 2006) and is thus presumed to be effective in solving complex social problems (Koschmann et al., 2012; Jamali & Keshishian, 2009). Supranational institutions such as the United Nations (UN 1987a, 1987b) have for decades emphasized the need for global cross-sector collaboration and partnerships in the work for sustainable development, for example, the Millennium Villages Project (MVP). The MVP was a ten-year international community development initiative, running between the years of 2006 and 2015, with piloting activities in 2004–2005. The MVP was designed as an international, cross-sector collaboration community development project, involving partners from governments, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, civil society and academia (MVP, 2013, 2011).

Over the years, the MVP has been criticized in the media and by independent investigators and researchers where MVP initiatives have been pointed out as having several shortcomings including: The potentially misleading picture of being a bottom-up-community-led project, the lack of commitment from national, regional and local governments, the lack of attention to corruption, deficient evaluation systems, failure in sustainability, and the concentration of resources on too few individuals (Masset et al., 2016; Wilson, 2014; Munk, 2013; Malenga & Molyneux, 2012; Clemens & Demombyne, 2011; Carr, 2008; Grensund, 2006). For example, Carr (2008) suggests that the MVP's description as a 'bottom-up' project should be questioned since it relies on preconceived definitions of problems and pre-packed solutions to address poverty at the village level. Wilson (2014) labels the activities of the MVP as 'social experiments'. Masset et al. (2016) contend that the MVP approach to work with communities has been less empowering and transformative than what might have been hoped for and suggest that some of the underlying assumptions of the MVP's means of addressing poverty might be called into

question. In the *Economist* (2012), the MVP is described as: ‘*The brain child of Jeffrey Sachs of Columbia University in New York*’, and ‘*As something designed to improve lives in some of the poorest parts of the world, the Millennium Villages Project certainly stirs up a lot of bad blood*’. Malenga and Molyneux (2012: 2132–2133) argue that even if the MVP is not perfect: ‘*A global opportunity now exists to learn and apply the lessons emerging from the Millennium Villages. Seizing this opportunity will be the joint responsibility of all of us, including individuals and governments of high-income countries, and villagers and governments in developing countries.*’

The existing literature identifies several flaws in the MVP. The focus of this literature is on the initial design and outcomes of the project. However, to date, very little yet seems to be understood about the nature and processes of collaborations at different levels during the MVP. For example, what were the role and functions of the depicted and communicated stakeholders and partners? How did the various stakeholders and partners interact and collaborate at various levels, for example how were the community members involved in interactions and collaborations? What constrained the interaction and collaboration among stakeholders and partners, and how did this impact on the outcomes of the project?

This study explores what stakeholders and partners were involved in the MVP, how their roles and functions are portrayed in the MVP presentations, and how interaction and collaboration took place at the local level. The focus is on cross-sector collaboration in community development initiatives undertaken at the local community level. This is done primarily by studying official documents, films, photos, blogs, reports, and data collected through a site visit to the MVP Mbola in Tanzania. Topical case studies can offer further insights into the processes and dynamics of complex cross-sector collaborations (Bardy et al., 2012). In this study, the MVP is selected as a topical case in this respect.

The remaining sections of the chapter are structured as follows: Following the introduction, the theoretical frame of reference is presented. The research approach and process are then described, followed by a section where gathered empirical material, including material from a site visit to the Millennium Villages Project (MVP) in Mbola, Tanzania, is accounted for and analyzed. The chapter ends by a concluding discussion and final remarks.

### Theoretical frame of reference

The phenomenon of collaboration has been approached from different theoretical underpinnings, for instance, the transaction costs approach (Coase,

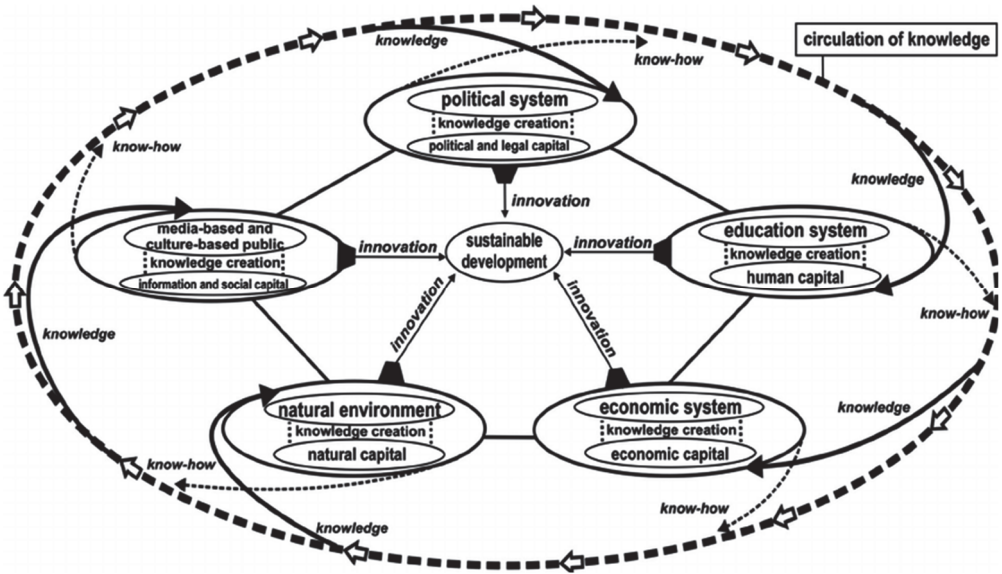
1937; Williamson, 1985; Kogut, 1988), and the network theory (Kassinis, 2001; Granovetter, 1973; Orton & Weick, 1990; Uzzi, 1997). Transaction costs are incurred, for example, in constituting and enforcing contracts, maintaining relationships, and administering transactions. According to this logic, the cost-efficiency of the collaborative relationship will determine the boundary and the sustainability of the partnership (Kogut, 1988). Multi-actor partnerships can reduce the transaction costs by sharing knowledge, stabilizing relationships through networking and facilitating transactions that create trust. The transactions cost approach is useful in understanding the motives for participation as well as the sources of success and the failure of collaboration. Networks are believed to facilitate the flow of knowledge, the ideas and resources and thus decrease the uncertainty (Kassinis, 2001). Furthermore, networks are expected to enhance the innovativeness (Granovetter, 1973), the flexibility and the adaptability (Orton & Weick, 1999; Boons & Berends, 2001). Network theories help us structure complex relations and identify ties between different actors and are thus a useful complement to the transaction cost approach.

Roberts and Bradley (1991:212) define collaboration as: 'a temporary social arrangement in, which two or more social actors work together toward a single common end requiring the transmutation of materials, ideas, and/or social relations to achieve that end.' Cross-sector collaboration has become a prominent feature of projects addressing complex societal issues and different forms of cross-sector collaborations or 'social partnerships' have emerged (Seitanidi & Crane, 2009; Parker and Selski, 2004). Examples include public-private, public-non-profit organization, private-non-profit or multi-actor partnerships (Seitanidi & Crane, 2009). Multi-actor collaborations have been described as a Helix (Etzkowitz, 2003; Ranga & Etzkowitz, 2013). Etzkowitz (2003) uses the metaphor 'Triple Helix' to describe collaboration between the academy, the government, and the industry. Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff (2000, 1995) suggest that institutional and national boundaries may be transcended and new disciplinary discourses may emerge in a Triple Helix context. It is further claimed that international and multinational programmes of the UN, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Bank and the European Union had for a long time been relying on Triple Helix like academic, industry, and government networks and relations, in the pursuit of development (Nelson, 1993, in Etzkowitz & Leydesdorff, 1995: 13). In this study, collaboration and partnership are used synonymously.

As depicted in Figure 1, Carayannis et al. (2013) have elaborated the Triple Helix model into a Quintuple Helix and applied it as a framework for research in cross-sector collaboration and sustainable development. In the Quintuple

model, sustainable development is placed at the core, supported by five surrounding subsystems; the political, educational, economic, environmental, and media and culture (the civil society) subsystem. The Quintuple Helix visualizes how well connected and linked flows of knowledge and know-how result in a sustainable development.

Figure 1. The Quintuple Helix and its function (functions).



Source: Carayannis et al. (2012:7).

The bearing idea of the Quintuple Helix is that capital and human agents in each of the six subsystems education, economic, natural environment, media-based and culture-based public (civil society), and political, carry, create and contribute with different kinds of knowledge. The knowledge is being exchanged when human agents in the different helices interact communicate, collaborate, share, and transfer knowledge.

Each subsystem with its knowledgeable, active human agents and its capital performs a pivotal function, influencing each other (Carayannis et al., 2012:9). Circulating knowledge that is generated through inbound and outbound knowledge flows between the subsystems surrounds the Quintuple Helix model. The circulating knowledge can be used by each of the five helices as new knowledge input. The result of the knowledge activities and processes is innovation that contributes to sustainable development. The framework draws at-

tention to the opportunity for learning and the sustainability of collaboration across sectors. At the same time, the framework brings to the forefront the embeddedness of interaction in distinctive cultures, structures, values and so on. This makes interaction among the sectors highly complex.

Furthermore, collaborations can be different and require different degrees of commitment, implying that the collaborating agents assume differing roles (Kernaghans, 1993). Kernaghan (1993: 62–65) distinguishes four different types of partnerships, namely: A partnership can consist of a consultative arrangement implying an exchange of advice and information. It can be contributory, whereby a partner provides support in the form of money and other resources to projects managed by a third party. It can be operational whereby the lead partner makes the main decisions but the effort in achieving the aims is shared. Finally, a partnership can be collaborative, whereby work and decision-making are shared between the partners. This classification is useful, for example, in understanding the variations in commitment, resource input, and decision making that can be observed among multiple agents in collaborative projects.

### Research approach and process

The data underlying this study was obtained through document studies, site visits and interviews. The research process was undertaken as a secondary document study on a regular part-time basis during the years of 2016 and 2017, and the first two months of 2018. The documents primarily consisted of website publications that were selected through a purposeful sampling inspired by Gummesson (2017: 212, 263). The model of Gummesson implies an iterative process where ‘cases’ believed to reveal additional data are added until the researcher experiences that no new data emerges. The documents selected included self-presentations, press releases, blogs, various reports, research articles, news and commentaries, annual reports, CSR and Sustainability reports, as well as photos and videos.

Two villages that were part of the MVP Mbola village cluster in the Tabora region in Tanzania were visited in July 2018. The two-day site visit was facilitated by representatives from the former MVP Mbola site management together with researchers from Moshi Co-operative University, Tanzania. The field visit programme included one primary and one secondary school, and several development projects that have been financed through donations. Most of these projects are outcomes and spin-offs from the MVP interventions. During the site visits, discussions were being undertaken with village represen-

tatives, former MVP leaders and their team members, school principals, teachers and coordinators, and with Tanzanian researchers on the subjects of community development and business studies. On the third day of the visit, the programme was concluded by a joint group discussion with the former MVP leadership and the Tanzanian and Swedish researchers at the MP Tanzania's office in the town of Tabora.

### Self-presentation of the Millennium Villages Project (MVP)

The MVP was an initiative undertaken by the Earth Institute (EI) at Columbia University, New York, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the closely interconnected New York based non-profit organization Millennium Promise (MP) to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The project operated between 2006 and 2015, with piloting activities in 2004–2005. The implementation of the project was guided by three principles, namely an integrated approach to rural development, a focus on inclusive service for the community, and investments targeting 120 USD per community member and year. The investments were planned to be generated from the following sources: 60 USD in donations, 30 USD from governments (e.g. by the provision of agriculture and health extension workers), 20 USD from partners and 10 USD from community members (e.g. by providing time and expertise). At the full project launch in 2006, the MVP reached fourteen extremely poor rural sites in ten African countries. The three overarching aims of the MVP were (MVP, 2011): i) to support the participating communities and the local governments to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015, ii) to create a system for success, and a toolkit to achieve the MDGs that could be transferred from the MVs to the rest of rural Africa, and iii) to work with governments in Africa to scale up MVP interventions and achievements by rapidly putting best practices into work around the continent. Part of the operational plan of the MVP was to implement real-life and holistic interventions across five sectors; agriculture, health, education, infrastructure (including water and sanitation), and business development to ensure a sustainable development in villages across countries in Africa (MVP, 2011). It was communicated that (MVP, 2013), 'the villages are designed to demonstrate how the MDGs can be met in rural Africa over 10 years through integrated, community-led development at very low cost'.

The project has also been described as 'Africa's largest systematic and scientific effort to achieve the MDGs' (MVP, 2013), and 'Some of the world's leading scientists, engineers, public health experts, and educators have come

together through the Millennium Villages Project to create truly innovative solutions to end extreme poverty' (MVP, 2011).

The tab 'Resources' on the official website of the MVP includes an abundance of written success stories, photos, videos, reports, scientific publications, press releases, published news, and a blog section. The website was frequently updated during the project life span. It was still active when this text was written in 2018, but no updates seem to have been made since January 2016. Through the 'FAQ' section it is narrated that:

...The MVP is a multi-stakeholder project spearheaded by the Earth Institute, Columbia University, where scientists and researchers are helping to bring the latest evidence, technology, and practices into the project, and MP, which oversees project operations. The project relies heavily on local governments and community participation in planning and carrying out interventions. Local, regional, and national governments play a key role in selecting MV sites and implementing interventions. The project also partners with several UN organizations.

Information about a positive MVP progress and results was continuously presented through the MVP website in photos, videos, communication material, scientific reports and publications produced by researchers affiliated with The Earth Institute, Columbia University. For example, expressed as follows:

The Millennium Villages are underpinned by a robust monitoring and evaluation platform. (MVP, 2010, Mid-term evaluation report)

In 2011 the project has reached nearly 500,000 people in rural villages across ten countries in sub-Saharan Africa. (MVP, 2011)

In 2013 the project has registered 'quick wins', particularly in areas where national programs were non-existent or lagging, such as improved crop yields, malaria control, and improved school enrolment. (MVP, 2013)

On the MVP website, under the tab 'About' and the heading 'Evaluation', thorough information is given about the MVP end-evaluation reporting. The full, peer-reviewed end-evaluation protocol can be retrieved from the website. In the MVP end-evaluation protocol summary, published in *The Lancet* (2015), it was described that the MP end-evaluation is co-funded by the Open Society Foundation (George Soros Foundation), the governments of Japan, Korea, Mali, Senegal, and Uganda, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. The expected submission date of the final evaluation was December 31, 2016.

When the document collection of this study ended in February 2018, the final evaluation was not yet to be found when searching in academic databases or in the Google search engine. However, in May 2018, the end report (Mitchell et al., 2018) and two adjunctive commentaries, one by the Earth Institute, Columbia University based Professor Jeffrey Sachs (2018), and one by the Stanford University based Eran Bendavid (2018), were published in *The Lancet*. The focus of the evaluation report is on measurable outcomes in relation to predefined project targets, impact estimates, and estimated on-site spending. Project process evaluation and issues regarding scaling-up and sustainability are not elaborated on in the evaluation report.

In the 'About' section on the MVP website, the word 'Innovation' appears quite frequently. That innovation was considered important becomes clear as the MVP interventions are claimed to entail new innovative methods and toolkits to support community development, and to offer new solutions to societal problems in rural, extremely poor sub-Saharan regions (MVP, 2013, 2011). The menu on the MVP's website has an 'Innovation' tab, which leads to a page with the heading: 'Using the latest technology and finding new solutions to the toughest development challenges'. Four innovation initiatives are presented:

- Community help workers: A system not invented by the MVP, but the MVP has developed strategies for improving the system to ensure quality care, deliver life-saving health interventions, and provide a critical link between health-centres and families in rural areas.
- Connect To Learn: A programme supporting secondary schooling, especially to girls. The schools are also supported with computers and broadband connectivity. The programme was founded in 2010 in a partnership of the Earth Institute, Ericsson, and MP.
- Modi Labs: Some innovations utilized in the MVP were developed in partnership with the Modi Research Group. For instance, SharedSolar – an innovative solution for delivering solar electricity to rural areas. The Modi Research group is part of the Earth Institute.
- CommCare: An application by CommCare was being adopted by all community health-workers in the Millennium Villages. Google-searches provide information that CommCare is an open source mobile data collection platform created by Dimagi, an American social enterprise company.



In summary, the self-presentation of the MVP communicated on the MVP website repeatedly emphasizes the MVP as a bottom-up-led project. On the website it is recalled that: ‘Critical to the sustainability of the Millennium Villages is the need to empower the entire community’, and ‘Participatory, community-led decision-making is central to the way Millennium Villages work, and this is also fundamental to sustainability’. But, which human agents from the communities were involved, how, and in what roles? Were community members being tightly included in roles as active knowledge agents and partners in the planning, development and innovation activities and work? Or were they viewed as stakeholders with passive, receptive roles as beneficiaries? In an UNDP mid-term report of the MVP in Nigeria (Boyd et al., 2009:49), it is noted that the impact of community empowerment, ownership and participation in the Nigerian MVP could have been considerably strengthened, if existing village community structures such as Parents-Teachers Associations had been included and collaborated with.

#### The education system: The Earth Institute, Columbia University

The Earth Institute, Columbia University was established in 1995. The institute is given such roles as co-founder, core partner, and scientific adviser on the MVP website. In the MVP communication material, it appears that the Earth Institute was involved in most MVP initiatives during the lifespan of the project. Between the years 2002–2016, professor Jeffrey Sachs was heading the institute. In the self-presentation on the Earth Institute’s website, its role, responsibilities and activities are described. Two central ideas animated the creation of the Earth Institute two decades ago. The first was to promote the basic understanding of earth system science, and the second was to apply that knowledge to decisions made by governments and businesses around the world. The people who make up the Earth Institute are earth scientists, economists, business and policy experts, specialists in public health and law, researchers, teachers and students. The institute comprises more than two-dozen research centres and several hundred people who collaborate across many disciplines and schools at the university.

Three main interests of the institute appear from the website as follows: 1) To create and promote scientific knowledge. 2) To ensure that governments and businesses around the world apply this knowledge in decision-making, and 3) ‘To guide the world onto a path toward sustainability’ with the help of ready-made knowledge produced by the qualified academics at the institute. The ideas are expressed in stories such as:

Another key aspect of our work is our willingness to engage directly with stakeholders in practical efforts to improve environmental quality by introducing new approaches to addressing real-world problems.

The institute has produced a vast number of studies, reports, conference papers, and articles with the MVP as the study object. The texts are often co-authored by researchers related to the Earth Institute (cf. Puri et al., 2010; MVP, 2010; Sanches et al., 2009; Kanter et al., 2009; Sachs & McArthur, 2005). Almost 30 such scientific publications are posted under the tab 'Resources' on the MVP's website. The studies generally report positive results and the progress of various MVP interventions. The findings appear overly optimistic compared to the reports from researchers with no ties to the Earth Institute, such as Carr (2008), Wilson (2014) and Masset et al. (2016). However, such scientific publications with no links to the Earth Institute are not mentioned on the MVP's website, nor do they seem to be included in reference lists of the knowledge production being undertaken under the regime of the Earth Institute.

In summary, the Earth Institute is given high prominence and visibility throughout the MVP communication materials. Concurrently, academic voices from the African MVP home countries seem to be rather absent in the education system. Boyd et al. (2009: 53) depict in a UNDP mid-term evaluation report of the MVP in Nigeria that the MVP knowledge processes are being planned and operating as: *'Extractive scientific knowledge process where MVP staff and science experts are designing and processing research data and conducting studies of, which the community has little or no understanding and are in general not the beneficiaries of the knowledge'*. The report calls on the MVP to change into a more participatory process that seeks to build an understanding and an inclusion between the local knowledge of the community members and the scientific knowledge of the outsiders. Furthermore, MVP is advised to broaden the ownership of the MVP science agenda so that academic and research institutions and community members from the host countries become active stakeholders in its production and implementation (Boyd et al., 2009: 6, 11, 74).

### The economic system. Donors and partners

The UN sanctioned non-profit organization Millennium Promise (MP) was co-founded in 2005 by professor Jeffrey Sachs, director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University, and Raymond Chambers, an American investment

leader and philanthropist. The MVP's website provides information that MP provided resources and an operational platform for the MVP in 2005–2015.

Evidence indicates that MVP was highly dependent on donors and donations through its lifespan. There seems to have been a recurring struggle for funding. An example of dominant donors is the government of Japan, and the financier and philanthropist George Soros. The risk of running dry of donations is lifted as a threat to the scaling up, and to the sustainability of the MVP by researchers and journalists (Masset et al., 2016; Munk, 2013). The terms 'donations', 'donors', and 'aid' are rarely communicated in MVP produced texts. Rather these terms are found in media articles about the MVP (Bloomberg, 2006; Dugger, 2006). However, on the MVP website, 'partners' is the term frequently used and there is a 'Partners' tab where it is stated that:

...Our work is possible because of the motivation and willingness of partners around the world to combine their efforts, merge their ideas, join forces with communities in Africa, and pursue the common goal of together ending extreme poverty.

The only partners that are explicitly appreciated by names and logos on the introductory MVP 'Partners' page are: The Open Society Foundation (George Soros), The UN and affiliated organizations, Agra, Millennium Development Ethiopia, and World Agroforestry Centre. The heading 'Host Country Partnership' is followed by the text:

...Partnerships with countries hosting the Millennium Villages Project are essential to the success of the initiative. We engage host country government at all levels – national, regional, and local – in the planning and execution of the Project, as well as the support for major infrastructure projects, elimination of health care user fees, and more. We also work with national governments to scale up the MVP approach in their economic development plans. Currently, we partner with 10 countries in sub-Saharan Africa: Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania, and Uganda.

There is also a link to 'View the full list of partners' found under the 'Partners' tab. The list includes almost 250 names, introduced by the words 'Special thanks to the hundreds of individuals, foundations, governments, institutions, and corporate partners who generously support the Millennium Villages Project'. The list describes that the partners support the MVP by providing access to technology, in-kind donations, direct funding, and technical backing.

The two core partners, the Earth Institute and MP, are given prominence in much of the communication from the core of the MVP. For example, at the bottom of every MVP webpage, MP and the Earth Institute, Columbia University is emphasized with large logos as core partners. The two latter partners are further given prominent positions in communications of different kinds from the core of the MVP.

To summarize this, some of the partners from the economic system seem to be given roles as implementing or supporting partners. But it is not clear whether or how they contribute to knowledge and innovation. One interpretation is that most of the partners listed under the 'Partners' tab are given passive roles as financial donors. However, the core partners, MP and the Earth Institute, Columbia University are upholding very salient and active roles in the MVP presentations and communications of different kinds. This arrangement of giving heavy prominence to two core partners gives the impression that the MVP partnership may not be as inclusive as is stipulated in the project's communication.

### The economic system: Corporate partners, the example of Ericsson

The Swedish multinational Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Company of Ericsson is one among the around 250 partners to be found on the 'Full list of partners' on the MVP website. The sampled Ericsson documentation related to the MVP partnership, brings us back to 2002 and the UN World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. On this summit, Ericsson proposes the idea to work with African countries within the UN framework to create a world market based on inclusiveness by forming partnerships with governments, international financial institutions, local communities and non-governmental organizations. In this context, Ericsson also underlines the importance of mobile communication as a way for developing countries to leapfrog technology development and use the most cost- and energy efficient communication solutions (Ericsson, 2002:6).

In 2007, Ericsson published a press release announcing a partnership with The Earth Institute, Columbia University in the MVP. The aim of the partnership is said to contribute to fulfil the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by increasing the connectivity in the ten MVP African countries. Ericsson emphasizes its strong commitment to fighting poverty in rural Africa and that Ericsson would undertake the fight by working in partnership with the other stakeholders of the MVP. The story also covers the ambitions of

Ericsson to explore the huge potential of mobile telecommunication and the Internet as means of transforming rural and resource-poor communities under the umbrella of the MVP.

Over the years, Ericsson inexhaustibly repeats the fact that telecommunication and mobile connectivity possess an enormous capacity to support the aims of the MDGs. In the sustainability report of 2010, Ericsson communicate a new public-private partnership together with the Earth Institute, Columbia University, and MP. The initiative is named Connect To Learn (CTL), aimed at providing secondary schooling, especially targeting girls. The programme includes supplying ICT equipment and solutions, including broadband connections. Ericsson explains that ICT can play a major role in making the Millennium Development Goals happen, not the least in terms of the MDG education aims:

Ericsson is developing new business models for ICT-enabled education services. Together with mobile operators and others seeking to bridge the digital divide. The aim is to scale up innovative solutions to a broad population. Connect To Learn (CTL) is a first step.

In support of these views, Ericsson contributes to the production of several studies on the impact of ICT in education and sustainable development in emerging countries during these years. One example is the 'ICT in education study' from 2013, which was based on one-year action research in collaboration with the Earth Institute. In the report (Ericsson, 2013:5), Professor Jeffrey Sachs, Director of the Earth Institute, Columbia University, and Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General, explains:

We believe that new ICT public-private partnerships can help close the student achievement gap with key investments, policies and programs that can be scaled from local to national levels. This research study was designed and led by the CTL team at the Earth Institute...I heartily thank and commend our partners at Ericsson for their foresight in promoting ICT for education and for funding this study. It is a great pleasure and honor for us at the Earth Institute and the Millennium Villages Project to work together with Ericsson in Connect To Learn.

In the Ericsson sustainability reports of 2007–2011, the readers are provided with several positive progress reports of the MVP. In the 2013 report, the MVP is not mentioned. However, it is recalled that the CTL education initiative reaches 40,000 students across three continents, including several Millennium Villages. In the sustainability reports of 2014–2015, the MVP is hardly

mentioned. But the rapid and steady extension and progress of the CTL programme, often in Millennium Villages, is described in texts, numbers and pictures. In 2014 the CTL programme reportedly reached 50,000 students and in 2015, 76,000 students in 22 countries.

In the sustainability report of 2014–2015, Ericsson’s top executives continue to advocate that Ericsson aims at connecting the 3.9 billion people not yet on the Internet, and to contribute to a sustainable development by innovative approaches and solutions that can be scaled up and replicated. In the sustainability report of 2015:3, the CEO of Ericsson explains:

This year I joined the board of the UN Foundation to support its work to improve health, increase prosperity, empower women and girls, and address climate change. As a commissioner on the Broadband Commission for Sustainable Development and member of the Leadership Council of the Sustainable Development Solution Network, I am part of a strong multi-stakeholder platform for shaping policy recommendations and actions to move us closer to our shared goals. We are at a crossroads in sustainable development. Business-as-usual will not be sufficient to achieve the SDGs. Partnership will be a necessity, not an option.

In summary, the views, strategies and solutions presented in the Ericsson sustainability communication between 2002–2016 offer a story about Ericsson as an industry leader, having the responsibility *and* the opportunity to use its strong position to loudly advocate the creation of new cost efficient and sustainable business models, products and solutions, also for the poorest and most remote areas of the world (e.g. Ericsson, 2003). Ericsson emphasizes the importance of cross-sectoral partnerships to fulfil the missions. An interpretation is that the MVP, CTL, and the UN offer Ericsson important multi-stakeholder platforms for executing its strategies and meeting its pronounced missions and objectives. The sampled data indicates that Ericsson plays an active role as a knowledge creator and contributor in the economic subsystem of the MVP.

### The political system: Governments and the UN

In the MVP texts, it is explained that local, regional, and national governments play key roles in selecting MV sites and implementing interventions. The MVP also declares its heavy dependence on local governments and community participation in planning and carrying out interventions. In photos and films published on the MVP’s websites, there are narratives where representatives

from governments at different levels positively describe and support the progress of the MVP in its intervention areas.

The UN and its affiliated agencies are given high visibility throughout the text material. It is described that partnerships with UN organizations ‘ensure strong country- and international-level connections to global policy agendas’ (MVP, 2013). The material further tells us that the UN played the lead role together with Professor Jeffrey Sachs in the establishment of the MVP.

The MVP’s website illustrates that UN agencies and actors have been committed to providing continuous support and back-up to the MVP. For example, in October 2011, upon the launch of the second five-year phase of the MVP, which took place at the UN Headquarters in New York, well harmonized press releases were published on the MVP and on the UN’s websites. Secretary General, Ban Ki-moon, who recalled visiting the Mwandama Millennium Village in Malawi in the previous year with Jeffrey Sachs said:

‘I saw first-hand how an integrated, holistic approach to development can help entire communities lift themselves from extreme poverty. The MDGs are interlinked, a comprehensive fight against poverty, hunger and disease’.  
(UN’s website)

To summarize: the MVP emphasizes the importance of the MVP partnerships with governmental bodies at all levels. There are narratives being told by governmental representatives at different levels being expressed in the form of success stories in videos found under the ‘Resources’ tab on the MVP’s website. Such governmental representatives are named and titled, and they recall success stories related to their field of responsibility, for example health, local governance, or education. However, their actual roles and participation in the MVP remain unclear. Do they have empowered roles as knowledge creating and innovating partners contributing in the political subsystem? Or are they rather passive stakeholders that commend the MVP in the role of ‘outside’ governmental representatives? Boyd et al. (2009) report in an UNDP mid-term report from the MVP in Nigeria that the local government administration was willing to participate but their participation has been limited by MVP prioritizing other interests and by the MVP’s limited emphasis on the preparation and execution of a coordinated approach to planning at the ward and local government level. In this study it is observed that the UN is given high visibility, but it still seems quite disputable what their role is.

## The Media-based and culture-based public system: The Media and MVP Mbola Community members

Website and media-based communication about the MVP

Sampled texts indicate that the community members of the Millennium Villages are frequently depicted as victims of a poverty-trap from, which they are being rescued by the MVP interventions. Such evidence is often narrated as success stories, which are found in the approximately 4,000 MVP community related photos, 80 videos, 29 scientific publications, and 26 reports, mainly progress reports and annual reports under the 'Resources' tab on the MVP's website. Politicians, researchers, experts, and site team leaders are telling stories about the villages and their community members. Success stories and positive results from the interventions undertaken at the village level within the five sectors agriculture, health, education, infrastructure (including water and sanitation) and business development are presented. The messages are validated with masses of village related content in photos and videos, and they are coherent with the positive progress reports and the results presented in the scientific publications being directed through the agency of The Earth Institute, Columbia University.

Individuals, presumably community members, are often included in photos or videos. Some of them are apparently students or teachers telling success stories about the MVP interventions in their village. Most often the persons are anonymous and unnamed.

It is described in the MVP communication material that the community development interventions are identified and evaluated at the village level, and that the community members contribute with valuable local knowledge, supported by scientific teams and MVP partners. But the narratives from the villages, as depicted in words, photos and films, do not convincingly explain how these processes and activities function. Nor is it clarified if and how community members are actively included as active knowledge and innovation agents in line with the Quintuple Helix (Carayannis et al., 2012) knowledge and innovation processes to create a sustainable development through the media-based and culture-based subsystem. Are the depicted community members telling their own stories in their own words? Or are the stories of the community members being authored and directed by the core of the MVP or by the Earth Institute?

One interpretation of the sampled MVP created stories and communication is that it cannot be convincingly understood if and how the local, culture-based knowledge of the community members is considered and included in the MVP



knowledge and innovation system from a Quintuple Helix (Carayannis et al., 2012) perspective. This interpretation is in line with results from field visits made in a UNDP Mid-term Assessment of the MVP in Nigeria (Boyd et al., 2009: 49) stating:

There are a wide variety of differing types of existing community institutions such as community based organizations (CBOs) - informal “esusu” credit groups, cooperative groups, youth groups, faith-based groups, sports clubs, farmers groups, traders associations and other types of groups, which can be useful in the implementation of MVP...There is evidence that these were not fully consulted in planning and implementing the MVP. For instance, in the area of choosing what projects were to be undertaken in schools, most of the MVP sectorial coordinators did not work in harmony with the Parents and Teachers Associations.

Over the years, the MVP has used international media as a communication channel. For example, Professor Sachs (2005b), Director of The Earth Institute, Columbia University and a heavy influencer of the MVP signed a ‘Viewpoint’ in the BBC News titled ‘Why aid does work’. In the autumn of 2006, there were similar articles appearing with information about the launch of the MVP project and describing the ideas underpinning the initiative in *The Economist* (2006), *The Independent* (Bloomfield, 2006) and *New York Times* (Dugger, 2006). An interpretation is that this is a result of press releases being sent from the MVP. 35 press releases are published under the ‘Resource’ tab on the MVP’s website. The MVP has over the years claimed that it builds on scientific grounds and that so do the chosen evaluation methods of the project. On the other hand, researchers, e.g. Clemens and Demombynes (2011), have been outspoken about the fact that they observe weaknesses in the MVP’s evaluation methods. Through *The Guardian* it is recalled that:

None of the claims is supported by published peer-reviewed research. The claims are also impossible to independently verify. A critical element of persuasive impact evaluation is that it is independent and transparent. An independent and transparent analysis of its data could make the MVP evaluation more persuasive.

MVP has received attention from media on the African continent, but not very vigorous attention from what has been found in this study. One example is Mhegera (2015) who balances positive and negative aspects of the MVP as follows:

Through the MVP, the Mbola cluster of villages have benefitted from one investment, which cannot be found in other Tanzanian villages... The team leader of the Millennium Village Mbola in Tanzania worries that there are no tangible plans for sustainability of the services provided by the MVP and that the village is facing a problem of “theirs” syndrome. The team leader was also referring to some reliable stakeholders, including some government officials who do see the project as belonging to donors.

There is evidence that the MVP team introduces, and continuously updates, international media about the ideas and the progress of the MVP, meaning that the MVP aims at directing the content of international media reporting about the project and its progress. International, seemingly MVP-independent media and journalists (e.g. Munk, 2013) have reported positive and negative critics about the project. An interpretation is that international media contribute to shaping the Quintuple Helix innovation system (Carayannis et al., 2012) of the MVP through influencing the media-based and culture-based civil society.

#### Experiences from site visits in MVP Mbola

In 2005 there was a call for proposal posted by the Earth Institute at Columbia University, the United Nations Development Programme, and the non-profit organization Millennium Promise for funding Millennium Villages through holistic interventions projects in impoverished rural villages in Africa. Dr. Nyadzi, a Tabora based Tanzanian researcher in agro-forestry at ICRAF, World Agroforestry Center, brought together a team of colleagues to create an application for the call. The choice of site fell on Mbola, a village where Dr. Nyadzi had already performed research and, which he estimated would be well suited for the pre-conditions presented in the call for proposal. The application team had already experienced that there were visionary and engaged community leaders and community members in Mbola. Some of the characteristics of Mbola that well suited the New York designed selection criteria were subsistence farming in the area. The MVP Mbola village cluster is part of the Miombo woodland savanna climate zone of the Southern Africa plateau. Currently, there is one rain season a year with erratic rainfall patterns. The area faces a high rate of environmental degradation resulting from poor crop management practices, declining agricultural production, and destruction of the Miombo woodlands for fuel wood, which is widely used in the tobacco industry. Overgrazing and the expansion of agricultural land have contributed to the decline of land productivity. Situated on low, hilly terrain, the selected MVP Mbola village clusters are spread out over an expansive area, which makes travel, ex-

change and trade between them difficult. There was also a general lack of basic infrastructure for health and education, limited access to financial institutions, and governments at different levels that were willing to be part of the MVP intervention community development project.

MVP Mbola was approved for funding early in 2006 and officially launched as MVP Mbola in May 2006. Professor Jeffrey Sachs of the Earth Institute was one of the dignitaries present on the occasion. UNCP, the implementing partner of the MVP, recruited the main applicant for the MVP Mbola, Dr. Nyadzi, as head of the Tanzanian MVP team with responsibility for the project implementation and research. Around 40 individuals were employed to work with him.

Mbola is a small rural village of around 300 households and 1,500 community members in the Uyui district in mid-western Tanzania. The municipality of Tabora, also the capital of the region Tabora, with around 200,000 inhabitants is the closest town 36 kilometers away from Mbola. Tobacco has been a major source of income for the Tabora region for a long time and accounts for more than 60 per cent of the Tanzanian tobacco production. In line with the central intervention directives from MVP, the MVP Mbola was during the project period successively expanding in area and in the number of villages. In the final contextualization of the MVP Mbola, 20 administrative villages were clustered into six MVs, of which one was Mbola. Altogether the MVP Mbola village clusters had an estimated population of 38,740 persons (2011) with an area of 1,334 km<sup>2</sup>, representing about 10 per cent of the Uyui district area.

Many partners were involved in the funding and implementation of the ten-year (five-plus-five years) MVP Mbola, including: UN and UNDP, Ericsson, Panasonic, Airtel, Monsanto, Novartis, JM Eagles (USA), Millennium Promise (non-profit), The Open Society Foundations, (George Soros 's foundation), the Islamic Development Bank, and the governments of Japan and South Korea. Each partner funded a specific area of the MVP. For example, Monsanto focused on agriculture, Novartis on healthcare, while Ericsson and Airtel provided support in the form of base stations, connectivity and ICT equipment. In 2011 the "Connect To Learn" (CTL) programme was established in Mbola. CTL was an ICT-related school project initiated in 2010 by Ericsson, together with The Earth Institute and Millennium Promise. The project targeted the issues of access to and the quality of secondary schools, especially for girls, in rural, impoverished villages, among them Mbola.

At different administrative levels, e.g. the district, ward and local level, many groups and individuals were involved in the MVP Mbola. Examples are:

Governments, councils, committees of various kinds, chairmen of the village, individual community members, heads and coordinators of schools, farmers and food production entrepreneurs at the individual and cooperative group level. Moreover, the MVP Mbola village cluster did early become an important demonstration site for external visitors and dignities from all over the globe that have visited the MVP Mbola during the project period due to the MVP initiative:

“We have had so many visitors coming. Therefore, we built a Visitor Center in the Mbola village. We also had the idea of creating an MVP library there”, and... “The Tanzanian president has visited the MVP Mbola twice.” (Former head of the MVP Mbola).

From other districts they send teachers here to learn. (Head teacher).

After the end of the project period, i.e. by 2016, the Mbola MVP had been phased out and the multiplicity of actors involved in the project had left. However, there are still multiple traces of the MVP intervention in the Mbola village cluster, including an improved infrastructure, such as local roads, investments in buildings and facilities, health services, schools, cooperatives, green houses, water and sanitation facilities such as boreholes and wells, community centres, as well as ICT and technical facilities and equipment used for generating energy, connectivity and fetching clean water. Also traces of soft resources are found, such as social networks, students and teachers’ skills and competence when it comes to ICT, language, and factual knowledge, but also in farming and food production. Traces of the MVP community intervention initiatives are also detected when it comes to entrepreneurship. The active and vivid Mbola Sustainable Development Group with around 30 enterprise members focusing on tree planting and food production is one such example. Around 15-member enterprises, mainly related to food production, beekeeping and honey production, but also planting endogenous trees, were established. The initiatives of entrepreneurial activities came from the community members who were then supported by the MVP staff in the establishment and development in the form of cooperative enterprises. Most of these enterprises failed to survive and today four or five enterprises are still vivid. It is also evident that new international community development initiatives have emerged in the wake of the MVP. These capitalize on the villages’ infrastructure, knowledge, social networks, and changed management motivation for raising further community development funding and projects.

Today, MP Tanzania is a registered Tanzanian NGO, initiated and headed by the former MVP Mbola Head. The aim of the new MP Tanzania is to run new community development projects. One example is the Opportunity for Youth Employment (OYE) project with the Dutch non-for-profit organization SNV as the implementer in partnership with the Mastercard Foundation and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. MP Tanzania is the local service provider in the Mbola implementation. The aim of the OYE project is to sustainably increase youth employment and incomes by providing skills and capacity development to prepare youth for entrepreneurship. The project was running between 2016 and June 2018. Between July and December 2018, SNV donated money for management costs in Tabora for the bridge period, while waiting for a new five-year OYE project, phase 2, to start in January 2019. The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) is expected to be one of the funding partners here.

Excerpts from talks with various local part-takers of the MVP Mbola about their experiences of the MVP are illustrated here below:

We are proud that we are going up the ladder in Mbola... This is thanks to MVP. And you see, we have no security here. I believe in honesty. We need to collaborate in the village with enterprises, citizens, schools, parents and the community is always collaborating with the teachers. (Village Chairperson)

The Mbola village has retained much learning from the MVP: knowledge of pupils, awareness of teachers, creativity. (Head teacher)

When the MVP came, they taught people how to keep food, about education, and they helped to plan and develop health dispensers. (Ward coordinating teacher)

From MVP Mbola we learn that community development projects can generate new projects. For example, we learnt in the MVP that cultivating passion fruit is well suited for our environments and has proven to be profitable. Now, in one of the new Mbola community development projects, the OYE project, growing passion fruit has become one of the business activities for new young entrepreneurs. (Former MVP Mbola head)

In terms of scaling up, some of the MVP Mbola staff now work for governments, which is important for knowledge transfer. (Former MVP Mbola staff)

Excerpts from wrap-up discussions with former MVP staff and researchers from Tanzania and Sweden:

Everyone knows that the donors/planners are here temporarily and that they will leave when the project is done.

We know from own experience and from theory that without inner motivation and a sense of ownership, success in community development initiatives will fail to occur. When donations and gifts come from above and from far away, such as in the MVP – Governments, villagers – everyone – will not sense ownership. Such programs will not be sustainable. Sustainability requires dedicated ownership, motivation and involvement.

In summary: The MVP Mbola intervention initiative can be characterized by some distinct community development features: i) the approach of the initiative was much of a “top-down, ready-made design-to-fit-all” approach to a complex, holistic rural community intervention, ii) the participating cluster of villages was defined and thereby somehow selected by the MVP initiators through a call for proposals where local actors were invited to apply for participation through well-defined criteria and selection processes, iii) ownership of the intervention activities and results during and after the project ending appears unspecified, iv) the role and responsibilities of the local community members and the national/regional/local governments during and after the project ending appear unspecified, v) no plans and processes of knowledge transfer, learning and scaling up across-villages during and after the project ending appear to have been brought to the forefront and realized. Consequently, the local community members and the national/regional/local governments were not strongly and sufficiently encouraged and convinced to influence and take ownership of the implementation and of the ensuing results of a community intervention project that proposed a total transformation of the community members’ livelihood and lives. As expressed in the wrap-up group discussions with former MVP Mbola staff and Tanzanian and Swedish researchers, this appears to be a critical issue:

Some of the MVP Mbola interventions are sustainable. Others have not been sustainable. (Former MVP Mbola staff)

The sustainable MVP interventions are such interventions where receivers, beneficiaries or governments at different levels take ownership for further support and funding. (Former MVP Mbola staff)

The MVP plans were decided for the sake of the beneficiaries, but they were designed by bodies and institutions from “above” and from “far away” in New York. The villagers have obviously been viewed as receivers, beneficiaries, and spectators. We know from theory and practice that with this view on giving and receiving, the beneficiaries will always ask for more money – and other tangible things. Intangibles, such as skills, knowledge will generally not be asked for. (Swedish researcher)

## Discussion

When analyzing the collected empirical data of the MVP Mbola international community development initiative using the Quintuple Helix model (Carayannis et al., 2012), seven groups of stakeholders and partners can be identified: Academy (education system), community members (media based and culture based public), media and literature (media based and culture based public), private corporations (economic system), donors (economic system), governments/governance (political system), and non-governmental organizations (economic system) (see figure 2). The Natural Environment system represented in the Quintuple Helix model (Carayannis et al., 2012:7) could not be identified as a stakeholder/partner and system component in the gathered secondary data. However, one insight from the site visit to Mbola is that the local natural environment was treated in the MVP Mbola as an important stakeholder/partner that must be protected and conserved.

Further analysis indicates that the MVP Mbola initiative embraced varying forms of collaborations and partnerships. In intense MVP-managed communication, the MVP was being widely depicted as a bottom-up collaborative project where it was claimed that community members, as well as national, regional and local governments, were given prominent roles, were empowered, and leveraged the knowledge and the implementation processes. This vantage stance appears to have been downplayed in several ways as other actors were given more prominence in the project processes. For example, community members and national, regional and local governments seem to have been excluded from the design and development processes of the MVP intervention initiative.

Figure 2. Groups of stakeholders and partners identified



Source: Own construction.

It is evident that the stakeholders and partners of the MVP were given widely varying roles and functions. This is in line with Kernaghan's (1995) model of partnerships. In the model, some partners may have consultative roles, supporting the collaboration with advice, for example staff from the MVP, UNDP, and the Earth Institute. Other partners may contribute with money and resources, for example donors. Yet other partners may have operational roles but are not empowered with decision making power. The operational roles seem to have been upheld by community members and local governments. In the MVP Mbola case, it is difficult to locate an actual collaborative partnership where all work, resources, and decisions are shared in the sense of Kernaghan's (1995) partnership model. In general, the material offers no clear view of where, how, and by whom project planning, implementation and evaluation decisions and work were being made and executed.

The documentation study offers little insight into the process of interaction and collaboration among the stakeholders and partners. Consequently, the



important interactions and the exchange of knowledge flows within and between the subsystems required to reach sustainable development and innovation results (Carayannis et al., 2012:7) cannot be discerned. For example, how does knowledge from the community members of the MVP Mbola villages flow? And how is cross-sector know-how produced, shared, elaborated on and accessed?

The results further suggest that the MVP was tightly engineered and directed by The Earth Institute at Columbia University in New York, in close collaboration with the UN sanctioned and New York based non-profit organization Millennium Promise. The objectives, plans, and manifest of the MVP seem well aligned with prescriptions and scripts that had been engineered and communicated by Professor Jeffrey Sachs in his many roles; as head of the advisory body for the UN Millennium Project, as special advisor to the UN Secretary-General on the Millennium Development Goals, as Director of the Earth Institute, Columbia University, and as a co-founder of Millennium Promise. Seemingly overly optimistic success reports dominate the one-way directed communication from the websites of the MVP and its prominent stakeholders.

The MVP manifest is described as a collaborative bottom-up, cross-sector initiative, involving partners from governments, non-governmental organizations, the private sector, civil society and academia. The analyses rather indicate the MVP being more of a top-down initiative, designed, engineered, directed, and tightly controlled from the core of the MVP in New York, from where ready-made and, so said, science-based solutions were delivered for implementation in the remote Millennium Villages in Africa. One important insight from this study is the fuzziness of the concept of collaboration. There is a large body of research on collaboration. Very few address the variation in collaborations in cross-sector projects involving global partners. As illustrated by the case, there are multiple types of collaborative partnerships within cross-sector collaboration. Future research needs to address this complexity.

Another observation from this study that calls for attention is what we refer to as 'the dark side' of cross-sectoral community development collaborations. As illustrated by the MVP case in this study, the central core of the MVP has quite one-sidedly focused on communicating the positive outcomes of such collaborations. On the other hand, it is evident that there are aspects in the design, implementation, and sustainability of the projects that may not be favorable to all stakeholders. As implied by the empirical material of this study, there is a tendency to victimize community members by making them believe that they need to be saved and empowered. This implies, among other things,

that their inherent knowledge, experiences, and ability for problem solving and innovation are treated as having no value. Could this be due to the lack of clarified and agreed upon ownership and accountability in cross-sector collaborative international community development initiatives such as the MVP? There is a need to study how such collaborations address issues related to ownership and accountability.

A final aspect that needs more attention is the evaluation of cross-sector collaborative international community development projects. As is the case with the evaluation of the MVP (Mitchell et al., 2018), the focus tends to be entirely on pre-defined quantitatively measurable outcomes and impacts of the project. But what about the process evaluations of the complex, cross-sector community development project? Our visit to Mbola suggests that some of the interventions of the MVP project have resulted in positive sustainable outcomes while others did not result in sustainable outcomes. How could these different outcomes be understood? More research is needed to explore and learn more about the so commonly initiated and implemented cross-sectoral, collaborative, international community development initiatives when it comes to the processual components and outcomes of such projects regarding scalability and sustainability.

## References

- Bardy, R., Drew, S. & Kennedy T. F. (2012). Foreign Investment and Ethics: How to Contribute to Social Responsibility by Doing Business in Less-Developed Countries. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 106: 267–282.
- Bendavid, E. (2018). The fog of development: evaluating the Millennium Villages Project. *The Lancet*. 6 (May): 470–71.
- Bloomfield, S. (2006). In the village where aid makes a vital difference. *The Independent*. Available: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/in-the-village-where-aid-makes-a-vital-difference-416878.html>. (14/10/16)
- Boons, F. & Berends, M. (2001). Stretching the boundary: the possibilities of flexibility as an organizational capability in industrial ecology. *Business Strategy and the Environment*. 10(2): 115–124.
- Boyd, G., Asiabuka, C. C., Medupin, A. & Osunsanya, A. B. (2009). Mid-term assessment of the Millennium Villages Project in Nigeria at Ikarm/Ibarm in Ondo State and at Pampaida in Kaduna State. UNDP. Available: <https://erc.undp.org/evaluation/documents/download/3611>. (18/04/17)
- Carr, E. R. (2008). The millennium village project and African development: problems and potentials. *Progress in Development Studies*. 8(4): 333–344.
- Carayannis, E. G., Barth, T. D. & Campbell, D. F. (2012). The Quintuple Helix innovation model: global warming as a challenge and driver for innovation. *Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship*. 1:1, 1–12.
- Carayannis, E. G. & Campbell, D. F. (2011). Open innovation diplomacy and 21st century fractal research, education and innovation (FREIE ecosystem: Building on the Quadruple and Quintuple Helix Innovation Concept and the “Mode 3” knowledge production system. *Journal of the Knowledge Economy*. 2: 327–372.
- Clemens, M. & Demombynes, G. (2011). The Guardian. Available: <https://amp.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/oct/19/millennium-villages-project-proper-evaluation>. (19/12/17)
- Coase R. H. (1937). The Nature of the Firm. *Economica*. 4(16): 386–405.
- Ericsson (2013). ICT in Education Study. Available: <https://www.ericsson.com/res/docs/2013/ict-in-education-study-spread.pdf>. (27/05/16)
- Etzkowitz H. (2003). Innovation in innovation: The triple helix of university-industry-government relations. *Social science information*. 42(3): 293–337.
- Etzkowitz, H. & Leydesdorff, L. (2000). The dynamics of innovation: from national systems and ‘Mode 2’ to a triple helix of university–industry–government relations. *Research Policy*. 29(2): 109–123.
- Etzkowitz, H. & Leydesdorff, L. (1995). The triple helix – University – Industry – Government Relations: A laboratory for knowledge based economic development. *EASST Review*. 14(1): 11–19.
- Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6): 1360–1380.
- Grensund, P. (2006). Omtvistat projekt ger nytt hopp [Contested project gives new hope]. *Svenska Dagbladet*. Available: <https://www.svd.se/omtvistat-projekt-ger-nytt-hopp>. (14/10/16)
- Gummeson E. (2017). *Case Theory in Business and Management*. London: Sage.

- Jamali, D. & Keshishian, T. (2009). Uneasy alliances: Lessons learned from partnerships between businesses and NGOs in the context of CSR. *Journal of business Ethics*. 84(2): 277–295.
- Kanter, A. S., Negin, J., Olayo, B., Bukachi, F., Johnson, E. & Sachs, S. E. (2009). Millennium Global Village-Net: Bringing together Millennium Villages throughout sub-Saharan Africa. *International Journal of Medical Informatics*. 78: 802–807.
- Kassinis, G. (2001). Location, Networks and Firm Environmental Management Practices. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*. 44(6): 815–832.
- Kernaghan, K. (1993). Partnership and public administration: Conceptual and practical considerations. *Canadian Public Administration*. 36: 57–76.
- Kogut, B. (1989). Joint Ventures: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives. *Strategic Management Journal*, 9(4):319–332.
- Koschmann, M. A., Kuhn, T. R. & Pfarrer, M. D. (2012). A communicative framework of value in cross-sector partnerships. *Academy of Management Review*. 37(3): 332–354.
- Malenga, G. & Molyneux, M. (2012). The millennium Villages Project. Comment. *The Lancet*. 379: 2131–2133.
- Masset, E., Jupp, D., Korboe, D., Dogbe, T., Barnett, C., Acharya, A. & Nelson, K. (2016). Millennium Villages Evaluation: Midterm Summary Report. Itad, Hove. (04/02/18)
- Mhegera, E. (2015). Tanzania: Mbola Millennium Village Project help improve lives of locals. Shout-Africa. Available: <http://www.shout-africa.com/news/tanzania-mbola-millennium-village-project-helps-improve-lives-of-locals/>. (22/02/17).
- MP (2015). 2014 MP Annual Report on the Millennium Villages Project Annual Report, available: <http://millenniumvillages.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/2014-MP-Annual-Report-FINAL-18Aug2015.pdf>. (31/10/16)
- Millennium Villages Project (MVP). (2013). FAQ-document. Available: <http://millenniumvillages.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/MV-FAQ.pdf> (14/04/17)
- Millennium Villages Project (MVP). (2011). The Millennium Villages Project. The Next Five Years 2011-2015. Available: [http://millenniumvillages.org/uploads/ReportPaper/MVP\\_Next5yrs\\_2011.pdf](http://millenniumvillages.org/uploads/ReportPaper/MVP_Next5yrs_2011.pdf). (17/04/17)
- Millennium Villages Project (MVP). (2010). Harvest of development in rural Africa. The Millennium Villages after three years. New York, NY: The Earth Institute at Columbia University. 2010. Available:[http://ciesin.columbia.edu/binaries/web/global/news/2010/mvp\\_midterm\\_report.pdf](http://ciesin.columbia.edu/binaries/web/global/news/2010/mvp_midterm_report.pdf). (18/02/04).
- Mitchell, S., Gelman, A., Ross, R., Chen, J., Bari, S., Huynh, U. K., Harris, M. W., Erlich, Sachs, S., Stuart, E.A., Feller, A., Makela, S., Zaslavsky, A. M., McClellan, L., Ohemeng-Dapaah, S., Namakula, P., Palm, C.A. & Sachs, J.D. (2018). The Millennium Villages Project: a retrospective, observational, endline evaluation. *The Lancet*. 6, May: 500–513.
- Munk, N. (2013). *The Idealist. Jeffrey Sachs and the Quest to End Poverty*. New York: Doubleday, a division of Random House.
- Orton, J. D., and Weick, K. E. (1990). Loosely Coupled Systems: A Reconceptualization. *The Academy of Management Review*. 15(2): 203–223.
- Parker, B., & Selsky, J. (2004). Interface dynamics in cause-based partnerships: An exploration of emergent culture. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 33(3): 458–488.
- Puri, J., Mechael, P., Cosmaciuc, R., Sloninsky, D., Modi, V., Berg, M., Huynh, U. K., Kaonga, N. N., Ohemeng-Dapaah, S., Baraza, M., Emmanuel, A. & Lyimo, E. (2010). A Study of Connectivity in Millennium Villages in Africa. Conference paper. *ICTD*.

- Ranga, M. & Etzkowitz, H. (2013). Triple Helix systems: an analytical framework for innovation policy and practice in the Knowledge Society. *Industry and Higher Education*. 27:4: 237–262.
- Roberts, N. C. & Bradley, R. T. (1991). Stakeholder Collaboration and Innovation: A Study of Public Policy Initiation at the State Level. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*. 27:2: 209–227
- Sachs, J. D. (2018). Lessons from the Millennium Villages Project: a personal perspective. *The Lancet*. 6, May: 472–74.
- Sachs, J. D. (2005a). *The End of Poverty. How we can make it happen in our lifetime*. London: Penguin Books.
- Sachs, J. D. (2005b). Why Aid Does Work. BBC News. Viewpoint. Available: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/4210122.stm>. (14/10/16)
- Sachs, J. D. & Mitchell S. (2018). The Millennium Villages Project: Authors' reply. *The Lancet*. 6, July: 730.
- Sachs, J. D. & McArthur, J. W. (2005). The Millennium Project: a plan for meeting the Millennium Development Goals. *The Lancet*. 365: 347–53.
- Scherer, G. & Palazzo, G. (2011). The new political role of business in a globalized world: A review of a new perspective on CSR and its implications for the firm, governance and democracy. *Journal of Management Studies*. 48(4): 899–931.
- Seitanidi, M. M. & Crane A. (2009). Implementing CSR through partnerships: Understanding the selection, design and institutionalisation of nonprofit-business partnerships. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 85, 413–429.
- The Economist. (2012). Jeffrey Sachs and the millennium villages. Millennium bugs. Available: <https://www.economist.com/blogs/feastandfamine/2012/05/jeffrey-sachs-and-millennium-villages>. (18/12/17)
- The Economist. (2006). The magnificent seven. How a few simple reforms can lift African villages out of poverty. Available: <http://www.economist.com/node/6863605>. (14/10/16)
- The Lancet (2015). Protocol 15PRT/1768: The Millennium Villages Project: a protocol for the final evaluation. Available: <http://www.thelancet.com/protocol-reviews/15PRT-1768>. A link is here given to the MVP webpage where the full protocol can be viewed, namely: [http://millenniumvillages.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/MVP\\_paper\\_Lancet\\_FINAL.pdf](http://millenniumvillages.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/MVP_paper_Lancet_FINAL.pdf) (18/04/17)
- UNDP (2006). The Millennium Villages Project. Millennium Village report. Available: <http://www.undp.org/sn/new/mv/Newsletter%20nov.pdf>. (14/04/17)
- UNESCO (Not dated). Connect To Learn – A Global Education Initiative. <http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/images/RubinsteinYermeche.pdf> (22/02/17)
- United Nations (UN) (Not dated). United Nations Millennium Development Goals. Available: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>.(17/10/17)
- United Nations (UN) (Not dated). Millennium Project. <http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/index.htm>. (14/04/17)
- United Nation (UN) (1987). Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future. Available: <http://www.un-documents.net/our-common-future.pdf>. (26/04/16). No page numbers.
- Uzzi, B. (1997). Social structure and competition in interfirm networks: The paradox of embeddedness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*. 42(1): 35–67.
- Van Huijstee M. M., Francken, M. & Leroy P. (2007). Partnerships for sustainable development: a review of current literature. *Environmental Science*. 4(2): 75–89.

- Williamson, O. J. (1985). *The Economic Institutions of Capitalism*. New York: Free Press.
- Wilson, J. (2014). Model villages in the neoliberal era: The Millennium Development Goals and the colonization of everyday life. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. 41(1): 107–125.