Five independent studies have corroborated this official view. Robert Cassen's 1986 study summarized the criticisms made of the expert-counterpart model of TC:

"Complaints are familiar: the expert concentrated on getting the work done rather than the training, was good at his job but a bad trainer, upstaged the counterpart in influence, blocked the counterpart's career progress by staying too long, etc.; while the counterpart was never selected or was selected late in the life of the project, was too busy with his job to spend time on the counterpart function, was inadequately trained, left for a better job, etc." <sup>34</sup>

E.J. Berg's study for the UN Development Program added to this that "the expert-counterpart model of technical cooperation rarely works in practice as it is supposed to work in theory... [because] the basic conditions for reasonably successful operation of the model are usually not met...[i.e.,] the presence of suitable counterparts and acceptance by both partners of the understudy relationship." 35

In 1988, the Nordic donor agencies undertook a collective evaluation of their technical assistance to several countries in Africa.<sup>36</sup> They concluded that most of their TC personnel were reasonably effective "in contributing to the achievement of operational project goals", but did not succeed in training local staff or promoting institutional development, to the extent that "many aid projects have a nega-

<sup>34.</sup> Cassen, Robert, *Does Aid Work: Report to an Intergovernmental Task Force.* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1986), p. 201 and p. 197.

<sup>35.</sup> Berg, E.J., Rethinking Technical Cooperation: Reforms for Capacity Building in Africa. (UNDP, New York, 1993), p. 101.

<sup>36.</sup> Forss, K., Carlsen, J., Froyland, E., Sitari, T., and Vilby, K., Evaluation of the Effectiveness of Technical Assistance Personnel. (SIDA, Stockholm, 1988). A study commissioned by the Danish International Development Authority, the Finnish International Development Agency, The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation, and the Swedish International Development Agency.