

Yolande Miller-Grandvaux
Michel Welmond
Joy Wolf

July 2002

United States Agency for International Development

This review was prepared by the Support for Analysis and Research in Africa (SARA) project. SARA is operated by the Academy for Educational Development with subcontractors Tulane University, JHPIEGO, Morehouse School of Medicine, and Population Reference Bureau. SARA is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development through the Bureau for Africa, Office of Sustainable Development (AFR/SD/HRD) under Contract AOT-C-00-99-00237-00. The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Agency for International Development.

For more information or copies, please contact:

Support for Analysis and Research in Africa (SARA) Project
Academy for Educational Development
1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009 USA
Tel: 202-884-8000
Fax: 202-884-8447
E-mail: sara@aed.org

C. How Do NGOs Attempt to Influence Policy 33

- 1. Policy Dialogue 33
- 2. Coalition Building 34
- 3. Using Donors to Leverage Policy 35
- 4. Leveraging Change through Resources 35
- 5. Providing an Example 36
- 6. Partnership 37
- 7. Advocacy Campaign 37
- 8. Selecting Effective Strategies Depends on Imagination 38

D. Conclusions 38

C ' 2 U. ' D : ' F ? 40

.....Inf

...3.2(96ms: T5 0 TDhe Need f Strateor.....3...ult.)173.7(44.3W6.7h1.76)28.7108.76 O?5...).2.Dong CWdin53.h246t G....4....0.6(e2

C. NGOs and Donors 66

A.

This study was conducted across four African countries and many researchers, stakeholders and official representatives from education institutions and non-governmental organizations contributed to the research. We are grateful to the ministries of education in Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi and Mali who welcomed the researchers and were willing to share their thoughts on their sometimes controversial relationships with NGOs. We are indebted to all those who spoke with us, who provided invaluable insights on the crucial issues of the changing roles of NGOs in education in Africa.

We would like to thank the USAID missions in Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi, and Mali for their interest in the study and the support they provided in the field. We are grateful to the staff of all the international NGOs we interviewed and who made documents available to us—World Education, Save the Children, Africare, CARE, Aide et Action, Plan International, ActionAid, Pact, World Learning, and Oxfam. For the generous amounts of time and insight they donated to this project, we thank: Kevin Mullally, Tassew Zewdie, and Aberra Makonnen (USAID/Ethiopia), Dunham Rowley (World Learning/Ethiopia) and Leslie Mitchell (Pact/Ethiopia), Sarah Wright (USAID/Malawi), Simon Mawindo (CRECCOM/Malawi), and Lester Namathaka (Save the Children/Malawi), Andrea Yates (USAID/Mali), Jeff Ramin (USAID/Mali), Brehima Tounkara (ERNWACA/Mali), Alpha Bah (USAID/Guinea) and Natasha DeMarcken (USAID/Guinea), Billo Barry and Alhassane Balde. Outside of Africa, we thank David Archer (ActionAid), Jane Benbow (CARE), Michael Gibbons (Banyan Tree), Fred Woods (Save the Children), Nancy Devine (World Education), and Joshua Muskin (World Learning).

The advisory group based in Washington, DC was crucial to the success of the project and we are indebted to its members: Robert Prouty (World Bank), Suzanne Schnuttgen (UNESCO/Paris), Marcia Ellis (AED), Suzanne Prysor Jones (AED), Kay Freeman (USAID), Sharon Pauling (USAID).

Thank you to Renuka Bery at the SARA project at AED who was immensely helpful in editing the whole document.

Finally the study would not have been possible without the support of USAID Bureau for Africa's education unit and the SARA project at AED. We are first of all indebted to Kay Freeman of USAID/Bureau for Africa for her on-going support throughout the year-long implementation of the research and for her appreciation of the changing education landscape in Africa. The SARA project and the American Institutes for Research gave us the resources needed to carry out the study.

A

AED	Academy for Educational Development
ANFEAE	Adult and Non-formal Education Association of Ethiopia
BEN	Basic Education Network
BRAC	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee
CONGOMA	Council for Non-Government Organizations
CRECCOM	Centre for Creative Community Mobilization
DPPC	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
EFA	Education For All
GONGO	Government non-governmental organizations
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation)
INGO	International non-governmental organization
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOJ	Ministry of Justice
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PRODEC	Programme Décennel de développement de l'Education (Ten-year Educational Development Program)
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association

During the last decade non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been increasingly tapped to implement development programs. In recent years, growing amounts of development resources have been channeled to and through NGOs in all sectors. And, in turn, NGOs working to alleviate poverty, improve social welfare, and develop civil society have become more dependent on international donors, leading to an explosive growth in local NGOs in many countries.

This trend can also be found in the education sector, where most major donor agencies have increased the resources allocated through NGOs to implement their education programs. More and more, donors use international and local NGOs for education service-delivery in both formal and non-formal contexts. Most countries in Africa with a donor-supported program for the education sector have NGOs playing a significant implementing role.

NGOs have not limited their education activities to service-delivery. They are also involved in lobbying and advocating for educational reform, working individually and through networks to participate in policy dialogue in many African countries. In the context of decentralization in Africa, NGOs are creating new spaces for civil society involvement in education. Recent Education For All (EFA) meetings in Johannesburg and Dakar recognized the vital role of NGOs in promoting universal and equitable quality of education. The EFA discussions have heralded NGOs' new roles as alternative education providers, innovators, advocates, and policy dialogue partners. And donors have begun to engage in technical and institutional capacity-building programs for local NGOs.

What explains this shift to an increasing presence of NGOs in the education sector? A myriad of justifications and assumptions can be found throughout the development literature as to why NGOs *should* play a growing role in the education

Developing an understanding of this evolving phenomenon will inform donors, USAID missions, and host governments as they design and manage NGO-implemented education programs; it will also assist NGOs themselves to possess a better understanding of the opportunities and constraints of working in education—based on the actual experience of NGOs in the field.

This study was intended to respond to education partners' programmatic needs with a particular focus on selected countries. In addition to this comparative analysis across the four countries, four "stand-alone" country-specific studies focusing on the role of NGOs in Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi, and Mali were produced by African researchers and African research institutions in collaboration with the USAID country missions. A fifth one is scheduled to take place in South Africa. Advisory groups were formed in two countries before the study was conducted, to identify partners' needs and concerns and to guide the research so that the lessons learned would indeed provide an answer to the specific questions raised on the role of NGOs in basic education. The advisory groups in Mali and Guinea were composed of donors, international and local NGOs, national representatives of parent-teacher organizations and teacher unions, and the ministry of education. They met before and after the study was conducted and they shared and discussed the findings together. An advisory group was also formed in Washington, DC. This group was composed of representatives of major donor agencies, UNESCO, and international NGOs, and met at the beginning and at the end of the process in January 2001 and January 2002. In all groups, the findings of the study and the lessons learned were discussed and a healthy dialogue on partnerships emerged.

Fundamentally, the question is no longer *whether* NGOs should play a role in the education sector, but how NGOs are most likely to fulfill their promise to improve the quality, equity, accountability, and pertinence of education in African countries.

• • C ? ?

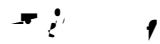
Across the four countries, two key variables appear to have had the greatest affect on the specific evolution of NGO programs in the education sector. First, are the objectives and strategies of the NGOs themselves. Second, each country provides a unique combination of social and political realities that have shaped what NGOs can do. These two factors combine to shape the similarities and differences in the NGO stories told here.

On one level, NGO programs in the education sector are quite similar across the four countries. Most are working at the community level to mobilize parents and other local non-government actors to improve conditions and accountability at school levels. Similar participatory methodologies are used by most of the NGOs surveyed by this study, though some notable exceptions are discussed at different points within the paper. On another level, however, NGO programs differ substantially in terms of their overall strategies and objectives. Some focus on providing services where communities lack access while others have more grandiose schemes.

A final and very important element that defines the nature of NGO involvement in education is the particular blend of international and national NGOs found within any particular country and program. Both types of NGOs constitute the field of study for this paper. However, international NGOs have taken up the greatest part of our discussion because they tend to define, more than national ones, the kind of NGO programs that exist within a country—a result of the much larger resource base on which many national NGOs rely. But also international NGO programs tend to influence one another across countries. Many programs in the countries chosen for this study are often quite similar and their design has been influenced by the lessons learned in previous programs.

The differences between the four countries, in terms of political, social and economic realities, explain the evolving path of NGO development. The degree of democratic tradition, of political and social stability, and of economic growth have all shaped what NGOs can and cannot do in a particular country.

vibrant civil society with promising experiments in democratization. NGOs are numerous, dynamic, well organized, and represent a well-established voice in politics and society. Also, and with particular relevance to this study, Mali is the home of the community school. Although certainly not the first place that community schools have been tried, the Malian experience gained international notoriety during the 1990s as a viable, albeit controversial, alternative to state-financed education. Key to the success (and controversy) of Malian community schools is the support they have received from international NGOs such as Save the Children, World Education, and others in partnership with local NGOs. Among the cases presented here, NGOs in Mali have had the most influence in the development of the education sector during the 1990s.



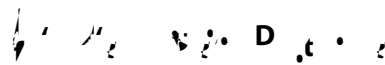
This paper is based on comparative case studies of the evolving role of NGOs in the education sector. Four countries were selected for this analysis: Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi, and Mali. In all four countries, USAID has long-standing and substantial education programs. Also in all four countries, NGOs operate within the education system, many with USAID support.

Two types of information were collected. First, available documents describing and evaluating donor and NGO programs were reviewed in each country. Second, semi-structured interviews with key persons at both national and regional levels using identical protocols were conducted in each country. The researchers interviewed representatives of national and international NGOs, donors, government and relevant civil society organizations. Because obtaining a representative sample was difficult, the researchers did not interview stakeholders at local levels; however, they did conduct numerous field visits to project sites to gain a fuller understanding of the kinds of interventions in place.

In each country, the researchers examined the role of international and national NGOs and relationships they have developed with government, donors, policy makers, and civil society and with each other.

Comparing and contrasting the opinions of different actors on the same phenomenon in specific countries was a special interest. By capturing the *range* of perspectives and experiences, these interviews with key actors at different levels of the system identify complex relationships and contradictions, and help develop a more nuanced understanding of the impact of NGOs on the education system. This approach tries to convey the phenomenon of NGOs from the perspective of those who have been intimately involved with their evolution.

The objective of this study, however, is not to “measure impact.” This study does not advocate that one type of NGO program is more “sustainable” or creates more “achievement” or “equity.” Too much variation exists among the different programs in terms of objectives, methodologies, and contexts. Rather the study examines the types of relationships that typically evolved as NGOs establish and implement their programs, and how these relationships have interacted with overall program implementation.



This study focuses on four key themes that provide the basis of the four chapters. Chapter Two reflects on the evolving relationship between government and NGOs in the education sector. It examines the impact of government attitudes about NGOs and NGOs’ attitudes about government.

Chapter Three examines a particular kind of NGO/government relationship—when NGOs try to shape education policy. This chapter looks at why and how NGOs try to do this and what the effects and the implications for education programs have been as well as the evolution of education systems.

Chapter Four explores the specific relationship between donors and NGOs in the education sector: why and how donors have turned to NGOs, why and how NGOs have turned to donors, and what both actors have learned from this experience.

Chapter Five turns to the relationship that exists between NGOs and “civil society” or non-governmental stakeholders. As mentioned above,

almost all the NGOs have worked at the community level with local actors. This chapter discussed the nature of this relationship and how it has evolved in the four countries studied.

Chapter Six provides an overview of the principal findings, conclusions and recommendations that we hope will lead to more successful education programs and reform efforts on the African continent.

In this chapter, we isolated three areas of government-NGO interaction that emerged in all four countries as central to government relationships with NGOs. Each arena is presented as a dynamic model, set in motion by the beliefs and attitudes both governments and NGOs bring to the relationship and the concrete actions each has taken

over NGOs and their activities. In Mali, the government talks of its partnerships with NGOs, engages in joint educational planning with NGOs, and seldom exercises any limiting power over NGO programs. In Ethiopia, the government has deregistered, dissolved, or prevented NGOs from continuing their activities.¹ Many government officials interviewed for this study expressed considerable vehemence when discussing circumstances when NGOs representatives ignored their authority or overstepped perceived boundaries. Whatever the reason government officials convey for wanting to control NGO activity in the education sector, in each country in our study a sustained tension exists over the legitimacy of NGO interventions.

2. How Governments Regulate NGOs

License Although differences exist in degree and techniques, all four governments attempt to control NGO activities. NGOs are required to register in all four countries. In Mali, the government must complete an NGO's registration within three months from the time of application or the NGO is automatically registered. In Malawi, the process of registration can be slow, difficult and expensive. In Ethiopia, every NGO interviewed expressed how difficult it was to register. NGOs register through the national Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission (DPPC), because NGOs previously worked in emergency disaster relief. The process is complex and not transparent. First, the NGO is assigned to a geographic area. Then the NGO must get the local education office to write supporting the proposed activities. The NGO must then sign an agreement with the DPPC in Addis Ababa, which can require it to do things such as conduct a base line survey or get a letter from a donor describing support. Registration with DPPC is for three years, but NGOs must also register with the Ministry of Justice (MOJ), which lasts for only one year. The MOJ has been known to require members of the NGO's board be acceptable to them. The registration route is so slow and expensive, due to the need to travel and for support staff, that local

NGOs often cannot survive.² The registration process gives international NGOs an advantage over local NGOs because they often operate under memoranda of agreement with donors and the ministry, which allows them to avoid registering becausem0hs6C-0.0013

imposing unnecessary restrictions on them through this law, lobbying both Parliament and the president to prevent it from being passed.

Not all laws that constrain NGO programs were initially written for that purpose, but they can act to do so until policy change occurs. In Ethiopia, each region receives a general, block grant type of funding from the central government. In an effort to promote equity among the regions, any money brought into one region by an NGO is supposed to be subtracted from the total amount sent to that region by the government. Obvio30079 (v)101onsvn0005region al]TJT0.0067 Tw[(f)-21.8(r)7.8(v)21.erenrto tgi10.4(vi21.e)-3.7

less frequently, school committee or parent organization membership. The issues of standards will be discussed more completely in the next section.

3. What NGOs Believe Are Their Responsibilities

Most international and local NGOs work close to communities, especially disadvantaged communities, because that is where they see the most need for their assistance. The institutional and financial capacity of African governments can no longer serve the most difficult to reach areas of the countries. As a consequence, NGOs have often established their programs in those parts of the country where government cannot or will not supply services. NGOs believe that they have a legitimate right to intervene where governments have failed to meet their commitments to communities.

In addition, international NGOs seek to empower communities as a way to strengthen them and to improve access to and quality of education. Many NGOs working in education today began through integrated community development programs, which generally included a literacy component, or sponsorship of children. Working in adult literacy often led them to work with out-of-school children in the same communities. Another route many NGOs have followed into the education sector has been through social mobilization, an area where NGOs have worked since the 1960s. The basic goal of strengthening communities—to assist them to secure needed resources and to participate in the civil society of their country—continues to influence the types of programs that NGOs implement in education. NGOs focus most of their activities in underserved communities not only because this is an area where they are less likely to compete with government, but also because it is where they believe they should be operating. What has come to define their niche in the education sector is partly the product of where they have seen an absence of government.

4. How NGOs Work in Communities

Resources. Most NGOs began working in communities to supply resources, sometimes in the form of disaster relief. Among the NGOs involved in education activities in the countries studied, all bring resources with them to the communities within which they work. The resources are most apparent in the case of community schools, where NGOs might supply concrete things such as tin roofs and teacher salaries. Local NGOs and their proximity to a community serve as a conduit through which resources from donor/international NGO-supported programs can flow to the community. In all cases, NGOs bring their skills and experience into communities, shaping experiences of change in ways that can provide models for future community activities.

Community Participation. For governments, community participation in education most often means supplying resources, both funding and labor, to support local schooling. The World Bank program in Guinea shows how NGOs have mobilized communities to provide counterpart funds for school construction grants. Initially most mobilization or sensitization campaigns in education focused on encouraging parents to provide resources to create and support educational needs and to send their children, especially girls, to school. For example, Plan Guinea, an affiliate of Plan International, has supported the girls education unit of the MOE through several sensitization campaigns at both national and local levels. Increasingly NGO mobilization of communities has expanded to other areas, such as assisting communities to assume responsibility for improving school quality. The methodologies for working in a community have also begun to change, moving increasingly away from telling the members of the community what they should do, to involving them in decision-making activities. More participatory approaches, which include facilitating community discussions and negotiations to decide what their problems are, how they might be solved, and how to implement those solutions, are being used by NGOs, in part because they better support the double goal of most NGOs—improving education and strengthening civil society.⁴ In Malawi, the Centre for Creative

⁴ Their role in strengthening civil society will be discussed more completely in Chapter V.

Community Mobilization (CRECCOM) works with communities using a wide range of participatory techniques. CRECCOM began working in girls' education and has expanded its activities to education quality and HIV/AIDS.

Capacity Building. NGOs also assist in creating or training school committees and/or parent-teacher associations (PTAs), organizations through which communities can gain control of their own schools. In Mali, World Education's program is based on two hypotheses. First, it asserts that it can transform the nature of parents' associations in Mali to be more participatory, democratic, accountable, and capable of representing the interests of parents' vis-à-vis the education system. Second, it claims that changing the quality of these associations will have a positive impact on school access, quality, and equity. In Guinea, a similar World Education program only works with the parents' associations of government schools. In Ethiopia, World Learning and Tigray Development Association have implemented programs to support improvement in educational quality, girls' participation, and community involvement through building the capacity and motivation of school management committees.

5. How Government Regulation and NGO Community Focus Interact

Government and NGOs can hold compatible beliefs. For example, government would like NGOs to work with marginal populations or on the periphery of the society; this is just where NGOs believe that they should be operating. Government would like NGOs to engage in activities that fall outside the educational domain; most NGOs believe that one of their primary goals should be to assist and strengthen communities. Programs that fit within these desires

make everyone happy. Howego in aczuld be to.D-0s7 within these de)10t0commag775apv2s(o)19.2(.516S9uio)3.is.1(y) progr(60
06 Tc0.03.2Banke -0.43(l reas.7(gbertshifts7 within these dse de*ie)ss877.5most Neg141 Tw5)13First, usclailocl (v)0.019ionp1

interacting with the government that heads off conflict and competition. Its director, who worked in the MOE for 28 years, listed some of the strategies CRECCOM has used to build this acceptance. He said “Never go to the government in the stance of knowing more than they do...Let them take your ideas...Bend your work to complement what the government is doing...Always invite the government to see what you are doing. Invite the government to monitor your programs...Keep allowances lower than those for government employees so as not to be seen as wasteful...Offer frequent briefing seminars, inviting the government and donors...Use a great deal of publicity.”

government officials insist that they alone should establish the terms of the partnership.

B. C' : . /

This section explores the tensions between government perceptions of NGO capacity and NGO perceptions of government capacity.

1. NGO Perceptions of Government Efficiency

NGOs working in education in Africa tend to believe that governments are inefficient in providing access to quality education for all members of the society. Education statistics that demonstrate the failures of governments to adequately supply quality schooling in most African countries support this conclusion. Governments, however, say they are not inefficient, but, rather, that they simply do not have enough resources. They argue that they would be as efficient as NGOs if they had as much money to spend.

Because it is more difficult and expensive to reach marginal populations or communities on the periphery, government has most often failed to meet access and quality needs in these areas. To fill this gap in schooling, NGOs have frequently stepped in to supply education. Often there are no clear guidelines or policy regarding alternative approaches to basic education for children, as non-formal education is generally associated with adults. The MOE is usually not involved in NGO registration and often has no mechanism to learn about NGO activities. Thus, in most cases, the NGO starts its program and then tries to work out whatever issues emerge with the government. Usually more issues arise when NGOs attempt to supply education than when they work to support government schools through social mobilization or school committee training. And most of these issues revolve around government standards for school construction, teacher qualifications, and curricula.

2. How NGOs Supply Schooling

For many NGOs, creating community schools is a response to the inefficacy of government. Some type

of NGO-supported community schools exist in all four countries, but the experience of the community schools created by Save the Children and World Education in Mali with USAID funding provides the most information. With exceptionally low enrollment rates (under 20 percent in 1990), large areas of the rural Malian countryside had absolutely no public schools, and one of the worst girls schooling ratios in the continent. Furthermore, secondary and university students had essentially hijacked the education system with periodic strikes and schools closures, making it virtually impossible for government to focus on the needs of basic education stakeholders. Almost all Malians interviewed claim that NGOs work in the education sector because the MOE was so ineffective. Nevertheless, until 1995, community schools in Mali were not registered as institutions of learning; this prevented their pupils from transferring to an equivalent grade in a government school and sitting for the primary school leaver exams. Since that time, almost all communities with NGO-supported schools have struggled with local and regional authorities to register their (community) school.

In Ethiopia, NGO-sponsored community school programs have sprung up in many parts of the country. Local NGOs have generally initiated these small programs with support from international NGOs. The government has watched these small projects but not attempted to regulate them because they have been defined as "non-formal," and, consequently, outside the realm of government responsibility. No uniform policy exists for students from non-formal community schools to continue their education in formal government schools. There is no consistent practice, either transfer or graduation, as to whether or not students who complete programs will be allowed into formal schools at the appropriate grade level. The decision of all communities

In Malawi, religious institutions have a long history of supplying education.⁵ However, in 1994, with the election of the new government, these schools were integrated into the national system. Most schools in Malawi were originally built by religious organizations and are still frequently referred to as “owned” by a specific church. Recently, religious NGOs have become increasingly confrontational over teacher posting and the curriculum in the schools they support. The government curriculum does not include a religious education and the ministry believes all schools must use their



in other countries. In Mali, Malawi, and Guinea, Save supports local NGOs by hiring them to help implement their programs. The Save program in Ethiopia focuses on the local NGOs themselves, as potentially major actors in providing education and strengthening civil society. The strategy is to strengthen local NGOs who can then generate new ideas and approaches, and have a long and lasting

organizations and need to attract funding to survive. In Malawi, local NGOs are frequently perceived as “opportunistic,” shifting their area of expertise to fit topics currently being funded. For example, government officials worry about the commitment of NGOs, which they say worked on teacher training in the 1960s, curriculum in the 1970s, girls’ education in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and are now involved in HIV/AIDS programs. They see these shifts as driven by where funding is available, as NGOs seeking to benefit their own interests rather than the interests of Malawi. Government officials in Guinea speak with derision about how local NGOs are “fake” institutions that represent nothing more than the interests of a small cohort of ex-government officials who established them. In Guinea, this is partially an ideological holdover from the previous socialist regime, as government officials are suspicious of the notion of civil society and believe that these institutions are essentially “frauds” due to their profit making and entrepreneurship. Ethiopia, also emerging slowly from a socialist form of government, is suspicious of private enterprise, sometimes calling NGOs “crooks” due to the potential for profit because “private people own the NGOs.” In addition to these suspicions, the government in Ethiopia perceives local NGOs as possibly involved in hidden political agendas, especially as some NGOs have been created by members of the former government who lost their jobs during the structural adjustment process. Their concern regarding international NGOs can also be political, a worry that international NGOs, funded by foreign governments, spread foreign ideas and values.

2. How Governments Monitor NGOs

In response to their suspicions about NGO character and motive, governments provide themselves with techniques for monitoring NGO activities and examining what NGOs are doing. Government involvement often goes far beyond requiring NGO reporting for accountability. In many cases, government intrudes into NGO management—making unexpected visits, demanding who can and cannot be hired, insisting on government presence in all NGO activities, taking over projects they think the NGO is unable to handle, etc. All governments require some form of

reporting from NGOs, whether it is actually read or not. When donors fund NGOs, some governments feel that donors focus primarily on monitoring the results of the projects and do not pay adequate attention to financial monitoring. As a result, governments often require extensive financial reporting from NGOs.

Governments can intervene in NGO activities by requiring local government personnel to participate in all visits to the community and in the committees being established and trained by the NGO, and by placing NGO offices within local government facilities. In Ethiopia, the remaining socialist structure of the government extends beyond the school level into the community. This has meant that NGO facilitators cannot meet with community members unless the local government official agrees. Government representatives occupy many other school committee positions such as the local head of the women’s affairs, youth, or peasant associations. The chairman of the local government office in the community, who has a legal status to collect resources for communities, is also the chairman of the school committee. This means that funds and materials contributed by the community for the school are not always given to the school. Currently, in Mali, the proper structure of school management committees is being debated. Government officials adamantly support the development of a standardized and mandated school management committee, one that will include representatives of the government education system. There is also a debate in Guinea over the role of school directors’ vis-à-vis parent associations because, according to regional officials, the school director must be a member of the parent association.

In the extreme, governments can take over NGO activities that they find suspect or incompetent. In Ethiopia, NGO projects can be transferred by the government to regional development associations (often called “GONGOs”—government non-governmental organizations). These organizations were formed with the support of the government; they are primarily funded through ethnic membership contributions and government project funds. Development associations are the only NGOs in Ethiopia defined by a total region, which allows

them to operate on a much larger scale than other NGOs. Two projects begun by NGOs that involved savings and loan programs, which the government declared to be an area where INGOs should not operate, were recently transferred to regional development associations. In another case, one regional government decided that an “outsider” from another region should not run a program and moved the project to the regional development association after finding funding from local businesses. In another region, the development association attempted to take over a NGO program on the grounds that it duplicated its activities.

The limited travel capacity of most central governments in Africa means district education offices usually witness the work of NGOs. In the countries where data were collected, NGOs tended to have better relationships with the local government offices near their projects than with central ministries of education. This does not mean that local government personnel are less suspicious. In all countries, there was a general belief that NGOs roles will be strengthened as decentralization becomes more established. This is a change that would increasingly link NGO activities to local rather than central education offices. Local education personnel generally have more responsibilities than they can handle; governments fear that supervising NGO programs and attending NGO workshops could further erode their ability to perform their jobs.⁹

3. NGO Frustration with Lack of Government Experimentation

Governments believe NGOs’ role should be to deliver the plans created and monitored by the government. Governments do not see NGOs as a resource to experiment and test new approaches. Indeed, government officials are concerned with “duplication” of NGO programs. As one official in Malawi described it, “Lack of tight regulation and monitoring of NGOs has resulted in duplication between government and NGOs and between NGOs themselves.” The notion of a range of experiments attempting to solve problems in

different ways seems to be missing in government perceptions of NGO roles.

Although governments often say that they would experiment with innovative programs if they had the resources to do so, they generally do not. One obstacle is that governments almost always implement change on a national level. Where governments have attempted to pilot innovations, they have had to carefully locate the programs at sites in all geographic areas for political reasons. The NGO programs examined in this research usually began as small, local experiments in a specific geographic area. While governments complain that one problem with NGO programs is that they operate in a small area of the country, this limitation allows NGOs to experiment with innovative programs. Governments tend to be closed systems, more interested in their internal systems workings than the needs of communities. District education offices, for example, generally look upward to the MOE for direction rather than outward to the communities they serve. For instance, one regional education bureau official in Ethiopia commented that their good relationship with an NGO was due to the NGO having “done their homework” and proposing “approaches to the types of problems that the government did not have answers for.”

4. NGO Experimentation

While more resources can always be used in education, often more valuable is insight into what the problems are and how to solve them. NGOs consider one of their most important roles to be experiments in identifying problems in education systems and the testing of a variety of solutions.

Funding. How innovative a program is depends on the type of funding an NGO receives. In Guinea, Plan International began by building and equipping schools throughout the N’Zérékouré region, financing approximately 100 percent of the cost of materials and construction. Over time, this program evolved and it now provides a fixed amount of funding to each local government area, with some parameters as to what it can be used for. The NGO then works with the local education and government

⁹ Research has shown that in some countries a disproportionate amount of local MOE personnel time is spent in donor or NGO training workshops, an activity that supplies them with extra income through per diem but interferes with their ability to perform their jobs.

authorities to determine priorities and monitor spending and results. The monies must only be used for education and health sector expenditures—both capital and recurrent costs can be covered. Plan International finances most of its interventions through sponsorships. As a consequence, the NGO does not have to report to donors and takes pride in its independence from donor “meddling.” NGO independence, unfettered by financial dependency to donors and government, allows for a substantial amount of innovation, flexibility and assertiveness. Until recently, the region in which Plan International operates was home to the majority of refugees that have come from Sierra Leone and Liberia. The region has also been plagued with substantial rebel activity over the years, culminating in a bloody confrontation with the Guinean government at the beginning of 2001. Despite the fighting, Plan International continued to work in the region and has been very active in rehabilitation efforts after the conflict. As a consequence, government authorities and communities appreciate and praise the organization highly.

Scaling Up. Successful experiments all face the challenge of scaling up. NGOs can experiment because they begin with small pilot programs, but the goal is to change education for everyone. One way to do this involves seeking funding from major donors and expanding the program to encompass more or all of the country. One problem emerging from this

further. Most NGO publications are geared to soliciting funding rather than sharing exactly what they have done, what obstacles they encountered, and what the result was.

Probably the most powerful way for NGOs to influence education is for governments to adopt their innovations. Mali is a clear case in which the curriculum model developed by Save the Children for their community schools eventually led to a modification of the national curriculum. To do this successfully NGOs had to demonstrate their results. This may require both research and analysis, targeting both the process and the results, and working with the government to shape how the research is conducted. In Malawi, the government is now testing Save curriculum and teacher training approaches. And in Ethiopia, members of the MOE conducted their own examinations of six alternative schooling programs, wrote the case studies themselves, and presented the reports to their colleagues. This process converted these officials to the benefits of the NGO approaches they examined more firmly than any publication could have, and their investigations legitimized the findings in the eyes of the government.

bureau director had, with support from Pact, traveled to Bangladesh to study the BRAC program. He came back committed to alternative approaches and has worked with Redd Barna to negotiate a new curriculum for alternative schools which will both meet the national curriculum standards and guarantee that graduates of programs using this curriculum will be admitted to government schools. This curriculum is currently being discussed on a national level and may soon be adopted as a national standard.

A condition built into the Sector Investment Program in Ethiopia required the MOE to investigate the possibilities of alternative education. Last year, members of the planning office carried out this research and produced six case studies of alternative education programs, five of them run by NGOs. In part because they conducted the research themselves, they became supporters of alternative approaches to education. The MOE evaluation of the community schools made the NGO approaches credible to the government because, as one government official pointed out, “no one believes what NGOs say.” When this research was presented, MOE officials commented enthusiastically about the need to embrace alternative approaches to education.

It has now been written in the five-year plan that the government will encourage more NGO involvement in education.

D. C o n c l u s i o n

The underlying differences between government and NGO beliefs generate actions, which define their interactions. However, a pattern underlies all three sets of government NGO tensions described in this chapter: government and NGOs must collaborate and cooperate to achieve productive outcomes in the education sector.

Governments and NGOs do not always agree on an NGO's legitimate role so NGO activities are limited to areas in which government does not work. NGOs often limit their role purposely to avoid tangling with the government. In other situations governments and NGOs hold negative perceptions of the other's capacity in supplying education. This often leads to a

carefully defined and limited division of labor among NGOs and governments. These two models illustrate the need for governments and NGOs to collaborate better to achieve results that are complimentary.

The interactions between government and NGOs that have emerged from suspicion and frustration about one another's motivation seem to be the most effective means for building a collaborative and interactive relationship. The focus on increased learning about one another in the example from Ethiopia suggests that increased exposure can increase cooperation. This is also supported by the evidence that local education personnel had better relationships with NGOs than central governments in all four countries. If this is the case, then time may be a key factor in forming more collaborative relationships; among the countries included in this study, the longest significant NGO involvement in education has been in Mali, which is where government-NGO relationships most resemble a true partnership working on integrated activities.

NGOs working in the education sector have an impact on education policy by their very presence and interventions. In countries with little or no previous experience with non-governmental involvement in the education sector, the proliferation of NGO-supported education activities represents a *de facto* policy change—a new actor is taking on educational responsibilities that were once of the purview of the state.

At times, governments institute new policy in reaction to NGO education programs, making (or limiting) available resources to support NGO actions and facilitating (or constraining) NGO efforts. This chapter, however, focuses on the *intentional* role that NGOs play with regards to *education* policy.¹⁰ In the four countries studied, NGOs have engaged in a concerted and explicit effort to change education policy. What policies have they attempted to change? Why have they decided to do this? Have they been successful? What has contributed to their success or failure? These are some of the questions addressed by this chapter.

Before continuing, a few words concerning the definition of *policy* are in order. In the simplest terms, policy is a set of mandatory directives that regulate decisions. Policy can be “set” at any level of an education system by those in a position of authority. There might be school-level policy that determines how much parents should pay in fees or national-level policy that defines what should be in the curriculum. In practice, however, policy is a more complex affair. Policy can almost always be interpreted and is not necessarily enforced or enforceable. The practice of “influencing” policy, therefore, can also be seen in simple or complex terms. NGOs might want to influence an existing policy (change registration requirements, require local officials to register schools

educational practice in a particular region or locality, e.g., giving a specific community school a local license to operate, or allowing a local NGO to function in a particular jurisdiction. Furthermore, some policies change educational practice, such as curriculum change, whereas others aim to affect management, e.g., teacher deployment and recruitment. In all four cases, examples of each type of policy can be found. The table below lists some of the key policies that have been supported (although not necessarily successfully changed) by NGOs in each country.

More will be said below as to how NGOs engaged in their campaign to change Malian education policies concerning community schools. Here, we note the specific policies that NGOs targeted to create a

As seen above, the policies supported by NGOs can run the gamut. However, the following three examples typify the range. The Malian case is an example of how a group of international and national NGOs pursued an education policy agenda to make the status of community schools official. In Guinea, one international NGO sought a change in teacher deployment policy as a precondition to program implementation, and another international NGO facilitated a change in local policy affecting teacher recruitment. In Ethiopia, international NGOs collaborated with the government to accept a non-formal curriculum.

Mali. As mentioned in previous chapters, in Mali, community schools are practically synonymous with NGOs in the education sector. From their inception, however, the role and place of community schools in the education sector has been contentious. Every aspect of community schools has been the subject of intense policy debate in Mali, from the curriculum to the qualification of teachers to the status of their pupils. Fundamentally, government policy at the outset indicated that community schools were non-formal education institutions, conveying no right or opportunity for pupils to continue their education in public schools. As community schools proliferated, NGOs that supported them had a clear interest in having government accept these children into formal primary schools or secondary schools. However, government officials expressed the position that these schools did not provide the same quality and content of education as government-sponsored primary education.

Guinea (Save the Children). One very serious education issue in Guinea at this time is the shortage of teachers. This situation provides the backdrop for the next two examples. In Guinea, almost every rural school in the country does not have enough teachers. In the most extreme cases, recently built schools have not opened because they have no teachers. As part of government efforts to address this shortage,

policies, many have specifically been interested in changing the **education policy process**. Typically, these NGOs share an interest in changing the way in which the public participates in decision-making in the education system. The table below summarizes the NGO programs that share this objective in the four countries studied. Typically, because these NGOs have concluded that the public does not have a sufficient say at any level of the education system, from the school to the ministry, their programs have aimed to change this state of affairs.

Generally, these NGOs hope to change the policy process by institutionalizing a variety of mechanisms that ensure that the public is treated as **clients** of education services. As a consequence, policy would hopefully be set with the involvement of the public, implemented with public oversight and its impact assessed in the public arena. The most typical mechanism is a grassroots organizational structure that democratically represents community members vis-à-vis the school or local education authority and is in a position to demand local accountability. Another mechanism is the creation of national bodies that group together different civil society groups and interests and can interact directly with national authorities on policy formation, implementation, and assessment.

Two examples—World Education in Guinea and Mali and ActionAid, Oxfam, and CARE in Malawi—typify contrasting approaches to attempting to change the policy process. For World Education, the key to greater participation is transforming parents’

associations into more representative and organized civil society organizations that can demand greater accountability from school directors and teachers at the school level and other education officials at higher levels of the education system. In both countries, World Education’s program has focused on this transformation, promoting the election of new parents’ association leaders, aiding in establishing bylaws, and providing training for all members. In a subsequent phase, World Education aims to establish more representative parents’ association federations as a way of engaging in the policy process at higher levels of the system.

The ActionAid, Oxfam, and CARE approach to changing the policy process started from the other

they made a presentation to the parliament), they have not yet succeeded in changing the policy agenda.

ActionAid has decided to leave the Coalition and join another group of NGOs (called the Alliance) that includes government and donor representatives. They did this for two reasons. First, they were uncomfortable with the more confrontational tactics. Second, and ironically, they believed that international NGOs were over-represented within the Coalition and were driving both agenda and strategy. This is interesting because the Coalition's objective was to create a non-governmental Malawian force that could contest and argue policy positions.

Compared to the pursuit of specific policy objectives, changing the policy process has proven to be more difficult. World Education's aim for parents' association federations to have an impact on policy decisions above the school level has proceeded much more slowly than expected. As for Malawi, it is too early to tell. It appears that the Coalition has become a more accepted partner at policy forums, but the competition between it and the Alliance appears to weaken the influence of both.

This last point exemplifies a common sticking point for many efforts to change the policy process. The question posed by all is: to what extent do these processes truly engage the public in policy deliberations? Are the different mechanisms put in place really communicating the preferences of community members, and civil society to decision makers? Or are these positions really those of the NGOs that are sponsoring efforts to create this process?

3. From Policy to Policy Process—A Necessary but Difficult Step

In analytical terms, NGO engagement in the area of education policy has followed a particular progression. NGOs engage in activities to improve access. To render their actions sustainable or to even be able to implement what was planned, they necessarily must try to encourage government to change policy. As they engage in a strategy to change

policy, they realize that the policy process is as much the problem as the policies in question. Although this progression does not describe the evolution of a specific NGO program in any one country, it broadly describes how NGO thinking in the sector has evolved. In fact, World Education, ActionAid, and Aide et Action have all come to this conclusion on an institution-wide basis, and their new and ongoing programs reflect this evolution in perspective.

Although NGOs have tallied many successes in changing government policy and even creating mechanisms to ensure that their impact on policy is more prominent, finding the formula to change the national policy process has proven to be difficult. Regardless of this difficulty, however, NGOs in the education sector believe it is necessary.

B.

Whatever motivates NGOs to play a policy role, other actors have their own ideas as to whether NGOs should or should not be education policy advocates and which policies (or type of policy process) NGOs should support. In the four countries studied, stakeholders ranged from avid supporters of NGOs' policy role to adamant foes to benign ignorance that NGOs play any role at all. Depending on the stakeholder group in question, these stances have created both constraints and opportunities for NGOs as they engage in policy change.

1. The Government Perspective

Government officials are the most important actors when it comes to changing policy. After all, the desired change is in behavior of government institutions, which means a change in both attitude and actions of the education authorities who inhabit them. Also, for policy change to truly be effective, government officials at all relevant levels of the education system must enforce and enact new decisions—from the ministry to the school. If NGOs want to change government policy, the "target group" of all interventions will be government.

This is problematic because, as discussed in Chapter Two, governments are already ambivalent about the domain NGOs occupy in the education sector. As NGOs move into policy, this wariness becomes particularly acute. Few government officials interviewed in any study country were particularly enthusiastic about the growing role of NGOs in the education policy process, most displayed varying levels of displeasure. In every country, government officials spoke adamantly about policy areas they considered to be off limits to NGOs and often expressed particular frustration with NGO incursions into these territories. This annoyance with NGOs that work to change policy tends to be tempered in countries with longer histories of NGO involvement in the sector. However, it is a given that NGOs certainly do not have a willing ally amongst government officials in their endeavor to change policy.

In Mali, government officials have gone farthest in accepting the idea that NGOs can and should play a role in policy—it is now an accepted part of the education system. With ten years of NGO activity in the education sector, and substantial involvement in policy, national government officials may grumble about NGO involvement in policy, but no official interviewed in Mali claimed that they should play no role. In the other three countries, government officials expressed varying levels of animosity towards NGO involvement in policy deliberations or any attempt on their part to influence policy. Indeed, in Ethiopia, Guinea, and Malawi, NGOs have not had anywhere near as much impact on policy as has been the case in Mali. In all three countries, government officials essentially depicted NGOs as implementers of government policy. In Ethiopia and Guinea, government officials tended to express the greatest resistance to NGO involvement in policy or the policy process. However, in each of these three countries, government has allowed NGOs to participate to some degree in education policy deliberations.

- In Guinea, some international NGOs have recently been allowed to participate in regular donor coordination meetings where significant policy deliberations often occur. In addition,

Aide et Action has indicated, and most government officials have accepted, that they want to act as liaison between government and the communities where they work, particularly around policy issues. However, the mechanics of this liaison have not yet been developed.

- In Malawi, the Coalition and the Alliance have started to be included in regular meetings with the Ministry of Education. In addition, the Coalition has advocated before Parliament, where they urged that budget priority be given to teacher education, teaching and learning materials, and teacher salaries and condition of service.
- In Ethiopia, the Ministry of Education is now rethinking its policies around non-formal schooling. Pact, ActionAid, and Save the Children sit with the MOE on selected task forces to join in these discussions.

Chapter Two discussed how government sometimes created institutional mechanisms that can facilitate discussions with NGOs and help coordinate interventions. These mechanisms have also served as important conduits for NGO involvement in policy deliberations. In Mali, NGO involvement in policy discussions has been institutionalized through the PRODEC¹² process, where national and international NGO representatives are included in a number of different committees that monitor the implementation of reform. In other countries, nothing so formal exists, although as mentioned above, NGOs are included in task forces or are invited to attend meetings.

At local levels, NGOs have had significant impact on policy decisions in Mali, Guinea and Ethiopia. In Mali and Guinea, this impact reflects more the weakness of local authorities to curtail policy ventures by NGOs than a decision to welcome them into the policy process. In both countries, government officials have expressed frustration that they have no way to *prevent* NGOs from having an impact on policy, particularly at a local level. Whatever they may think about the role of NGOs in the sector, they claim that they are overwhelmed by

¹² PRODEC is a 10 year education sector plan. It consists of over 15 committees that oversee different aspects of the reform—finance, curriculum reform, teacher training, etc.

policies. In both Ethiopia and Mali, USAID and international NGOs financed by USAID have worked together to support policy change that protects and encourages community schools. In Guinea, USAID worked closely with Save the

allow NGOs (particularly international NGOs) to participate in policy discussions in Mali, Guinea, and Ethiopia. However, in these cases, the overall objective, according to those interviewed, was to work towards the relevant policy change, rather than a change in the policy process. From the perspective of most education sector donors, community mobilization and the creation of stronger parents' associations are believed to contribute to higher quality, more equitable, and greater access to education. If government policy prevents this from happening, then donors will engage (with NGOs) in an effort to change those policies. Fundamentally, for donors, it is the policy ends that are of interest when it comes to NGOs, not the policy means.

3. The Local Stakeholder Perspective

Few local actors had much to say about the policy role of NGOs, except in Ethiopia. Generally, they feel national policy decisions are a very distant concern. In fact, most interviewees, particularly community representatives, did not understand the question. Local government and local education authorities usually brushed aside the issue having little to say about national policy. In many cases, the authority indicated that he or she knew as little about NGO involvement in national policy as of the mechanics of national policy formation itself.

In all countries, local actors were very much aware that NGOs could influence local decisions. In fact,

stakeholders working together on the same task force that is responsible for fleshing out a particular policy.

Mali and Guinea both provide examples using policy dialogue at a national level. In Mali, NGOs engaged government authorities on a continuous basis in a wide range of policy issues and continue to do so. They have had regular meetings, both informal and formal, with government officials to defend and promote community schools. They have prepared and introduced information and arguments to officials to persuade them to change the rules on recognizing community schools.

Aide et Action in Guinea is preparing the ground for more extensive use of the policy dialogue approach. They are actively seeking to take part in different government policy discussions. For example, they attend the regular meeting of donors held every month. They also have established contacts and relationships with national education authorities that they hope will enable them to advocate for their policy priorities more effectively.

In Guinea, it is too soon to judge the effectiveness of Aide et Action's endeavor—the NGO has not yet developed a specific policy agenda for which to advocate. As mentioned above, they are particularly interested in establishing the elements of a different policy process. In the case of Mali, policy dialogue has been very successful. Many interviewees have indicated that the numerous encounters with government officials eventually convinced the officials to change the rules with regards to community schools.

Policy dialogue is clearly the method of choice at more local levels as well. In almost all countries, international and national NGOs have attempted to develop better ties with education officials to avoid constraints to program implementation. As discussed in Chapter Two, earlier phases of program implementation led to conflict and blockages because local education authorities had not been involved in decision-making processes.

2. Coalition Building

In several countries, coalition building has been used as a way to leverage change and also engage in policy dialogue. Here again Mali provides a prime example. The creation of the Groupe Pivot, an NGO consortium, was extremely important to push forward the community school agenda, a strength that certainly came from numbers. The Groupe Pivot was initially established with support from the federation of NGOs in Mali as part of a more general effort to organize the NGO field. At first, the Groupe Pivot was essentially a “talk shop” where representatives from interested local and international NGOs would discuss a particular chosen theme. The Groupe Pivot obtained financing from Save the Children and USAID for operations and then took on the advocacy role for community schools. Mostly, the Groupe Pivot engaged in policy dialogue with national officials to influence changes in policy. It was also able to share information and coordinate efforts between NGOs to present a common front for government. Another consequence was that many member NGOs also increased their institutional capacity.

However, the Groupe Pivot experience also demonstrates the difficulties of coalitions. After having won the fight for community schools, the Groupe Pivot's effectiveness as an organization began to decline. Leadership changed and also became more dispersed as key members received invitations to participate in one international conference after another. Essentially, coalition maintenance requires substantial attention and resources. The coalition made a fatal mistake; upon donor urging, it began to act as a clearinghouse for donors who wanted to contract NGOs for their programs. Although relatively effective as an advocacy group and “talk shop,” it was not prepared to manage contracts. Eventually, because of accusations of mishandling of funds, the credibility of the Groupe Pivot was undermined. It continues to exist but with very little importance for the education NGO landscape.

The attempt of several international NGOs to create a coalition of NGOs in Malawi has been quite different. From the beginning, the coalition adopted

a more adversarial posture towards government and donors than the Groupe Pivot. Although the consortium in Malawi has not had the devastating managerial issues faced by the Groupe Pivot, the fact that it has split into two consortia indicates that efforts to institutionalize a national civil society front vis-à-vis the education system has also been difficult.

National policy in Ethiopia requires that the amount

The two experiments are different in a number of ways. First, the Groupe Pivot was formed by the federation of NGOs in Mali. Although donors and international NGOs had rendered it operational, it was essentially established by a number of key national NGO actors. ActionAid, Oxfam, and CARE were the driving force in establishing the Malawian Coalition. In fact, as mentioned above, ActionAid has expressed its concern that the consortium did not represent the interests of national civil society stakeholders in education, which is one of the reasons that it has left. Also, the concrete nature of Groupe Pivot's policy agenda certainly helped focus discussions and decisions in a way that the Malawian consortium has not yet been able to achieve. However, after the Groupe Pivot had essentially achieved its desired policy changes, its *raison d'être* became more ambiguous and negatively affected its credibility.

3. Using Donors to Leverage Policy

Because many NGO programs are financed by bilateral and international donors, they are often pulled into policy discussions between government and NGOs to resolve implementation problems of varying scale. Donors evidently want their programs to succeed and, as mentioned above, often have a common policy agenda with NGOs as a consequence. Here, two examples provide contrasting experiences of donors leveraging for NGO policy objectives.

In Mali, USAID and the World Bank have always championed community schools. Eventually, the lion's share of their assistance was funneled towards community schools, with little left for the public school system. Working in tandem with the Groupe Pivot these donors placed pressure on government to create a more advantageous environment for community schools.

development programs have brought money into



The Coalition in Malawi provides an interesting exception. International and national NGOs linked with other non-governmental stakeholders are using the newspapers and other forums to challenge government positions on a number of education issues. Although quite familiar in many more developed countries, it represents an untried tack in Malawi, and government officials have initially

including grassroots stakeholders, they have so far failed to develop mechanisms that link these actors together in an effective manner. The following chapter will examine more fully some of the reasons

The initial motivation for this study came from the observation that USAID and other donors increasingly have involved NGOs in their educational program. This chapter examines the motivation for and the nature of this relationship, as well as how it has evolved over time.

The first section explores the different mechanisms in place that tie NGOs to donors and discusses some of the implications for these different types of relationships. The next two sections examine the motivations of donors and NGOs to enter into this relationship, investigating the reasons why donors have turned to NGOs and the value-added they expect by working with them and then the same issues from the perspective of NGOs.

Not all NGO programs are financed through funds provided by bilateral or multilateral development agencies. A number of international and national NGOs working in the education sector have established and maintained their programs using resources generated in other ways—charity contributions, sponsorships, and even national government. Section D compares these NGO programs with those that receive donor support to provide insights as to how donor involvement in NGO activities impacts on their scope, priorities, and results.

In each of these sections, the relationship between donors and international versus national NGOs is compared and contrasted. As discussed in Chapter One, the experience of the two types of NGOs is quite distinct in the education sector and their

established a relationship with a donor in this manner.

The final type of arrangement defines much of the financing of *national* NGOs by donors in the four countries. In this case, donors contract with international or well-established national NGOs to finance the activities of smaller national NGOs. Most USAID-financed programs in all four countries include a similar arrangement. In Ethiopia, both World Learning and Pact use local NGOs to implement aspects of their programs. This is also a signature approach of all of World Education's programs. In Guinea, the World Bank first had contracted with individual NGOs to construct schools. In the new program, the government has contracted ten international and large national NGOs to mediate the work with local NGOs.

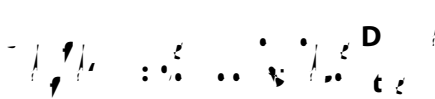
As an overall field, contractual relations between donors and international NGOs have become more formal. Historically, education initiatives were at first developed by NGOs using their own resources. Then, many approached donors requesting resources either to generalize or continue their program (for example Aide et Action in Guinea, Save the Children and World Education in Mali, Save the Children in Malawi). This also occurred internationally, as programs in one country served as a model for another (for example, Save the Children in Mali and Guinea). NGOs' successes in education sector activities led donors to ask NGOs to develop similar programs. This was the case in Mali, in particular, as donors were all interested in the idea of community schools. NGOs, seeing this opportunity, began proposing education programs to donors. In the last instance, donors have increasingly used competition as a basis for establishing NGO education programs.

The trajectory of World Education programs in support of parents' associations typifies this evolution. First, World Education developed its program in Mali working with parents' associations in Bamako with World Bank support. World Education then submitted an unsolicited proposal to the USAID mission to expand the program which was renegotiated twice. World Education then approached USAID missions in other countries with other unsolicited proposals, offering to replicate the

Mali model. This year, the USAID mission in Guinea has decided to compete the education program.

This increased formalization of relations has certain implications for the shape of NGO education programs. First, donors have a clearer understanding of the role they believe NGOs should play in their education programs. By competing programs with well-delineated results and approaches, donors know exactly what to expect from the program. However, one unintended consequence of "clarity" is that NGOs become less innovative and experimental, which, as we will see below, is a common justification for their use.

The growing use of intermediaries to work with local NGOs also has positive and negative implications. Donors usually do not have the administrative capacity to contract and supervise many small NGOs and thus the economy of scale significantly eases the management burden. This means that the intermediary filters all relations with local NGOs.

B. 

Why have donors turned to NGOs to implement education programs? We put this question to all the interviewees and the answers were surprisingly consistent across countries and stakeholders. First, and overwhelmingly, the interviewees told us that donors turn to NGOs because they are capable of doing things in the education sector that government cannot. This was expressed both in terms of the governments' limited capacity and NGOs' particular characteristics. Answers invariably contrast NGOs to government. Second, donor representatives indicated that often it is easier to work with NGOs than with government or contractors to obtain the same result, more a matter of contractual ease than approach. Third, some donor representatives and other interviewees told us they appreciate the NGOs' ability to innovate and experiment. Finally, some donor representatives claimed that using NGOs fulfills a mandate. The use of national NGOs in particular is construed as way to reinforce civil society.

1. Doing What Governments Are Not Able to Do

According to most interviewees, donors use NGOs to implement their programs mostly because they have achieved more measurable results more efficiently than government. Interviewees of all categories agree that NGOs are generally able to accomplish the same results less expensively than government, because they achieve lower unit costs and experience less wastage. Also, NGOs tend to meet deadlines more reliably than governments when both are contracted to implement the same program.

Local NGOs contracted by the World Bank in Guinea to implement construction projects exemplify this point. Local NGOs have built twice the number of schools with the same budget, and

Essentially, by framing the role of NGOs as an agent that can do what government is not *capable* or *expected* to do, donors have perhaps limited the potential involvement of NGOs in the education sector and have even closed off certain avenues for sustainability. After all, if NGOs cannot do what governments are supposed to do (at least not forever), then who can?

2. Make Life Easier for Donors

Aside from the obvious benefit of having a trustworthy implementer, donors benefit in other ways by working through NGOs. First, it is easier to negotiate with NGOs than with governments. Although NGOs have their own agendas and priorities, terms such as “sovereignty” and “leveraging policy” never come up as arrangements are made between NGOs and donors. Whereas it took several years for donors to agree with the Malian government on where to build a new school, this was not an issue for NGOs. On one hand, donors have exceptional leverage over NGOs who receive their assistance. Although governments are often desperately dependent on donor funds, Ministries of Education will not shut down if negotiations over a project end. On the other, the political “messiness” of negotiating with government is absent. After all, NGOs have fewer stakeholders to consider when engaging in discussions with a donor. NGOs can ignore teacher unions, political parties, bureaucratic hierarchies, dueling elites, the public, the IMF, and relations with neighboring countries. Where government is weak, they can even ignore education sector authorities. NGOs are indeed vulnerable to political pressure from government officials and other national and local stakeholders, however, significantly less so than government officials.

Second, a number of donors indicated that working with NGOs has certain advantages over working through contractors. Some of these advantages are ironically the result of government regulations that, in many countries, restrict the actions of entrepreneurs. The World Bank project in Guinea illustrates this clearly. Many fewer bureaucratic and legal constraints existed to engage a NGO to build a school than to hire an entrepreneur.

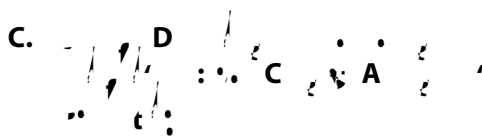
Another advantage to international NGOs over international contractors results from the fact that many have established a multisector presence within a particular country that is not limited to specific projects. Save the Children has longstanding representation in all four countries studied and works in several sectors to support its country-specific goals. Although this might attenuate, to some extent, donors’ negotiating position, this presence provides a number of advantages for program implementation. Most importantly, international (and certain national

see such capacity building objectives as peripheral, particularly those that approach NGOs from an education rather than a civil society perspective.

5. International NGO vs. Local NGO

Should donors work with international NGOs or local NGOs? The two main reasons donors work with NGOs—greater efficiency and accountability on the one hand and the ability to work directly with communities on the other—also interact to influence with whom donors choose to work. In almost all cases, local NGOs are in a better position to work directly with communities because they speak the same language, are located closer to the communities, and are organized to conduct intensive, direct support to communities. However, local NGOs, as will be further discussed in the next section, rarely have the accountability capabilities demanded by donors. For example, GTZ in northern Mali decided to stop working through local NGOs because certain project funds were not accounted for. USAID seldom works directly with national or local NGOs for exactly this reason, as few can meet such strict reporting requirements.

Contracting directly with many local NGOs creates managerial burdens that few donors can or wish to support. As a result donors prefer to contract out to international NGOs. Although almost all stakeholders agree that Guinea's education program has been a resounding success, the Guinean government with the World Bank has decided to transform the program so that all contracting with local NGOs is done through one of ten larger institutions, most of which will be international NGOs. In addition, *Groupe Pivots* problems in Mali are evidently a result of donor desire to use an intermediary to work with several local NGOs. This appears to be the favorite way for donors to work with local NGOs. This is more a matter of ease than a practice motivated by any particular development agenda.



This section examines why and how NGOs and donors collaborate in the education sector from the position of NGOs. Why do they solicit donor resources and what are the consequences?

Part of the answer of the first question has been discussed in the above section—NGOs have usually

tur

that receive donor resources and are integrated into donor programs and those that use other resource bases differently, ascribing more acceptable motivations to the latter.

This study does not investigate the validity of these claims. It seems these claims may reflect the particular political history and culture of Guinea that has bred a suspicion of the private or non-governmental sector and of actors that might be veiled representatives of foreign forces. Moreover, it is often difficult to distinguish between an NGO and any other revenue-making endeavor, particularly in the case of local NGOs in all four countries. Local NGOs that donors tend to support, directly or through an intermediary, are very similar to consulting firms or small businesses. In all four countries, representatives of national and local NGOs themselves often had difficulty differentiating between an NGO and a firm when asked.

What exactly is the difference between an NGO and a firm? In all four countries, one key difference is that an NGO is “non-profit” and a firm is “for-profit.” This means that although NGO staff might receive a salary and contract individuals to perform certain tasks, no individual or group makes a profit or fee from their activities. This differentiation is admittedly blurred as staff salary and an entrepreneur’s profit might be an equivalent amount. A second difference is usually that NGOs have some sort of development vision or mission. When NGOs seek funding for an intervention that they have designed, this vision or mission is quite clear—they seek to develop a particular region, or to ensure community participation, or to provide an act of charity. However, when they compete for funds, development objectives can be stretched to justify any type of revenue generation. For example, many NGOs affiliated with the World Bank in Guinea focus entirely on constructing schools.

Although an NGO is not a profit-making enterprise, it does provide employment to its staff and thus constitutes a principal source of income for them in all four countries. National and international NGOs any tyption, ore

2. The Cost of These Resources— Reporting and Other Administrative Tasks

Aside from competing objectives and priorities, NGOs must also respond to donor demands for accountability. USAID seems to have the most extensive demands for accountability of the donors surveyed. In fact, international and national NGOs representatives indicated that they spend anywhere from 10-25 percent of their management time reporting to USAID on the results of their work. Many NGOs also reported that the administrative demands of donors have increased over time.

with regular changes in objectives and strategies. Field offices also usually have considerable autonomy, and the ability to develop programs with objectives that are distinct from those headquarters promotes. For example, ActionAid headquarters in London indicated that it was very difficult to generalize about their programs because their

However, this study indicates that few NGOs are “free” from the need for donor resources. In fact, many NGOs surveyed began programs with their own resources and eventually found it necessary to seek new sources of revenue from donors.

Ultimately, this means that they must consider the different paradigm under which donors function. Local and national NGOs must quickly learn the lessons that international NGOs learned some time ago—to be taken seriously by donors, organizations must be professionalized.

Donors on the other hand must realize that their need for results and timely and cost-effective execution of projects should not overshadow other benefits of NGOs in the education sector. After all, if not for NGOs, community schools, alternative pedagogical methods, and school-based community participation would not be incorporated into new project designs. None of these innovations were hatched from contractual relations between NGOs and donors, but rather were products of funding arrangements that made few demands on NGOs for accountability or results. In fact, by focusing too narrowly on NGOs as efficient deliverers of services, donors and governments create a context that can blur the distinction between NGOs and the private sector, to the detriment of both.

System to Strengthen	Activities	Supported by:		
		<i>Government</i>	<i>Donor</i>	<i>INGO</i>
Community	Changing attitudes about education; creating expectations for educational services; invigorating local educational organizations; providing participatory experience in planning, managing, negotiating and implementing educational changes	Support NGO involvement as part of modernization process	Support NGO involvement as part of a democratization process	Support own involvement and that of local NGOs as part of an empowerment process
Local NGOs	Hiring local NGOs to implement programs; providing training to increase capacity; supporting innovations based on understanding of local needs and culture; building NGO networks		Support local NGOs as sustainable links to communities for program implementation	Support local NGOs as institutions of civil society and as links to communities for program implementation
Advocacy Networks	Advocating for policy change and/or government fulfillment of commitments; training local NGOs as advocates; promoting advocacy agendas for NGO networks			Support NGO networks to advocate for policy change and government commitment

The international NGOs, donors and governments that provided information for this study support developing civil society on a local level. In general, governments have been somewhat oblivious to the community empowerment efforts of international NGOs and they do not see stronger communities as a threat. Rather, they believe NGO activities will increase community contribution of resources, which will ease government responsibility. A member of the MOE in Malawi, frustrated by recent advocacy activities by NGOs, made an interesting statement about civil society. He said, “[The NGOs] are trying to operate on the wrong level. They want to be on the same level as the government. Civil society is out there in the communities.” From the government perspective, greater individual and community participation in civil society possess relatively little threat to the security and control of the government, while civil society organizations operating “on the same level as the government” do.

Only a few international NGOs, and no donors or governments, use advocacy as a means to hold governments to their commitments or to encourage policy changes. Between the extremes of national advocacy and community development, some international NGOs and some donors also support stronger local NGOs as a way to build the institutional structure of civil society. The governments have been more nervous about strengthening local NGOs than about community empowerment because, in Ethiopia and Malawi at least, they are concerned about possible local NGO involvement in politics.

labor support to government schools. World Learning believed that the same project was about community participation in decision making and management capacity building. Perhaps the clearest indication of how these differences in goals were translated into differences in the programs can be seen in the criteria used to award incentive grants.

TDA determined that there was enough money available to give the first level incentive grants to 600 rural schools in the region, to give the second grant

C. ለግብይት ስራዎች ለማድረግ ለሚያስፈልጉት ሰው ጥያቄ ያድርጉ።

1. Why Strengthen Local NGOs?

Both donors and international NGOs assume that creating stronger local NGOs can strengthen civil society by enabling these local institutions to become viable forces. Donors expect that NGOs will foster democracy because they can strengthen local institutions as civic actors—enabling them to link horizontally and vertically into mass movements that will provide organized countervailing power to the state. Donors and international NGOs believe that supporting local NGO involvement in education will increase the sustainability of programs. In terms of sustainability, even some governments might believe that strengthening local NGOs is of key importance. In Ethiopia, the Prime Minister has stated that international NGOs should build the capacity of local counterparts and thus prepare their own exit strategy. There is also a practical reason both donors and international NGOs support strengthening local

through capacity-building grants and research. The goals include stimulating basic experimentation by local NGOs, strengthening local NGO capacity in basic education, and widening the influences of local NGO experience on national education efforts. The support consists of long-term grants to international NGOs to build capacity of local NGOs, a series of annual subgrants to local NGOs to fund their education activities, international NGO training and technical assistance for local NGO staff, personnel exchanges and workshops among the international and local NGO staff members to share experience, and periodic cross-site evaluations to synthesize findings. Because, in Africa, small, local NGOs are difficult to reach directly, one international NGO has taken the lead in each country. In Ethiopia, Save the Children has been working with ten local NGOs to encourage them to explore new ways to work that are effective and appropriate. Capacity building involves long-term mentoring, not single courses, and focuses on learning about basic education content as well as organizational skills. All local NGOs have to seek their own funding elsewhere eventually.

One problem with the Banyan Tree approach has been that the selection of small emerging NGOs with limited program and organizational capacity spread across wide areas has limited their ability to influence educational policy and civil society. Pact has supported local NGOs in Ethiopia through USAID democracy and governance and education funding. Pact seeks to build the capacity of local NGOs to carry out effective programs, and also addresses the entire environment within which the NGOs operate. This project supported developing an NGO Code of Conduct, which, in turn, has eased government suspicions, improved perceptions of NGOs in the media, supported improvements in the NGO registration process, designed and implemented exchanges among government officials and local

initially out of a shared interest in the education sector. The Groupe later obtained financing from USAID and Save the Children and became an advocate for community schools. As described in Chapter Three, Groupe Pivot engaged in policy dialogue with national officials and presented a common front to influence changes in policy. Its big policy change success was getting government to expand community schools. But Groupe Pivot started having problems after two major events. Once community schools were incorporated into the education system the consortium did not have a clear advocacy agenda. As a consequence, they could not agree on a reason to exist. This led to the decision to contract with donors as an intermediary for local NGOs. Groupe Pivote lacked the mandate, experience, and expertise to assume this type of activity and their management of activities led to accusations of mishandling of funds. Over time the Groupe's importance and effectiveness in education have declined.

Malawi. A number of different NGO network approaches have emerged in recent years.

The NGO-Government Alliance for Basic

being excluded from the meetings, which culminated

have changed community expectations, and this has turned the communities into a powerful force for demanding services from the government.

Guinea. Although most NGO activity in Guinea has also been directed toward strengthening communities, the large school construction project funded by World Bank and implemented by local NGOs could have unforeseen results. Here the government has inadvertently encouraged local NGOs to proliferate because they use them as intermediaries. Their numbers and the reputation they are gaining through the success of the project could establish them as a civil society force between the community and government levels.

Ethiopia. Government controls on NGOs and the decentralization of government both encourage small, local programs rather than pilot models that can be scaled up through replication. While almost all NGO programs in Ethiopia are community-based and include educational improvements and strengthening communities as goals, the extremely weak civil society in Ethiopia has attracted the attention of a number of international NGOs. Often operating with private funding, international NGOs have focused their attention on strengthening local NGOs both as an approach to build civil society and as a means to improve education. The government, which is suspicious of foreign influences, likes this approach and has directly supported the idea of building the capacity of local NGOs.

Malawi. Of the four countries studied, only Malawi engages in adversarial advocacy. The government of Malawi has successfully contained NGO activities in education, while allowing room for NGO contributions. Given the government's strong resistance to community school models, few NGOs have attempted to supply education, and donors limit their support to NGOs. UNICEF, for example, only funds NGOs involved in classroom construction. The growing strength of NGOs, due to their increasing size and, more specifically, the growth of the number and size of education programs, plus recognition of their influence, makes advocacy appealing when other avenues for substantial change are not open to NGOs.

The approach that will have the greatest impact is determined to a large degree by the current strength of civil society in the country, so it is not possible to compare their successes. What emerges as a consistent theme in each type of civil society institution strengthening is for these organizations to have real tasks and reasons to exist; they cannot serve only as structures for civil society. Research has shown that capacity building for local school committees and PTAs generally only works if they have something to manage—a grant, a project, or new responsibilities. Local NGOs become strong when they define their own activities rather than operating as contractors. NGO networks have become strong organizations when they have advocated or lobbied for specific policy changes.

If the experience in the four countries under study here can be generalized, NGOs have become an integrated and important component of education systems throughout Africa. Considerable variation exists from country to country, region to region, and within the education sector. However, the study found that across all four countries, NGOs increasingly participate in and contribute to the delivery of educational services, influence education policy, and are included by donors and government in different aspects of the education system.

undertakes. We found that together, these dynamics principalp2rcT

This study does not indicate that NGOs “should” or “should not” play a role in the education sector. Rather, its findings inform a more pragmatic question. Given their presence in the education sector, what factors need to be considered to ensure that NGOs contribute most effectively to educational development?

This study used stakeholder analysis as the principal method for understanding the role of NGOs in the education sector. It bases its findings on the contrasting opinions of education stakeholders who participate in and observe NGO education activities.

The following sections summarize the principal arguments, findings, and conclusions of each chapter presented in this document.

A.

We identified three types of dynamic that affect government-NGO interaction in the four countries studied. First, government and NGO representatives tend to have contrasting assumptions about their respective rights and responsibilities in the education sector. Second, government and NGOs hold differing notions of the capacity each possesses to provide adequate educational services. Third, they hold distinctly different perceptions of what motivates and limits the educational activities each

Ironically, a government's heightened suspicion of NGO work can contribute to more familiarity and consequently to better relations. In the case of Ethiopia and Guinea, government distrust of NGOs led to more monitoring and controls, which in turn created mechanisms for communication and subsequent collaboration between NGOs and government.

International and local NGOs will work where they see the most need for their assistance, and this tends to be with the most disadvantaged communities where governments have the greatest difficulty providing services. NGOs have supplied resources directly to these communities (schools, teachers, and pedagogical supplies), implemented community participation methodologies that aim to help communities mobilize their own and other resources to meet development needs, and provided capacity building to local institutions (i.e., parents' associations and school committees).

The interaction of these two perspectives has defined NGO-government relations along a continuum. In the least collaborative cases, government reacts to NGO interventions as trespassing and an affront to government legitimacy. NGOs, on the other hand, treat government as a constraint to be ignored or avoided in order to meet their self-appointed moral mandate. Under a more collaborative scenario, government welcomes NGO activity within a domain where it is unable to intervene, such as at the community level in disadvantaged areas, and NGOs encourage government to participate and guide their activities for the purposes of mutual learning. In the four cases studied, NGO-government relations have tended to resemble the least collaborative end of the spectrum at earlier stages and have evolved to a more collaborative point along this continuum.

Government and NGOs hold contrasting beliefs regarding their respective abilities. Governments' staff has *accredited* training and *recognized* experience in education to design and manage the country's education system. They often consider the sanctioned qualification of education officials (teachers, inspectors, etc.) as the *sine qua non* of legitimately functioning in the education sector.

NGOs, on the other hand, hire their own staff to take on educational responsibilities and often provide them with the necessary training to perform specific tasks (teacher trainingT0m82 .idmnmnt or a2(y tr5wred oru(these3(

even implement what was planned, they necessarily must try to encourage government to change policy. As NGOs engage in a policy change strategy, they realize that the policy process is as much the problem as the policies in question. While this progression does not describe the evolution of a specific NGO program in any one country, it broadly describes how NGO thinking in the sector has evolved.

Although NGOs have tallied many successes in changing government policy and even creating mechanisms to do so, finding a formula to change the national policy process has proven to be difficult. Regardless of this difficulty, international NGOs working in the education sector agree that changing the policy process is necessary.

As NGOs intervene in the policy arena, different stakeholders have expressed a range of opinions

government officials—are key to successful promotion of a particular agenda. Although confrontation may have its place, policy change requires substantial effort to nurture and maintain relationships with different education stakeholders.

Third, NGO interventions to change policy have also revealed a significant weakness in NGO programs—they have yet to find a successful formula for changing the policy process to ensure that the public understands, participates in and can influence education policy at different levels. Although NGOs can create linkages with all actors, including grassroots stakeholders, they have not developed effective mechanisms that link these actors together. We want to emphasize the importance of continuing to attempt to change the policy process, regardless of the difficulties encountered to date.

Essentially, NGOs as a group have learned that without fundamentally changing the relations between the beneficiaries and providers of education services, many innovations and improvements that have resulted from NGO involvement will not be sustained. This is the next challenge for NGOs who work in the education sector and for those who support them.

C. *Contractual Arrangements* D

The relationship between donors and NGOs has been defined through one of three basic mechanisms. First, donors have issued a request for proposals from NGOs to implement a specific program in the country in question. Usually, the competition is restricted to NGOs (that is, profit-making firms are not allowed to submit a proposal). The second type of arrangement is a contract or agreement resulting from direct in-country negotiations between a donor and an NGO. NGOs do not compete for a pre-determined program in this case. Either a donor asks an NGO to prepare an education program in the desired country that meets the donor's programmatic goals, or, an NGO submits an unsolicited proposal to a donor requesting support for funding, arguing that its existing approach to education supports the donor's objectives. Finally, and more rarely, NGOs might

approach a donor (or vice versa) to establish a presence and a program in a particular country. This third type of arrangement defines much of the financing of *national* NGOs by donors in the four countries. In this case, donors contract with international or well-established national NGOs to finance the activities of smaller, national NGOs.

In general, contractual relations between donors and international NGOs have become more formal. In the past, education initiatives were at first developed by NGOs using their own resources. Subsequently, many approached donors requesting resources either to scale up or continue their program. This also occurred internationally, as programs in one country served as a model for another. Successes in NGO education sector activity led donors to turn to other NGOs, asking them to develop similar programs. NGOs, seeing this opportunity, began proposing education programs to donors. In the last instance, donors have increasingly used competition as a basis for supporting NGO programs.

This formalization of relations has shaped NGO education programs. First, donors clearly define the role they believe NGOs should play in their education programs. By competing programs with well-delineated results and approaches, donors know exactly what to expect from the program. One unintended consequence of such "clarity," however, is that NGOs become less innovative and experimental—a common justification for their use.

The growing use of intermediary NGOs to work with local NGOs has had positive and negative implications. Donors usually do not have the administrative capacity to contract with and supervise a great number of small NGOs and thus the economy of scale significantly eases the management burden. On the other hand, all relations with local NGOs are always filtered by larger bodies. The lessons learned and realities at local levels will always be filtered by representatives from the intermediary organizations and thus may lose some of their validity and reliability.

Overwhelmingly, our interviewees told us that donors turn to NGOs because they are capable of doing things in the education sector that government

cannot. However, few donors have thought through the long-term implications of having NGOs rather than government services implement certain aspects of their programs. Although most governments have come to accept that NGOs have a certain comparative advantage in chosen domains, no donor representative interviewed for this study clearly indicated what the “future place” of NGOs should be.

Essentially, by framing the role of NGOs as an agent that can do what government is not *capable* or *expected* to do, donors have perhaps limited the potential involvement of NGOs in the education sector and have even closed off certain avenues for sustainability.

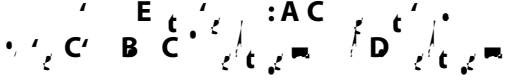
Donor representatives indicated that often it is easier contractually to work with NGOs than with government or contractors to obtain the same result. First, donors find it easier to negotiate with NGOs than with governments because they have exceptional leverage over NGOs who receive their assistance. Moreover, the political “messiness” of negotiating with government is absent, and partners can ignore teacher unions, political parties, bureaucratic hierarchies, corruption, dueling elites, the public, the IMF, and relations with neighboring countries. Second, working with NGOs has certain advantages such as fewer bureaucratic and legal constraints over working through contractors. Some of these advantages are ironically the result of government regulations that restrict the actions of entrepreneurs. In addition, many international NGOs have established a multisector presence within a particular country that is not limited to specific projects and can be mobilized for a new program. Finally, managing grants to NGOs (both local and international) is much easier for a donor like USAID than managing contracts with local or international firms.

NGOs often claim that one advantage they offer is the opportunity to explore and test educational innovations on a limited basis, which can then be generalized by government or donors. However, this particular motivation was not mentioned very often by donor representatives.

Finally, some donor representatives claimed that using NGOs is part of their overall development mandate. The use of national NGOs in particular is construed as way to reinforce civil society.

The two main reasons donors work with international NGOs are greater efficiency and accountability and the ability to work directly with communities. While local NGOs are in a better position to w



E. 

innovate and help governments communicate better with civil society so as to provide a more sustainable, accountable education system that everyone believes in and supports?

