



Analysis of the Relationships between Local Development NGOs and the Communities in Ethiopia

The Case of the Basic Education Sub-sector

Yoshiko Tonegawa

Union Press

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Contents

List of Figures	vi
List of Tables	vii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	ix
Terminology	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
 CHAPTER ONE Introduction	 1
Background	1
Problem Statement	3
Objectives of the Study	4
Significance of the Study	5
Organization of the Study	7
 CHAPTER TWO Review of Development Non-governmental Organizations	 9
Characteristics of NGOs in General	9
Concept of Development NGOs	11
Definition of Development NGOs	11
Background of Development NGOs	12
Common Recognition on Development NGOs	17
Development NGOs in the Basic Education Sub-sector	20
Environment of Development NGOs	21
Legal Environment of Development NGOs	21
Financial Environment of Development NGOs	22

Development NGOs in Relation to Communities	24
NGO “Accountability” to Communities	24
Perspectives for Understanding Relationships Between NGOs and Communities	27
Project Process	28
Organizational Policy	32
Individual Perceptions	33
Summary	34
 CHAPTER THREE Local Development NGOs in the Context of Ethiopia	37
History of Local Development NGOs in Ethiopia	37
NGOs Under the Imperial and Communist Military Rules	37
NGOs Under the Federal Democratic Rule	39
Local Development NGOs in the Basic Education Sub-sector in Ethiopia	43
NGOs in the National Education Policy	43
Basic Education Sub-sector in Ethiopia	45
Non-formal Basic Education and Local Development NGOs	46
Characteristics and Issues of Local Development NGOs in Ethiopia	48
Approach: Service Delivery	48
Legal Environment	49
Financial Environment	50
Motivations and Management	51
Job Creation by Local Development NGOs	51
Relationships with Communities	52
Summary	54
 CHAPTER FOUR Research Methodology	57
Analytical Framework	57
Research Design	59
Data Collection	60
Selection of the Sector: Basic Education Sub-sector	60
Selection of the Region: Oromia Region	61
Selection of the Local Development NGOs	66
Selection of the NGO Project Sites	68
Selection of Individual Respondents	71
Data Collection Methods	75

CHAPTER FIVE Results and Analysis: Relationships Between	
Local Development NGOs and the Communities in Ethiopia	77
Characteristics of Local Development NGOs	77
Organizational Objectives of Local Development NGOs	77
Financial Characteristics of Local Development NGOs	78
Legal Environment for Local Development NGOs	82
Communities' Participation in Local Development NGOs' Projects	87
Project Components of Non-formal Basic Education	87
Classification of Phases and Elements	91
Communities' Participation in NGO Projects	94
Evaluation of Local Development NGOs' Projects by Community Members ..	101
Communities' Perceptions of Local Development NGOs and	
Communities Themselves	109
Communities' Perceptions of Local Development NGOs	109
Communities' Perceptions of the Communities Themselves in	
Relation to Local Development NGOs	113
Individual NGO Workers' Perceptions of Local Development NGOs	
in Relation to Communities	117
Motivations for NGO Workers to Work for Local Development NGOs	117
Perceptions of Local Development NGOs' Positions	123
Summary of the Findings From the Collective Analysis of the	
Relationships Between Local Development NGOs and Communities ...	125
Possible Factors Influencing Relationships Between Local	
Development NGOs and Communities: Analysis of the	
Respective NGOs and Communities	130
Communities' Participation in the NGO Projects and	
Communities' Perceptions of the NGOs	131
Attachment with Communities	133
Strong Connection with the Government	135
Organizational Structure of Local Development NGOs	137
Acceptance by Influential Actors in the Community	139
Membership Structure at the Community Level	140
CHAPTER SIX Conclusion	145
Notes	151
References	157
Appendix	171
Index	173

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Phases and elements of “accountability”	29
Figure 3.1 Net enrollment ratio in Ethiopia (Primary education level: Grade 1-8)	46
Figure 3.2 Formal basic education and non-formal basic education	47
Figure 4.1 Analytical framework	58
Figure 4.2 Kebele education and training management board and parent teacher association	73
Figure 5.1 Modified process accountability framework: Phases and elements	93
Figure 5.2 Degree of participation by Shaeffer (1994)	100
Figure 5.3 Gaps between individual perceptions and NGO’s organizational objectives	126
Figure 5.4 “Two-way, giver and receiver relationships” between local development NGOs and the communities	126
Figure 5.5 Communities’ participation and communities’ perceptions of local development NGOs (Respective NGOs)	132
Figure 5.6 Organizational structure of local development NGOs	137
Figure 5.7 Membership structure of NGO	141

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Ladder of accountability	26
Table 2.2 Level of participation	31
Table 3.1 Increase of number of NGOs in Ethiopia from the 1994 to 2009	41
Table 3.2 Classification of NGOs in Ethiopia in 2009	42
Table 3.3 Comparison of NGO transfers and earnings from selected exports (Million US\$)	42
Table 3.4 Vision and mission in education based on ESDP	44
Table 4.1 Socio-economic indicators in the Oromia region	62
Table 4.2 Educational indicators at the primary education level in Oromia region	62
Table 4.3 Number of ongoing NGO projects in 2008 (Listed by region)	63
Table 4.4 Number of NGO projects and expenditures of NGO projects from 2004-2008 (Listed by region)	65
Table 4.5 NGO Expenditure by sector in the Oromia region in 2001	65
Table 4.6 Basic information on the sample development NGOs used for this study	68
Table 4.7 Year of the completion of the NGO projects	69
Table 4.8 Selected village information	69
Table 4.9 Interview samples in total (Planned and actual)	72

Table 4.10 Occupations of the sample community members by gender	75
Table 4.11 Educational background of the sample community members by sex	76
Table 5.1 Percentage of external sources in annual budget of each sample local development NGO in 2008	79
Table 5.2 Additional components of the sample projects implemented by the NGOs	88
Table 5.3 Budget and school building style of the sample projects	88
Table 5.4 Selected NEBE school* information	90
Table 5.5 Selected school indicators in 2009	91
Table 5.6 Classification of phases	92
Table 5.7 Interview questions in category of elements	93
Table 5.8 Community members' participation in the NGO projects by phase and element (Eight NGOs in total)	94
Table 5.9 Opportunity and exercise for community members to express themselves to local development NGOs	97
Table 5.10 What do you think you should do for an NGO project? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)	99
Table 5.11 How do you evaluate the NGO project? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)	102
Table 5.12 Which do you prefer: Schools established by the NGO or ones established by the government? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)	104
Table 5.13 Whose point of view do you think the local development NGO represents? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)	110
Table 5.14 Eight selected NGO directors' professional background	119

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABE	Alternative Basic Education
BEAE	Basic Education Association in Ethiopia
BoFED	Regional Bureau of Finance and Economic Development
CBO	Community-Based Organizations
CRDA	Christian Relief and Development Association
DLDP	District Level Decentralization Program
DPPA	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Agencies
EFA	Education for All
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
ESDP	Education Sector Development Program
ETP	Education and Training Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HAPCO	HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Country
KETB	Kebele Education Management and Training Board
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoFED	Ministry of Finance and Economic Development
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
NFBE	Non-formal Basic Education
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NPO	Nonprofit Organization

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEB	Oromia Education Bureau
PASDEP	Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper
REB	Regional Education Bureau
SNNPRs	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
TPLF	Tigrayan People's Liberation Front
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WEO	Woreda/District Education Office
ZEO	Zonal Education Office

Terminology

Community:

Community in this study refers to Ummata in the Oromia Language (*Afan Oromo*). *Ummata* means the group of people living in the same territory and often sharing the same culture, values, customs, and traditions. More specifically, this study focuses on the target population of development NGO activities. A *community* consists of individual community members.

Development NGO:

Development NGOs seek the promotion of social and economic development, in most cases, in developing countries (Anheier and Salamon, 1998; Obayashi, 2002a). A development NGO can be geographically classified into two types: 1) an international development NGO or Northern NGO; and 2) a local development NGO or Southern NGO. The former is normally established by people from developed countries. The latter is normally established by a person from a developing country to work in that person's developing country. This study focuses on local development NGOs.

NGO worker:

NGO workers in this study include both the NGO directors and NGO staff.

Two-way, giver and receiver relationships:

This study uses the term *two-way, giver and receiver relationships* to ex-

plain that both the communities and local development NGOs play both roles of giver and receiver.

Village:

Village in this study corresponds to *kebele* in Ethiopia. *Kebele* is the lowest level of the hierarchy of the formal administrative structure. The Ethiopian administrative structure consists of region, zone, district (*woreda*), and *kebele*. This study uses the term “village” instead of *kebele*, as other researchers describe the *kebele* (e.g. Lasonen et al., 2005). The *kebele* administration consists of “*kebele* chairman” and “*kebele* manager.” They are also described as the “village chairperson” and the “village vice chairperson” in this study.

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Yoshiko Tonegawa

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Background

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) have developed into some of the most influential actors on the international stage in recent years. According to Nagasaka (2004), about US\$ 9.6 billion was spent for activities in developing countries by NGOs in 2000. This forms one fifth of the total official development assistance (ODA) in that year. The percentage of total aid from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries channeled through NGOs also gradually increased from 0.7 percent in 1975 to 3.6 percent in 1985, and to 4.7 percent in 2000 (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b; Nagasaka, 2004). One example is Holland, which provided 20 percent of the ODA with NGOs in 2000 (Nagasaka, 2004). Moreover, about 32 percent of total ODA was channeled through NGOs in the US in 2002 (Nagasaka, 2004). In 2011, OECD reported that Development Assistance Committee (DAC) countries totaled US\$ 4.6 billion of the ODA to NGOs (OECD, 2012). The recent figures clearly show a surge in activities of the NGOs over the last few years. This in turn has led to greater attention being paid to the NGOs and their role in society.

Increasing numbers of NGOs are also entering the international arena by making their presence felt at various platforms, particularly at conferences. In the education sector, when the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) was held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, 125 NGOs attended the

conference. Archival documentation from the WCEFA shows the importance of NGO activity, as well as detailing their partnerships with NGOs (Inter-Agency Commission, 1990). About 600 NGOs formed the “Collective Consultation of NGOs on Education For All (EFA)” with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in order to follow up the achievement of the EFA goals and to facilitate actions for EFA in 1998 (UNESCO, 2001). This consultation group consists of international, regional and local NGOs, and organizes regular meetings to exchange ideas and information among the NGOs, UNESCO and other international organizations (Kitamura, 2005). According to Kitamura (2005), this network shows that NGOs have established a firm position as partners of international organizations and governments. In the education sector, NGOs often provide education services in rural or poor areas where governments in developing countries are unable to reach (Ehara, 2003). NGOs are also expected to improve the quality of education, which includes creating a compatibility between the educative contents and needs of the society. This approach follows the international standards promoted by UNESCO under EFA (UNESCO, 2005). NGOs actively operate in developing countries in order to meet the targeted goals of EFA and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). As these events in the education sector show, NGOs are clearly emerging as a significant player in the international arena.

Officially, the term “NGO” was first used by the United Nations (UN) in 1949 (Fernando and Heston, 1997). Under Article 71, the UN regards “NGOs” as organizations that include commercial organizations, labor unions, women’s groups and youth groups (Willets, 2002; Watanabe, 2005). The term “NGO” is thus wide ranging and diverse. Using Ethiopia as a case study, the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), which manages NGO registration in the country has five categories for NGOs: development organizations; professional associations; civic organizations; religious organizations; and adoption agencies. In regards to the common organizational features of NGOs, Salamon and Anheier (1996, xvii) lists five characteristics: 1) organization body; 2) private; 3) non-profit-distributing; 4) self-governing; and 5) voluntary. Among the NGOs, development NGOs have expanded their activities following the above characteristics. Development NGOs gener-

ally seek the promotion of social and economic development in developing countries (Anheier and Salamon, 1998; Obayashi, 2007). A development NGO can be geographically classified into two types: 1) an international development NGO or Northern NGO; and 2) a local development NGO or Southern NGO. The former is normally established by people from developed countries and headquartered in developed countries. The latter is normally headquartered in developing countries. This study specifically focuses on formally registered local development NGOs established by a person from a developing country to work in his or her own developing country. Ethiopia is one of the countries where local development NGOs have gained prominence and power. The number of registered NGOs in the country has dramatically increased from 70 in 1994 to 2,653 in 2009, of which 2,361 are local development NGOs (Dessalegn, 2008; Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Agencies, n.d.). The Government of Ethiopia currently emphasizes the importance of partnerships with the NGO sector. These examples indicate the advance in status and breadth of activities of local development NGOs in Ethiopia.

Problem Statement

As development NGOs become influential and expansive in activity scope, their roles and functions have also correspondingly become wider and more diverse. Among others, it is commonly expected that the NGOs work for the sake of communities. Many researchers support this expectation (e.g. Edwards and Hulme, 2000; Lewis and Wallace, 2000; Kilby, 2006). For instance, Clark (1997, 44) stated that “NGOs may be the best placed for the tasks of fostering popular participation which include articulating the needs of the weak, working in remote areas.” UNESCO also articulates the relationships between NGOs and communities as being partnerships based on principles of understanding and mutual respect (UNESCO, 2001). In another example, Barroso (2002) stated that local development NGOs played a vital role in the development and empowerment of the poor in developing countries.

The current Ethiopian government now recognizes the role of local de-

velopment NGOs in the country's development and democratization (Dessalegn, 2008). Moreover, some researchers also report that local development NGOs have contributed towards helping to strengthen communities in rural areas (CRDA, 2008; Dessalegn et al., 2008). Local development NGOs are generally recognized as influential organizations in Ethiopia. In contrast, there are also existing studies on community perceptions of local development NGOs which highlight these communities' negative images of local development NGOs and their general mistrust of their assistance (e.g. Dessalegn, 2003; Horn Consult, 2003). Hence, it can be seen that there are conflicting perceptions about local development NGOs in Ethiopia.

This study explores the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities in the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia. It attempts to examine the communities' perceptions of local development NGOs, as well as NGO workers' perceptions of their NGOs and communities. This study investigates the following research questions by examining the local development NGOs that operate in the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia:

- 1 What characteristics do local development NGOs have?
 - 1.1 What organizational objectives do local development NGOs have?
 - 1.2 What financial characteristics do local development NGOs have?
 - 1.3 In what legal environments do local development NGOs operate?
- 2 How do community members participate in NGO projects and evaluate them?
 - 2.1 In what ways do community members participate in NGO projects?
 - 2.2 How do community members evaluate NGO projects?
- 3 How are local development NGOs perceived at the individual level?
 - 3.1 How do community members perceive local development NGOs?
 - 3.2 How do NGO workers perceive their local development NGOs?

Objectives of the Study

This study contributes to a further understanding of the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities, and has the follow-

ing three main research objectives. First, it explores the orientation and standpoint of local development NGOs. To accomplish this objective, firstly the characteristics of local development NGOs in Ethiopia including their financial characteristics are examined. This study also explores the environment of local development NGOs in Ethiopia, especially the legal environment and relationships with the government. Furthermore, organizational objectives of the local development NGOs are examined by analyzing the missions of the local development NGOs. In addition, this study analyzes individual NGO workers' perceptions of the organizational objectives.

The second objective is to investigate the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities. Community in this study refers to the group of people living in the same territory and often sharing the same culture, values, customs, and traditions. More specifically, this study focuses on the target communities for local development NGOs' activities. A community consists of individual community members. This study examines the communities' participation in the NGO projects and their perceptions of the local development NGOs. Furthermore, individual NGO workers' perceptions of the NGOs, for which they work, are examined. This also aims to explore NGO workers' perceptions of the communities. This study emphasizes the importance of looking at both perspectives of the communities and local development NGOs, which decide the relationships.

The third objective is to explore possible factors that influence the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities. This analysis enables in-depth understanding of the reality of their relationships, and presents characteristics and approaches of local development NGOs in relation to the communities. The possible factors may contribute to the establishment of the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities not only in the Ethiopian context but also in other countries.

Significance of the Study

The research produced in this study breaks new ground in scholarship for the following three reasons. First of all, it reveals the real-life situational context of NGO work based on the analysis of the local development NGOs

in Ethiopia. While previous studies have analyzed development NGOs in developing countries, many cases deal with international NGOs; the situation of local development NGOs are less discussed (e.g. Campbell, 1993; Rose, 2007; Lloyd et al., 2008). The status of local development NGOs differs from international NGOs in various ways including regulations, funding sources, and relationships with governments in developing countries. Therefore, local development NGOs need to be analyzed separately from international development NGOs. By using the scenario of Ethiopia as a case study, this study shows the different and unique environment in which local development NGOs function, and which influences their relationships with the communities.

Secondly, this study focuses on the relationships between NGOs and the communities. Past research work that involves local development NGOs often focuses on the relationships between NGOs and donors and/or governments (e.g. Salamon, 1995; Ebrahim, 2003; Abbey, 2005). As Ebrahim (2003) states, researchers often focus on NGOs' relationships with financial donors or governments since it is assumed these actors influence local development NGOs by setting the conditions in which they operate (e.g. Salamon, 1995; Bebbington, 2005). Empirical studies of the relationships between development NGOs—especially local development NGOs—and their communities have not been a focus area of research. Since studies on local development NGOs are relatively limited, this study will provide new empirical evidence to assist the analysis of relationships between local development NGOs and their communities.

Thirdly, this study includes and emphasizes community perspectives of local development NGOs. Though many studies focus on the perspectives of NGOs, this study stresses the aspect of communities toward local development NGOs. The concept of mutual understanding and respect in relationships between NGOs and communities as described by UNESCO (2001), can only be proven to be true when it is examined not only from the perspective of local development NGOs, but also from the perspective of the communities. Thus, this study aims to contribute towards the understanding of relationships between local development NGOs and the communities, and to serve as a guide towards greater understanding of local development

NGOs in Ethiopia and other developing countries.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 1 discussed the background of the study, problem statement and research questions, and objectives and significance of this study. Chapter 2 reviews the concept, characteristics, and background of development NGOs in the international context discussed in the literature. In order to understand local development NGOs, this study explores the origin of NGOs in general, and then focuses on development NGOs. The environment of development NGOs is also explored. Furthermore, the chapter examines the argument about mainstream recognition and expectations on development NGOs, which act for the sake of communities from the communities' standpoint. The last section of Chapter 2 discusses the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities, including NGO "accountability" and community participation.

Chapter 3 examines development NGOs and local development NGOs in the context of Ethiopia. The origin and history of both types of NGOs are explored. Moreover, this chapter examines the functions and environment of local development NGOs in Ethiopia. Relationships between local development NGOs and communities are also examined, although the related literature is limited. The chapter concludes by providing an overview of the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia and discusses non-formal basic education (NFBE) projects, which local development NGOs often implement in basic education. This helps to understand local development NGOs' activities in basic education.

Chapter 4 illustrates the research methods of this study, including field research. The analytical framework is also addressed in the chapter. In addition, criteria for the sampling and data collection methods for this study are also explained. The last section of this chapter addresses the limitations of the study.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of this study. The chapter first illustrates the organizational objectives and environment of the local development NGOs as well as the project components implemented by the local

development NGOs. After presenting the characteristics of local development NGOs, the main argument about communities' participation in NGO projects and their perceptions of local development NGOs are analyzed. In addition, individual NGO workers' perceptions of their NGOs are also explored. This section first examines the selected local development NGOs collectively in order to understand the general tendency of relationships between local development NGOs and the communities. The last sections of this chapter examine respective local development NGOs and the communities in order to analyze the possible factors affecting their relationships.

Chapter 6 is the concluding chapter of this study, which summarizes the main discussion points and findings of the study regarding the relationships between local development NGOs and communities.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Development Non-governmental Organizations

Characteristics of NGOs in General

This study focuses on local development Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in relation to communities. Before examining local development NGOs, this chapter first explores the concept of NGOs, which now have a firmly established status internationally. Historically, NGOs originated in Europe in the eighteenth century (Shigeta, 2005).¹ Most NGOs were established based on religious missions during the period (Shigeta, 2005), and were largely engaged in charitable activities in colonized countries. The scope of activity was expanded to involve rescue and emergency work during events such as the war of Italian Unification and World Wars I and II in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Shigeta, 2005; Watanabe, 2005). For instance, the International Red Cross, which is often regarded as the first NGO, was established in 1864 (Fernando and Heston, 1997; Shigeta, 2005).

In an official way, the term “NGO” was first used by the United Nations (UN) in 1949 (Fernando and Heston, 1997). This is because the UN needed to differentiate in its Charter between intergovernmental specialized agencies and international private organizations (Abey, 2003). Under Article 71, the UN regards “NGOs” as organizations that include commercial organizations, labor unions, women’s groups and youth groups (Willets, 2002; Watanabe, 2005). Therefore, the term “NGO” is wide and diverse. In Ethiopia, for instance, the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), which manages NGO

registration, has five categories for NGOs: development organizations; professional associations; civic organizations; religious organizations; and adoption agencies. This example indicates that NGOs include a variety of organizations. Several researchers agree that there is no perfect definition applied to every NGO (Shaeffer, 1994; Ilon, 1998; Willets, 2002; Abey, 2003). Tegegne (2000) even indicates that diversity is only a characteristic of NGOs.

As common organizational features of NGOs, Salamon and Anheier (1996, xvii) address five characteristics: 1) organized; 2) private; 3) non-profit-distributing; 4) self-governing; and 5) voluntary. Firstly, “organized” means that an NGO is formed as an institution, which is different from an informal group or individual (Salamon and Anheier, 1996). From this aspect, kin groups and community groups, which are regarded as community-based organizations (CBOs),² are often differentiated from NGOs, which are normally formal and registered under the official regulations set by a government (Fowler, 2000a; Dessalegn, 2008). Secondly, “private” means that NGOs are not categorized under the public sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1996). The term “third sector,” which is used to describe the sector that includes NGOs, emphasizes this aspect (Shivji, 2007). “Third sector” also includes the idea that NGOs are not categorized under the business sector. The Oxford English Dictionary (2003) focuses on this characteristic and also defines an NGO as independent of government and business. Thirdly, the “non-profit-distributing” means NGOs do not gain any profit, unlike the business sector. The term “non-profit organization” (NPO) emphasizes this characteristic. Fourthly, “self-governing” means that NGOs have their own capacity and systems to administer themselves. Though it is skeptical whether every NGO has capacity and systems, every NGO has a right to control itself. NGOs are not managed by other external organizations. Finally, “voluntary” means that NGOs normally have some degree of voluntary input in their activities and/or management. For instance, this characteristic includes the fact that many NGOs have board members who are not paid and work voluntarily (DCI, 1996).

In addition to the five organizational characteristics, many scholars agree that each NGO has a common objective, which is often addressed as

its mission. For instance, Willets (2002, 1) indicates all the characteristics and defines an NGO “as an independent voluntary association of people acting together on a continuous basis, for some common purposes.”³ Jordan and Tuijl (2007, 8) specifically describe a common purpose as an “explicit social mission.” The OECD (1998, 14) also describes the mission as “a stated philanthropic purpose” and defines an NGO as “an organization established and governed by a group of private citizens for a stated philanthropic purpose, and supported by voluntary individual contributions.” Kilby (2006, 952) describes that “NGOs are self-governing independent bodies, voluntary in nature, and tend to engage both their supporters and constituency on the basis of values or some shared interest or concern, and have a public benefit purpose.” These definitions address different characteristics of NGOs. At the same time, these definitions indicate that NGOs include organizations that have various missions, projects, sizes and other characteristics.

One of the reasons for the confusion about NGOs is that there are other similar terms. An NGO is sometimes described as a non-profit organization (NPO), private voluntary organization (PVO), civil society organization (CSO), or other (Fowler, 2004; Anheier, 2005; Dessalegn, 2008).⁴ All of these similar terms include organizations that normally have the above-mentioned common features. The difference is the emphasis of the characteristics of the NGO. NGOs are classified according to orientation, level of operations, contents of activities, geographical areas of activities and others.

Concept of Development NGOs

Definition of Development NGOs

As the prior section discussed, NGOs include various organizations. Among different kinds of NGOs, this study specifically focuses on *development NGOs*.⁵ Development NGOs seek the promotion of social and economic development, in most cases, in developing countries (Anheier and Salamon, 1998; Obayashi, 2002a). Other scholars also underscore that development NGOs provide support for the poor in developing countries (Salaman, 1994;

Cleary, 1997). The definition of NGOs by the World Bank (2001) can be applied to development NGOs: “organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development.” Obayashi (2002a) describes the poor as the beneficiaries of activities by development NGOs.

Background of Development NGOs

Development NGOs originated from organizations that worked with the aim of rescue activities during wars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Many development NGOs originally focused on activities for emergency and relief during wars and droughts.⁶ The objective of the emergency activity is to support victims of wars, conflicts, and droughts based on humanitarianism (Atack, 1999; Shigeta, 2006). In Asia and Africa, poverty and wars needed NGO activity (Korten, 1990; DCI, 1996). For instance, NGOs were active to support repatriated refugees after the independence of Bangladesh (Shigeta, 2006). Later, some development NGOs also worked for conflict prevention and peace building before emergency situations took place (Shigeta, 2006).⁷

A development NGO can be geographically classified into two types: 1) an international development NGO or Northern NGO; and 2) a local development NGO or Southern NGO. The former is normally established by people from developed countries. The latter is normally established by people from a developing country to work in their developing country. In terms of the origin, local development NGOs were born in developing countries by those who are from developing countries, and were originally established in the 1950s, normally by voluntary individuals or civil groups (Shigeta, 2006). One of the motivations was to recover from the history of colonization and to be independent from the North (Shigeta, 2006).

International development NGOs started actively working in the 1970s,⁸ and the number of development NGOs increased drastically in the 1980s (Salaman, 1994; Cleary, 1997; Lewis, 1998; Eada, 2000; Ebrahim, 2003b; Ehara, 2003). In developing countries, the number of local development

NGOs has dramatically increased in the 1970s and 1980s. Due to various events and demand for services, a favorable environment was formed for the development NGOs to thrive and gain authority.⁹ In particular, three major events are often made reference to in literature: 1) alternative development; 2) government failure in service delivery; and 3) new policy agenda. These three events partly reflect the same theoretical ideas and overlapped, occurring within the same time period.

1) Alternative Development

One of the background movements, which promoted the development of NGO work in the 1970s, is recognized as “alternative development,” which started in Latin America. Friedmann (1992) argues that the opposition against the stress of economic growth at the national level in the 1970s emphasized the role of people at the grassroots level. The resistance against economic crisis changed its focus from the national to grassroots level, and stimulated people’s movements (Friedmann, 1992; Chabbott, 2003; Ehara, 2003).¹⁰ At that time, it was believed that economic growth at the national level ultimately benefited the grassroots level by trickling down (Friedmann, 1992; Chabbott, 2003). However, since this trickle-down theory was not realized in practice, people started claiming the bottom-up approach for the grassroots level. One of the ways to call this approach is “alternative development” (Friedmann, 1992).¹¹ “Alternative development” stresses autonomous decision-making, rural development, direct and participatory democracy, and learning with experiments and others (Friedmann, 1992). Moreover, its main actors are people or individuals in the community at the grassroots level. This is also regarded as a people-centered approach (Korten, 1987).

However, poor and vulnerable people often do not have the power to stand up. For this reason, these disempowered people need NGOs, which represent their voices and facilitate social activities for them (Friedmann, 1992). Activities by NGOs are some of the ways to realize development for vulnerable people (Fernando and Heston, 1997). NGOs are expected to implement activities by low-cost, participatory design and use of traditional technologies and others that contribute to effective management, sustain-

ability and responsiveness to people's needs (Wils, 1996).

Some scholars, including Bratton (1989), Obayashi (2007a) and Shivji (2007), discuss specifically local development NGOs in Africa. These scholars agree that local development NGOs have become influential and necessary actors in African countries. In discussing the reasons for the expansion of local development NGOs in Africa, Obayashi (2007) raises the issue of democratization in the 1980s and 1990s, and minimization of the state's role after structural adjustment in Africa. In the education sector, the structural adjustment encouraged donors to fund NGOs which work in providing basic education. Bratton (1989) addresses the 1980s as the "NGO decade" for rural development in Africa. Barroso (2002) describes local development NGOs as playing a vital role for the development and empowerment of the poor in developing countries.

As a theoretical approach, liberal democratic theory¹² also stimulated NGOs to work actively for the sake of communities, especially from the beginning of the 1990s (Edwards and Hulme, 1996a). This is because NGOs are regarded as essential actors that promote democratization and protect civil society (Edwards and Hulme, 1996a; Nishimura, 2007). Therefore, NGOs are expected to understand and express the community's needs. Edwards and Fowler (2002) also describe local initiatives and voluntary activities that encourage people to form local development NGOs for themselves. This also relates to the argument about the importance of community participation, which is discussed in the latter section (Ehara, 2003). Thus, development NGOs are requested and expected to exist for the sake of grassroots people.

2) Government Failure in Service Delivery

The second background event is the failure of government service delivery. Service delivery is one of the most common and major activities for development NGOs. Various scholars argue that one of the reasons why NGOs gained power internationally was originally because welfare countries failed in the full provision of public services in Europe in the 1970s (DCI, 1996; Robinson, 1997; Ebrahim, 2003b). This is called government failure. The government failure theory explains that the business sector can deliver pub-

lic services in areas where the governments in welfare countries failed to deliver services. Attention was first given to the business sector due to neo-liberal economic theory, which regards the business sector as the most efficient for providing any services (Edwards and Hulme, 1996a; Nishimura, 2007).

However, the business sector also failed to provide public services. This is because some people do not pay for collective goods, which is called a free rider problem (Salamon, 1995). Without profit, the business sector cannot continue its work; the sector loses efficiency, which is one of its advantages (Smith and Lipsky, 1993). With these situations, the market failure theory explains that NGOs are in the best position to work to fill the gap in public service delivery (Ebrahim, 2003).¹³ Since NGOs are part of the private sector, neo-liberal economic theory partly encourages NGOs to deliver public service (Shivji, 2007). In comparison with the business sector, NGOs are considered to be flexible, cost-effective, innovative, and able to reach the poor (Bratton, 1989; Biggs and Neame, 1996; Edwards and Hulme, 1996c; Wils, 1996; Clark, 1997; Robinson, 1997; Atack, 1999; Johnson, 2001).

On the African continent, the idea about government failure is broadly accepted after the 1980s (Nishi, 2009). Nishi (2009) also argues that the governments in African countries lost people's trust since they failed to provide resources to people. Unlike European countries, many developing countries, including African countries, did not have an active business sector in the beginning, and the failure of the market system was easily revealed when the structural adjustment policy became non-functional.¹⁴ In African countries, Shivji (2007) addresses local development NGOs that have become essential parts of the system, which have delivered services such as education and health in developing countries over the last two decades. As market failure theory explains, development NGOs in developing countries, including African countries, are expected not only to deliver services simply, but also to deliver services flexibly, effectively, and innovatively to meet community needs.

3) New Policy Agenda

The third mentionable background of the expansion of the development

NGOs is the “new policy agenda” of the 1980s, which promoted democracy and the empowerment of civil society. According to Arnove and Christina (1998, 47), one of the agenda’s aims is at “strengthening civil society for the purposes of achieving political pluralism and democratic forms of governance.”¹⁵ For the purpose of achieving this objective, NGOs are seen as efficient and preferable key players in the international society (Edwards and Hulme, 1996; 1998; Ebrahim, 2003b).

Several researchers describe that the “new policy agenda” encouraged donors to fund development NGOs and to influence the empowerment of development NGOs (Arnove and Christina, 1998; Edwards and Hulme, 2000; Lewis, 1998; Ehara, 2003; Mitlin et al., 2006). Since influential donors supported this agenda, including the World Bank, USAID, and the British Overseas Development Administration, funds to development NGOs increased dramatically (Arnove and Christina, 1998; Edwards and Hulme, 2000; Nordtveit, 2007). Furthermore, direct aid to local development NGOs also increased (DCI, 1996; Cleary, 1997). Donors expect development NGOs to communicate with communities and promote community participation, which leads to democratization (Edwards and Hulme, 2000). Mohan (2002), who studies NGOs in Ghana, illustrates that international NGOs develop partnerships with local development NGOs; international donors believe local development NGOs have good relations with the communities and, thus, work for the sake of the communities. Furthermore, many donors regard local development NGOs as reliable and influential actors that can utilize financial aid effectively in developing countries (Shigeta, 2005; Obayashi, 2006a).¹⁶ Therefore, development NGOs are considered to know the actual situations in developing countries and can represent the grass-roots point of view. These notions also encourage international societies to invite development NGOs to international meetings and conferences (Watanabe, 2005).¹⁷ As a result, not only has the number of development NGOs increased, but development NGOs have also established firm positions as influential stakeholders internationally.

Common Recognition on Development NGOs

Based on the three major events for development NGOs to gain authority, as discussed in the previous sections, there are some common expectations of NGOs by different actors. That is, NGOs are familiar enough with communities to work for the sake of the communities and to understand their needs. Several researchers agree with this point. For instance, many researchers describe NGOs as part of civil society¹⁸ and familiar with the grassroots (e.g. Biggs and Neame, 1996; Tandon, 1996; Blair, 1997; Eade, 2000; Choudhury and Ahmed, 2002; Horn Consult, 2003; Lehman, 2007; Leen, 2006; Jordan and Tuijl, 2007; O'Dwyer and Unerman, 2008; Hargreaves, n.d.). The following statements by the researchers consider NGOs to have greater ability over international donor agencies, national governments, and private firms in reaching communities and understanding their needs. Clark (1997, 44) describes that "NGOs may be the best places for the tasks of fostering popular participation which include articulating the needs of the weak, working in remote areas." Bratton (1989, 569) also states that "NGOs have a comparative advantage over international donor agencies, national governments and private firms when addressing the basic needs of the rural poor." Cleary (1997) and Hudock (1999) also underscore that NGOs are superior to governments in terms of communication with the poor and responding to community needs, which results in the realization of appropriate assistance. Clark (1995) also addresses the ability of NGOs to reach poor people, especially in inaccessible areas, as one of their significant characteristics. Wils (1996) also describes NGOs as being able to articulate the interests of the poor. At the same time, Wils (1996) adds that NGOs are able to address the needs or interests of the poor at a macro level. For instance, NGOs can form a project, which addresses the needs of the poor, and show the project to a government and donors (Wils, 1996).

In addition, various researchers argue that NGOs can represent the community point of view. Attack (1999) addresses the superiority of NGOs in representing the poor or marginalized parts of civil society, while he admits that NGOs' representativeness is theoretically limited in comparison to government. Streten (1997) underscores that NGOs are representative bodies

in civil society. Brett (1993) also addresses that NGOs can contribute to democracy by representing the poor. Stephenson (2005) addresses that NGOs are the voices of the people. Clark (1995) also values NGOs' standpoints, which come from the close links with poor communities. Therefore, several researchers recognize the capability of development NGOs to represent the community point of view. At the same time, NGOs themselves also claim that they are able to work for the sake of communities, hence increasing their legitimacy as support systems within these communities (e.g. Clark, 1995; Cleary, 1997; Attack, 1999; Eade, 2000; Kilby, 2006; Shivji, 2007).

Therefore, NGOs are often regarded as organizations, which are the closest to communities, understand local contexts and represent the grass-roots point of view (Watanabe, 2005). Working for the public good, especially for the sake of people in the state of poverty and therefore vulnerable in developing countries, is at the core significance of development NGOs (Frumkin, 2002; Farkas and Molnar, 2006; Unerman, 2006). Various scholars also agree that it is this image of NGOs which make development NGOs particularly valued in many developing countries (e.g. Clark, 1995; Edwards and Hulme, 2000; Lewis and Wallace, 2000; Kilby, 2006).

1) Counter Argument Against the Recognition of Development NGOs

As discussed above, various researchers agree that development NGOs are often in the best position to reach people at the grassroots level and understand the needs of communities. On the other hand, there are also counter arguments from a different group of researchers that development NGOs do not reach all strata of society. For instance, Streeten (1997, 193) states that, "NGOs do not reach the poor, and hardly ever the poorest." Edwards and Hulme (1996b) concur on this point that development NGOs usually are unable to reach the groups living below the poverty line. Research work on development NGOs by The AccountAbility (2007) puts forth the argument that local development NGOs have difficulties in reflecting the needs of communities.¹⁹ Thompson (1997) also challenged the abilities and functions of African NGOs to perform. These counter arguments against the positive reviews of development NGOs are often discussed based on the following perspectives: geographical coverage; equality; capacity; innovation; and

sustainability.

Various researchers have discussed geographical coverage as one limitation of development NGOs (e.g. Salamon, 1995).²⁰ Other researchers indicate that development NGOs can only reach a limited number of people, or work on a small scale (e.g. Wils, 1996; Fernando and Heston, 1997; Streeten, 1997). This point is also related to equality. Bendell (2006) is concerned that some development NGOs represent only one segment of the people's point of view, especially those who are often in positions of power within the local society. To make matters worse, some researchers point out the possibility of reinforcing the existing structure with powerful elites within the communities, or even forming new hierarchies (Hashemi, 1996; Fernando and Heston, 1997; Streeten, 1997). Mohan (2002) described local development NGOs based in Ghana that are dictatorial and bureaucratic in their work. This equality issue links to democratization, which development NGOs are expected to promote. Edwards and Hulme (1996a) were of the opinion that such development NGOs fail to promote democratization. These arguments counter the understanding of development NGOs as truly understanding the needs of communities.

On a related issue, some researchers also note the lack of human resource capacity within development NGOs. Wils (1996) and Bendell (2006) indicate a lack of technical or professional expertise in development NGOs. Some researchers also report a lack of management skills to promote community participation in the project process (Hashemi, 1996; World Bank, 2010; Doh and Teegan, 2003; Stephenson, 2005). Moreover, one expectation of development NGOs is their innovative service delivery. However, some researchers also question this recognition (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b). For instance, Streeten (1997) even underscores that NGO projects are not innovative, but simply applications of recognized models. While Clark (1997) understands the significant role of development NGOs to support communities, he also addresses the point that development NGOs do not develop innovative or alternative approaches.

In addition, some scholars state a lack of sustainability of NGO activity (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b; Bebbington, 2005). As reasons for the lack of sustainability, Edwards (1999) addresses a lack of capacity and dependency

on donors. Streeten (1997) also explains that NGO activity will not be sustainable after a charismatic leader or a dedicated volunteer – on which the development NGO relies – leaves the organization. Therefore, it can be seen that there are also arguments that indicate NGOs do not necessarily reach the communities or even understand the needs of the communities.

Development NGOs in the Basic Education Sub-sector

The previous sections have examined development NGOs overall. This section specifically examines NGOs operating in the basic education sub-sector. The most significant international events for NGOs that operate in the education sector were the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, and the formulation of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in New York in 2000 (Chabbott, 2003; Ehara, 2003; UN Millennium Project, 2005). Education For All (EFA)²¹ has six goals including provision of free and compulsory primary education for all; the MDGs²² include Universal Primary Education (UPE) by 2015 (UN Millennium Project, 2005; World Bank, n.d.). These events drew international attention to the issues of education in developing countries (Chabbott, 2003). Moreover, since these events, many developing countries have also been working hard to improve basic education by striving to meet these international education goals.

Furthermore, the international society has become willing to partner with NGOs and placed more expectations on NGOs in order to achieve these goals. The Declaration of Education for All (EFA) states the importance of partnerships with different actors, including NGOs (Shaeffer, 1994; Ehara, 2003). The WCEFA issued a statement called “A Statement of Principles on the Involvement of NGOs in WCEFA Follow-up Activities with NGO Bodies,” which affirms that NGOs are also “part of all formal structures for the implementation of EFA at all levels: local, national and international” (Chabbott, 2003, 60). In fact, NGOs participated in major international meetings and conferences about EFA (Chabbott, 2003). NGOs formed the “Collective Consultation of NGOs on EFA” with UNESCO in order to follow up the achievement and to facilitate actions for EFA in 1998

(UNESCO, 2001b). When the World Education Forum was held in Dakar, Senegal in 2000, about 300 NGOs attended the forum (International Consultation of NGOs, 2000).

From the aspect of actual activities, NGOs are expected to provide education services in rural or poor areas where governments in developing countries cannot reach (Ehara, 2003). This is expected to improve the access of education. In addition, NGOs are expected to improve the quality of education, which includes compatibility between the contents of education and needs from the society (UNESCO, 2005). Both international and local development NGOs actively operate in developing countries in order to meet the targeted goals of EFA and the MDGs. Through these events, NGOs that operate in the education sector established their international status. This has automatically increased the funding to NGOs (Edwards and Hulme, 2000). At the same time, those NGOs that operate in the education sector, especially in basic education sub-sector, became active and the number of NGOs also increased (Fowler, 2000b).

Environment of Development NGOs

This section examines the environment of development NGOs including local development NGOs. This section especially examines the legal and financial environment, and conditions in order to further understand development NGOs.

Legal Environment of Development NGOs

In most countries, governments regulate NGO activity. The relationships between governments and development NGOs are established mainly by regulations and rules. Development NGOs have to follow governmental regulations for official certification for legal identity, reports of funding sources, validation of their work experience, reports of transparent accounting, permission for projects that meet their stated intentions, and others (Abbey, 2005). These regulations can improve the standards and quality of NGOs as well as coordination between governments and NGOs (Abbey,

2005).²³ On the other hand, the level of regulations might negatively influence NGO activity. For instance, Edwards and Hulmes (1996) state that government regulations for NGOs in India not only discourage NGOs from innovation and slow the speed of response, but also promote politicization and patronage. In this case, government regulations negatively affect NGOs. Some governments are afraid that NGOs are against their policy and exercise anti-government movement (Bendell, 2006). As examples, the governments of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan in Central Asia changed their policies to regulate NGOs strictly since the governments fear NGO activity that could influence the political discourse (Bendell, 2006). Another reason why some governments try to control NGOs is that they would like to track the funds that go to NGOs. For instance, in Bangladesh, when NGOs receive funds from other countries, the funds must be passed through the government (Bendell, 2006). By doing so, the Bangladeshi government monitors all funds to NGOs (Bendell, 2006). NGOs cannot survive without relations to governments. This is because governments formulate the legal environment for NGOs. Najam (1996) reports that governments can impose conditions on NGOs. In the same way, as with the case of India, the strong attention to governments by NGOs is sometimes regarded as a negative influence on NGO activity (Najam, 1996). The legal environment formed by governments is influential for any development NGOs.

Financial Environment of Development NGOs

Securing financial resources is one of the everlasting challenges for any NGO. From this aspect, financial donors are some of the main stakeholders for development NGOs. The expansion of NGO activity in the 1980s and 1990s is often associated with the increase of financial support by donors as discussed above. Ebrahim (2003b) reports that donors consider NGOs to be cost effective in providing social services, and they have better capacity to reach the poor than governments²⁴ as discussed in the earlier section. By focusing on basic human needs, development NGOs, which work at the grass-roots level, were more dependable than international organizations, which suffered from shortage of human resource and economic crisis (Watanabe,

2005).

Based on the positive acknowledgement of development NGOs in relation to communities, foreign donors have increased financial aid to development NGOs. One study reveals that official aid to NGOs increased by 15 times from 1975 to 1985 (Bendell, 2006). The percentage of total aid from OECD countries channeled through NGOs increased from 0.7 percent in 1975 to 3.6 percent in 1985, and to 5 percent in 1994 (Edwards and Hulme, 1996, 3). According to Rose (2007), between 10 and 15 percent of all official aid to developing countries was channeled by NGOs in the middle of the 1990s. For instance, the United Kingdom increased the funding to NGOs by four times from 1983 to 1993 (Rose, 2007). Moreover, around 30 percent of total Swedish aid was channeled through NGOs in 1994 (Edwards and Hulme, 2000). The financial aid to NGOs increased drastically.

In the education sector, NGOs received more financial assistance from donors after the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 and the formulation of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in New York in 2000, as discussed in the earlier section (Edwards and Hulme, 2000; Chabott, 2003; Ehara, 2003; UN Millennium Project, 2005). Obayashi (2007a) and Shivji (2007), who examine local development NGOs in Africa, indicate that most of the financial sources of local development NGOs are from external donors. Local development NGOs rarely have resources within their countries.

With this situation of local development NGOs, many researchers are concerned that NGOs are working not for people, but for the international donor agencies, since the work of local development NGOs is based on the rules of donors given their dependency on finance from donors (e.g. Edwards and Hulme, 1998). Johnson (2001) also notes that NGOs may misunderstand community needs given their high dependence on donors. In addition, some researchers, such as Abbey (2005) and Shivji (2007), are concerned that NGOs' legitimacy is negatively influenced by donors' principles, due to the dependence of NGOs on donors. Edwards and Hulme (1996) even state that NGOs that depend on external funding often perform poorly and lose legitimacy. Some researchers are also concerned about negative influences on the sustainability of NGO activity. For instance,

Edwards (1999) states that development NGOs, which depend on donors, cannot work effectively in a sustainable way in most cases. Korten (1990) describes such development NGOs as contractors of donors. To make matters worse, Ilon (1998) reports that some NGOs even change their policies and adopt the donor's policy as their own. Thus, existing research addresses that development NGOs, especially local development NGOs, rely highly on funds from external donors. This suggests that financial donors strongly influence NGOs. In literature, various researchers indicate negative influences on NGO legitimacy and activities that are highly dependent on external donors.

Development NGOs in Relation to Communities

In the previous sections, this study examined history, events and the environment, indicating that development NGOs are expected to be organizations that are familiar with communities from the communities' standpoints. UNESCO (2001b) describes the relationship between NGOs and communities as a partnership based on equality, understanding and mutual request. This section first examines discussions about NGO "accountability" to communities to explore the argument about NGO relationships with communities in literature. The latter part of this section explores three perspectives to understand the relationships between development NGOs and communities based on literature. These perspectives are the project process, organizational policy and individual perceptions.

NGO "Accountability" to Communities

To understand relationships between NGOs and the communities, several researchers argue about NGO "accountability" to communities. More recently, the concept of "accountability" has been broadly interpreted. "Accountability" is defined as "being responsive to expectations of each stakeholder" (Watanabe, 2005; JANIC, 2006, 1). Though the idea of holistic "accountability" is accepted by different sectors, the concept of holistic "accountability" is especially useful when discussing relationships between

NGOs and communities (Watanabe, 2005; JANIC, 2006). This is because being responsive to expectations of the communities is fundamentally expected of development NGOs, as discussed earlier.

1) Accountability in General

Before examining the holistic “accountability” of NGOs to communities, accountability is first examined. In general, accountability has been used as a concept that means “having to answer for one’s behavior” (Anheier, 2005, 237). According to Edwards and Hulme (1996a), accountability means individuals’ or organizations’ responsible actions by reporting to recognized authorities. The Oxford English Dictionary (2003) simply describes that being held accountable means required or expected to justify actions or decision.

The original concept of accountability has existed since the birth of civilization (Watanabe, 2005). In the modern age, accountability originated in the argument of administrative responsibility in the 1930s in the United States (Muramatsu, 1999). Classic administrative responsibility targeted governments or administrative officers for the purpose of making them responsible for task and law by reporting and explaining (Nishio, 1998). In the United States, the discussion about accountability started from the argument of insufficient control by Congress in the 1930s (Muramatsu, 1999). After this discussion, an analysis of professionalism and the possibility of civil control by the Congress were continued. More recently, the discussion about administrative responsibility emphasizes accountability and governance (Muramatsu, 1999). It is believed that the accountability for governments secures their transparency and liability (Watanabe, 2005). The concept of accountability was expanded to social responsibility of the business sector (Watanabe, 2005).

To understand accountability further, Stewart (1984) formed a classification of accountability called a “ladder of accountability,”²⁵ which has process accountability, performance accountability, program accountability and policy accountability (see Table 2.1). Process accountability examines whether procedures of the activities are appropriate (Stewart, 1984; Raine et al., 2006). Performance accountability examines whether outcomes of the activities meet the expectations (Stewart, 1984; Raine et al., 2006). Program

Table 2.1 Ladder of accountability

Rung	Description/indicator
1. Process accountability	whether systems and procedures are appropriate <process>
2. Performance accountability	how well tasks are being carried out <outcomes>
3. Program accountability	the extent to which the overall intended impacts are being achieved <effectiveness>
4. Policy accountability	whether the objective or policy are being adequately addressed <policy direction>

Source: Created by author based on Stewart (1984, 12), Raine et al. (2006, 11).

accountability examines effectiveness. Policy accountability examines validity of the direction (Stewart, 1984; Watanabe, 2005; Raine et al., 2006). This classification helps to understand accountability.

2) Accountability of NGOs

As NGOs became influential in the social and political spheres in international society, NGOs have inevitably been expected to contribute to society. With this environment, NGOs were also demanded to be accountable to their stakeholders, which comes from external pressure in the first place (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b; Edwards, 2000; Ebrahim, 2003a; Watanabe, 2005). However, many NGOs realize the importance of accountability in order to keep their reliable status, both in the society where they work and in the international society (Anheier, 2005; Watanabe, 2005).

More specifically, NGOs consider that accountability is important since the following five issues can be fulfilled by achieving accountability: 1) compliance with the law and regulations; 2) improvement of organizational effectiveness; 3) securing of supporters; 4) guarantee of organizational legitimacy; and 5) integrity of the organizational missions (Anheier, 2005; Watanabe, 2005). Therefore, not only external pressure, but also internal imperatives encourage NGOs to be accountable. The next question is to whom NGOs should be accountable. Several scholars agree that development NGOs have multiple stakeholders (Edwards and Hulme, 1996a;

Lewis, 1998; Johnson, 2001; Anheier, 2005; Kilby, 2006).²⁶ Among these, governments and donors are the ones always valued from the perspective of accountability for NGOs.²⁷ Most of the literature discusses NGO accountability to donors or governments (Heijden, 1987; Bratton, 1989; Bebbington, 2005). In fact, NGOs often focus on accountability to donors and governments due to the pressure by the donors and governments (Ebrahim, 2003a).²⁸ In comparison with NGO accountability to donors and governments, the “accountability” to communities has not been researched well yet. Edwards and Fowler (2002) argue that NGO “accountability” to communities is weaker than accountability to donors or governments in most cases.

3) NGO “Accountability” to Communities

Obayashi (2007b), who examines NGOs in African countries, argues that any actors related to work for development in developing countries should prioritize “accountability” to communities. To support this idea, Obayashi (2007b) also states that “accountability” is not always based on financial sources. For instance, governments are accountable to their own people not because the people pay tax, but because their constitutions have a principle addressing that sovereignty resides in the people (Obayashi, 2007b). In the same way, achieving “accountability” to communities is essential for NGOs to accomplish their mission and to maintain legitimacy (Tandon, 1996; Lloyd and Casas, 2006). Lloyd and Casas (2006) also clearly state that NGOs should clarify and strengthen “accountability” to communities since communities are the reason why most NGOs exist. Therefore, NGO “accountability” to communities is one of the discussions that evaluate the relationships between NGOs and communities.

Perspectives for Understanding Relationships Between NGOs and Communities

This section now explores perspectives for understanding relationships between development NGOs and communities. Based on existing literature, three perspectives are examined: project process, organizational policy and

individual perceptions.

Project Process

First, one of the perspectives to understand relationships between development NGOs and communities is the way NGO projects are processed. In relation to communities, many researchers examine how communities participate in NGO projects and activities. For instance, Johnson (2001), who analyzes the relations between NGOs and communities in Thailand, suggests that encouragement of community participation improves NGO relationships with communities. From the aspect of NGO “accountability” to communities, several researchers examine community participation in NGO projects. This is also called the process-based approach (Lee, 2004; Ebrahim, 2003a; Lloyd and Casas, 2006).

1) Participation in Development

The participation approach, itself, has been of interest to various scholars and practitioners as one of the ways to promote development in developing countries. Historically, the importance of community participation was recognized when England conducted rural development projects for colonial development in its former colonial countries including India and countries in Africa in the 1950s (Pieterse, 2000; Sakata, 2003). In fact, in 1955, the United Nations (UN) also addressed rural development with community participation as one of the processes to form conditions for economic and social progress (Sakata, 2003). In the 1970s, the significance of community participation was internationally recognized. One of the reasons is that the UN again emphasized community participation by using the phrase “popular participation” and implemented research programs and workshops about community participation (Sakata, 2003). In the 1980s, international NGOs and scholars started arguing the significance of community participation, especially to reflect the communities’ voices (Sakata, 2003). Democratization, which influenced the expansion of development NGOs, also supports community participation in NGO activity (Ehara, 2003). Furthermore, community participation, which was described in different words including “lo-

cal participation,” “participatory methods,” and “participatory approach,” has been one of the main themes for various scholars when they discuss development in developing countries, especially since the 1990s (Chambers, 2005; Shigeta, 2005). Through the influence of this trend, many NGOs promote community participation in their projects and activities.

The significance of community participation has been discussed with different perspectives. Among them, the most common five points of the significances are the following: 1) efficiency of the activities; 2) encouragement of communities’ ownership; 3) empowerment of communities;²⁹ 4) realization of the needs of communities; and 5) promotion of sustainability. The forth point, which is the realization of the community’s needs, overlaps with the argument about NGO “accountability” to communities, which is to be responsive to expectations of the communities. Moreover, realization of communities’ needs is one of the fundamental expectations of NGOs.

2) Participation in “Accountability”

The perspective of community participation is also included in the idea about “accountability.” In the previous sections, the general accountability framework, or “ladder of accountability” formed by Stewart (1984), was explained (see Table 2.1). More specifically, Watanabe (2005) formed phases and elements of “accountability,” which correspond to process accountability and performance accountability in the “ladder of accountability” (see Figure 2.1). According to Watanabe (2005), the elements include:

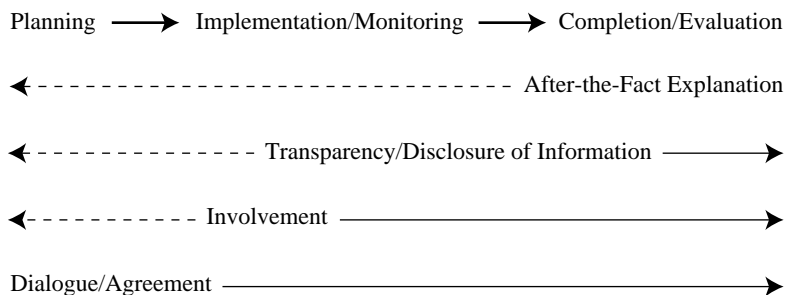


Figure 2.1 Phases and elements of “accountability”

Source: Created by author based on Watanabe (2005, 33).

1) dialogue/agreement; 2) involvement; 3) transparency/disclosure of information; and 4) explanation. They should ideally be practiced through the whole phases, which are: 1) planning; 2) implementation/monitoring; and 3) completion/evaluation (Watanabe 2005).

Since Watanabe (2005) forms the phases and elements to examine the broader concept of “accountability,” which is “being responsive to expectations of each stakeholder” as discussed above, the elements cover not only the after-the-fact explanation,³⁰ but also multiple elements including transparency, disclosure of information and explanation (Watanabe 2005; JANIC 2006). The “involvement” element especially addresses what Watanabe considers: participation is one of the ways to achieve “accountability.”

3) Classification of the Participation Level

To understand the idea about participation further, the “ladder of citizen participation” by Arnstein (1969) and “degree of participation” by Shaeffer (1994) are briefly examined. Arnstein discusses participation in general, while Shaeffer discusses participation in the context of international development. Participation is classified into eight levels by Arnstein, and classified into seven levels by Shaeffer. These levels include non-participation or passive participation (see Table 2.2). Arnstein (1969) considers participation to occur from the third level upwards: “non-participation,” “tokenism” and “citizen power.” The three levels in “tokenism” are regarded as passive participation, while the three levels in “citizen power” are regarded as active participation. At the “citizen power” level, people negotiate, make decisions and manage projects (Arnstein, 1969). Though the classifications by Arnstein and Shaeffer overlap at some levels, they also have some differences. Arnstein has a “placation” level in “tokenism,” which means selective inclusion from communities (Arnstein, 1969). In addition, “therapy” and “manipulation” levels in “non-participation” are not included in the Shaeffer’s participation degree. Both levels indicate a change in communities’ opinions or views by therapy or education to make their opinions meet the objective of the activities (Arnstein, 1969). On the other hand, Shaeffer’s participation degree has a level, which is the “mere use of the services” (Shaeffer, 1994). This describes communities as simply receivers of the ser-

Table 2.2 Level of participation

Ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1968)		Degree of participation (Shaeffer, 1994)			
8	Citizen power	Citizen control	7	Participation in real decision-making at every stage	
7		Delegated power	6	Implementers of delegated powers	
6		Partnership	5	Delivery of a service, often as a partner with other actors	
5	Tokenism	Placation			
4		Consultation	4	Consultation (or feedback) on a particular issue	
3		Informing	3	Attendance and the receipt of information, implying passive acceptance of decisions made by others	
		2	Contributions (or extraction) of resources, materials, and labor		
				1	Mere use of a service
2	Non-participation	Therapy			
1		Manipulation			

Source: Created by author based on Arnstein (1969, 2) and Shaeffer (1994, 16).

vices.

Based on the detailed explanations and categories by Arnstein (1969) and Shaeffer (1994), “participation” is a concept that needs to be carefully utilized since it has different meanings and levels. In fact, many scholars are concerned that the participation methods that NGOs apply are often limited to passive participation (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b; 1998; Streeten, 1997; Miller-Grandvaux et al., 2002; Ebrahim, 2003a). For instance, Doh and Teegen (2003), who study NGOs in India, indicate that NGOs consulted communities in a limited way. Hashemi (1996), who studies NGOs in Bangladesh, reports that people in communities are rarely allowed to make decisions about projects and budgets, or to participate in monitoring and evaluation. In addition, there are concerns about the use of community resources by the name of “participation” (Berry, 1999). Some scholars also

address that participation might promote the interests of powerful community members and even widen the gap among peoples (Clark, 1997; Sakata, 2003; Nishi, 2008). On the other hand, some researchers underscore that NGOs are superior to governments in terms of encouraging community participation in development activities (Cleary, 1997; Hudock, 1999). Based on their argument, the promotion of community participation is one of the strengths of NGOs.

Though there are various arguments about participatory methods in different literature, as discussed above, community participation is still one of the important aspects for NGOs. This is because participatory methods promote not only the sustainability of projects,³¹ but also communities' ownership, independence, self-reliance, cooperation, and empowerment (Najam, 1996; Streeten, 1997; Berry, 1999; Miller-Grandvauz et al., 2002; Shigeta, 2005). Therefore, NGOs encourage people to participate in the whole project process. According to Streeten (1997) and Berry (1999), community participation also establishes positive relationships between NGOs and communities. Based on these ideas and arguments in literature, the ways and levels of community participation in NGO projects is often examined to understand the relationships between development NGOs and communities.

Organizational Policy

Second, examining an NGO's organizational policy is one of the ways to understand the relationships between NGOs and the communities. This is because organization policy addresses the objectives and orientations of NGOs. An NGO's organizational policy reveals whether the NGO has organizational direction toward communities. Lloyd and Casas (2006) address the missions of development NGOs, which often indicate that communities are reasons why NGOs exist. If an NGO's mission indicates that the organizational objectives are not related to communities at all, the NGO is not oriented toward the communities' standpoint. The importance of the organizational objective aspect is also addressed by policy accountability,³² which examines policy direction in the "ladder of accountability" by Stewart (1987). As discussed earlier, an NGO's missions and values are core poli-

cies. Some argue that since NGOs are values-based, NGOs ultimately work for their missions and goals (Najam, 1996). Watanabe (2005) also indicates that NGOs might need to rely on their visions and missions in cases where demands from different stakeholders are contradicted.

While the importance of missions as organization policy is recognized, some researchers address negative opinions about NGO missions. For instance, based on the analysis of local development NGOs' missions in African countries,³³ Shivji (2007) describes missions as often vague and meaningless. In addition, he adds that people often quickly forget missions. Based on his research, many NGOs focus on mastering techniques or tools like log frameworks in order to show their achievements to donors and governments.

From the practical perspectives, Drucker (1990) addresses that a mission has to be simple, clear and operational to make individual staff easily develop images of their actions toward the mission. He criticizes a mission which has various intentions. Drucker (1990) indicates that a mission has to be converted into specifics. He also adds that a mission has to show what the institution really tries to do. A mission must reflect opportunity, competence and commitment (Drucker, 1990). Though there are various arguments about organizational policies addressed by missions, they are the only visible foundations of NGOs. Therefore, examining how the organizational policy explains to communities is one of the ways to understand the relationships between development NGOs and the communities as the NGOs' organizational orientations.

Individual Perceptions

Third, in addition to examining organizational policies, examining individual perceptions of those who work for development NGOs is one of the approaches to understand the relationships between NGOs and communities. Several scholars discuss the importance of examining individual perceptions. For instance, according to Axworthy (2005), NGOs at the organizational level are collective; people who work together in the NGO form policy directions as an organization. Tandon (1996), who examines

local development NGOs in South Asia, states that an NGO's identity is closely linked to the visions and perspectives of its founder(s). Moreover, in the discussion of NGO "accountability," there is a related perspective called "individual accountability" (Axworthy, 2005). Based on these ideas, individual perceptions are considered as those of the first priority to understand an NGO's orientation.

Though the importance of individual perceptions has been discussed, the analysis of cases is limited. One example of the analysis at the individual level is research on individual NGO workers' characteristics and motivations to work for local development NGOs in African countries, conducted by Shivji (2007). Although this research does not include examinations of the influence of individual characteristics and motivations on organizational directions, Shivji addresses some characteristics and perceptions of NGO workers in African countries.

According to Shivji (2007, 31), most of the African local NGO workers are educated elite. He also classified those members into three categories: "radical elites"; "well-intentioned individuals"; and "mainstream elites." According to Shivji (2007), "radical elites" try to change the current situations since they previously experienced political struggles under the oppressive government. "Well-intentioned individuals" are motivated to improve the life of the poor. "Mainstream elites" focus on their own careers with their business minds by getting jobs or receiving funds from foreign donors (Shivji, 2007, 31). "Radical elites" often have a vision for change and transformation; "well-intentioned individuals" are morally motivated; and "mainstream elites"³⁴ are careerists (Shivji, 2007). The research by Shivji, as well as other scholars' arguments, suggest the possibility that individual perceptions of NGO workers influence organizational directions.

Summary

This chapter holistically explored the discussion of NGOs in general, development NGOs, development NGOs in the education sector, and development NGOs in relation to communities, based on an analysis of the literature. This chapter first examined characteristics of NGOs in general.

The origins and transitions of development NGOs in the global context and developing countries' context were also examined. In addition, development NGOs were explored from the perspective of the basic education sub-sector. The number of development NGOs has drastically increased; their strong influence is recognized at the international level. Furthermore, as background to the expansion of development NGOs, three theoretical arguments—alternative development, government failure, and new policy agenda—were respectively examined. These background theories and events address that development NGOs are commonly recognized and expected to be actors, which in most cases are familiar with communities and work for the sake of the communities. In addition, this section explored the counter arguments to these expectations on NGOs.

In the second part of this chapter, the legal and financial environments and characteristics of development NGOs were examined. Development NGOs tend to work under government control by regulations as well as under the strong influence of donors. This section addressed that development NGOs operate in a complex environment in relation to different stakeholders. The last part of this chapter explored theoretical arguments about development NGOs in relation to communities from the aspect of NGO “accountability”. Furthermore, for understanding the relationships between NGOs and the communities, three perspectives were examined based on the literature: project process, organizational policy, and individual perceptions.



School building: the walls are made of mud



Children playing in the school playground



Students having fun in front of the camera

CHAPTER THREE

Local Development NGOs in the Context of Ethiopia

The previous chapter explored situations and discussions of development NGOs including local development NGOs in the international context. This chapter examines local development NGOs and the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia more specifically.

The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is one of the biggest and oldest countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. It covers a total area of 1,104,300 square kilometers with an estimated total population of 85,237,338 in 2009 (CIA, 2010). Ethiopia does not have a colonized experience unlike many other Sub-Saharan African countries. Furthermore, Ethiopia is one of the poorest countries in the world. The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was US\$ 317 in 2008 (World Bank, 2010). In November 2001, Ethiopia was identified as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC),³⁵ which is qualified for debt relief (CIA, 2010). With respect to the social aspects of Ethiopia, life expectancy is 55 years, as of 2008; the literacy rate was about 36 percent in 2007 (CIA, 2010; World Bank, 2010). Local development NGOs in Ethiopia work within this historically, financially, and socially complex, and difficult environment.

History of Local Development NGOs in Ethiopia

The background of local development NGOs and the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia are examined in order to understand the environment and

conditions in which local development NGOs operate. This first section specifically examines the historical background of NGOs in Ethiopia.

NGOs Under the Imperial and Communist Military Rules

The modern political history of Ethiopia is divided into three phases: imperial rule until 1974, communist military rule until 1991, and the current democratic federal rule, which was proclaimed in 1994 (Campbell, 2003; Lasonen et al., 2005; CIA, 2007).³⁶ Legally, laws related to NGOs were stated only in Articles 404 to 482 of the Civil Code of 1960 and in the Association Registration Regulations of 1966, which were set in the imperial rule, until Proclamation No. 621 was provided in 2009 (Ewing and Abdi, 1972; Horn Conslut, 2004; Dessalegn, 2008; Tsehai, 2008).³⁷ NGOs are included in the category “associations”³⁸ in the laws.

Under the imperial and communist military regimes, NGOs could be formed, but were limited to informal community based groups, informal ethnic based groups, or professional associations (Dessalegn, 2008). However, the government rarely approved their establishment. Labor unions are among the few examples that the government approved. Other forms of organizations, which aimed at public interest or service delivery, were potentially treated as suspicious organizations by the government during the imperial and communist military regimes (Dessalegn, 2008). Dessalegn (2008) shows that this was the reality of the political system under the imperial regime, which did not favor other political actors and possible negative influences on the government, though their constitutions addressed the importance of basic human needs and freedom of speech for associations. These unfavorable views toward NGOs persisted under the communist military regime (Dessalegn, 2008).

The major famines in 1973 and 1984 changed the situation of NGOs. These famines struck during the communist military regime. Various international development NGOs arrived and established offices in Ethiopia in order to work for emergency and relief (Kassahun, 2003; Dessalegn, 2008; Zakaariyaas, 2010). While the military regime attempted to build a centralized and socialist country independently of any outside influence, the

government was also attracted by external assistance through international development NGOs; the government eventually accepted these international development NGOs (Diesen and Walker, 1999). Moreover, those countries that hesitated to directly support the communist military government preferred to assist international development NGOs (Dessalegn, 2008; Diesen and Walker, 1999). As a result, more international development NGOs started working for emergency and relief in Ethiopia (Kassahun, 2003; Campbell, 2003; ERCA, 2003; Kodama, 2008). This movement by international development NGOs stimulated the formation of local development NGOs,³⁹ though the number of local development NGOs still remained small (Campbell, 2003; CRDA and DPPC, 2004). According to Dessalegn (2008), there were nearly 65 NGOs, of which about one third were local development NGOs. A few professional groups and some small informal associations existed in Ethiopia by the end of the 1980s.⁴⁰ This was the first time that both international and local development NGOs officially operated in Ethiopia (ERCA, 2003).

After the droughts, many international development NGOs remained and started carrying out development work in Ethiopia (Campbell, 2003; ERCA, 2003). Since the government was afraid that these international development NGOs and progressive local development NGOs would negatively affect their regime, the government regulated the work of both international and local development NGOs and tried to avoid a further increase in the number of NGOs (Campbell, 2003). Therefore, the working conditions for NGOs overall were not ideal in Ethiopia at that time; the number of development NGOs was also limited.

NGOs Under the Federal Democratic Rule

After the collapse of the communist military rule, a new government based on ethnic federalism was established. Under this current federal democratic government, the environment for the NGOs was expected to improve, especially since the government policy promotes democracy (Campbell, 2003; ERCA, 2003). However, the federal democratic government also continued to regulate the work of both international and local NGOs, and tried to

avoid a further increase in the number of NGOs in the early 1990s, just as the previous regime had done (Dessalegn, 2008). The new government also felt threatened about the negative influences of NGOs on its regime (Dessalegn, 2008). NGOs were restricted to service delivery and welfare work (Dessalegn, 2008).

Toward the end of the 1990s, the government started softening its policy to NGOs. Based on literature, one of the possible reasons why the attitudes toward NGOs changed was that the government needed assistance from external donors and NGOs for the recovery from the border war with Eritrea (Clark, 2000; Dessalegn, 2003; 2008). Moreover, in order to receive financial funds from donors, the Ethiopian government needed to be liberal and democratic (Dessalegn, 2008). A government policy statement entitled “The National Policy on Disaster Prevention and Management” issued in 1995 defines an NGO as a “humanitarian private organization, which uses its own resources and participates in project activities, with the government effort to eliminate poverty” (Abdulhamid et al., 2002, 19). This implies that the government officially regards NGOs as its partners that share the same goals (Abdulhamid et al., 2002).

From 2000, the government shifted its policy to one that emphasized partnerships with the NGO sector (Dessalegn, 2008). As possible reasons for this policy shift toward NGOs, some researchers suggest the Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP) and decentralization (Miller-Grandvaux et al., 2002; Dessalegn, 2008). One of the Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) conditions for debt relief, decided by the IMF and World Bank, is the formation and approval process of PRSP (Yamada, 2006). Involvement of civil society is one of the conditions to gain the approval of PRSP (Dessalegn, 2008). Therefore, the Ethiopian government had to involve NGOs in the program and to form partnerships with them (Dessalegn, 2008). In fact, the PRSP document finalized in 2002 addressed NGOs as development partners for poverty reduction, especially in service delivery for agriculture, health, education, and water sectors at the local level (Dessalegn, 2008).

Another reason is due possibly to decentralization, which seems to influence NGO activity in Ethiopia. The government launched decentralization⁴¹ at the district level in 2001 with its District Level Decentralization Program

(DLDP) (Miller-Grandvauz et al., 2002; Assefa, 2007; Dessalegn, 2008). The federal government promoted decentralization at the regional level from the beginning (Assefa, 2007). With DLDP, the further decentralization at the district level was achieved. Local offices at the district level gained responsibilities for decision making about political, social, and economic development in their respective districts (Oromia BoFED, 2005). They also managed to block grants from the regional offices (Assefa, 2007). At the same time, this decentralization resulted in closer relationships between local governments and NGOs (Dessalegn, 2008). This is because local development NGOs discuss with local governments at the district level—*Woreda*/district education offices (WEOs) in the case of the education sector—when they start projects, since the district offices regulate development projects in their districts. It is easier for local development NGOs to approach district offices since district offices are physically, as well as bureaucratically, closer than regional offices. Ehara (2003) also mentions that decentralization generally increases the number of development NGOs.

In the last five years, the Ethiopian prime minister and senior government officials have started recognizing NGOs' roles in the development and democratization process in the country (Dessalegn, 2008). In fact, the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED) invited NGOs to workshops on several occasions to discuss the poverty reduction program (Dessalegn, 2008). These positive attitudes imply that the status of NGOs has changed in Ethiopia. The increase in the number of NGOs also implies a positive environment for the growth of NGOs. The number of officially

Table 3.1 Increase of number of NGOs in Ethiopia from the 1994 to 2009

	1994	1996	1998	1999	2000	2002	2007	2009
Local NGOs	24	96	160	190	246	280	1,742	2,361
International NGOs	46	96	119	120	122	120	234	292
Total	70	192	270	310	368	400	1,976	2,653

Source: Created by author based on Clark (2000); Singer and Getachew (2002); Dessalegn (2008); Dessalegn et al. (2008, 12); Zakaariyaas (2010) and AAA (n.d.).

Table 3.2 Classification of NGOs in Ethiopia in 2009

	Local NGO	International NGO
Development	2,361	292
Religion	780	7
Professional	197	0
Civic*	122	5
Adoption	0	96
Others	156	3
Sub-total	3,616	403
Total	4,019	

Source: Created by author based on Ministry of Justice Database (June 2009).

Note: *Civil organization does advocacy activities for promoting good governance, democracy, human rights, peace building, and others (Dessalegn et al., 2008).

Table 3.3 Comparison of NGO transfers and earnings from selected exports (Million US\$)

	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08*
NGO transfers (Cash)	444.0	497.8	537.4	305.3
Coffee export	335.2	354.3	424.2	145.0
Oil seeds export	125.0	211.4	187.4	66.9
Chat export	100.2	89.1	92.8	55.4
Products exports	67.6	75.0	89.6	49.4

Source: Dessalegn et al. (2008, 25).

Note: *For the first two quarters of the year only.

registered NGOs overall rose to 70 in 1994, and which subsequently grew to 2,653 in 2009, as shown in Table 3.1 (Dessalegn et al., 2008 DPPA, n.d.). Among the NGOs registered in 2009, 2,361 were local development NGOs, while 292 were international NGOs (ERCA, 2003).⁴² Table 3.2 shows a classification of the NGOs by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) that manages NGO registration. Although the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness

Agency (DPPA)⁴³ (2006) indicates that half of the registered local development NGOs, about 1,400 NGOs in 2005, were not operational, the number of local development NGOs are still high. One document notes that about twenty million people were direct beneficiaries of the NGO projects from 1997 to 2004 (CRDA and DPPC, 2004). Table 3.3 addresses the amount of money NGOs transferred in comparison with earnings from the exportation of the main products in Ethiopia. Since 2004, the amount of money NGOs transferred has been higher than the exportation of each product. These data and figures indicate an influential status of development NGOs in Ethiopia.

Local Development NGOs in the Basic Education Sub-sector in Ethiopia

NGOs in the National Education Policy

The previous sections examined development NGOs in Ethiopia in general. This section examines development NGOs that operate in basic education in Ethiopia. Before proceeding to examine development NGOs in basic education, this section first explores basic education policies and educational situations in Ethiopia.

As official education policy in Ethiopia, the Education and Training Policy (ETP) was developed in 1994, which seeks a high access, high quality and highly equitable education system (Williams, 2002).⁴⁴ In order to achieve the goals of ETP, the Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) was formed. As seen in Table 3.4, the ESDP aims at mobilizing national and international efforts for improving performance, particularly in basic education (ENA for UNESCO, 2001; MoE, 2002b).⁴⁵ Moreover, since the government attended the World Conference for Education for All in 1990 and 2000, and signed the agreement, the government seems to be eager to work on basic education for all.

The series of ESDP documents by the Ministry of Education (MoE) present the importance of the partnerships with NGOs, which are assumed to be both international and local development NGOs. As mentioned above, the number of local development NGOs has dramatically increased; their work in the education sector is considered to be valuable by the MoE (MoE,

Table 3.4 Vision and mission in education based on ESDP

Vision:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to quality education for all • Production of citizens that possess human and national responsibility, having developed problem solving attitudes and capacity, making them able to participate in the production activities • Production of lower, middle and higher level skilled manpower that can participate in various fields of the economic sector and contribute to the country's economic growth and social development
Mission:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Producing good citizenship • Ensuring educational equity between urban and rural localities, between male and females as well as among National Regional States of Ethiopia • Producing required middle level skilled manpower at reasonable quality and sufficient quantity by establishing technical-vocational training system • Opening new educational institutions, as well as expanding and strengthening existing ones, in order to produce professionals in quantities and quality levels that match the requirement of the country • Enabling the community to participate directly in the school management and administration with a sense of ownership • Building manpower capacity at each level of the system to ensure successful implementation educational management

Source: Ethiopian National Agency for UNESCO (2001, 3).

2002a). In fact, ESDP II has an independent section for “non-government organizations and the private sector.” This section states that the government needs to develop a desirable environment and procedures for NGOs. ESDP II states that “[g]overnment/NGO partnership shall be strengthened to develop and implement complementary basic education initiatives” (MoE, 2002a, 37). Considering that most of the official budget for primary education is used for personnel costs, including teachers in the basic education sub-sector, the government needs help from NGOs to achieve universal primary education. The importance of coordination with NGOs at various levels is also emphasized. Furthermore, the government’s poverty reduction program⁴⁶ has officially declared that the education sector will require a budget of 54 million Ethiopian birr to operate; this amount represents an estimated US\$ 860 million for five years (Dessalegn et al., 2008). The government expects NGOs, the private sector, and citizens to cover up to 33 percent of this figure (Dessalegn et al., 2008). These situations indicate that

the Ethiopian government holds great expectations of NGOs in the education sector.

Some data and figures also address the NGO contributions in Ethiopia (Horn Consult, 2003). According to the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Agency (DPPA), 22 percent of the total local development NGOs operated in the education and training sector in 2005 (DPPA, n.d.). This was the second largest sector served by local development NGOs in Ethiopia in 2005 (DPPA, n.d.).⁴⁷ Other sources also show that 209 projects, or 33 percent of the total number of NGO projects, were implemented by NGOs working in the education sector in Ethiopia from 2004 to 2007 (Dessalegn et al., 2008). Furthermore, NGOs' expenditure on the education sector in the major four regions⁴⁸ from 1997 to 2000 was about 700 million Ethiopian birr, which equals US\$ 11 billion (Dessalegn et al., 2008). These figures show the level of support provided by NGOs to the education sector in Ethiopia.

Basic Education Sub-sector in Ethiopia

Before discussing NGO activity in basic education, this section examines the situations in the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia. The new education system requires ten years of general education including eight years of primary education, which is divided into two four-year cycles (International Bureau of Education, 2000). Primary education is compulsory in Ethiopia (International Centre on Higher Education, 2003). The first cycle of primary education aims to achieve functional literacy, while the second cycle prepares students for further general education (International Bureau of Education, 2000). Students in grade one to grade three are automatically promoted (International Bureau of Education, 2000). This prevents students from repeating the same grade as well as dropping out of schools. Due to the decentralized system, school style depends on the region. The regional education bureaus (REBs) decide all the issues in education, which can be flexible depending on the needs of communities. The enrollment ratios at the primary school level have dramatically increased in Ethiopia in the last ten years (see Figure 3.1). The commonly discussed reason for the high

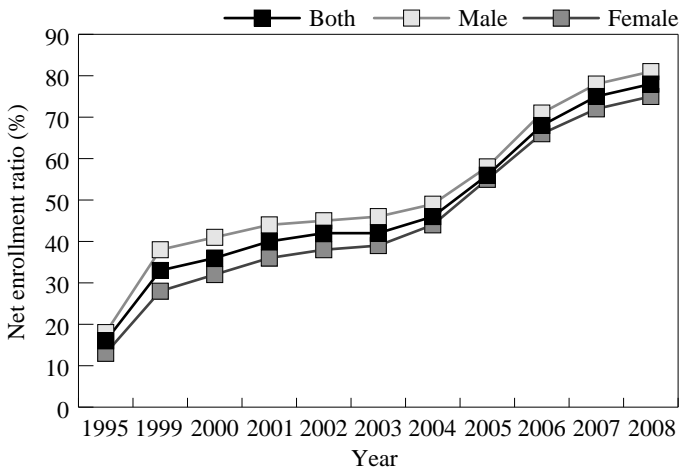


Figure 3.1 Net enrollment ratio in Ethiopia (Primary education level: Grade 1-8)

Source: Created by author based on World Bank (1998) and UIS (2009).

growth in enrollment rate is the governmental efforts with international donors to achieve EFA and UPE, as discussed earlier (Lasonen et al., 2005). The possible influence of NGOs on basic education will be discussed in the following section.

Non-formal Basic Education and Local Development NGOs

When local development NGOs work in the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia, they often implement projects of non-formal basic education (NFBE) or alternative basic education (ABE).⁴⁹ NFBE is non-formal education for children and youth, and it has been implemented in various countries, especially in developing countries, to support universal primary education (UPE) (Hoppers, 2006). NFBE gives learning opportunities to children with no access to formal primary schooling (Rose, 2007). The Declaration on EFA in Jomtien views the NFBE system as filling the gap for malfunctioning formal primary education (Hoppers, 2006). Hoppers (2006) describes the Declaration established NFBE as the second-best system next to formal basic education.

In Ethiopia, the NFBE program has also been expanded. Surprisingly, the Education and Training Policy (ETP) includes provisions for NFBE. According to ETP, NFBE integrates the attainment of basic education skills and the development of problem-solving ability (Nasise, n.d.). The Ministry of Education (MoE) admits that the NFBE is a shortcut and cost effective for providing basic education for all (MoE, 2002). MoE recommends REBs to support NFBE programs with the full participation and contributions by communities and NGOs (MoE, 2002). These situations illustrate that the Ethiopian government is positive not only to accept NFBE program, but also to work with NGOs for NFBE.

Based on the education policy in the Oromia region, which is the selected region for this study, NFBE provides education for out-of-school children between the ages of seven to fourteen (Nasise, n.d.). The length of NFBE is three years; this is regarded as an equivalent education for the first cycle of formal basic education from grades one to four (MoE, 2002a) (see Figure 3.2). NFBE consists of basic learning needs including knowledge,⁵⁰ skills, attitudes, and values (Nasise, n.d.). According to a document published by the Oromia regional government, the NFBE system helped increase access to primary education by about seven percent (Nasise, n.d.). Encouraged by international and internal trends, the NFBE system is expected to accelerate the realization of universal primary education in Ethiopia.

In the basic education sub-sector, one report shows that 887,100 people

Formal basic education	Formal education	Non-formal education	Non-formal basic education
	Grade 4	Level 3	
	Grade 3	Level 2	
	Grade 2		
	Grade 1	Level 1	

Figure 3.2 Formal basic education and non-formal basic education

Source: Oromia Education Bureau (2002, 2).

directly benefited by local development NGO activity from 1997 to 2001, while the number of beneficiaries from the projects implemented by international development NGOs in the same period was 687,400 (CRDA and DPPC, 2004). In addition, one report states that 320,581 children were enrolled in NFBE schools in Ethiopia in 2000; 319,499 children were enrolled in NFBE schools in the Oromia region in 2007 (MoE, 2002a; Nasise, n.d.). This data indicates that local development NGOs actively operate in the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia; their activities have become influential in providing basic education access in Ethiopia.

Characteristics and Issues of Local Development NGOs in Ethiopia

The previous sections examined the history of NGOs in Ethiopia as well as NFBE activities by development NGOs in the basic education sub-sector. This section examines characteristics and issues of local development NGOs in Ethiopia based on literature to further understand local development NGOs in Ethiopia. Oromia Regional Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED) (2005, 7) defines an NGO as “an independent, voluntary, non-profit making, non-self serving, and value-based society, association, foundation, or charitable trust working for a betterment of a target society and which is not regarded under particular legal system as part of the government sector.” Oromia BoFED (2005, 5) even adds that NGOs are theoretically “entity working for the betterment of society without aspiring any kind of self-benefit.” Based on existing literature, characteristics of local development NGOs in Ethiopia are examined from six perspectives: 1) approach; 2) legal environment; 3) financial environment; 4) motivations and management; 5) job creation; and 6) relationships with communities.

Approach: Service Delivery

As the history of NGOs in Ethiopia shows, NGOs tend to be seen as political threats by previous and current governments. Therefore, the governments have not been willing for NGOs to practice advocacy or activities related to political issues. The expected roles of NGOs by the current govern-

ment are service delivery activities, which are related to poverty reduction and socio-economic development in the areas of health, education, water, agriculture, environment, food security, and others (Horn Consult, 2003; Dessalegn, 2008; Kodama, 2008b). In fact, data shows that 72 percent of all NGOs operating in Ethiopia were engaged in welfare programs in the form of service delivery in 1994 (Birhanu, 2003). The Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 decided that “Ethiopian Resident” NGOs, under which most of the current local development NGOs are categorized, are not allowed to conduct any advocacy activities related to human and democratic rights, promotion of equality of nations, or promotion of efficiency of the justice and law enforcement services. Therefore, the main activities of local development NGOs are limited to service delivery.

Legal Environment

The earlier sections of this paper examined the history of the establishment of development NGOs in Ethiopia and included some ideas about the legal environment as well as development NGOs’ relationships with the government. As discussed above, development NGOs were positively acknowledged from the beginning of the 2000s, after the PRSP program and decentralization in Ethiopia. Research by Horn Consult (2003) addresses the current legal environment for local development NGOs, which is not restrictive unless NGOs raise public issues and challenge government policies. On the other hand, several researchers address negative attitudes toward development NGOs by the government. Miller-Grandvaux et al. (2002), who conducted comparative studies about NGOs in Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi, and Mali, argue that the country with the most restrictive policy toward NGOs is Ethiopia. Based on interviews with local development NGOs, Miller-Grandvaux et al. (2002) report that the registration process was closed and slow in Ethiopia. Moreover, expenses are high since local development NGOs need to travel to different offices many times. The research indicates that the legal environment for local development NGOs in Ethiopia is still more restrictive than in other countries, though the legal environment for local development NGOs might become better than ones of the previous

regimes in Ethiopia.

In addition, some researchers report that the Ethiopian government seems to be suspicious about local development NGOs (e.g. Horn Consult, 2003). According to Dessalegn (2008), several NGOs complained that the government does not regard NGOs as important partners for development in Ethiopia. Muir (2004) also addresses the mistrust between the government and NGOs. Dessalegn et al. (2008) also notes that local development NGOs are sometimes mistakenly accused of ignoring the government development policy, or working in isolation and independence from the government. The CRDA and DPPC (2004) also report that the NGO sector in Ethiopia is very weak in comparison to other African countries due to lack of public and government appreciation for NGO activity. Since the government addresses the importance of the partnership with development NGOs in different official documents and meetings, the legal framework for local development NGOs has become softer in comparison with those under the empire and socialist regimes. However, since government officials are often suspicious of local development NGOs at the individual level, it seems that the legal environment of development NGOs is still strict; government officials do not necessarily accept local development NGOs as legitimate actors (Dessalegn, 2008).

Financial Environment

As discussed in the previous chapter, several scholars address development NGOs' dependency on external donors. According to Berhanu (2003) and Horn Consult (2003), most of the local development NGOs in Ethiopia also receive funding from external donors. Communities cannot afford to contribute cash in most cases; the government also does not support local development NGOs financially (Horn Consult, 2003). These situations result in NGOs' dependency on external donors. Dessalegn (2008) reports that local development NGOs spend a lot of money and time to meet reporting requirements by external donors. Some researchers are afraid that this NGOs' dependency on external donors influences the relationships between NGOs and the communities (Horn Consult, 2003). Nishi (2009) and

Kodama (2008b) are even concerned about local development NGOs that might work not for people but for international donor agencies, since some of them seem to work based on the rules of donors. The study conducted by Horn Consult (2003) suggests that local development NGOs need to find alternative financial resources within Ethiopia. While the same study suggests possibilities of financial sources from private companies or contributions from communities, it also indicates difficulties for local development NGOs to secure these sources in the current situation in Ethiopia (Horn Consult, 2003). These situations indicate the inevitable financial dependence of local development NGOs on external donors in Ethiopia.

Motivations and Management

As discussed in the previous chapter, Shivji (2007, 31) suggests that individual motivations to work for local development NGOs are categorized into three types: 1) “radical elites”; 2) “well-intentioned individuals”; and 3) “mainstream elites,” based on his research on African NGOs. In the Ethiopian context, one research study by Horn Consult (2007, 11) reports that local development NGOs in Ethiopia are often established based on: 1) professional skills; 2) sectoral interests; 3) ethnic or home area attachment; 4) encouragement by international NGOs; or 5) voluntary individuals or small groups initiatives. In addition, Berhanu (2003) notes that many directors of local development NGOs in Ethiopia are also founding members of the NGOs. With this situation, Birhanu (2003) is concerned that these founder-directors of NGOs centralize the power and make decisions alone. In fact, Dessalegn (2008) reports that many NGOs lack consensus-based decision-making and a democratic culture. Many NGOs seem to be managed by a top-down approach in project process as well as staff management within NGOs (Dessalegn, 2008).

Job Creation by Local Development NGOs

Though job creation by local development NGOs has not been an area of focus in the international context, some research about local development NGOs in Ethiopia suggests contributions to job creation by local develop-

ment NGOs. In the international context, some researchers show that NGOs create employment opportunities (Ilon, 1998; Lloyd et al., 2008). Barr et al. (2005), who research NGOs in Uganda, indicate that NGOs contribute to job creation by showing the median number of employees per NGO is eighteen in comparison with profit enterprises that normally have one or two employees in Uganda. Gideon (1998), who researches NGOs in Latin America, also addresses job creation by NGOs.

In the Ethiopian context, some researchers indicate that local development NGOs contribute to employment (CRDA and DPPC, 2004; Dessalegn et al., 2008). In Ethiopia, unemployment is one of the serious economic and social issues (CRDA and DPPC, 2004; Tekeste, 2006). Though exact unemployment data is not collected, the CRDA and DPPC (2004) report an unemployment rate in Ethiopia of 50 percent or even higher. Given this fact, job creation by local development NGOs is valuable for Ethiopia. Data shows that 7,551 Ethiopian people were employed by local development NGOs in Addis Ababa and four regions⁵¹ in 2002 (CRDA and DPPC, 2004). Since the number of local development NGOs has increased, local development NGOs are assumed to contribute more to job creation in Ethiopia.

In relation to the employment opportunities brought by NGOs within the global context, some researchers have expressed their concerns regarding the commercialization of NGOs (e.g. Lofredo, 2000). Cannon (1996), who researches NGOs in Uganda, illustrates that some NGO workers are motivated by profit, though NGOs are supposed to be non-profit. In the Ethiopian context, Yokozeki (1998) describes a director of a local development NGO in Ethiopia as looking like a head of a private company with skilled staff and sufficient financial resources from external donors. Though Yokozeki (1998) does not criticize the Ethiopian situation, excess emphasis on profit or a business mind may sacrifice the achievement of organizational objectives.

Relationships with Communities

This section examines the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities in Ethiopia based on existing literature and previous

research from two perspectives: public awareness about local development NGOs and community participation in NGO projects.

1) Public Awareness of Local Development NGOs

From the perspective of local development NGOs in Ethiopia at the local level, some scholars in Ethiopia describe NGOs as contributing to the strengthening of grassroots people in rural areas in Ethiopia (Dessalegn et al., 2008). According to the CRDA (2008b), one of the roles of NGOs in Ethiopia is to support and help unfortunate communities and members of society with little or no income.

However, research conducted by Horn Consult (2003) indicates that the public does not know the existence and/or work of NGOs, although the number of local development NGOs has drastically increased in Ethiopia. Dessalegn (2003) even argues that most of the NGOs are not well rooted in the communities where the NGOs work in Ethiopia. Furthermore, some researchers indicate that the public negatively perceive many local development NGOs. Dessalegn (2008, 119) expresses this situation as an “image problem.” According to a study conducted by Horn Consult (2003), a few negative practices by some NGOs,⁵² which consider only their profit, are whispered about among the public. The research also addresses the public image of local development NGOs, which is associated with good salaries and luxurious cars rather than familiarity with communities or good services (Horn Consult, 2003). These perceptions create negative images of local development NGOs in Ethiopia among the communities.

To improve the image of local development NGOs, research about local development NGOs in Ethiopia carried out by Horn Consult (2003) suggests a membership structure. According to Horn Consult (2003), five out of their twenty sample NGOs have a membership structure. Horn Consult (2003) suggests that membership structure can be useful for building a positive image of NGOs, promoting the acceptance of NGOs by communities, and creating support from communities. The literature implies that communities in Ethiopia tend to have a negative image of local development NGOs. Moreover, the literature suggests that the communities recognize local development NGOs as neither actors familiar with them nor actors that

represent their point of view.

2) Community Participation in NGO Projects

As discussed in the previous chapter, community participation in NGO projects is one of the ways to understand the relationships between local development NGOs and communities. Some researchers mention a high participation of communities in NGO projects in Ethiopia. In many cases, local development NGOs promote a participatory approach in their projects (Desalegn, 2003; Muir, 2004).⁵³ In the education sector, NGOs also encourage community members to participate in their projects. Yet, some researchers claim that the participation of community members in NGO projects is limited (e.g. Birhanu, 2003). In the education sector, research conducted by Miller-Grandvaux et al. (2002) found that one NGO in the Tigray region regards communities' participation as mere contributions of cash and/or labor. In addition, a study conducted by Horn Consult (2003, 30) shows that local development NGOs are the "givers" who provide something through projects for communities who are the mere "receivers." Horn Consult (2003, 30) adds that such "giver and receiver relationship" is easily damaged when the assistance ends. In order for local development NGOs to forge and keep the relationships with communities, both Horn Consult (2003) and Dessalegn (2008) suggest the importance of raising public awareness of local development NGOs. While the existing literature indicates that communities participate in NGO projects in Ethiopia, their ways of participation might be limited.

Summary

This chapter specifically explored development NGOs in Ethiopia. History shows that NGOs in Ethiopia have experienced difficulties for a long time. Although the environment of development NGOs has not been favorable, they have expanded their numbers and activities in Ethiopia. Currently, the government as well as external donors regard local development NGOs as important actors for development in Ethiopia, at least officially. On the contrary, some literature reports that there are government officials who are still

suspicious about development NGOs. This illustrates the complex environment for local development NGOs in Ethiopia.

At the same time, this chapter described contributions by development NGOs to the development of Ethiopia as a whole and to the education sector specifically. This chapter examined the current situation of the basic education sub-sector and non-formal basic education (NFBE) system in order to understand how local development NGOs operate in basic education in Ethiopia. Some statistical data also indicates that local development NGOs grew to be influential actors in Ethiopia.

In addition, this chapter explored existing research that addresses the characteristics and issues of local development NGOs in Ethiopia. The research indicates that local development NGOs are mainly working on service delivery with financial dependency on external donors in a relatively strict legal environment. Advocacy activities by NGOs have been unfavorable even under the current government. Furthermore, this chapter examined discussions about the relationships between NGOs and the communities, as discussed in literature. Although the research is limited, some researchers address low or negative public perceptions of NGOs, as well as limited participation in NGO projects by communities. Some researchers describe relationships between local development NGOs and communities that are based on giving and receiving. The existing literature does not imply strong relationships between local development NGOs and communities.



Classroom atmosphere: the teacher is standing and everyone is smiling



Mathematics lesson: little boy answering the teacher's question



Lesson atmosphere: the student is reading a book to the class

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

Analytical Framework

The analytical framework showed in Figure 4.1 illustrates the flow of this research and process of analysis, combined with related concepts discussed in the previous chapters. The main focus of this study is the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities. The relationships are analyzed from both perspectives of the communities and local development NGOs. Moreover, organizational objectives, individual perceptions, and communities' participation are explored based on the discussion addressing the ways to understand the relationships between NGOs and the communities in Chapter 2.

More specifically, the perspectives from the community side consist of individual perceptions of local development NGOs, communities' participation in NGO projects, and the communities' evaluations of the NGO projects. The NGO perspectives consist of the NGOs' organizational objectives and individual NGO workers' perceptions of local development NGOs. Perceptions of the local development NGOs by NGO workers at the individual level also reveal their perceptions of the communities. Both perspectives are examined as this study aims to address the unreserved relationships between local development NGOs and the communities in Ethiopia. In addition, the legal environment and financial characteristics of local development NGOs are also examined.

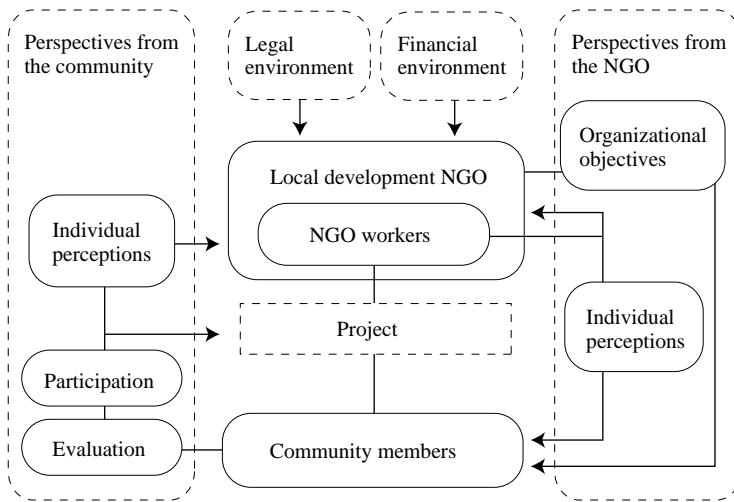


Figure 4.1 Analytical framework

Source: Created by author.

Based on the analytical framework above, this study investigates the following research questions:

1. What characteristics do local development NGOs have?
 - 1.1 What organizational objectives do local development NGOs have?
 - 1.2 In what legal environments do local development NGOs operate?
 - 1.3 What financial characteristics do local development NGOs have?
2. How do community members participate in NGO projects and evaluate them?
 - 2.1 In what ways do community members participate in NGO projects?
 - 2.2 How do the community members evaluate NGO projects?
3. How are local development NGOs perceived at the individual level?
 - 3.1 How do community members perceive local development NGOs?
 - 3.2 How do NGO workers perceive their local development NGOs?

Question one explores the characteristics of local development NGOs in Ethiopia, including their organizational objectives, legal environment, and financial characteristics. From the aspect of organizational objectives, mis-

sions of the selected local development NGOs are examined in order to understand the policy directions and orientations of the NGOs. This analysis also reveals local development NGOs' organizational attitudes toward the communities. The legal environment includes procedures for local development NGOs to follow to register and implement projects. By examining legal policies regarding local development NGOs, the government's attitudes toward local development NGOs are also examined. Financial characteristics include financial sources of local development NGOs. Local development NGOs' relationships with donors are also mentioned.

Question two aims to explore the communities' relationships with NGO projects. The ways and levels of communities' participation in the NGO projects and their levels of satisfaction with the NGO projects are examined.

Question three aims to analyze the perceptions of local development NGOs by community members and by individual NGO workers. Through examining perceptions of local development NGOs by NGO workers, NGOs' attitudes and perceptions about communities at the individual level are analyzed. Moreover, by exploring the community members' perceptions of local development NGOs, this study seeks to understand the meaning of the NGOs' existence in relation to communities in Ethiopia. These analyses explore the reality of relationships between local development NGOs and the communities.

Research Design

This research used case study methods and explored multiple cases, looking at eight local development NGOs. A case study is one type of qualitative research design (Merriam, 1998; Wiersma, 2000). Qualitative research, which originates from descriptive analysis, emphasizes the holistic interpretation of phenomena (Wiersma, 2000). Merriam (1998, 6) also states that "qualitative research can reveal how all the parts work together to form a whole." A case study develops an in-depth analysis of cases (Creswell, 1998). Yin (1994, 13) explains that "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context." In this

study, the contemporary phenomena are activities by local development NGOs in Ethiopia, which have been expanded and are influential. According to Merriam (1998), the interests in a case study are process, context, and discovery. Moreover, Sato (2002) states that a case study explores not only cases themselves, but also general issues through cases. According to Wiersma (2000), a multi-case study is possible to enhance the generalizability of the research and the comparability across cases. This study also tries to understand the general trend across, as well as differences between, the local development NGOs' relationships with communities in Ethiopia.

Data Collection

Eight local development NGOs, which operate in the basic education sub-sector in the Oromia region, Ethiopia, are selected as the research samples for this study. The sample local development NGOs are selected by purposeful sampling.⁵⁴ Purposeful sampling is applied to select samples, which are information-rich and can be studied in depth (Merriam, 1998; Wiersma, 2000). By utilizing purposeful sampling, the study aims to analyze particular phenomena, which are interactions between local development NGOs and communities in Ethiopia, that are caused by local development NGO activity. The selection process and criteria are explained as follows.

Selection of the Sector: Basic Education Sub-sector

There are two reasons why this study selected the basic education sub-sector. First, the education sector is one of the largest sectors in which many local development NGOs operate in Ethiopia. As described in Chapter 3, data from the DPPA (2006) confirmed that the education and training sector is the second largest sector, in which local development NGOs implement projects. The data shows that about 22 percent of the local development NGOs operate in the education and training sector (DPPA, n.d.). Therefore, this study selects the education sector, which is one of the representative sectors for many local development NGOs operating in Ethiopia.

The second reason why this study selected the basic education sub-

sector is based on the fact that most local development NGOs, which operate in the basic education sub-sector, implement non-formal basic education (NFBE) projects, as discussed in Chapter 3. The selected local development NGOs implement NFBE projects that have similar project components as the next chapter will show. Moreover, the selected projects are funded by foreign donors as is the case with most of the projects implemented by local development NGOs in Ethiopia.⁵⁵ For the purpose of the analysis of local development NGOs in relation to communities, this study examines interaction between the local development NGOs and their target communities through NGO projects. The uniformity of the components of all sample projects minimizes the influences from variances across the projects.⁵⁶ It also allows the author to analyze and understand the eight sample local development NGOs holistically as well as to compare differences across the sample of NGOs. Therefore, the basic education sub-sector is suitable for this study to focus on the analysis of the local development NGOs' orientations and their relationships with the target communities.

Selection of the Region: Oromia Region

1) Background of the Oromia Region

This study examines local development NGOs that operate in the Oromia region. Ethiopia currently consists of nine ethnic-based regions and two self-governing administrations (CIA, 2010). The Oromia region is one of the ethnic-based regions, which has a geographical area of 363,136 square kilometers, accounting for about 34 percent of the total land of Ethiopia. The population is 27,158,471, which is about 36 percent of the total population of Ethiopia (see Table 4.1). From an economic perspective, the GDP per capita in the Oromia region, which was US\$ 183 in 2009, is much lower than the national level, which was US\$ 317 in 2008 (see Table 4.1). Moreover, the adult literacy rate was also low at 29.5 percent in 2005 (see Table 4.1). The economic level and adult educational level are lower than the national average.

Table 4.2 provides some educational data. The teacher-pupil ratio was slightly better at the national level than for the Oromia region in 2007. The

Table 4.1 Socio-economic indicators in the Oromia region

	Oromia region	Ethiopia total
Area	363,136 km ²	1,104,300 km ²
Population	27,158,471 (2007)	85,237,338 (2009*)
Language	Afan Oromo	Amharic 32.7 %, Afan Oromo 31.6 % Other 35.7 %** (1994)
GDP per capita	US\$ 183 (2009/10)*	US\$ 317 (2008)
Religion	Christianity (Orthodox, Protestant Catholic), Islam, traditional belief	Christianity (Orthodox, Protestant Catholic), Islam, traditional belief
Adult literacy (age 15 and over)	29.5 % (2005)	35.9 % (2008)

Source: Created by author based on UIS (2009), CIA (2010), World Bank (2010), Nasise (n.d.).

Note: *forecast **Other languages include Tigrigna 6.1 %, Somaligna 6 %, Guaragigna 3.5 %, Sidamigna 3.5 %, and Hadiyigna 1.7 %.

Table 4.2 Educational indicators at the primary education level in Oromia region

	Oromia region	Ethiopia total
Net enrollment ratio	89 % (male) 79 % (female) (2007/08)	81 % (male) 75 % (female) (2007/08)
Number of schools	7,350 (2007/08)	16,513 (2004/05)
Number of teachers	89,785 (2007/08)	214,811 (2007/08)
Pupil teacher ratio	61:1 (2007/08)	59:1 (2007/08)
Pupil section ratio	65:1 (2007/08)	69:1 (2004/05)
Gender parity index	0.79 (2005/06)	0.81 (2005/06)

Source: Created by author based on MoE 2005, JRM (2006), UIS (2009) MoE (2007), Macro International Inc. (2008), OEB (2009), Nasise (n.d.).

Note: Some data gives two consecutive years due to the Ethiopian calendar which starts in September.

gender parity ratio was also better at the national level in 2005 than for the Oromia region. On the other hand, in terms of the net enrollment ratio for primary education in 2007, 89 percent of male children and 79 percent of female children were enrolled in the Oromia region, while 81 percent of the male children and 75 percent of the female children were enrolled in Ethiopia as a whole. The enrollment ratio is slightly better in the Oromia region than at the national level. Although the educational environment needs to be improved, access to primary education is slightly better in the Oromia region.

2) Local Development NGOs in the Oromia Region

The Oromia region in Ethiopia was selected for this study. Its historical background and various quantitative facts imply that local development NGOs are more active in the Oromia region than in other regions. The first indicator comprises quantitative facts. According to the Oromia Regional Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (BoFED) (2005), 243 local

Table 4.3 Number of ongoing NGO projects in 2008 (Listed by region)

	Local NGOs		International NGOs		Total	
Addis Ababa	173	36.9 %	44	15.8 %	217	29 %
Oromia	177	37.7 %	53	19.1 %	230	31 %
SNNPRs	28	6.0 %	70	25.2 %	98	13 %
Amhara	34	7.2 %	41	14.7 %	75	10 %
Tigray	9	1.9 %	14	5.0 %	23	3 %
Somali	17	3.6 %	22	7.9 %	39	5 %
Benishangul-Gumuz	3	0.6 %	14	5.0 %	17	2 %
Afar	7	1.5 %	11	4.0 %	18	2 %
Dire Dawa	6	1.3 %	5	1.8 %	11	1 %
Gambella	7	1.5 %	1	0.4 %	8	1 %
Harari	8	1.7 %	3	1.1 %	11	1 %
Total	469	100 %	278	100 %	747	100 %

Source: Created by author based on Dessalegn, Akalewold, and Yoseph (2008, 13).

development NGOs worked in the Oromia region in 2009. The number of ongoing projects implemented by local development NGOs in the Oromia region was the highest in the country, compared to other areas. As seen in Table 4.3, 177 projects were conducted by local NGOs in the Oromia region in 2008 (Dessalegn et al., 2008). This is about 37 percent of the total projects by local development NGOs in Ethiopia. In 2009, 583 projects were implemented by local development NGOs in the Oromia region (Oromia BoFED, 2005). The accumulative number of the projects in the Oromia region from 2004 to 2008 was also the highest; there were 844, which is about 40 percent of the total projects in Ethiopia. A study by Muir (2004) reports that more people were engaged in the local development NGO projects in selected villages within the Oromia region, as compared to those living in selected villages found in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State (SNNPRs) and Tigray regions.

Furthermore, expenditures of the NGO project in the Oromia region from 2004 and 2008 amounted to US\$ 246,345,286, which was about 45 percent of the total expenditure of the local development NGO projects in Ethiopia as a whole (see Table 4.4). According to an interview with an officer of the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Agency (DPPA), about 45 percent of the total local development NGOs are concentrated in the Oromia region. From the perspective of the education sector, Table 4.5, which shows expenditures of the NGOs by sector in the Oromia region in 2001, shows that the education and training sector is the second largest sector (CRDA and DPPA, 2004). Moreover, for the accumulative expenditures of NGOs from 1997 to 2004, the Oromia region represents the largest amount, which is about US\$ 3.7 billion, with the education sector among major four regions (Dessalegn et al., 2008). Therefore, the Oromia region is assumed to be a region where local development NGOs actively operate in the education sector.

3) Historical Background of the Oromo Ethnic People

The history of the Oromo people also suggests that local development NGOs have been more active in the Oromia region than in other regions of Ethiopia. As mentioned above, the Oromia region is one of the regions that

Table 4.4 Number of NGO projects and expenditures of NGO projects from 2004-2008 (Listed by region)

	Number of projects		Total expenditures (US\$)
Addis Ababa	281	13.6 %	61,901,321
Oromia	844	40.9 %	246,345,286
SNNPRs	312	15.1 %	55,805,452
Amhara	317	15.4 %	104,548,824
Tigray	66	3.2 %	27,337,213
Somali	76	3.7 %	7,548,613
Benishangul-Gumuz	51	2.5 %	8,549,426
Afar	57	2.8 %	35,393,612
Dire Dawa	24	1.2 %	2,040,066
Gambella	19	0.9 %	1,741,703
Harari	18	0.9 %	3,033,507
Total	2,065	100 %	554,245,023

Source: Created by author based on Dessalegn et al. (2008, 23).

Table 4.5 NGO Expenditure by sector in the Oromia region in 2001

Sector	Expenditure (Million US\$)	
Health and water	3.5	40 %
Education and training	2.5	29 %
Food security	2.4	28 %
Emergency operation	0.1	1 %
Physical infrastructure	0.1	1 %
Capacity building	0.0	0 %
HIV/AIDS	0.0	0 %
Total	8.7	100 %

Source: Created by author based on CRDA and DPPA (2004, 33).

features a large base of people from a particular ethnic group. The Oromo people, who mainly live in the Oromia region, were oppressed during the empire and military regimes, since these regimes were led by the Amhara ethnic people for a long time. Under the centralized system, the official language in Ethiopia was Amharic, which is the language of the Amhara people (Tekeste, 2006). A report shows that Oromo activists resisted the government during the military regime, and many Oromo people were arrested and imprisoned (Asafa, 2009). One source describes that more than two million Oromo people were imprisoned in the 1980s (Asafa, 2009).

After the military regime collapsed, the situation improved for the Oromo people under the government ruled by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (Poluha, 2004). The current government has promoted decentralization (Poluha, 2004). Each region can currently decide on the official regional languages (Tekeste, 2006). However, the majority of the EPRDF comprises of Tigrayan ethnic members from the Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF). Asafa (2003) argues that Oromo people still hold second-class status, which does not allow them equal access to the economic and political resources of the Amahara and Tigrayan people. Those Oromo people who do not expect the government to do something for them established NGOs. Their history and the realities of their current situation imply that Oromo people in the Oromia region are active agents carrying out independent civil activities. Thus, based on the quantitative data on the activities of NGOs in the Oromia region, as well as the historical background of hardship faced by the Oromo people, it is assumed that local development NGOs in the Oromia region are active, and can therefore be selected for this study.

Selection of the Local Development NGOs

In this study, eight local development NGOs in Ethiopia were selected based on three criteria. First, this study chose local development NGOs which had registered with the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and operate based on the formal regulations in Ethiopia. The Oromia BoFED defines local development NGOs as "indigenous NGOs," which are "registered under the

Ethiopian law, working only in Ethiopia, and have headquarters in Ethiopia only and abided by the law of the country” (Oromia BoFED, 2005, 8). The eight local development NGOs met this condition.

Second, the eight local development NGOs were purposefully selected from the members of the Basic Education Association in Ethiopia (BEAE),⁵⁷ an association of local development NGOs working on education in Ethiopia (BEAE, 2006). This makes certain that the education sector is one of the major areas of focus for all local development NGOs included in the sample. Furthermore, one of the criteria for a BEAE member is to have an operational agreement with the government. The membership with BEAE indicates that NGOs have an operational status. In 2009, 65 NGOs were registered with BEAE. Among them were 26 NGOs operating in basic education in the Oromia region.

Third, all eight of the local development NGOs had at least one basic education project that had been completed at the point of this study. This ensured that the selected local development NGOs had some experience in the basic education sub-sector. It was confirmed that 15 out of the 26 BEAE member NGOs had completed at least one basic education project. Among them, eight local development NGOs were selected. Eight of the fifteen NGOs, which met the above-mentioned criteria, were carefully selected for covering several types of local development NGOs in Ethiopia. This study included small and newly established NGOs after 2000, and which comprised a large portion of the local development NGOs in Ethiopia. This study avoided selecting specific or distinguishing types of local development NGOs in Ethiopia. Therefore, this study covered several typical types of local development NGOs, with respect to financial size, number of staff, and year established, as shown in Table 4.6. These eight selected local development NGOs appear as NGO A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H. In order to obtain the honest and impartial opinions and feelings from the interviews with respondents, this study conducted interviews under the condition of anonymity. Therefore, this study does not reveal the name of respondents or local development NGOs. The villages⁵⁸, where these local development NGOs implemented the projects, and the schools, which the NGOs established, corresponded to the alphabetical order of the NGOs.

Table 4.6 Basic information on the sample development NGOs used for this study

Local development NGOs	Annual budget in 2008 (US\$)	Number of staff	Year of establishment
NGO A	56,000	7	1998
NGO B	91,000	12	2003
NGO C	142,000	15	2003
NGO D	143,000	5	2002
NGO E	339,000	26	1998
NGO F	447,000	51	1995
NGO G	596,000	65	1995
NGO H	2,262,000	89	1993
Median	241,000	21	10.6 (Average years)

Source: Created by author.

Selection of the NGO Project Sites

This study attempted to analyze the whole process of the eight projects by the selected local development NGOs, from planning to completion. One project site from each local development NGO was selected for this study. In order for this study to focus on an analysis of the orientation and nature of local development NGOs, as well as their relationships with communities, this study selected eight project sites, for which conditions were as similar as possible. All of the selected projects were recently completed and geographically closest to the NGOs' offices (see Table 4.7 and Table 4.8).

The study selected project sites in seven villages, with each village closest to the seven respective NGO field offices. One exceptional NGO did not have a field office; therefore, the village closest to the head office was chosen instead. The underlying assumption was that the strongest relationship existed between the local development NGO and its closest village community, in comparison to its relationships with communities in other villages where these NGOs have projects.

Moreover, this study tried to select relatively similar project sites with

Table 4.7 Year of the completion of the NGO projects

Completion of the NGO project* (year)	
Village A	2007
Village B	2008
Village C	2006
Village D	2006
Village E	2002
Village F	2008
Village G	2005
Village H	2004

Source: Created by author.

Note: *The year when government offices took over the school as formal school

Table 4.8 Selected village information

	Population	Distance from the major town	Major work	Language	Distance from the nearest office of the NGO
Village A	3,234	16 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	16 km
Village B	3,886	2 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	1.5 km
Village C	3,668	3 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	9 km
Village D	2,054	15 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	104 km*
Village E	4,037	3 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	2 km
Village F	4,065	3 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	3 km
Village G	3,324	5 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	5 km
Village H	5,740	5 km	Farmer	<i>Afan Oromo</i>	2 km
Median	3,777	4 km			4 km

Source: Created by author.

Note: NGO D does not have a project office. This distance is from the head office.

respect to social and economic conditions. The people of Oromo ethnicity, who speak Afan Oromo, reside in the selected eight villages. People in the eight villages make their living from animal husbandry and farming. Cows are used for plowing their lands. Most of the people mainly produce maize, which is considered to be one of the most reliable crops since maize grows with small amounts of rain. Some people are engaged in horticulture and trade, which are not considered common sources of income compared to animal husbandry and farming. The people in the selected project sites also keep horses and donkeys for transportation purposes. Therefore, their lifestyles are similar in the selected villages.

The social structures at the village level are almost the same in the eight villages, which have a mixed form of traditional and formal structure. The traditional custom is the *Jarsabiya* system. *Jarsabiya*, which is often called the elder⁵⁹ in English, is a traditional, authoritative person who plays the role of mediator at the village level. The assembly⁶⁰ of the elders settles local problems and conflicts within households and between neighborhoods. The common problems are theft and marital related issues, such as settlement of betrothal cattle or money, or conflicts over garden boundaries (Daniel, 2007).

The *Jarsabiya* system was weakened during the communist military regime because the government introduced a new local administrative structure called *kebele*, which is the lowest level of the hierarchy of the formal administrative structure formed under the district called *woreda* (Daniel, 2007).⁶¹ This study uses the term “village” instead of *kebele*, as other researchers describe the *kebele* (e.g. Lasonen et al., 2005). The *kebele* administration consists of a chairperson and a vice chairperson.⁶² A chairperson is unpaid and not full-time, whereas a vice chairperson is paid and is a full-time position. A chairperson is appointed by the central government. A vice chairperson is mainly responsible for the management of the *kebele* administration. Under the *kebele* administration, there are three main divisions: local court;⁶³ local militia; and farmers’ cadre⁶⁴ (Daniel, 2007). The main duties of the *kebele* administration are the collection of land and agricultural income tax, mediation of domestic and community conflicts, and initiation of development activities (Daniel, 2007; Garcia and Rajkumar, 2008).

Due to the formation of the formal *kebele* administration, the assembly of the elders has been weakened. However, the assembly of the elders with wisdom is still highly respected by the people in many villages where people still rely on the assembly of the elders for the resolution of instant conflicts (Daniel, 2007). The assembly of the elders currently functions at ad-hoc bases to mediate particular problems (Daniel, 2007). From this aspect, the traditional and formal ways of the conflict resolution co-exist at the local level; the traditional authority of the assembly of the elders still remains in many villages in the Oromia region. The selected eight villages also keep the elder system. Therefore, social structures are similar in all eight sample villages.

Selection of Individual Respondents

As part of this study, the individual respondents were also carefully selected based on their background. Table 4.9 summarizes the planned and actual individual respondents for this study. From the side of local development NGOs, 28 NGO workers, including eight directors and twenty staff,⁶⁵ were selected for interviews. Among the staff from each NGO, at least one project officer is included.

In addition, a director of the BEAE was also selected and interviewed about their work and the situation of local development NGOs, which operate in the basic education sub-sector. Officers of the MoJ and DPPA were selected for the purpose of learning the condition of local development NGOs in Ethiopia. Officers of the WEO in the district, where the sample local development NGOs operated the projects, were also interviewed by examining their relations to the selected NGOs at the district level. Moreover, the author interviewed seven school directors and one teacher to gain current school information.

Among the respondents, community members were especially carefully selected. *Community* in this study refers to *Ummata* in the Oromia Language (*Afan Oromo*). *Ummata* means the group of people living in the same territory and often sharing the same culture, values, customs, and traditions. More specifically, this study focuses on the target population of

Table 4.9 Interview samples in total (Planned and actual)

	Planned samples	No. of respondents (Planned)	Actual samples	No. of respondents (Actual)
Local development NGO	1 Director × 8 NGOs	8	Director	8
	3 Staff × 8 NGOs	24	Staff	20
	4 Non-member Parents × 8 schools	32	Non-member parent	32
	1 Jarsabiya (the elder) × 8 villages	8	Jarsabiya (the elder)	9
Community	1 Village chairperson × 8 villages	8	Village chairperson Village chairperson/KETB member	2 4
	1 Village vice chairperson × 8 villages	8	Village vice chairperson Village vice chairperson /KETB member Village vice chairperson /PTA member	5 1 1
	3 KETB member × 8 villages	24	KETB member	23
	2 PTA member × 8 villages	16	PTA member PTA & KETB member Other school-related committee member	11 3 3
	1 School director × 8 schools	8	School director (7), Teacher (1)	8
	CRDA Staff	1	Staff	2
Government	BEAE Director	1	Director, Staff	2
	1 Officer of OEB	1	Officer of OEB	1
	1 Officer of MoJ	1	Officer of MoJ	1
	1 Officer of DPPA	1	Officer of DPPA	1
	2 Officers of WEO × 8 district	16	Head of WEO Staff of WEO	6 13
Total		157		156

Source: Created by author.

Note* Other school-related committee includes school development committee, mothers forum etc.

development NGO activities. In order to fully understand the relationships between local development NGOs and communities, this study selected parents of students who were enrolled in schools that the sample NGOs had established, as well as people in some official or traditional positions in the village. In order to interview various community members who have a different status in the community, as well as different school-related positions, criteria of the sample respondents were decided before conducting the field study. Table 4.9 shows all the respondents for this study. As discussed above, the selected villages have both formal *kebele* administration and traditional *Jarsabiya*, the elder system. From the *kebele* administration, the village chairperson and village vice chairperson, who are influential to community members, were selected. At the same time, the *Jarsabiya*, or the elder who is a traditionally and culturally influential person, was also selected as a respondent.

From the school structure, *Kebele* Education and Training Management Board (KETB) members and the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) members were selected. Since all of the sample schools are currently formal, some selected parents or community members were selected from these two committees, based on the formal school management structure. The structures of these school committees and the WEO are showed in Figure 4.2. The KETB mediates between WEO and school. Some of the duties and responsibilities of the KETB are mobilization of community contributions, approval of the school annual plan and budget, awareness raising activities for education, coordination of the local community for school improvement

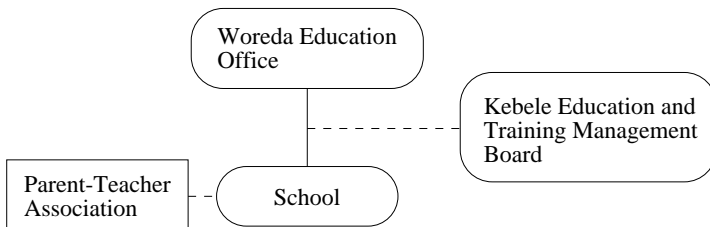


Figure 4.2 Kebele education and training management board and parent teacher association

Source: Created by author based on MoE (2002a, 20).

(including teachers' improvement), and school property management (MoE, 2002a).⁶⁶ Based on regulations by the MoE (2002), a village chairperson serves as chairperson of the KETB, and three PTA member parents serve as KETB members.

In terms of PTA objectives, the MoE (2002a) states that a PTA strengthens the relations between parents and schools, enhances community participation in the education activities, creates a favorable learning environment in schools, and promotes positive relations between teachers and students. A PTA works on the internal issues in schools based on regulations by the MoE. However, the field research found that the roles of the KETB and PTA are not clearly distinguished. Some members at the selected project sites did not know to which committee they belonged. According to the regulations, a village chairperson takes the role of chairperson of the KETB as mentioned earlier. However, this is not always true in reality.

In addition to these community members who are in the official positions, parents who do not belong to the KETB or the PTA were also selected as respondents. These parents often have weak voices in the community, and were, therefore, selected to cover different voices in the communities. The actual selection was done with the help of school directors and teachers. In order to avoid influence from the NGO workers, none of the respondents were selected by the NGO workers.

In regards to the set limitation of this study, it does not include community members who have neither position in the communities nor children enrolled in the selected schools. This point might present an over generalization in range of the study. To minimize this problem, based on the criteria explained above, community members as respondents were purposefully selected. Furthermore, respondents were carefully selected with the help of school directors and teachers to avoid influence from the NGO workers.

As seen in Table 4.9, 95 community members were interviewed for this study, of which 69 were male and 26 were female. The average age was 42.0 years old; the median age was 42.9 years old. The sample of community members had an average of two children who were enrolled in one of the schools established by the eight selected local development NGOs.

Regarding their occupations, 80 percent of the community members

Table 4.10 Occupations of the sample community members by gender

	Male	Female	Total
Farmer	61	15	76
Merchant	0	1	1
Village vice chairperson	7	0	7
House wife	0	9	9
Priest/Farmer	1	0	1
Daily worker*	0	1	1
Total	69	26	95

Source: Created by author.

Note: *One community member is working for a commercial flower farm as a daily worker.

were farmers (see Table 4.10). The agriculture sector is the biggest sector in Ethiopia as well as in the Oromia region (Nasise, n.d.). In 2009, 61 percent of the Oromia regional GDP is estimated from the agricultural sector (Nasise, n.d.). However, the agricultural product growth was low, only nine percent in 2006; the income of farmers has remained low (Nasise, n.d.). Most of the farmers practice rain-fed cultivation (Nasise, n.d.). These situations indicate that selected community members are likely to live in poverty.

The educational background of the selected community members are shown in Table 4.11. Twenty-four percent of the selected community members have never received formal education. Twenty percent of them dropped out before grade four, in other words, before completion of the first cycle of the primary education. Sixty-eight percent of the selected community members do not complete primary education. This implies that the formal education levels of the community members are generally low.

Data Collection Methods

The data collection methods for this study included semi-structured interviews, observations, and document reviews. The main field research in Ethiopia was conducted in March 2009, which lasted for three months. Be-

Table 4.11 Educational background of the sample community members by sex

Education level	Male	Female	Total
No formal education	10	13	23
Dropout before Grade 4*	10	9	19
Grade 4 completer	4	1	5
Dropout between Grade 4 and 8	15	1	16
Primary education completer	7	1	8
Secondary education dropout**	3	0	3
Secondary education completer	6	0	6
Preparatory school dropout***	5	0	5
Preparatory school completer	5	1	6
College/university dropout	2	0	2
College/university completer	0	0	0
Religious education	2	0	2
Total	69	26	95

Source: Created by author.

Note: Male = 69, Female = 26

*Primary education is divided into two cycles: Grades 1-4 and Grades 5-8.

**Secondary education is for two years (Grade 9 and Grade 10).

***There is preparatory school between secondary education and higher education (college or university) for two years.

fore conducting the main field research, the author lived in Ethiopia for two years. While living in Ethiopia, the author had also conducted preliminary studies. In order to understand and analyze the respondents' own ideas and perspectives of local development NGOs, this study utilized semi-structured interviews specifically.⁶⁷

CHAPTER FIVE

Results and Analysis: Relationships Between Local Development NGOs and the Communities in Ethiopia

Characteristics of Local Development NGOs

This section seeks to comprehend the orientations and environment of local development NGOs in Ethiopia by examining the selected local development NGOs that operate in basic education in Ethiopia. This section first examines the objectives and financial characteristics of the local development NGOs at the organizational level. It also explores the legal environment for local development NGOs including the NGOs' relationships with the government in Ethiopia.

Organizational Objectives of Local Development NGOs

Missions are core for most of the NGOs to determine their identities and signify their existence. Therefore, this study first analyses the missions of selected local development NGOs to examine local development NGOs' orientations and organizational objectives.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Drucker (1990) states that a mission has to be simple, clear, and operational. He also suggests that a mission should not be general, but have a specific focus. The analysis of the missions of eight selected local development NGOs shows that five missions include several issues; these missions are not simple. For instance, two of the selected local development NGOs have missions that list all of their possible activities in several sectors. One NGO addresses activities in education, health, food

security, and governance. This local development NGO includes sectors in which they have not worked before in practice. This point indicates that this mission includes some elements that are not operational for the NGO.

On the other hand, two selected NGOs have missions that address their activities in one sector. These missions include their specific focus, which is more operational than other missions indicate. However, some objectives that the NGOs' activities can aim for are missing since their objectives in the mission are narrowly set, and limit their possible activities. The mission of one selected NGO is different from the others. It focuses on the NGO's approach, which is participatory, and their means to achieve their objectives. The mission of this NGO indicates that it focuses more on the approach than on organizational objectives. This is not appropriate for a mission. Therefore, the analysis concluded that the selected NGOs do not have ideal missions based on Drucker's (1990) criteria.

The result of the analysis also addresses a common element in their missions, indicating that all of the selected NGOs aim to act for the sake of targeted communities and to improve life within the communities. For instance, one mission is "to work with the poor community in rural areas toward improvement and community development..." Moreover, all of the missions of the eight local development NGOs literally include one word: "community." As Lloyd and Casas (2006) describe, missions of development NGOs often indicate that communities are the reasons that NGOs exist, and the selected local development NGOs also address similar characteristics in their missions. All of the missions reflect that local development NGOs exist for the sake of the communities. Although some scholars argue that local development NGOs work for the donors and/or governments, as discussed earlier, the selected local development NGOs do not aim to work for donors and/or the government, at least based on their missions.

Financial Characteristics of Local Development NGOs

From the aspect of financial characteristics, external donors provide most of the financial resources to the eight selected local development NGOs (see Table 5.1). These results confirm findings from work by Berhanu (2003)

Table 5.1 Percentage of external sources in annual budget of each sample local development NGO in 2008

Local development NGO	Annual budget (US\$)	Share of external source (%)
NGO A	56,000	97.9 %
NGO B	91,000	78.7 %
NGO C	142,000	99.9 %
NGO D	143,000	100.0 %
NGO E	339,000	99.1 %
NGO F	447,000	94.5 %
NGO G	596,000	99.9 %
NGO H	2,262,000	98.8 %

Source: Created by author.

and Horn Consult (2003), which describe the financial characteristics of local development NGOs in Ethiopia, as discussed in Chapter 3. The external donors of the selected local development NGOs are international NGOs, foreign governments, and international multilateral organizations. The local development NGOs have multiple financial resources from different donors. Concerning finance, Dessalegn et al. (2008) consider it difficult for local development NGOs to find internal or domestic financial sources within Ethiopia. They add that it will also be unrealistic to secure internal sources in the current period (Dessalegn et al., 2008). This study also finds that internal sources for the sample local development NGOs are limited to the small amounts from associations of local development NGOs, such as BEAE and CRDA, governmental organizations,⁶⁸ or irregular donations from Ethiopian individuals. NGO B, which has the highest percentage of the internal sources at around 22 percent, relies on local development NGO associations that receive financial assistance from external donors (see Table 5.1). Therefore, internal funding sources are limited, and most of the local development NGOs receive financial assistance from external donors.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Nishi (2009) and Kodama (2008) are concerned about the dependency of local development NGOs on external finan-

cial donors. Interviews with NGO directors also indicate how much they are engaged in communications with donors. One of the directors states that he spends a lot of time communicating with donors.

I use more than 50 percent of my time for communications with financial donors. Since the number of donors has increased, it requires more engagement. I planned for a monthly visit to communities, but I can visit them only three times a year now.

(Director of NGO H)

The next director also states that project contents are often decided by donors' requests. This situation clearly illustrates the strong influence by donors.

The project components are decided by donors in many cases. And based on the donor's guideline, we form projects.

(Director of NGO D)

The next two respondents explain that they feel, in practice, as if financial donors are the most important stakeholders, although they think that the community is the most important stakeholder. The director also indicates strong influence from the government.

I think the community is the most important for us. However, financial donors are the most important practically. This is because we are poor and the community is poor. Without money, there is no development.

(Staff of NGO A)

In terms of value, I categorize people first based on my individual idea. But in actual sense, donors are our most important stakeholders because donors pay us and can punish us. We have to kneel down to donors and the government in the current situation. But we have to change this situation.

(Director of NGO E)

As highlighted by some researchers, the interviews above illustrate the dependency of local development NGOs on financial donors. These interview extracts indicate the strong influence of donors on local development NGOs.

The new legislation on NGOs in Ethiopia, The Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009, ruled that local NGOs that have more than ten percent of their total budget from external sources be classified as “Ethiopian resident” NGOs. These NGOs are separated from “Ethiopian” NGOs that receive less than ten percent of their total budget from external donors. The activities for “Ethiopian resident” NGOs are limited in comparison to “Ethiopian” NGOs. While “Ethiopian” NGOs are allowed to work on advocacy activities,⁶⁹ “Ethiopian residents” are not allowed to do advocacy activities. According to a CRDA staff member who follows the new legislation, since local development NGOs that depend on external funds are highly influenced by external donors, the government considers that these local development NGOs do not have a right to talk about Ethiopian internal issues through advocacy activities. This indicates that the Ethiopian government is afraid that those local development NGOs, which rely on external funds, are highly influenced by financial donors’ ideas.

While new legislation tightens control over local development NGOs’ activities based on their financial sources, it allows NGOs to start income generating activities to achieve their organizational objectives (Proclamation No. 621/2009). This opens new methods for local development NGOs to increase internal financial sources. During interviews for this study, several NGO workers mentioned possibilities of income generating activities as new financial sources. The following interview excerpt provides one example.

It is possible for us to generate income based on the new law. If I can increase domestic income, it is good. All NGOs are currently relying on foreign donors. If the relationships with foreign donors are cut off, it is difficult to gain funds. It is not sustainable. Generating funds internally is good. Getting funds from outside is relying on someone else. I want to encourage having domestic income through income

generating activities. But I am not sure if there is such opportunity.

(Director of NGO C)

In the interview above, the director perceives that internal income generation is better than dependence on external funds. The director also mentions improving sustainability by developing internal funding sources. However, the director expresses concern for how and what kind of activities he can do. This ambiguous situation was addressed by other respondents. Although the new legislation became active in 2010, details including definitions of the income generating activities have not yet been decided. Given the current situation, local development NGOs still need to have funds from external donors. This also means that local development NGOs must keep spending time and effort in maintaining positive relationships with donors to secure funds.

Legal Environment for Local Development NGOs

The legal environment and relationships with the government are important factors, which decide activities and characteristics of local development NGOs. As discussed in Chapter 3, Ethiopia has a long history of authoritarian governance systems through imperialism and military socialism, which ended in 1991 (Campbell, 1993). The only laws related to NGOs were Articles 404 to 482 of the Civil Code 1960 and the Association Registration Regulations of 1966, which were set during the imperial rule, until Proclamation No. 621 was provided in 2009 (Ewing and Beyene, 1972; Dessalegn, 2008; Tsehai, 2008). The new legislation became effective in February 2010. When the author conducted field research for this study in 2009, it was during the one-year transition period of Proclamation No. 621/2009.⁷⁰ Therefore, local development NGOs followed the previous legal procedures at that time. The selected NGO projects were also implemented based on the previous legal procedures.

The Association Registration Regulations of 1966 decide the procedures regarding registrations for local development NGOs and project agreements.⁷¹ In order to officially register as a local development NGO, at least

five founding members and a prepared memorandum of association, including information about the NGO, are required (Ewing and Abdi, 1972). If no problems are found with the founding members and related documents, the NGO receives a license, which is normally valid for five years, and comes from the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) with authorization from a relevant ministry. The NGO concludes an operational agreement, which is also valid for five years, through the National Disaster, Prevention and Preparedness Agencies (DPPA). The national DPPA opens a bank account for the NGO. From that point on, the registered NGO is obliged to submit an annual report, which includes a description of the major activities, a balance sheet, and an auditor's report (Ewing and Abdi, 1972).⁷²

According to the NGO workers, the process for the project agreement requires more time and effort to collect the documents from different offices than the process of registration. To start a project, a local development NGO follows the procedure below:

- Submit a project proposal to the relevant regional office (e.g. OEB for projects in the education sector);
- Wait until the project proposal is approved by a relevant regional office that sends a letter to the BoFED; and the BoFED gives an agreement format to the regional office;
- Receive the agreement format from the regional office;
- Sign the agreement with the BoFED;
- Submit a copy of the project proposal to the national DPPA along with the agreement with the BoFED;
- Wait until the national DPPA sends the proposal to a relevant ministry;
- Receive the signed project agreement from the ministry; and
- Sign the agreement (If the ministry gives any feedback regarding the project proposal, the NGO has to revise and send it to the national DPPA again).

When submitting a project proposal to the relevant ministry in the first place, NGOs normally submit a financial confirmation letter from donors and a supporting letter from a district office, such as a district education of-

fice (WEO) for a project in the education sector, although these letters are not officially required. The process is also required at both the regional and national levels. After the decentralization, the contact point was transferred from the national to regional level, which was supposed to shorten the process. While some interviewed NGO workers expressed improvements in the legal environment for local development NGOs after decentralization, some stated that the processes are not easy. According to one of the NGO directors, it normally takes between three and four months to gain a project agreement even if a problem is not found. In addition, once an NGO starts implementing a project, the NGO needs to submit a progress report every quarter to the regional DPPA, and accept mid-term and final evaluations by the regional DPPA and BoFED. The legal procedure for registrations and project agreements for NGOs in Ethiopia are often criticized by different researchers, as discussed in Chapter 3 (e.g. Miller-Grandvaux et al., 2002).

The field study by the author found that while several NGO workers are more concerned about the new legislation,⁷³ they also indicate the restrictiveness of previous regulations.

The following interviews with the NGO directors and staff by the author also address the inflexibility of the regulations, which are time-consuming for local development NGOs.

I understand that every government needs to watch NGOs, but I think it is strict. We use a lot of time for reporting and renewing license. It is very restrictive.

(Director of NGO E)

It is strict. It is taking time. Every procedure by the government side takes time. It is a boring bureaucratic procedure.

(Staff of NGO B)

We have to submit reports and the government checks them, but they never give us feedback. They make sure that they get reports on time but they never read them. We have to submit reports every three months for all line departments. This is really too much.

(Director of NGO F)

The extracts of the interviews with the three respondents above illustrate that local development NGOs spend a lot of time following each step and preparing reports. The third extract also indicates that the respondent feels that their efforts and time spent preparing reports are in vain since the government does not give any feedback on the reports. One NGO worker even indicated that they prepare evaluation reports for government officials who are busy and do not prioritize matters of local development NGOs. Local development NGOs require evaluation reports from government officials to continue their activities. Local development NGOs are required to follow the restrictive regulations and procedure set by the government in order to operate in Ethiopia. If a local development NGO breaks the regulations, the NGO will be banned from any future work as an NGO. As various researchers argue, local development NGOs in Ethiopia also need to establish an appropriate relationship with the government to continue their activities. In fact, in a response to the interview question: “What do you think of your NGO’s mission?”, one of the selected NGO directors responded that his current focus is on external relationships rather than international issues. The extract of his response is the following:

In earlier days, the mission was always in my head and our permanent agenda I used to raise to staff. However, later on, the mission was faded away because other issues like routine things occupied us....Currently showing competency to service delivery is more important than showing the mission.

(Director of NGO H)

This is similar to the situation Shivji (2007) indicates; many NGOs focus on showing their achievement to donors and governments.

Related to the legal environment, mistrust between the government and local development NGOs is mentioned by different researchers as seen in Chapter 3 (e.g. Horn Consult, 2003; Muir, 2004; Dessalegn, 2008; Dessalegn et al., 2008). In this research, the following extract of an interview with an NGO director indicates unfairness of treatment by the government. The NGO director is suspicious about the government’s attitudes toward lo-

cal development NGOs:

The government manipulates the regulation. Some NGOs are granted and some are not. It is unfair.

(Director of NGO H)

At the same time, one officer of the Woreda Education Office (WEO) is also suspicious of other local development NGOs in his interview. The following is an excerpt of the interview with the WEO officer.

I think many NGOs are not doing well. Some local NGOs want to cheat the government and communities. I think half of their funding goes to themselves. They want to get benefits for themselves.

(WEO Official)

This WEO officer raised concerns about local development NGOs in Ethiopia. He mentioned one local development NGO, not selected for this study, which left without completing a project. His experience provided a good reason to be suspicious about local development NGOs. This perception of local development NGOs might influence negative attitudes of the government officials toward local development NGOs in Ethiopia. The interviews with the NGO workers and WEO officers indicate the mistrust between local development NGOs and the government that seems to exist in Ethiopia as previous researchers describe.

In summary, there is a necessity for local development NGOs to establish good relationships with donors and the government. The local development NGOs financially depend on external donors. Moreover, this section addressed the restrictive legal regulations and suspicious attitude or perceptions of local development NGOs by the government. These situations indicate the difficult circumstances of local development NGOs, which do not have enough time to focus on the relationships with the communities.

Communities' Participation in Local Development NGOs' Projects

Project Components of Non-formal Basic Education

This section analyzes how and to what extent community members participated in the projects implemented by the selected local development NGOs. This section first examines components of the NGO projects the selected local development NGOs implemented. As discussed in Chapter 3, many local development NGOs, which work in the basic education sub-sector, implement non-formal basic education (NFBE) projects in Ethiopia. The eight selected local development NGOs also implement NFBE projects that have similar project components. This is because each regional education office in Ethiopia has policies for NFBE. An NFBE project establishes the NFBE school, which includes building and managing the school.⁷⁴ The more detailed common project components and process of an NFBE project implemented by local development NGOs are as follows:

- Construct a school building, which normally consists of two classrooms and one office;
- Provide school furniture including desks, chairs, black boards, and desks for facilitators;
- Train one or two facilitator(s)/teacher(s);
- Train community members for school management;
- Establish a school management committee;
- Manage the school; and
- Provide salary for facilitators.

Given the basic components above, each NGO adds some additional components. However, the additional components are also similar, including construction of library, re-training for facilitators, organization of student clubs, and others as seen in Table 5.2. With regard to project budget, there is big range from US\$ 7,262 to US\$ 77,625 as seen in Table 5.3. The median is US\$ 26,416. The difference in the budget appears to be based on the quality of material for classrooms and the size of classrooms, normally be-

Table 5.2 Additional components of the sample projects implemented by the NGOs

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Establish school clubs (e.g. girls clubs, anti-HIV/AIDS clubs, school property protection, and maintenance)• Train committee members, youth club leaders, and community leaders for capacity building• Establish a women and girls watch group• Provide community members with an experience of visiting other schools to ensure the sustainability of the school• Conduct a refreshing training program for facilitators• Construct a library• Provide re-training for facilitators• Provide tutorial support

Source: Created by author.
Note: The components followed by arrows are uniquely implemented by each NGO.

Table 5.3 Budget and school building style of the sample projects

	Total budget (US\$)	School building	Based material for building
Project A	11,204	2 classrooms 1 latrine	Mud + Concrete
Project B	77,661	4 classrooms 1 office	Concrete
Project C	27,999	3 classrooms 1 office	Mud + Concrete
Project D	24,834	4 classrooms 1 office 1 latrine	Mud + Concrete
Project E	60,387	4 classrooms 1 latrines	Concrete
Project F	8,195	2 classrooms 1 office	Mud
Project G	7,262	2 classrooms 1 office	Mud
Project H	77,625	4 classrooms 1 latrine	Concrete
Median	26,416		

Source: Created by author.

tween two and four. The material can be based on mud, concrete, or a mix of mud and concrete.⁷⁵ Although the quality of material and the number of classrooms are different and depend on the projects, the basic construction designs are similar based on the basic plan made by the educational office. Though there are some additional components, the main components addressed above are almost the same. At the same time, the similarity of the NFBE projects implies the inflexibility and rigidity about basic education projects by local development NGOs in Ethiopia.

After some years of management of NFBE schools by local development NGOs, the government normally takes over NFBE schools and transfers them to public primary schools. Although this process is not official, all of the selected NFBE schools are currently transferred to public primary schools by the government. This transference sometimes seems to be practiced by the government regardless of the willingness of the local development NGOs. One of the reasons for the transference is because it is an effective way for the government to have facilitated schools. While some NGO workers complain about this situation, others seem to consider that handing over the NFBE schools to the government is a good exit strategy for local development NGOs. This is because most of the local development NGOs can manage projects only for a decided certain number of years due to the contract with donors in most cases.

After the government takes over the NFBE schools as formal primary schools, the selected local development NGOs do not necessarily stop communicating with community members in the communities in the project areas. Among the selected local development NGOs, only one NGO ceased communications with the community members in the project area. However, the director of the NGO mentioned that the NGO would start a new project soon in areas including the village. In the interviews, the directors of all eight local development NGOs indicate that they regard the project areas where they had once worked as their activity areas.

With regard to the educational perspectives of the selected projects, Table 5.4 shows the information of each selected school while the schools were NFBE schools managed by the selected local development NGOs. Before the NFBE schools were established, none of the sample villages

Table 5.4 Selected NEBE school* information

	School population			Number of classrooms	Average commute distance to school	Distance to the nearest upper school
	Total	Male	Female			
School A (2006)	140	92	48	2	1.5 km	5.0 km
School B (2008)	131	64	67	4	1.0 km	1.5 km
School C (2006)	84	50	34	3	3.0 km	9.0 km
School D (2006)	189	100	89	4	2.5 km	3.5 km
School E (2001)	678	337	341	4	2.0 km	3.0 km
School F (2008)	263	140	123	2	1.0 km	3.0 km
School G (2004)	251	N/A	N/A	2	0.3 km	5.0 km
School H (2003)	492	235	257	4	1.0 km	2.0 km

Source: Created by author.

Note: N/A: not available. The records were not found.

*All of the information was collected from the year when the schools were NFBE schools.

had any formal or non-formal schools. Although some children commuted to schools, which were far from their villages, most of the children in the villages did not have opportunities to receive basic education at that time. Therefore, the enrollment data of the NFBE schools show that the NFBE projects implemented by the selected local development NGOs opened and widened the access of basic education for children in the villages.

In terms of educational quality, Table 5.5 addresses three pieces of data: pupil-teacher ratio, pupil-section ratio, and gender parity index, which are used for the evaluation of educational quality by the MoE and donors in Ethiopia (JRM, 2006; 2007). Although this data was collected after the NFBE schools were transferred to formal primary schools, the data for six out of the eight selected schools show the better quality of the school envi-

Table 5.5 Selected school indicators in 2009

	Pupil-teacher ratio	Pupil-section ratio	Gender parity index
Ethiopia total	1:59 (2007)	1:69 (2004)	0.81 (2005)
Oromia region	1:61 (2007)	1:65(2007)	0.79 (2005)
School A	1:52	1:39	0.39
School B	1:44	1:44	1.05
School C	1:55	1:55	0.66
School D	1:42	1:35	0.89
School E	1:70	1:62	0.95
School F	1:108	1:72	0.87
School G	1:49	1:56	0.92
School H	1:47	1:40	0.98
Average	1:58	1:50	0.84

Source: MoE (2005), ARM (2007), and Oromia Education Bureau (2009).

Note: *All of the schools are currently formal primary schools.

** The colored cells show that the result is better than in Oromia and Ethiopia.

ronment in comparison to the Oromia and national average. In total, the average of all of the three data points for the sample is better than the Oromia and national averages. Although the data is limited, it might indicate that schools established by the local development NGOs have relatively good educational environments in comparison to formal primary schools that the government established. As the literature implies, NGOs positively influence basic education in Ethiopia, which was discussed in Chapter 3. NGO projects in the basic education sub-sector seem to contribute to the access to basic education and, most probably, to better educational quality.

Classification of Phases and Elements

This section analyzes how and to what extent community members participated in the projects implemented by the selected local development NGOs. In order to examine the level of participation, data and information gained

Table 5.6 Classification of phases

Participation in project Process	(1) Planning	
	Implementation and monitoring	(2) Construction
		(3) Management
	(4) Completion and evaluation	

Source: Created by author based on Stewart (1984) and Watanabe (2005).

from the interviews were analyzed based on the classifications of phases and elements developed by Watanabe (2005) (see Figure 2.1). Watanabe (2005) argues for the classifications of phases and elements, which should ideally be practiced though the whole project process. While Watanabe (2005) describes three phases - planning, implementation, and completion – this study utilizes four phases, adding a management phase to the implementation phase. This is because the NGO projects analyzed in this study have construction and management parts in their projects. Therefore, this analysis considers four phases: 1) planning; 2) construction; 3) management; and 4) completion (see Table 5.6).

With regard to the classification of elements, Watanabe's argument is based on the retroaction of phases and depth of the elements. These elements are: 1) after-the-fact explanation; 2) disclosure of information; 3) involvement; 4) dialogue; and 5) agreement (see Figure 2.1 on page 57). Based on Watanabe's classifications (2005), this study utilizes four elements: 1) explanation/information; 2) involvement; 3) dialogue; and 4) agreement. To be more precise, the "explanation/information" category consists of two elements: "information in written form" and "explanation by NGO worker(s)." In the category of "dialogue," "opinion" which addressing whether community members express themselves to any NGO worker, is mainly examined in this study (see Figure 5.1). In addition, reflections from the NGOs are examined in interviews from the perspective of "dialogue." The "involvement" category is concerned with if and what the community members did in each phase, as seen in the interview questions listed in Table 5.7.⁷⁶

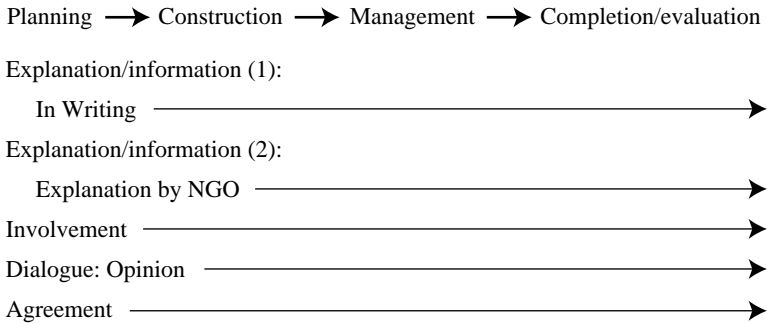


Figure 5.1 Modified process accountability framework: Phases and elements

Source: Created by author based on Watanabe (2005).

Table 5.7 Interview questions in category of elements

Category of elements		Interview question
Information/ explanation	Information in written form	Did you receive any information in the written form during the ____ phase?
	Explanation by NGO	Did you receive any information or explanation about the project from anyone from the NGO during the ____ phase?
Involvement		1) Did you do anything for the project during the planning process? 2) Did you do anything for the project during the construction process? 3) Did you do anything for school management after construction? 4) Did you do anything for the project during the project evaluation process? 1), 2), 3), 4) If so, what did you do?
Dialogue	Opinion	Did you express your idea or opinion(s) about the project to any NGO workers during ____ phase?
Agreement		Did you have any opportunity to agree to the project process during ____ phase?

Source: Created by author.

Watanabe (2005) associates the phases with elements, such as the implementation phase is associated with the disclosure of information and the planning phase with dialogue and agreement (see Figure 2.1). As Shaef-fer (1994) discusses, actual participation is important in every phase. This study applies all four elements to all four phases to understand community members' participation deeply (see Figure 5.1).

Communities' Participation in NGO Projects

The results of the interviews with the community members were applied to the modified framework seen in Figure 5.1. The results of the interviews with the community members about their participation in the NGO projects are shown in Table 5.8.

Looking at the phase of the communities' participation in the NGO projects, the "involvement" element in the planning and construction phases is overall high in comparison with the management and completion phases. The highest participation level is shown in the construction phase at 43 percent on average. During the construction phase, results for the elements "explanation by NGO" and "involvement," were the highest, respectively at 69 percent, and 97 percent. Moreover, during the construction phase, results for the elements "opinion" and "agreement," are the second highest,

Table 5.8 Community members' participation in the NGO projects by phase and element (Eight NGOs in total)

Element	Planning	Construction	Management	Completion	Average
Written Information	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
Explanation by NGO	54 %	69 %	36 %	36 %	49 %
Involvement	63 %	97 %	46 %	3 %	52 %
Opinion	21 %	24 %	25 %	22 %	23 %
Agreement	72 %	26 %	16 %	25 %	35 %
Average	42 %	43 %	19 %	17 %	

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of respondents = 95.

*The bold numbers indicate the highest percentages in each element and phase.

at 24 percent and 26 percent respectively, though the agreement level in the planning phase is much higher than the construction phase. Among the four phases, the second highest level of participation is during the planning phase. The element of “agreement” is the highest for the planning phase at 72 percent; “explanation by NGO” and “involvement” elements are the second highest by following the construction phase.

In comparison with the planning and construction phases, the average level of participation in the management and completion phases is limited, at 19 percent and 17 percent respectively. In the management phase, only 16 percent of the respondents had opportunities to agree about the management issues, which is the lowest of the four phases. In the completion phase, only 3 percent of the community members participated in the evaluation process. Therefore, community members participated more in the planning and construction phases than in the management and completion phases.

To understand the communities’ participation, this section examines the communities’ participation in the NGO projects by looking at the elements. The results of the communities’ participation by element are seen in Table 5.8. The analysis mainly revealed the following two issues: a lack of information and focus on contributions.

1) A Lack of Information

The first issue is the lack of information about the NGO projects. Interviews with the NGO workers revealed that three out of the eight local development NGOs issue annual reports or occasional reports to the public, including the communities. However, interviews with the community members showed that none of the community members read or saw these reports. According to the community members, they had not been given any written information by any NGO during and after the projects. Although illiteracy of some community members might partly influence this result, the fact that no one knows of the existence of any reports suggests a lack of information.

Furthermore, interviews with the community members found that 49 percent of the respondents received information or explanations about the NGO projects from an NGO worker(s) (see Table 5.8). Most of the community members, who received explanations, attended a meeting(s) held by

local development NGOs. However, several respondents expressed in the interviews that they wanted to have more information about the NGO projects. The following extracts of the interviews provide some examples:

The NGO did not give enough information about the problems as well as the overall situation of school....

(Male parent/PTA member in Village H)

The NGO never tells us anything about the finance of the project. I think the NGO uses its budget for the school project inappropriately.

(Male parent/Village chairperson in Village A)

The first respondent above complains about a lack of information, especially during the management phase. The second respondent is skeptical about the financial uses by the local development NGO since he does not have any information about finance. Some community members also mentioned in their interviews that they wanted to know about financial issues, including the budget of the project. These notions show that there are community members who are discontented with the information since they cannot gain satisfactory information about the projects. This also indicates a lack of communication between local development NGOs and the communities.

Moreover, the interviews related to an “opinion” element revealed the similar and additional results that relate to a lack of information. What the community members expressed to the local development NGO was mainly a request for further information, or confirmation about the project. The main opinions that communities’ members addressed were regarding the ways of community participation, project components, management of the school, and plans for additional projects.

As seen in Table 5.8, the average percentage of communities’ participation in the “opinion” element is low at 23 percent. During interviews, two additional questions related to the “opinion” element were asked. The first question asked if community members had any opportunity to express their opinions to the local development NGOs. The community members, who had wanted to express themselves to the local development NGOs, may not have had any opportunity to do so. Table 5.9 shows the percentage of com-

Table 5.9 Opportunity and exercise for community members to express themselves to local development NGOs

	Opportunity	Opinion
Planning	40 %	22 %
Construction	37 %	25 %
Management	27 %	24 %
Completion	28 %	21 %
Average	33 %	23 %

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of respondents = 95.

munity members who had opportunities and the percentage of those who expressed themselves to the local development NGOs. On average, only 33 percent of the respondents had the opportunities. This indicates that opportunities to express themselves are limited from the beginning.

The second question relating to the “opinion” element asked if the community members, who expressed themselves, received any reflection about the opinion(s) from any NGO worker. Since this “opinion” element originated in the dialogue category, opinion(s) from the community members required reflections from the local development NGOs to become dialogues. However, results of the interviews with the community members found that only 16 percent of the community members perceived that they had received reflections about their opinions from the NGOs. This also indicates a lack of communication between local development NGOs and the communities. Therefore, interview results indicate that opportunities for community members to express themselves are limited; the number of community members who expressed themselves is small; and the community members who expressed themselves did not often gain reflections from the local development NGOs.

Furthermore, the average percentage of communities’ participation in the “agreement” element is also low at 35 percent (see Table 5.8). The results suggest that local development NGOs tend not to gain consensus

on the process of the project from the community members, except for the planning phase. After the community members agree about the project plan, most local development NGOs tend not to share their decisions and progress with community members. This also relates to a lack of the information, as discussed above. Thus, the interview results suggest a lack of communication between the local development NGOs and the communities.

2) Focus on Contributions

The second issue, which was revealed in the analysis of the communities' participation, is a focus on contributions. Among the classification of elements, the average participation level for the "involvement" element is the highest at 52 percent (see Table 5.8). However, there is a big gap between the different phases, as discussed in the earlier section about the participation by phase. While the participation level for the "involvement" element reaches 97 percent in the construction phase, the participation level for the "involvement" element in the evaluation phase is only 3 percent.

Since the "involvement" element includes different activities, the actual activities were examined during the interviews. The interviews revealed that the "involvement" activities by the community members were mainly "contributions." For instance, activities in the planning phase included contributing land for the project, deciding on the project site, and mobilizing community awareness of the project. In the construction phase, which had the highest level of participation, activities included collecting local materials, contributing free labor and cash for school construction, and mobilizing community members to contribute to school construction. Although other activities such as deciding the project site and mobilizing communities are included, the number of those who participated in these activities was limited. The majority of the people were engaged in contribution activities. Moreover, the main "involvement" activity in the management phase was contributing cash for the management of the schools. This focus on contributions of money and/or labor is similar to the results of research in the education sector in the Tigray region conducted by Miller-Grandvauz et al. (2002), as shown in Chapter 3. This study also revealed that the main "involvement" activities were contributions by the communities in the selected

villages.

This emphasis on contributions is also seen in the community members' perceptions of their participation style in the NGO projects. In the interviews, the author first examined whether or not community members were positive about participating in NGO projects. The interview results show that 94 percent of the respondents were willing to participate in NGO projects. The remaining 6 percent of the respondents did not have ideas about this question. Therefore, no one replied negatively to this question. To be more precise, the results of other interview questions revealed what the community members thought they should do for NGO projects (see Table 5.10). The majority of community members believed that the communities should contribute local material or land (85 percent). The second most popular answer was labor contributions (81 percent). These are actual activities that the community members practiced for the NGO projects. Responses regarding meeting attendance and showing opinions were comparatively fewer than those related to contributions. Since the communities' participation focused on contribution related activities, the community members participated in the NGO projects in the way they thought communities should do.

To further understand communities' participation from a different as-

Table 5.10 What do you think you should do for an NGO project? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)

	Percentage	Frequency
Local materials/land contributions	85 %	(81)
Labor contributions	81 %	(77)
Financial contributions	62 %	(59)
Meeting attendance	62 %	(59)
Showing opinions	59 %	(56)

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of respondents = 95, Multiple answers allowed.

This question was asked without any choices.

pect, the “degree of participation” (Shaeffer, 1994), which was discussed in Chapter 2, is applied to the results (see Figure 5.2). With regard to the communities’ contributions, “contributions of resources, materials, and labor” is categorized as the most passive participation level, based on the “degree of participation” (Shaeffer, 1994). The communities’ participation in the “involvement” element, which is mainly through contributions, can be judged as passive. Furthermore, the “opinion” element, which requires reflections, matches the “consultation or feedback on a particular issue” with respect to the “degree of participation” (Shaeffer, 1994). As examined above, the opportunities for community members to express themselves were limited, and only a limited number of community members expressed themselves. Those who expressed themselves did not often gain reflections from the local development NGOs. These results also indicate the passiveness of the community members’ participation, based on the “degree of participation” (Shaeffer, 1994). Therefore, considering communities’ participation in the NGO projects and community perceptions of their participation in the NGO projects, the participation level can be considered passive.

In summary, an analysis of communities’ participation in the phases and elements of the project process revealed a lack of information about the NGO projects and an emphasis on contribution related activities. Regarding

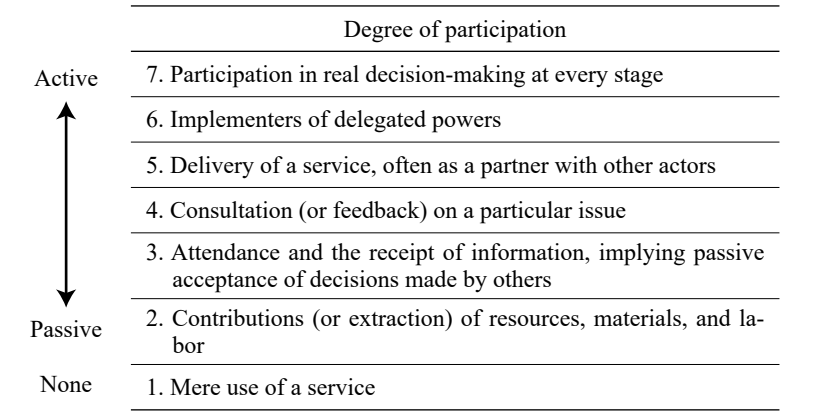


Figure 5.2 Degree of participation by Shaeffer (1994)
Source: Created by author based on Shaeffer (1994, 16).

a lack of information, the results of the communities' participation in the NGO projects address that community members did not receive any written information from the NGOs, although some NGOs issue reports to the public. The interview results also found that there were community members who were not satisfied with the information the NGO provided. Moreover, the opportunities for the community members to express themselves are limited. In addition, the number of those who received reflections about their opinions was limited. These results indicate a lack of communications between local development NGOs and the communities. Results also imply remote relationships between the local development NGOs and communities.

Furthermore, interviews with the community members also revealed that the main "involvement" activities were related to contributions. Interview results presented that most community members believe that communities should mainly use contribution as related activities to NGO projects. Although there are community members who have complaints about a lack of information, results suggest that communities participated in the projects as they believed communities should do. This study also notes that the participation style, which limits opportunities to express opinions and focuses on contributions, is passive based on the "degree of participation" by Shaeffer (1994).

Evaluation of Local Development NGOs' Projects by Community Members

The previous section examined the communities' participation in NGO projects. This section examines how the community members evaluate the NGO projects. The author asked community members about their satisfaction with the NGO projects. As seen in Table 5.11, 63 percent of the respondents answered "very satisfied"; most of the respondents answered positively. The interviews, which addressed reasons why the respondents answered positively, indicated further communities' intentions. The perceptions of the community members are exemplified in the following two interview extracts:

Table 5.11 How do you evaluate the NGO project? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)

Answer	Percentage	Frequency
Very satisfied	63 %	(60)
Satisfied	17 %	(16)
Fair	18 %	(17)
Dissatisfied	1 %	(1)
Very dissatisfied	0 %	(0)
No idea	1 %	(1)
Total	100 %	(95)

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of respondents = 95.

Our children have got a school near their home. The proximity of the school promotes student enrollment and participation in the school.

(Male parent in Village H)

Now we can send our children to a school since the school is near.

(Female parent/KETB member in Village G)

As reasons behind their satisfaction with the NGO projects, most of the respondents, including these two, were highly appreciative of the schools which they do not have in their villages. Community members presented their appreciation for what the local development NGOs gave to the communities.

Similar answers were seen in the interviews in response to the question: “Do you think your village needs an NGO?” Most of the respondents (95 percent) answered “yes,” 5 percent of the community members answered “no idea,” and no one answered “no.” When asked the reason why they answered “yes” to this question, interviewees in this group gave the feedback that NGOs were able to fulfill certain physical needs; their emphasis was on something they wanted to receive from the local development NGOs. The

following two interview extracts are typical answers as to why community members need local development NGO:

The community needs to be provided with different social services like education, health, and others (from the NGO).

(Male parent in Village D)

The community needs to get more benefit from the NGO because the NGO is a source of knowledge and also a source of money.

(Female parent in Village H)

These extracts illustrate the community members' perception about local development NGO as an entity which is able to provide for them. Several community members listed what they wanted from the local development NGOs. The second respondent above even described the NGO as "a source of money" for the community. These relationships between the selected local development NGOs and the communities can be described as "giver and receiver relationships," as Horn Consult (2003, 30) addresses. The local development NGOs give schools through the NGO projects to the communities, which are receivers. These interview results imply that community members are pragmatic in their approach when considering their relationship with the local development NGOs and the type of benefits NGOs bring to their environment.

Related to this point, the answers to the next interview question show interesting results. When community members were asked, "Which do you prefer: schools established by the NGO or ones established by the government?", the results show that slightly more community members prefer government schools to NGO schools (about 47 percent vs. 46 percent), as seen in Table 5.12. As discussed earlier, many community members expressed that they are generally satisfied with NGO projects and that they need the NGOs in their villages. If the community members are satisfied with the NGO projects, it seems natural that they would choose NGO schools over government schools. However, half of the community members preferred schools established by the government. To understand these contradicting results, community members were asked to provide the reason for their choices.

Table 5.12 Which do you prefer: Schools established by the NGO or ones established by the government? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)

Answer	Percentage	Frequency
School by the Government	47.4 %	(45)
School by NGO	46.3 %	(44)
No Preference	6.3 %	(6)
Total	100.0 %	(95)

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of Respondents = 95.

Regardless of their preference, community members identified quality of education and school management. As discussed in Chapter 3, educational quality in NFBE schools established by local development NGOs was often regarded as better than that in government schools. Moreover, data from selected NGO schools, which were examined in the previous section, also indicated a better educational environment than in the government schools. However, interviews with the community members found that those who preferred schools established by the government also reported that the government schools were better in terms of educational quality and school management than NGO schools.

The significant difference among their reasons is financial capacity, which was cited only by those who prefer the NGO schools. The following two interview extracts note that NGOs have better financial capacity than the government.

They (the NGO) have a financial power to support schools and to solve different problems.

(Male parent in Village G)

The NGO has enough money to construct a good school. But it is not like this in the case of the government.

(Male parent/PTA member in Village B)

The respondents above perceived that the local development NGOs have the financial strength to provide a school or other projects for the communities.

In contrast, the responses that indicate a preference for government schools were based on the perception of greater sustainability of government schools. The following three interview extracts address the sustainability issue:

The government gives sustainable support in solving different problems of the school.

(Female parent in Village D)

The government gives continuous support to the school.

(Male parent/the elder in Village C)

Everything including schools which are managed by the government has sustainability. The government supervises all activities at school such as management and teaching-learning process to solve the school problems.

(Male parent/PTA member in Village A)

The next two interview extracts also show sustainability of the government. In addition to the sustainability, the respondents indicated tensions between the government and local development NGOs. Some of the community members, especially titled community members such as village chairpersons and school committee members, seemed to notice the restrictive rules and attitudes toward local development NGOs by the government. Some community members recognize the fragile status of local development NGOs in Ethiopia, which caused some community members to perceive local development NGO schools as not being sustainable.

Schools managed by the government are long lasting but that by NGOs can be closed if disagreements arise between the government and the NGO.

(Male PTA member in Village F)

If an NGO disagrees with the government, the fate of the school

managed by the NGO is also endangered. The school can be closed.

(Male village vice chairperson/KETB member in Village H)

The sustainable work by the government in comparison with the local development NGOs was also addressed. The next two respondents clearly stated that local development NGO schools are temporary institutions.

This is because the government is not temporary like NGOs. The government support is sustainable.

(Female PTA member in Village D)

The government is always with schools and children in a sustainable manner. But management of the school by NGOs is temporary.

(Female parent in Village F)

A number of community members equate government work with sustainability, versus the presence of a local development NGOs as a temporary entity working in their villages. Past scholars have discussed a lack of sustainability of NGO activity and its impact on the NGO image within communities (Edwards and Hulme, 1996b; Bebbington, 2005). Clearly, the community members notice the same issue, and the collated interviews with community members reveal that local development NGOs are generally considered as temporary institutions in Ethiopia.

In addition to the sustainability, many respondents addressed the closeness of the government to the communities. The next four respondents also indicate ephemerality of the NGOs by addressing sustainability of the government.

The government manages schools permanently. And the government is very close to the society permanently.

(Male parent in Village F)

The government is always with communities as compared to NGOs.

(Female parent/KETB member in Village A)

The government is always with communities. The government solves school problems whenever problems arise.

(Female parent in Village B)

The government always stays with communities. The government supervises and supports the society all the times.

(Female parent in Village C)

These perceptions of government go against notions about the superiority of NGOs in terms of familiarity with communities, which are discussed by scholars such as Cleary (1997) and Hudock (1999). Another perspective is brought up by the next respondent, who clearly stated that the government is superior to NGOs in terms of coordination of communities. This is different from the notion that NGOs are superior to governments in terms of communication with communities, which was discussed in Chapter 2.

The government can coordinate communities better than NGOs.

(Male parent in Village F)

Furthermore, in relation to the government, interviews with NGO workers revealed that 19 out of 28 NGO workers (67 percent) have a discussion with a government official when they start a new project.⁷⁷ This shows that several local development NGOs prioritize discussions with government officials over discussion with community members. The following interview extract provides an example:

When we start a new project, we talk with Zonal DPPA to ask which district we should work with. After we decide the target district with Zonal DPPA, we go to WEO to decide which village we should work with. After we decide the village, we go to the community.

(Director of NGO C)

This respondent consults government officials and decides the project site when his NGO starts a new project. According to the respondent, the government knows which village needs assistance. This might imply that the local development NGOs perceive that the government understands the communities' situations better than the local development NGO. This situation contradicts the fundamental expectations of local development NGOs

argued by different scholars, such as Cleary (1997) and Hudock (1999). Contradictory to the argument about expectations about local development NGOs in Ethiopia by scholars outlined in Chapter 3, NGOs are not always superior to governments in terms of communications with communities and responsiveness to community members' needs. The interviews suggest that the local development NGOs might not be close enough to understand the communities' needs in comparison with the government officials

In summary, the analysis of evaluation by the communities of the projects implemented by local development NGOs showed that most community members are satisfied with their projects. Moreover, most of the community members also stated that communities needed the NGOs. However, the main reasons for their satisfaction with the NGO projects and necessity of the local development NGOs in their villages indicate the fact that community members expect something they do not have for the communities from the local development NGOs. These situations indicate that the relationships between the selected local development NGOs as givers and the communities as receivers can be described, just as the "giver and receiver relationship" that Horn Consult (2003, 30) addresses.

Furthermore, interviews related to communities' preferences of schools revealed their perceptions of local development NGOs. Although most community members reported satisfaction with the NGO project and the necessity of local development NGOs in their villages, half of the community members stated that they preferred the government schools to the NGO schools. Interviews with the community members showed that one advantage of NGO schools over government schools is the financial aspect of the local development NGO. Results also indicate that several community members perceived local development NGOs as organizations that bring materials to their villages. Moreover, interviews revealed that several community members considered local development NGOs as temporary institutions, which were not closer to the community members than the government. These results are different from the arguments stating the superiority of NGOs, given their familiarity and communications with communities, which were discussed in Chapter 2.

At the same time, these results might illustrate that the community

members do not have any alternative but to gain assistance from local development NGOs, which can bring schools to the communities. Since the government did not establish schools in the villages, communities needed help from the local development NGOs. This might be a reason why the communities participated in the NGO project even though the communities were discontented with the project process. In the same way, communities need NGOs to gain other things they do not have. Although the local development NGOs may not have been the best organizations to serve the communities, there were no other alternatives with the exception of the local development NGOs. The communities as receivers perceive the local development NGOs as givers that bring something to the communities. The next section further examines communities' perceptions of local development NGOs.

Communities' Perceptions of Local Development NGOs and Communities Themselves

Communities' Perceptions of Local Development NGOs

The previous sections examined the communities' participation in and evaluation of the NGO projects. Although these analyses already address some perceptions of local development NGOs by the communities, this section examines the communities' perceptions of local development NGOs in more depth.

As discussed in Chapter 2, literature addresses one common belief that NGOs can represent the community point of view. Based on this notion, this section first analyses how community members perceive the local development NGOs by asking, "Whose point of view do you think the local development NGO represents?" Table 5.13 shows the results.

The results show that the number of the community members that answered "community" is surprisingly the lowest number at 19 percent. About 80 percent of the community members do not perceive that local development NGOs as representing the communities' point of view. Among them, 36 percent said "no one." The second most popular response was "gov-

Table 5.13 Whose point of view do you think the local development NGO represents? (Results based on this question posed to the community members)

Answer	Percentage	Frequency
No one	36 %	(34)
Government	23 %	(22)
Financial donor	20 %	(19)
Community	19 %	(18)
No idea	2 %	(2)
Total	100 %	(95)

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of Respondents = 95.

ernment” at 23 percent, and the third highest was “financial donor” at 20 percent. These results suggest that community members do not necessarily perceive local development NGOs as representing the community point of view. In order to understand further the community members’ perceptions of the local development NGOs, this section examines the reasons why community members did not answer that the local development NGOs represent the communities’ point of view.

First, interviews with community members who stated that the local development NGOs represent no one’s point of view are examined. This was the most popular answer from the respondents. The following three excerpts are from the interviews with respondents who answered “no one.” These interviews confirm that these community members perceive local development NGOs as working for the sake of the NGO workers themselves.

I think the NGO is freely doing their own work for themselves.

(Female parent in Village F)

I think the NGO does not represent anyone’s point of view. They work for themselves for their need.

(Female parent in Village C)

I think they (the local development NGO) work for the NGO’s benefit firstly and for improvement of lives of the poor in Ethiopia secondly.

(Male village vice chairperson/KETB member in Village H)

Although the third respondent added the improvement of community life as a lower-level objective for the local development NGO, he thought that the main objective was to work for the sake of the NGO itself.

When the author asked community members about motivations of the NGO workers to work for local development NGOs, the communities presented similar perceptions. Many community members expressed that the NGO workers aimed to work for the NGO workers' own benefits. The following three extracts show that community members perceive that many NGO workers aim first to gain benefits for themselves.

As to me, the majority of the local development NGOs aim to serve interest of individual workers of the organizations (the local development NGOs).

(Male parent/PTA member in Village C)

I think the NGO workers decided to work for the benefit of their own.

(Female parent in Village F)

I think that the NGO workers decided to work for their NGOs' benefit as the first priority.

(Male village vice chairperson/KETB member in Village H)

A more concrete idea is addressed in the following interview extract in response to the same question:

. . . local NGOs aim to get fame by supporting people.

(Female parent in Village A)

Therefore, these results indicate that several community members perceive local development NGOs as working for the sake of the NGOs themselves, with the main objective to gain benefit or reputation. In other words, the community members do not feel that local development NGOs are working for the sake of the communities as their main prioritised objectives.

Second, interviews with respondents who perceive that the local devel-

opment NGOs represent the government's point of view are examined. The following two interview extracts are typical examples:

The NGO represents the government's point of view. The NGO is working on behalf of the government by sharing the responsibility of the government.

(Female parent in Village D)

The NGO represents the government's point of view by doing duties of the government.

(Male parent/KETB member in Village F)

The first respondent stated that the NGO was working for the government. Moreover, the other respondent also expressed that the local development NGO did what the government was supposed to do. Other community members also suggested that the local development NGOs represented the government's point of view by doing the work of the government.

Third, this study examines the reasons why respondents answered that the local development NGOs represented the financial donor's point of view. The following interview extracts illustrate the responses:

The NGO is working for the sake of the financial donors. This is because the NGO is working by using funds from the donors.

(Female parent in Village D)

The NGO works depending on donors' idea. The NGO is influenced by donors' policy.

(Male village vice chairperson/KETB member in Village H)

The NGO is working and implementing intentions or objectives of financial donors.

(Male parent/the elder in Village G)

The first extract of the interview described the NGO as working for the sake of the financial donor. The respondent perceives that donors, which provide financial resources, have decision-making power. The second respondent pointed out the dependency of local development NGOs on donors. The last

respondent also addressed the strong influence of donors on local development NGOs.

In summary, the interviews revealed that about 80 percent of the community members perceive that local development NGOs do not represent the communities' point of view. Many respondents believe that local development NGOs work for the sake of their own benefits or even for their reputations. The results also suggest that community members do not necessarily believe that local development NGOs work for the sake of the communities. The high percentage seen in these results demonstrates the reality of the communities' perceptions about the local development NGOs. These results revealed the communities' perceptions of local development NGOs, which differ from the common understanding of NGOs in the existing literature as well as in the international context.

Communities' Perceptions of the Communities Themselves in Relation to Local Development NGOs

In order to understand the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities more deeply, this study explores the communities themselves in relation to the local development NGOs. The question asked was: "How do you think the local development NGO perceives the community members?" In answering this question, most of the community members stated that local development NGOs perceive community members to be important. Furthermore, the following responses can be classified under three types of reasons and also provide some ideas about their relationships with the local development NGOs.

The first type of reason shows an emphasis on the communities' participation in the NGO projects, which is exemplified by the following respondents:

The projects by the NGO are implemented at the local level with participation of the community. In order for the NGO to make the community participate, they have to think of community first.

(Female parent in Village D)

The projects by the NGO cannot be fully implemented without the

participation of the community. Therefore, community is the most important for them.

(Male parent in Village B)

The implementation of the projects by the NGO is accomplished only through participation of the community.

(Male parent/former village chairperson in Village G)

The community benefits the NGO since the NGO needs communities' participation for their projects.

(Male parent/member of school committee in Village H)

The four extracts above show that the respondents believe that local development NGOs regard communities as important stakeholders for the local development NGOs, as NGOs cannot implement NGO projects without the communities' participation. The interviews suggest that the community members perceive that they are valued as participants in NGO projects. The last respondent even described the community giving benefits to the local development NGO through communities' participation in NGO projects. These notions indicate that the respondents believe it is through the presence of the communities that makes it easier for local development NGOs to implement projects. This idea is the opposite of the argument that local development NGOs act for the sake of communities. Rather, the interviews indicate that community members perceive that their communities work for the NGOs in order to complete NGO projects.

The second type of reason indicates a positioning that communities are approvers of NGO projects. The next interview extracts describe that the local development NGO are allowed to implement projects or work in a village only when the community accepts the NGO.

The communities are the sources of the NGOs. Without the community's acceptance, the NGOs cannot do any project.

(Female parent/PTA member in Village E)

The NGO can exist in the village only when the community accepts the NGO.

(Male parent in Village A)

Development of the community becomes more visible only if projects are supported by the community.

(Male parent in Village F)

This group of responses reveal that there are community members who consider local development NGOs treat communities as important stakeholders only because the communities are the ones that approve local development NGOs to work in their villages. These communities have a psychological boundary that separates local development NGOs as external institutions or outsiders which need acceptance from the communities. This idea does not address any closeness of the local development NGOs with the communities. Rather, the idea indicates distance between communities and local development NGOs.

The third type of reason is based on the perception that the community members see themselves as owners or controllers of the NGO projects. The following respondents show these ideas more clearly:

Community is the owner of the project and controls them (projects).

(Male parent/village chairperson in Village B)

The community is the owner and user of the project.

(Female parent/KETB member in Village E)

The community is the owner. Also, we contribute materials for construction.

(Male parent/PTA member in Village G)

The community is the first stakeholder for the NGO because we (the community) directly affect the project.

(Male parent/PTA member in Village H)

These notions indicate that community members are not necessarily powerless in their relationships with local development NGOs. The notions discussed above, that the communities regard themselves as participants and approvers, also do not show the powerless communities. Communities are often considered as powerless or weak in their relationships with NGOs (e.g. JANIC, 2006). In the Ethiopian context, Kassahun (2003) also describes

powerless community members in relation to local development NGOs. However, the results of the interviews indicate that the community members perceive that they are strongly influential in relation to the local development NGOs since the community members are participants, approvers, and/or owners of the NGO projects.

In summary, the results indicate that community members do not necessarily believe that local development NGOs have close relationships with the communities. Several community members perceive that the communities are valued by local development NGOs only because the community members are the ones who participate in the NGO projects. Several community members even perceive that the communities work for the NGOs to complete the NGO projects and that communities are approvers to the local development NGOs as outsiders which need approvals from the communities. There is a perceived distance between the communities and the local development NGOs. Moreover, these situations might indicate the opposite of “giver and receiver relationships,” addressed by Horn Consult (2003, 30). That is, the communities as givers make it easier for local development NGOs as receivers to implement projects and gain benefit through the communities’ approval and participation.

Furthermore, evidence that the community members regard themselves as participants, approvers and owners shows that the community members do not necessarily perceive communities to be powerless. Rather, the communities may place themselves in a superior position, which is to give approval, participate in NGO projects, and own the projects, and place local development NGOs in an inferior position which needs the communities’ acceptance and participation for the NGO project.

Even though the communities perceive themselves as influential and in a superior position as approvers, participants, and owner for the NGO projects, the communities are not able to exercise power over the local development NGOs. This reason assumes that the only actors that support the communities are local development NGOs in the current situation. Therefore, although community members have complaints about the NGO project, including a lack of information, the communities approve the NGO projects and accept the local development NGOs.

Individual NGO Workers' Perceptions of Local Development NGOs in Relation to Communities

This study specifically focuses on the individual perceptions, examining individual perceptions of those who work for development NGOs, and constitutes one of the approaches towards understanding the relationships between NGOs and communities. Several scholars have discussed the importance of examining individual perceptions. For instance, Axworthy (2005) has described NGOs at the organizational level as being collective; people who work together in the NGO also form the policy directions as an organization.

Motivations for NGO Workers to Work for Local Development NGOs

This section examines the individual NGO workers' motivations to work for local development NGOs. Interviews with NGO workers indicate that the conditions for local development NGOs are preferable. NGO workers do not necessarily associate themselves with the organizational objectives or orientations of the local development NGOs. For instance, the following interview excerpt addresses this idea of job security.

Through my friend, I heard that there is a vacancy in the NGO. And I applied. There is no preference for NGOs.

(Staff of NGO D)

In response to the question about the NGO's mission, the next respondent also emphasized his personal vision and career.

I don't remember the mission of my organization. I have my own vision toward my work. I have decided to work for the NGO for my career. There is no preference to work for NGO sector. I am working for the NGO by chance since I found a job opening in this NGO when I searched for job.

(Staff of NGO D)

These interviews revealed that job opportunities in local development NGOs are highly valued as occupations in Ethiopia where job opportunities are limited. As discussed in Chapter 3, the unemployment rate in Ethiopia is high. Interviews with NGO workers revealed their perceptions of job opportunities in local development NGOs in Ethiopia, which: 1) have minimum influences from the government; 2) provide good payment; 3) allow people to use their skills and experience; and 4) value their educational background.

1) Avoidance From Political Influences and Bureaucracy

First, job opportunities in local development NGOs are attractive to those who would like to avoid political influences in Ethiopia. Among twenty-eight NGO workers, six NGO workers (21 percent) reported their decision to work for local development NGOs to avoid political influences. NGO directors as well as staff, who used to work as government officials or teachers, especially seem to wish to avoid political influence. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which is the ruling party consisting of the current Ethiopian government, often involves officials and teachers at public schools in their political activities to encourage these people to join EPRDF. For instance, one NGO director stated that he was forced to participate in political activities when he was a teacher at a government school. He searched for a job that had minimum political influences from the EPRDF. He then found a job opportunity with a local development NGO. Oromo ethnic people in the Oromia region were especially disadvantaged in the prior regimes, as discussed in Chapter 4.

One of the categories of NGO workers in Africa is described by Shivji (2007) as the "radical elite," who had struggled with political experiences and eventually joined an NGO to change society. Interviews in this study revealed that five out of eight directors used to work for government offices and/or government schools (see Table 5.14). However, none of the NGO workers showed their intentions to influence the government. Rather, the NGO workers seem to avoid political issues and cooperate with the government. This might be because local development NGOs in Ethiopia work under relatively restrictive rules set by the government.

Table 5.14 Eight selected NGO directors' professional background

Types of professional background	Number of directors
Other local development NGO	2
International development NGO	5
Government office	5
School	3
Private company	1
University (Academic)	1

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of the respondents = 8, Multiple answers allowed.

In addition to avoiding political influence, several NGO workers also mentioned avoiding bureaucracy. The following three interview excerpts with NGO staff indicate that they wanted to avoid the bureaucratic systems of government offices:

I was uncomfortable with the government, which kept changing. Therefore, I established an NGO.

(Staff of NGO G)

After working with the government office, I did not want to work for the government. The government system including municipalities has corruption.

(Staff of NGO E)

What the government does is rigid. NGOs are flexible.

(Staff of NGO B)

Although the three respondents gave different reasons, which are instability, corruption, and inflexibility, all of the interview extracts show their unwillingness to work in the bureaucratic government system. These people who would like to avoid political influences or bureaucracy choose to work for local development NGOs in Ethiopia.

2) Good Payment

Second, employment in local development NGOs is recognized as an occupation with high payment. A study by Horn Consult (2003) shows that public image of local development NGOs in Ethiopia relates to a good salary, as discussed in Chapter 3. During the interviews, two NGO staff clearly addressed the good payment they earn for their work for local development NGOs in comparison to other professions in Ethiopia. In fact, 11 out of 16 NGO staff⁷⁸ mentioned that their current payment is higher than it was for their previous work. While there are cases where some NGO directors received lower salary at the start of their work than from previous work done prior to their NGO time, reported figures show that the majority of the eight NGO directors currently receive a higher salary in their position.

Although the amount of payment varies with each position and NGO, the average monthly payment of the sample NGO staff was 1.5 times higher than the highest payment of the school director at the selected schools. The highest monthly salary of one of the selected NGO staff was about three times higher than the school director's salary. The lowest monthly payment for an NGO director was about double the highest payment for a school director.⁷⁹ The highest paid NGO director had a salary that is 4.7 times higher than the salary of the highest paid school director. These facts surely address the high payment of NGO workers generally. This indicates that employment in a local development NGO is regarded as one of a few job opportunities with relatively good payment in Ethiopia. This might imply that some NGO directors and staff are attracted to work for local development NGOs by the high income.

3) Utilization and Improvement of Skills and Experiences

Third, employment in local development NGOs is valued by people who want to use their skills and experiences. Interview data showed that all of the selected NGO directors were motivated to work in local development NGOs by contributing their skills and past experience, especially skills and experience gained from work with government offices. For instance, one director used to work for the government office dealing with harmful traditional practices in Ethiopia. After he learned about girls' situations, such as

abduction and female genital mutilation, he decided to form a local development NGO to utilize his experience and knowledge gained from his work at the government office. Similar to this NGO director, other directors who used to be teachers at government schools were motivated to work for local development NGOs to utilize their experience and knowledge from teaching.

Some of these NGO workers take advantage of their work experience at government offices or schools. For instance, one of the sample local development NGOs selects its main project sites from places where the director used to work as a government official. The experience of working for a government office appears to be useful to the local development NGO. Experienced workers can engage themselves especially in activities related to public service delivery, including basic education activities. Those who used to work for the government offices, especially, know the government system and also occasionally previously cultivated with government officials. The connection with the government offices might be an advantage for local development NGOs to work smoothly. Since these people have connections with the government offices, as well as skills for delivering services, they are confident about their success in forming a local development NGO or working for an NGO.

Related to the utilization of skills and experience, interviews also revealed that new and inexperienced NGO staff perceived local development NGOs as providing them with the opportunity to learn skills and knowledge needed for career development. As Shivji (2007) describes, there exists a group of NGO workers who are in the area for the purpose of furthering their own careers.

4) High Educational Background

Lastly, interviews with the NGO workers revealed that local development NGOs also represent a job market for the educated classes in Ethiopia. Shivji (2007) found that those who were engaged in local development NGOs in Africa are often educated elites in their countries, as discussed in Chapter 3. Interviews for this study also indicate that their educational background helped NGO directors establish their own local development

NGO. Local development NGOs are recognized as organizations that value educational backgrounds. Moreover, it is commonly assumed that the high payment discussed above is sufficient compensation for the amount invested in reaching the requisite education level for NGO work. In fact, interviews revealed that most of the selected NGO workers have achieved a high level of education. Thirteen out of twenty-eight workers of the local development NGOs (46 percent), have a bachelor's degree, and four NGO workers have a master's degree. In addition, two of them earned their degrees at universities abroad. Considering that the tertiary enrolment rate was only four percent in Ethiopia in 2007 (UIS, 2009), and only 264,000 people received tertiary education in Ethiopia in 2008,⁸⁰ this educational level for the NGO workers is remarkably high.

Given the current economic situation in Ethiopia, local development NGOs must communicate with external donors when fund raising. To do so, NGO workers need to attain a certain level of proficiency in various foreign languages to communicate and write comprehensive proposals and reports to attract foreign sponsors. These conditions thus require NGO workers to be highly educated and local development NGOs are perceived as organizations that value educational backgrounds. The following interview shows the NGO worker's motivations to work for an NGO, in relation to the person's education. This interview extract presents that working for local development NGOs is one of the attractive professions for educated people.

The NGO sector is broadly recognized. NGO is attracted by intellectuals. My brother, uncle and I decided to organize an NGO. We have education to support people.

(Director of NGO H)

In summary, this section examined people's motivations to work for local development NGOs and further explored workers' perceptions of their jobs at the local development NGOs. In Ethiopia, where job opportunities are limited, employment in local development NGOs becomes attractive especially for: 1) those who want to avoid political influences; 2) those who seek good payment; 3) those who want to utilize their skills and experience;

and 4) those who have strong educational backgrounds. Many NGO workers often choose to work for local development NGOs in Ethiopia as they find the working conditions within the organizations to be highly favorable to their own needs. These NGO workers do not necessarily work for local development NGOs because they agree with the orientation or objectives of the local development NGOs. Such a situation in Ethiopia is different from the original purpose of NGOs as generally understood from an international perspective, and also distinguishes it from the type of NGOs in developed countries where people tend to be dedicated workers for the NGOs, and who will work with relatively low pay.

Perceptions of Local Development NGOs' Positions

This section seeks to understand individual NGO workers' perceptions about the communities by posing one question to the workers: "Whose point of view do you think your NGO represents?" This is the same question asked to the community members as showed in the earlier section.

In the tally results, only 14 out of 25 NGO workers (56 percent) responded that their local development NGOs represent the local communities' point of view. This indicates that nearly half of the NGO workers do not perceive local development NGOs as representing the communities' point of view. Thirty-nine percent of NGO workers answered that their local development NGOs represent no one's point of view, suggesting that local development NGOs work for the sake of themselves. This result differs not only from the organizational missions, but also contradicts general expectations of local development NGOs to represent the community point of view.

In order to better understand the NGO workers' perceptions of the communities, this study also posed the following question: "What do you think about the relationship between your NGO and the community members?" While there are NGO workers who mentioned that they work for the sake of communities, there are also NGO workers who indicated different ideas. The NGO workers' answers had a similar tendency toward the community members' answers to the question: "How do you think the NGO perceives the community?" These findings were discussed in an earlier section. The

first category of answers indicates that local development NGOs need communities' participation and contributions to complete their projects, as exemplified in the excerpt below from an interview with one of the selected NGO workers.

Our major work is done with the community. Success of the project depends on the communities' participation.

(Staff of NGO F)

Although the respondent above appreciated the communities' participation in the NGO projects, he also emphasized the communities' participation as an important component to complete their projects. Similarly, when asking the NGO workers about what the local development NGOs wanted their community members to do, interviews with the NGO workers also produced responses akin to the previous one.

Without contributions by the community, the amount (of the money a project needs) is too high. Therefore, we need communities' contributions.

(Staff of NGO D)

Since external assistances are limited, we requested communities to contribute materials for the project.

(Staff of NGO G)

Both respondents addressed the importance of the communities' contributions to cover the finance requirements of the projects. These interviews with the NGO workers emphasize that community participation, especially communities' contributions to the NGO projects, is necessary for project completion.

Another category of the results addresses the need of communities for the continued existence of local development NGOs. For instance, one NGO staff felt that an NGO exists only if the community has an issue. The community has to have some issues in order for the NGO to have projects in the village. This response focused on the reason behind a local development NGOs' continued existence.

Unless the community has an issue, we don't have work. Everything comes from the community.

(Staff of NGO G)

Without the community, there is no work (for the NGO).

(Staff of NGO A)

The next respondent focused on his NGO work, describing that the NGO appeals to donors by using the name of the communities. Although the money collected from donors might be used mainly for the communities through their project(s), his expression suggests that his first priority is to get funding from donors.

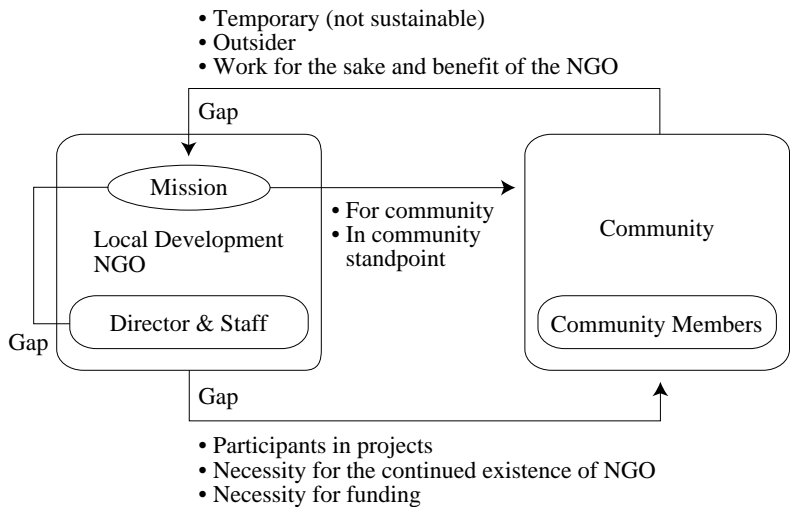
Whenever we appeal to get a fund, we are mobilizing money by the name of the people (community).

(Director of NGO F)

The collated interviews reveal that NGO workers equate the continued existence of their NGO as being linked to the existence of their communities. However, this category is different from the communities' answers, which indicate the need for approval by the communities for NGO projects, as discussed in the earlier sections. Interviews revealed that the NGO workers were not worried about getting approval for their projects from the communities, although they addressed the significance of the communities' existence for the NGO's continuity. This also indicates that the NGO workers do not necessarily prioritize the community members; they care more about the NGO's continuity or survival.

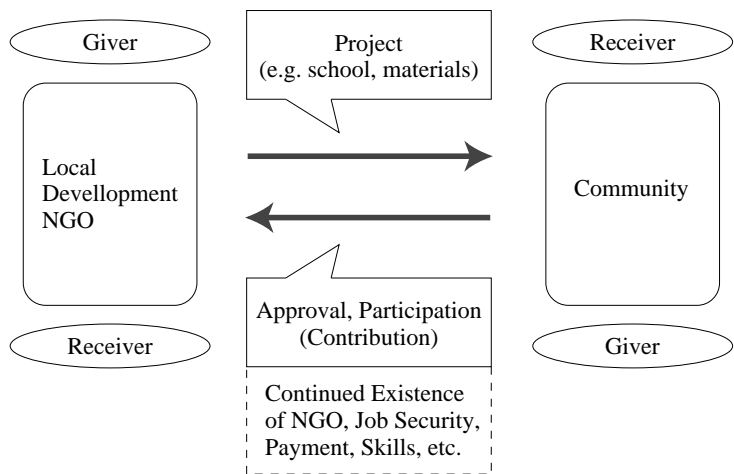
Summary of the Findings From the Collective Analysis of the Relationships Between Local Development NGOs and Communities

This section summarizes what this study found from the collective analysis of the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities. Results of the analysis suggest that the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities in Ethiopia could be described as "two-



**Figure 5.3 Gaps between individual perceptions and NGO’s or-
ganizational objectives**

Source: Created by author.



**Figure 5.4 “Two-way, giver and receiver relationships” between
local development NGOs and the communities**

Source: Created by author.

way, giver and receiver relationships,” which means that both the communities and local development NGOs play both roles of giver and receiver. This study has reviewed the following four situations: 1) circumstances of local development NGOs; 2) the individual NGO workers’ circumstances and perceptions; 3) the communities’ perceptions of local development NGOs; and 4) the communities’ perceptions of the communities themselves in relation to the local development NGOs. Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show the findings and ideas from the analysis.

1) Circumstances of Local Development NGOs

The work of local development NGOs is circumscribed by the relatively strict regulations set by the government; their projects are funded by external donors in most cases. As such, the local development NGOs need to establish good relationships with the government and donors in order to proceed with their work. However, given the legal intricacies and highly bureaucratic nature of the system, and coupled with the weak economic environment the local development NGOs often work in, the selected local development NGOs argue that they often spend substantial effort to meet the criteria set by both government and donors. These situations indicate the complex and difficult circumstances which often take local development NGOs away from their focus on building relationships with their communities. Also, several scholars including Miller-Grandvaux et al. (2002) have indicated that the working relationship between local development NGOs, government and donors often operate under certain tensions. This is proven by the collated interviews with the government officials and NGO workers in this study, which indicate a level of mistrust between them.

2) Individual NGO Workers’ Circumstances and Perceptions

The missions of the local development NGOs are based on their main objective to work for the sake of communities and to improve lives within the communities. These stated missions are close to the general perceptions of NGOs that are recognized generally on the international stage. However, the results from the collated interviews suggest that the NGOs’ mission and objectives are not necessarily important as motivating factors for the Ethio-

pian people who decide to work for local development NGOs. The individual NGO workers also have different practical motivations and perceptions about their work and what their local development NGOs stand for.

This study suggests that when an NGO entity is placed in an environment with limited job opportunities, its role and functions also change. In order to better understand the local development NGOs, it may be necessary to re-look at the inherent assumptions of NGOs and their roles as taken from international perspectives. One clear point of difference is an existing gap between the NGO missions and individual local development NGO workers' perceptions of their work in relation to their communities (see Figure 5.3). This can be seen through the variety of responses on the part of the NGO workers in their relation to the communities. There are examples of NGO workers who regard the communities as mere contributors to or participants in the NGO projects. Other workers place greater emphasis on the sustainability of their organization and its activities, over-riding the NGO's basic mission and primary objective to work for the sake of the community.

3) Communities' Perceptions of Local Development NGOs

The research of this paper found that the local communities have several interesting perceptions of local development NGOs. In the interviews, community members showed a simple appreciation for what local development NGOs gave to the communities. These situations imply that community members have pragmatic aspects in considering what they are able to gain from local development NGOs. These aspects also indicate relationships between local development NGOs as givers and communities as receivers, as addressed by Horn Consult (2003). These practical-minded "giver and receiver relationships" reflect the fundamental truth of the communities' needs (see Figure 5.4).

In addition, this study also showed that a percentage of the community members have an image of local development NGOs as temporary institutions, and that their projects are not sustainable. This is different from the notion that NGOs are superior to governments in terms of communication with communities. Another critical finding of this study is that many community members do not have a strong sense that the local development

NGOs are fulfilling their main objective of working for the sake of the communities. This perception by the community members indicates a gap in the NGOs' missions and their executed duties (see Figure 5.3). Based on the communities' responses, this study presents the real context in which local development NGOs function within Ethiopia, and how they are actually perceived by members of their communities.

4) Communities' Perceptions of Communities Themselves in Relation to Local Development NGOs

Interviews from this study suggest that community members perceive themselves as approvers that give approval to local development NGOs to work in their villages, and/or as participants in NGO projects. This situation indicates that the communities have set up a boundary, and view local development NGOs as external institutions or outsiders that need acceptance from the communities. The results of the interviews also indicate that the community members perceive the importance of the communities in making it easier for local development NGOs to work. Another way of looking at this situation, as seen in the responses by some members, is that they perceive the communities as working for NGOs in order to complete the projects. This reverses the "giver and receiver relationships"; the communities become "givers" to make it easier for the local development NGOs as "receivers" to implement projects through the communities' approval and participation. Local development NGOs as receivers can also secure the continued existence of NGOs at the organization level through community support. These relationships between local development NGOs and communities indicate "two-way, giver and receiver relationships," which means that both the communities and local development NGOs play both roles of giver and receiver, as seen in Figure 5.4.

Notably, the results of the interviews with the community members indicate that they do not necessarily perceive themselves as powerless or passive, contradicting discussions in existing literature. In addition to these perceptions of communities as approvers and participants, some community members also regard the communities as owners of the projects. The communities see themselves in a superior position which dispenses approval,

participates in and owns NGO projects, while placing local development NGOs in a subordinate role of having to petition the communities for acceptance and support.

This study presented these complex background views and circumstances of the NGO workers and the community members. Findings regarding the perceptions by NGO workers and community members in Ethiopia indicate that the mainstream recognition and expectations that local development NGOs work for the sake of the communities do not fit the case of Ethiopia. Instead, there is a counter argument indicating local development NGO inferiority in their familiarity with communities. The community members perceive their relationships with local development NGOs as complex; there are “two-way, giver and receiver relationships” between the local development NGOs and the communities in Ethiopia.

Moreover, the interview results in this section suggest that community members have limited options for assistance outside of local development NGOs, which can bring schools and other resources to the communities. Although the communities themselves may perceive their role as being able to influence the local development NGOs (as listed above), the reality is likely that these communities have limited power over the local development NGOs as the NGOs are the only entities that are able to support the communities in the current situation. Although local development NGOs might not be the best options for the communities, these communities do not have other alternatives to turn to. This also explains the reason why most community members expressed a need for local development NGOs in their villages. This study revealed that there are circumstances in which local development NGOs are the only actors assisting the communities.

Possible Factors Influencing Relationships Between Local Development NGOs and Communities: Analysis of the Respective NGOs and Communities

The previous sections collectively examined eight local development NGOs to identify common features and trends about the relationships between lo-

cal development NGOs and the communities. This study showed “two-way, giver and receiver relationships” between the local development NGOs and the communities in Ethiopia. Under the current circumstances, there is no other actor who can replace local development NGOs implementing projects at the grassroots. It is normally the case that local development NGOs are the only actors who can realize community needs. Moreover, when the local development NGOs start survival competitions, truly meeting the expectations from the international society, acting for the sake of communities will be critical for local development NGOs to survive.

This section analyzes possible factors which influence relationships between local development NGOs and community members in Ethiopia and attempts to examine the NGOs and their respective communities to understand the differences among the eight local development NGOs.

Communities' Participation in the NGO Projects and Communities' Perceptions of the NGOs

Community participation is regarded as one of the main ways for NGOs to establish better relationships with the communities, as discussed in Chapter 2. The earlier section examined community participation in NGO projects and the communities' perceptions of the local development NGOs collectively. This section examines research data relating to the communities' participation in NGO projects and communities' perceptions of local development NGOs.

The analysis revealed a positive correlation between the communities' participation in the NGO projects and their perceptions of NGOs' positions, which represent the communities' point of view (see Figure 5.5).⁸¹ The bar graph shows the percentages of the number of the community members who participated in NGO projects in each village. The line graph shows the percentage of community members that perceive local development NGOs as representing the communities' point of view. In comparison with the community members in other villages, a higher percentage of community participation is seen in Villages D, E, F, and H at 35 percent, 41 percent, 28 percent, and 43 percent respectively (see Figure 5.5). A large proportion

of community members in Villages E, F, and H perceived local development NGOs as representing the communities' point of view: 40 percent, 26 percent, and 53 percent respectively. Village D was an exception. This correlation between the communities' participation and the communities' perceptions of local development NGOs indicates that those who participate in NGO projects tend to perceive local development NGOs as representing the communities' point of view or vice versa. As discussed in Chapter 2, Streeten (1997) and Berry (1999) show that community participation establishes positive relationships between NGOs and communities. Therefore, although the correlation does not prove causal relationships, active participation in NGO projects might be one of the possible factors that help communities understand local development NGOs and establish good relationships with

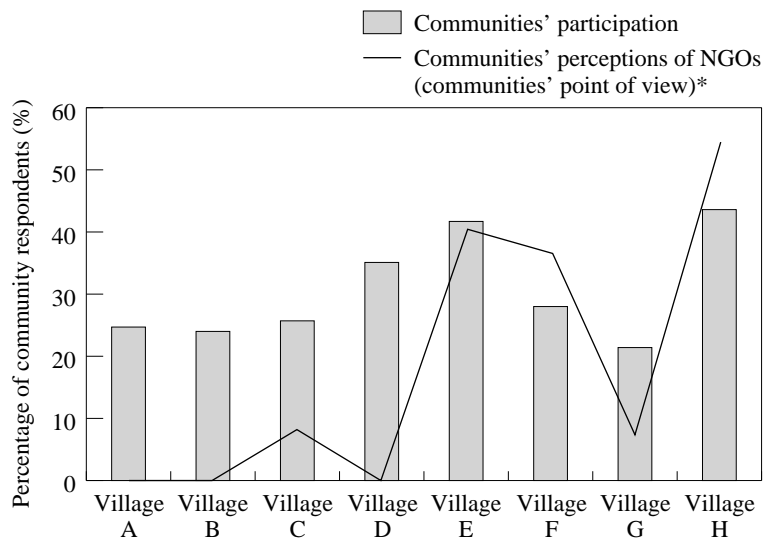


Figure 5.5 Communities' participation and communities' perceptions of local development NGOs* (Respective NGOs)

Source: Created by author.

Note: Number of Respondents = 95.

*The percentages indicate the number of community respondents that answered positively that local development NGOs represent the communities' point of view.

** The numerical data address the percentage of the communities' participation in NGO projects.

local development NGOs.

Among the elements of communities' participation, the collective analysis in the previous section addresses that the "involvement" element is the highest (see Table 5.8). The "involvement" element in Villages E, F, and H was high at 50 percent, 55 percent, and 60 percent respectively. However, the most characteristic feature was the "explanation by NGO" element with an overall average of 49 percent, which was the highest in these villages. The results were tallied at 73 percent in Village E, 55 percent in Village F, and 73 percent in Village H. The interview extracts below address the issue of how some community members perceive the way NGOs work with the communities:

We (NGO E and the community) talk together about the project. We share information.

(Male parent/vice village chairperson in Village E)

The school constructed by NGO H was planned, implemented by discussing with the community.

(Female parent/KETB member in Village H)

The first interview shows that NGO E not only gave information to its community members, but also discussed the project with them. The second community member also stated that the community discussed the project with NGO H. The "degree of participation" by Shaeffer (1994) suggests that "attendance and the receipt of information" is more active than "contributions of resources, materials, and labor" (see Figure 5.2, p. 100). These interview results might imply the significance of explanation by local development NGOs to community members.

Attachment with Communities

In the earlier section, individual motivations of NGO workers to seek jobs at local development NGOs were examined collectively from the aspect of job opportunities. According to Horn Consult (2003), home area attachment is one of the motivations for NGO workers in Ethiopia, as discussed

in Chapter 3. Directors of NGOs E, F, and H, seem to have an attachment to their hometown areas. As discussed earlier, these three NGOs have better community participation in their projects in comparison to the other NGOs (see Figure 5.5). Moreover, NGOs E, F, and H have larger numbers of community members who perceive NGOs as representing the communities' point of view. Especially, NGO H has the highest community participation, as well as the highest number of the community members who perceive that the NGO representing the community's point of view.

In practice, NGOs E, F, and H are working in the directors' hometown areas. In addition to the NGO director, NGO H has more staff members that are working in their hometown than other NGOs. Ramesh (1996), who studies NGOs in India, suggests that one of the factors for a successful local development NGO is staff from its communities. This is because these staff are expected to contribute to establishing good relationships with the community members. In fact, many community members in Villages E, F, and H mentioned how NGOs E, F, and H are working well and closely with the community members. The next extracts of interviews with community members of Villages E, F, and H indicate their closeness with NGOs E, F, and H respectively.

NGO E represents the community's point of view and solves problems in our rural communities.

(Female parent/PTA member in Village E)

NGO F works for people in the community based on the prioritized problems.

(Female parent/KETB member in Village F)

The employees of NGO H work for the community. They are always in the community.

(Male parent in Village H)

Moreover, NGO workers' attachments to their hometown area might be related to their commitment to the communities. Edwards and Hulme (1996a) found that committed staff is one of the factors of NGO "accountability" to community members. Those NGO workers who work in their hometowns

seem to be committed and motivated to work for the sake of communities. The extracts of the interviews with directors of NGOs E, F, and H indicate their commitment:

I wanted to do something for people who are not educated. I wanted to contribute to the community.

(Director of NGO E)

Before I started working for this NGO, I felt guilty about not engaging myself in my community. I want to see people change.

(Director of NGO F)

We have a moral responsibility to communities.

(Director of NGO H)

The extracts of the interviews above indicate their commitment to the community and their beliefs that the NGO works for the sake of the community. This indicates the importance of NGO workers' attachment and commitment to communities to establish trust relationships with the communities.

Strong Connection with the Government

As mentioned above, NGO D represents exceptional results (see Figure 5.5). While the communities' participation is active, there are no community members who perceive NGO D as representing the community's point of view. When examining the difference between NGO D and the other NGOs, one obvious difference was the NGO director's strong connection with the government.

Earlier sections discussed the individual motivations of NGO workers, and this study noted NGO workers who took advantage of their previous work experience in government offices. The director of NGO D is one of these NGO workers who has strong connections with the government and formed NGO D after his retirement from government office. Although the director of NGO D works in his hometown, no community members perceived NGO D as representing the community's point of view (see Figure 5.5). Instead, many of the community members (55 percent) perceived

NGO D as representing the government's point of view. One possible reason is because of the influence of the long engagement in the government office by the NGO director. The following extracts of the interviews with community members indicate that they perceive a strong relationship between NGO D and the government.

NGO D is supporting the government by implementing the (government) policy.

(Male parent in Village D)

NGO D represents the government's point of view. NGO D is working on behalf of the government by sharing the responsibility of the government.

(Female parent in Village D)

The main facilitator for the implementation of the project by NGO D is the local government.

(Female parent in Village D)

The first respondent addressed NGO D's implementing projects based on government policy. The second respondent clearly stated that NGO D works on behalf of the government. The third respondent indicated that local government facilitates the NGO project implementation. In fact, NGO D collaboratively implements projects with local government officials. NGO D even assigned one district education officer to the project implementation.

An extract of the interview with one community member shows that she failed to recognize when NGO D completed the project. She even described that there was no change in the community after the implementation of the project by NGO D.

I did not know when the project was completed. Even after the implementation of the school project by NGO D, no visible change was achieved by NGO D.

(Female PTA leader in Village D)

Since the director of NGO D worked for the government until his retire-

ment, the NGO D case might be extreme. However, interviews with community members in Village D imply that the strong connection with the government office might confuse community members; community members might not know what the local development NGO does for its communities. As Horn Consult (2003) addresses, when the public does not know the existence or work of local development NGOs, confusion and notions might negatively influence the NGO's relationships with the communities.

Organizational Structure of Local Development NGOs

This section examines the organizational structure of the local development NGOs. As discussed in Chapter 3, in the Ethiopian context, Berhanu (2003) discusses that directors of local development NGOs, who are also founders of the NGOs in many cases, tend to have a strong authority in their NGOs. Since the history of local development NGOs in Ethiopia is still short, most local development NGOs are in the first generation. Therefore, directors are often engaged themselves in the establishment of the NGOs. Based on this idea, this section analyzes how local development NGOs work in Ethiopia. Figure 5.6 shows the main structure of the local development NGOs. Depending on the size of the NGO, there are sometimes several program managers and/or project coordinators.

The observations and interviews with NGO directors and staff revealed that NGOs E, F, and H seem to have a division of labor among the directors and staff, and a decentralized decision-making authority. The level and ex-

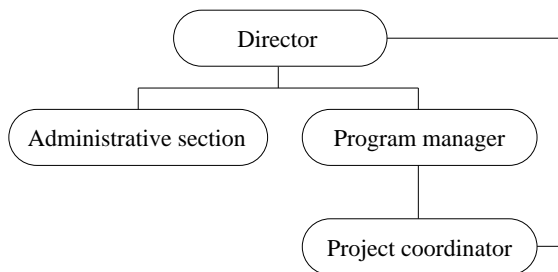


Figure 5.6 Organizational structure of local development NGOs

Source: Created by author.

tent of the division of labor vary depending on the NGO. For instance, the program manager of NGO F is the authority about projects while the director focuses on donor coordination.

Regarding NGO H, the project coordinator manages and determines projects. The director of NGO H concentrates on networking with other local development NGOs and communicating with donors. The program manager of NGO E has a responsibility for most of the work of the NGO, including management, project implementation, donor relations, and government relations. Both director and program manager share their work and responsibilities in NGO E.

In comparison with these three NGOs, other NGOs often have a director who decides most things, including management of the NGO staff, and communications with donors, government offices, and community members, as Berhanu (2003) describes. This situation might exist partly because these NGOs do not have enough human resources. In addition, since the size of the NGO is small, these directors can manage everything if the directors work very hard. However, these NGOs often rely only on the directors. The observations and interviews in this study revealed that the staff of these NGOs tend not to know about their NGOs, including their missions, history or plan. Moreover, staff tend to focus only on what they are ordered to do. Without the director's order, staff tend not to be allowed to decide anything. The project coordinators are supposed to work closely with the community members. NGOs E, F, and H allow the project coordinator(s) to have certain decision-making authority to work flexibly at the project sites. Moreover, according to the community members, although all of the selected projects were already completed, the project coordinators of NGOs E, F, and H often visit schools and talk with the community people, as compared with the project coordinators of other NGOs. The following extracts of interviews with community members in Villages F and H indicate that the NGO staff closely followed up the projects. These notions indicate positive impressions of the local development NGOs.

The staff of NGO F follows up the school attentively every time.

(Village vice chairperson in Village F)

The staff of NGO H follows the school closely. The staff of NGO H identifies problems on the spot and finds remedies as soon as possible.

(Female parent/KETB member in Village H)

In fact, many community members in Villages E, F, and H know the name of the project coordinators. This indicates the close relationships between the project coordinators and the communities. As discussed above, NGOs E, F, and H have a large number of community members who perceive that the NGOs represent the communities' point of view (see Figure 5.5). These interview and observation results suggest that the organizational structure, which promotes the division of labor and decentralized decision-making, might have a positive influence on communities' perceptions of NGOs.

Acceptance by Influential Actors in the Community

The results of the analysis of NGOs E and H, which have the highest community participation level in the NGO projects and better community perceptions of the NGOs, revealed that both NGOs are accepted by the influential actors in the communities: the village chairperson and the elder. As explained in Chapter 4, the village chairperson is the top post for the formal administrative institution at the local level, called the *kebele* administration. Furthermore, community members traditionally respect the elder(s) or Jarsabiya. Both the village chairperson and the elder(s) in Villages E and H perceive that NGOs E and H represent the communities' point of view.

NGO H represents the people's point of view because its projects are aimed to develop the community... Projects by NGO H are planned to improve the community problem from the grassroots level. I appreciate NGO H for putting the base for a foundation of school here.

(Village chairperson/male parent in Village H)

NGO E is our organization. The community is working with NGO E even now (after the project).

(The elder/male parent in Village E)

The village chairperson in Village H expressed that NGO H represents the communities' point of view and implemented the project from the grass-roots level. Furthermore, the elder in Village E indicated the community's familiarity with NGO E. His expressions show his trust in NGO E. In other selected villages, neither the village chairperson nor the elders expressed that the NGOs represented the communities' point of view in the interviews.

Furthermore, when influential actors such as village chairpersons and the elders accept an NGO, it is possible that the NGOs are acknowledged by other community members. In fact, the interviews about the communities' participation in NGO projects, from the perspective of the "explanation" element, revealed that several community members had received explanations about the NGO projects from other community members. The results of the interviews found that 43 percent of the respondents had received information or explanations from other community members, usually the village chairperson and/or the elder(s) in their villages. The results also addressed that 18 percent of the community members received information or explanations not from a NGO worker(s), but only from other community member(s). Gaining information from other community members might also help the community members understand the NGO projects without skepticism, as well as express themselves freely since other community members such as the village chairperson and the elder are often closer to the community members than to NGO workers. Since the community members often receive different information and explanations from their village chairperson or elder(s), there is a possibility that the impressions or perceptions of these influential actors also affect perceptions of all community members. Therefore, engaging influential community actors in the project process can be key to establishing good relationships with communities as a whole. This also results in better acceptance of local development NGOs by the communities.

Membership Structure at the Community Level

As mentioned in Chapter 3, one research about Ethiopian NGOs conducted

by Horn Consult (2003) suggests the importance of membership structure in creating a positive image of NGOs, gaining support from communities, and promoting acceptance of NGOs by communities. Among the eight selected local development NGOs, only NGO E creates a membership structure, which is a cooperation system with the community members. The membership system has a classification of members, which include farmers, traders, national employees, and expatriates. Most of the communities are classified as farmer members.

As Figure 5.7 shows, between 2,000 and 2,500 people in four clans are members of NGO E. Of the members, 40 people normally gather and discuss NGO E at the general assembly, which is held every year. The board for NGO E consists of five representative members. All the members pay an annual membership fee, which helps the management of NGO E. Depending on membership type, the annual membership fee varies. Other selected NGOs also have a board and general assembly. However, their structures are not systematic and do not connect to the community members systematically.

The membership structure of NGO E would be effective to establish trust relationships with communities if it were functional. In fact, NGO E faces problems. The following excerpt of an interview show the current situation and the director's ideas about the membership.

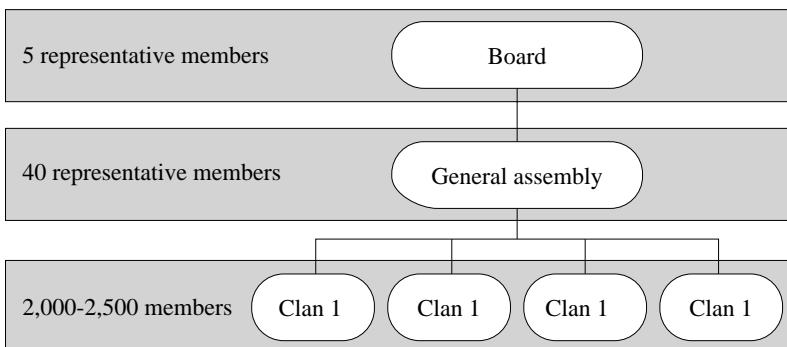


Figure 5.7 Membership structure of NGO E

Source: Created by author.

We actually do not value this membership system from the community. This is because we have to spend lots of time and effort for logistics including visiting the community and arranging meeting to convince people. And it is difficult to call people for meeting and to collect money from the community. Therefore, it does not worth it.

(Director of NGO E)

The interview extract above suggests that the membership structure is not well managed. In 2008, NGO E did not declare the collected membership fee. Moreover, NGO E did not track the names and the number of the members.⁸² When the author observed the general assembly of NGO E, there were only 20 members; among them were only two female participants. As the director explained, the management of the members and collection of membership fees require human and financial resources, which are often difficult to be covered by their capacity.

The director also implied that attaining donations from external donors is faster and easier compared to collecting membership fees from community members. Moreover, the amount of money they receive from external donors is much higher. According to an officer of DPPA, there are other local development NGOs in Ethiopia that have membership systems. However, their systems also seem not to function well due to similar problems.

Although the problems remain in the membership structure, the community members of Village E seem to trust NGO E more deeply than the community members in other selected villages. Although the number of the community members who participated in the general assembly was limited, the author observed participants that actively asked questions and expressed their opinions to NGO E. As shown earlier, several community members reported positive perceptions of NGO E. The next interview extract also indicates that the respondent perceives NGO E as supporting its community with an organized membership structure.

NGO E helps the community well in an organized manner.

(KETB chairperson in Village E)

In the interviews with community members in Village E, several explained how NGO E was established and demonstrated how much they know about NGO E. These situations suggest that many community members in Village E are familiar with NGO E. The majority of community members perceive NGO E as representing the community's point of view. Although the membership structure of NGO E does not function well, the existence of a system that involves community members in the management and activities of NGO E might already help establish a trust relationship between NGO E and the community members.

In summary, by examining respective villages and NGOs, especially ones with relatively better community perceptions of local development NGOs, this study presented some possible factors that influence the relationships between local development NGOs and community members. This analysis first revealed that there is a correlation between better perceptions of the NGOs by communities and high community participation in the NGO projects. Moreover, this study revealed those NGOs, which are perceived better by the communities, demonstrate tendencies to have attachments to the communities, a decentralized organizational structure, and acceptance by the influential actors in the communities. Attachment to the communities might influence individual workers' commitment to the communities in the project areas. A decentralized organizational structure seems to help the NGO staff work flexibly and develop close relationships between the NGO staff and the community members. The acceptance by the influential actors is also assumed to be essential to have a common understanding of the NGOs as well as the NGO projects within the communities. This study also indicates possibilities to reach people in the communities through acceptance by formally and/or traditionally influential actors, such as the village chairperson and the elders in Ethiopia. Furthermore, one NGO example addressed the membership system as a possible positive factor to establish trust relationships between the local development NGOs and the communities.



Author (center) with students



Classroom atmosphere: many students in the class



Happy girls studying at their desks

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

This study contributes to increasing literature on the functions and roles of local development NGOs. It attempted to question the implicit relationships between local development NGOs and communities presented in the literature as well as in international society. The goals of the present study were threefold in examining the case of the local development NGOs, which operate in the education sector in Ethiopia. The first was to examine the orientations and standpoint of local development NGOs in Ethiopia. The second was to investigate the relationships between the local development NGOs and the communities. These two objectives were set based on the common and implicit assumptions about development NGOs in literature and international society. That is, NGOs are the most familiar with the communities; NGOs act for the sake of communities from the communities' standpoint. The third goal was to examine possible factors that influence the relationships between local development NGOs and communities. Results of the analysis of eight local development NGOs and the communities provide new evidence about the relationships between local development NGOs and communities.

The literature review for this study was presented in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 explored the overview of local development NGOs starting from the concept and background of NGOs, including development NGOs in the international context. This chapter showed that the concept of NGOs has a long history and that NGOs have diverse characteristics. The main argu-

ment was that NGOs are generally recognized as, and expected to be, actors that are the most familiar with local communities and work for the sake of the communities. The recognition of this point is based on the peripheral arguments on the expansion of development NGOs, which are alternative development theory, government failure theory, and the new policy agenda. Regarding the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities, Chapter 2 also discussed the arguments about NGO “accountability” and community participation. These arguments also addressed the framework for understanding the relationships between development NGOs and the communities.

Chapter 3 examined the history and characteristics of development NGOs in the Ethiopian context. The political history indicated restrictive policies and regulations toward development NGOs in Ethiopia. The current federal government also sets relatively strict regulations and rules for local NGOs. From the financial aspects, some researchers addressed the NGOs’ dependency on donors. Although the environment for local development NGOs is severe, the number of local development NGOs has grown dramatically; some statistical data also shows the influential status of local development NGOs in Ethiopia. With regard to the basic education sub-sector in Ethiopia, some data also indicates that local development NGOs contribute to basic education with their non-formal basic education (NFBE) projects. In fact, the enrollment data of the NFBE schools shows that the NFBE projects implemented by selected local development NGOs in this study opened and widened access to basic education for children in the villages. Moreover, the NFBE projects, which contribute to the access of basic education and most probably to better quality of education, indicate the positive influence of the NGOs on basic education in Ethiopia. Although little research has been done to look at local development NGOs, as well as their relationships with communities in Ethiopia, Horn Consult (2003) describes “giver and receiver relationships” between local development NGOs and communities based on giving by NGOs and receiving by communities.

The findings of this study are detailed in Chapter 5. This study shows that the Ethiopian environment, in which local development NGOs function, is based on an intricate map with different stakeholder relationships,

including those by the communities, government and donors. This study focuses on an analysis of the relationship dynamics between local development NGOs and their communities, by conducting fieldwork research on how local development NGOs are perceived internally within the organization and externally by the communities they serve. The findings presented in this study show the reality of the relationships between local development NGOs and communities, and illustrate the importance of understanding the complex and challenging local context in which the local development NGOs and communities are in.

As described in Chapter 5, this study first examined the selected local development NGOs collectively to understand the general tendency of relationships between local development NGOs and the communities. In order to understand the orientation and stand points of the local development NGOs, the first section of Chapter 5 explored the characteristics of local development NGOs along three aspects: organizational objectives; financial environment; and legal environment. The second part of the chapter examined the communities' participation in the NGO projects, the communities' perceptions of the local development NGOs, the NGO workers' motivations to work for local development NGOs, and the NGO workers' perceptions of the local development NGOs in order to understand the relationships between the local development NGOs and the communities. Results of the analysis suggest that the relationships between the local development NGOs and the communities in Ethiopia could be described as "two-way, giver and receiver relationships." This study has reviewed the following four situations: 1) circumstances of local development NGOs; 2) individual NGO workers' circumstances and perceptions; 3) the communities' perceptions of local development NGOs; and 4) the communities' perceptions of the communities themselves in relation to local development NGOs.

First, the local development NGOs' relationships with the government and donors suggest the difficult circumstances for local development NGOs to focus on working for the sake of the communities. The interview results showed that the local development NGOs spend time and effort for communications with the government and donors. In terms of the legal environment for local development NGOs, the influences from the govern-

ment on NGOs are still strong in Ethiopia. As some researchers illustrate, activities of the local development NGOs are restricted by the government. In addition, the mistrust between local development NGOs and the government still seems to exist in Ethiopia. Moreover, the results indicate that the government is more familiar with the communities than local development NGOs are. With regard to the financial characteristics, most local development NGOs financially depend on external donors. The local development NGOs spend time and effort in submitting proposals and reports that meet the criteria of donors.

Second, this study revealed that individual NGO workers do not necessarily have the same ideas about the missions of the NGOs. The organizational objectives addressed by the missions of all local development NGOs aim to work for the sake of the communities. However, at the individual level, the analysis of NGO workers' perceptions revealed that they do not necessarily value the organizational objectives. The interviews imply that NGO workers do not necessarily prioritize working for the sake of the communities. The organizational objectives addressed in the missions do not seem to be shared enough with the NGO workers at the individual level. Moreover, with regard to the NGO workers' perceptions of the communities, there are NGO workers who regard communities merely as participants or contributors to their NGO projects. These individual perceptions also differ from the missions, which are to work for the sake of the community as the primary objective. This study also suggests that an environment in which job opportunities are limited may create other value systems and individual motivations in working for NGOs, as seen through the case study of Ethiopia. These individual NGO workers have different practical motivations and perceptions about their work and the local development NGOs.

Third, this study showed the communities' mixed perceptions about their relationships with the local development NGOs. Interviews with community members revealed that many do not necessarily perceive that local development NGOs represent the communities' point of view. Rather, several community members perceive local development NGOs as working for the sake and benefit of the NGOs themselves. These communities' perceptions differ from the international community's recognition of local devel-

opment NGOs as aiming to work for the sake of communities. Moreover, there are community members that perceive local development NGOs as temporary outsiders for the communities. This reflects a distance between the communities and the local development NGOs. The analysis of this study revealed that there are pragmatic aspects of the relationships between community members and local development NGOs, which bring materials to the communities. These notions indicate that local development NGOs are “givers” and the communities are “receivers” in the relationship as Horn Consult (2003) describes. This relationship between local development NGOs and the communities is different from the general and international recognition and expectations of local development NGOs, which are often regarded as the actors most familiar to communities.

Fourth, several community members regard themselves as participants, approvers, and/or owners of the NGO projects. There are community members who believe that community members make it easier for local development NGOs to work in the communities or implement projects, by giving approval and/or participating in the NGO projects. These notions indicate the opposite of “giver and receiver relationships,” which identify the communities as givers and the local development NGOs as receivers. This shows that relationships between local development NGOs and the communities can be described as “two-way, giver and receiver relationships”, which address the concept that both the communities and local development NGOs simultaneously play the roles of giver and receiver. Such practical-minded, give-and-take relationships do not indicate a closeness between the communities and the local development NGOs. Moreover, the notions that community members are approvers and/or owners that have authority to influence the NGO activity revealed that the communities do not consider themselves as passive or powerless in relation to local development NGOs. This is different from the general recognition in literature and international society, which often describes communities are powerless.

While the communities continue to regard the NGOs as external actors, which are reliant on the communities’ support to exist, the paradoxical reality is that there are no other entities which can replace local development NGOs when implementing projects at the grassroots level at this current

point in time. It is normally the case that local development NGOs are the only actors who can realize community needs. From the perspective of the NGOs, since the number of local development NGOs has been increasing dramatically in Ethiopia, local development NGOs might soon become oversaturated. When the local development NGOs start survival competitions, truly meeting the expectations from the international society and acting for the sake of communities will be critical for local development NGOs to survive.

The final part of the analysis discussed the respective local development NGOs in order to find possible factors that influence better relationships between local development NGOs and the communities. This study mainly found the following five possible factors: 1) active community participation in NGO projects; 2) attachment to the community; 3) decentralized organizational structure and division of labor within the local development NGO; 4) acceptance of the NGO by influential actors; and 5) membership structure of the NGO. These are implications of the findings for local development NGOs in relation to the communities.

In conclusion, this research revealed that the common implicit recognition and expectations of local development NGOs in relation to communities are not always true, based on this Ethiopian case study. This study also found that the relationships between local development NGOs and communities tend to be misunderstood as a result of ignorance of the circumstances and views of local development NGOs and communities. This study contributed to the understanding of the dynamics of relationships between local development NGOs and communities by addressing the background circumstances and perspectives of both local development NGOs and communities.

Notes

- ¹ According to Shigeta (2005), organizations, which were formed by Buddhists for charity work in Japan in the seventh century, were considered the first NGOs in Japan.
- ² However, some literature regards traditional groups, cooperatives, self-help groups, and CBOs as NGOs.
- ³ This does not include achieving government objectives, making money and/or illegal activities (Willets, 2002).
- ⁴ In addition, the sector that includes NGOs is often described as the third sector or voluntary sector (Fowler, 2004; Anheier, 2005; Dessalegn, 2008).
- ⁵ Development NGOs are sometimes called “non-governmental development organizations” (NGDOs) (Fowler, 2000b), “development-oriented NGOs” (Korten, 1990), or “developmental NGOs” (Maslyukivska, 1999).
- ⁶ NGOs that work for emergency situations are sometimes not considered development NGOs (Mekada, 2004).
- ⁷ These NGOs are often called “advocacy NGOs” (Sakya, 2000).
- ⁸ DCI (1996) points out that the attention of voluntarism and self-help was increased in Europe. People became interested in voluntary work in the 1970s.
- ⁹ Korten (1990) shows four generations of development NGOs: 1) relief and welfare; 2) community development; 3) sustainable systems development; and 4) the people’s movement. However, some NGOs focus on community development or mixed components even now. Therefore, NGOs with different categories co-exist, especially in developing countries, and do not follow the generation. This argument is also backed by Biggs and Neame, (1996) and Utsumi (2003). They are concerned with the simplification of the categories by Korten, which ignore a variety of characteristics and categories of NGOs.
- ¹⁰ This also relates to political democracy, which was promoted at the same time (Ehara, 2003).
- ¹¹ It is also called the “third way” (Lewis and Wallace, 2000).
- ¹² According to liberal democratic theory, “the state should provide accountable

government that is subject to free and fair elections, while civil society should be able to enjoy civil and political rights and associational autonomy.” (Mercer, 2002, 7)

¹³ These theories also affect that NGOs, as the third sector, are distinguished from the government/public sector and business sector.

¹⁴ Structural adjustment policy contains “requirements for reduced economic intervention by governments and for the allocation of resources by market forces.” (Bratton, 1989, 571)

¹⁵ Another agenda is “to achieve efficiency in social programs by market forces” (Arnové and Christina, 1998, 47). Two agendas are also described as liberal democratic theory and neoliberal economics, respectively (Edwards and Hulme, 1996; Nishimura, 2007).

¹⁶ Shigeta (2006, 37) adds that donors can minimize costs since they do not have to send any staff from abroad if they work with local NGOs.

¹⁷ Those development NGOs that participate in international conferences often focus on advocacy work. This is sometimes called a rights-based approach, which is one of the development agendas in order to make people aware of their basic and human rights (Horn Consult, 2003). Various development NGOs are involved, themselves, in networks within the country as well as international ones to advocate not only people at the grassroots level, but also in developed countries and international organizations (Atack, 1999; Shigeta, 2006).

¹⁸ “Civil society” often comprises the collectivity of citizens (Blair, 1997; Nishi, 2009). Various scholars discussed that this idea of “civil society” does not match the context of Africa where civil society is vulnerable due to the influence of colonization and dictatorships (Nishi, 2009). Some scholars who research Africa even discuss that “civil society” does not exist in Africa (Kodama, 2008a; Nishi, 2009).

¹⁹ Willets (2002), for instance, states that NGOs may be able to represent the society only under regimes that are communist, military dictatorships or corrupt. After the regime becomes democratic, the government can represent the society; NGOs lose the representativeness.

²⁰ This is related to a situation called “voluntary failure” in service delivery (Salamon, 1995). After volunteer failure was recognised, the government-nonprofit partnership theory was formed (Salamon, 1995). This theory states that governments can supply sustainable resources and control the quality of collective goods, while NGOs modify services based on communities’ needs (Salamon, 1995). Governments and NGOs are expected to work together for better public service delivery.

²¹ EFA aims to achieve not only basic education, but also early childhood education and adult education. However, many countries prioritize basic education.

²² MDGs are consisted on eight goals in various sectors. Among the eight goals, two goals are related to the education sector (World Bank, n.d.).

²³ Abbey (2005) calls these regulations “constructive regulations.”

²⁴ Shivji (2007) also addresses that donors, which have an anti-state stance, encourage NGOs to be active in Africa. As a more specific case in Africa, Shivji

(2007) also discusses that donors rely on NGOs that enable mentoring or monitoring governments in Africa.

- ²⁵ The original ladder of accountability targets government. The actual ladder of accountability by Stewart (1984, 12) includes accountability for probity and legality, which examines if budgets are spent as agreed or whether the activities are lawful.

Robinson (1971) also similarly classifies accountability into program accountability, process accountability and fiscal accountability.

- ²⁶ The scholars consider stakeholders of development NGOs to be different from other sectors. Governments and private companies are accountable to actors, who are benefited by paying. Therefore, those who pay and those who benefit are the same people. However, this is not the same case for NGOs. Actors who pay are normally different from actors who benefit.

These scholars call accountabilities to multiple stakeholders “multiple accountability” (Edwards and Hulme, 1996a; Lewis, 1998; Johnson, 2001; Anheier, 2005; Kilby, 2006).

- ²⁷ Some scholars utilize the concept of “upward accountability” to powerful stakeholders, in comparison to “downward accountability” to powerless stakeholders (JANIC 2006). In this sense, “upward accountability” often means accountabilities to governments and donors, while “downward accountability” means accountability to communities (Edwards and Hulme, 1996a; Ebrahim, 2003a).

- ²⁸ Tandon (1996) describes donors as the most vocal commentators for NGOs.

- ²⁹ It is also discussed as capacity building.

- ³⁰ According to Watanabe (2005), conventional accountability focuses on after-the-fact information after the completion of a project.

- ³¹ This is because community members have a sense of commitment if they “participate” in projects (Streeten, 1997).

- ³² Some scholars discuss accountability to NGOs themselves. This is sometimes called “internal accountability,” which examines obligations within the organization (Ebrahim, 2003a; 2003b; Anheier, 2005). This argument is based on the idea that NGOs are accountable to themselves including their own missions and/or values (Ebrahim, 2003b). This accountability is also called “accountability to values.” (Najam, 1996; Lee, 2004; Kilby, 2006). In comparison with accountability at the individual level, some researchers also describe it as “organizational accountability” (Axworthy, 2005).

- ³³ He focuses on Tanzania and other former colonized countries in Africa.

- ³⁴ Shivji (2007) also adds that “mainstream elites” are not former government bureaucrats in many cases.

- ³⁵ Forty-one developing countries are regarded as heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC) (OECD, 2003). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank launched the HIPC Initiative in order for HIPC to recover from the repeated debt rescheduling (Teunissen, 2004). If a HIPC country conforms to the certain conditions decided by IMF and the World Bank, the country receives the debt waiver (Yamada, 2006).

- ³⁶ A constitution was approved in 1994 and the first multiparty elections took place

in 1995 (Lasonen et al., 2005).

³⁷ The legislation became effective in February 2010.

³⁸ Article 404 in Civil Code of 2006 defines that “an association is a grouping formed between two or more persons with a view to obtaining a result other than the securing or sharing of profits” (Civil Code, 1960, 68).

³⁹ Kodama (2008) defines a traditional, community based organisation as an “informal NGO,” and the local development NGOs that resister with the government are “formal NGOs.”

⁴⁰ The Christian Relief and Development Association (CRDA), which was established in 1973 as a network of NGOs, had 53 member organisations in 1988 (Birhanu, 2003).

⁴¹ One of the aims of decentralization is to deliver services to local communities effectively and efficiently (Dessalegn, 2008).

⁴² International NGOs are restricted mainly to work as funding agencies.

⁴³ DPPA is currently called Disaster Risk Management and Food Security Sector of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development.

⁴⁴ ETP proclaims that general education was free (ENA for UNESCO, 2001).

⁴⁵ The ESDP has created a twenty-year perspective plan, which is divided into four five-year periods (ENA for UNESCO, 2001). ESDP I, II, III were formed in 1997, 2002, and 2007 respectively.

⁴⁶ It is termed “Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP)”.

⁴⁷ The biggest sector for local development NGOs was the HIV/AIDS sector in 2005 (DPPA, n.d.).

⁴⁸ They are Amhara, Oromia, SNNPRs and Tigray.

⁴⁹ Rose (2007) refers to it as the supplementary alternative programs.

⁵⁰ The knowledge components include literacy and numeracy.

⁵¹ There are the Amhara, SNNPRs, Tigray and Somali regions.

⁵² These NGOs are sometime called “My-own NGOs (MONGOs),” “Family Business,” and “Briefcase NGOs” (Horn Consult, 2003).

⁵³ Some studies present local NGOs as sometimes working with community members through informal community-based organizations including traditional burial organizations called idder (Thomas, 2000; Yigremew, 2000).

⁵⁴ It is also called purposive sampling (Merriam, 1998) or purposive selection (Fukutake, 1995).

⁵⁵ Although most projects are funded by foreign donors in Ethiopia, each local development NGO conducts preliminary research, including project site selection, and proposals of a project to a donor.

⁵⁶ Each NGO can add some additional components although the additional components are similar.

⁵⁷ The BEAE was established in 1998, and provides capacity building training for the member NGOs. BEAE also provides a small amount of financial assistance to the member NGOs when they have funds from donors (BEAE, 2006).

⁵⁸ *Village* in this study corresponds to *kebele* in Ethiopia. *Kebele* is the lowest level of the hierarchy of the formal administrative structure. The *kebele* administration

consists of “*kebele* chairman” and “*kebele* manager.” They are also described as the “village chairperson” and the “village vice chairperson” in this study.

⁵⁹ Though *Jarsabiya* was translated as “elders” in English, they are not selected by age. Those who have a good command of the oral tradition, custom and laws of the community, quality of forgiveness, wisdom, patience, and a capacity for solving problems are selected as *Jarsabiya* (Hailu, 2007).

⁶⁰ According to interviews by the author, there are normally three to five *Jarsabiya* in a village.

⁶¹ The Ethiopian administrative structure consists of region, zone, district (*woreda*), and *kebele*.

⁶² The vice chairperson is called the *kebele* manager. A vice chairperson is required to have completed Grade 10 of education (based on the field research interviews by the author).

⁶³ The person responsible for the local court is called *danye*. Around two *danye* are working in one village; *danye* are normally educated well (sometimes holding a bachelor degree). The position is not paid.

⁶⁴ The farmer’s cadre also works for the development of the community.

⁶⁵ Although the author planned to interview three staff from each NGO, only two staff were available from four NGOs.

⁶⁶ Other responsibilities are cooperation for the expansion of a school, strengthening of co-curricular activities, examination of the school’s quarterly performance report, recruitment of teachers and other staff needed at school, and coordination with the community to fight against the HIV/AIDS (MoE, 2002a).

⁶⁷ Before conducting the field research, the author formed interview schedules. An interview schedule, which is a list of questions for interviews, must be clear to meet research objectives (Fukutake, 1995; Merriam, 1998). This allows researchers to conduct in-depth and correct interviews (Fukutake, 1995). Furthermore, as Fukutake (1995) addresses, interview schedules also help multiple researchers share common research objectives. In the case of this study, the author conducted field research with the help of two Ethiopian assistants. The assistants were of Oromo background and also graduate students at Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia. Both of them were fluent in English and Afan Oromo, and had experience conducting field research and interviews. In order for the assistants to understand the objectives of this study, interview schedules were used. In addition to the interview schedules, the author also prepared an interview manual in order for the author and the assistants to share the research objectives and to have the same attitudes toward the respondents. Using the interview manual, the Ethiopian assistants for this study were trained before conducting the interviews. The manual also helped the interviewers to develop rapport with respondents.

⁶⁸ It includes HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office (HAPCO).

⁶⁹ More specifically, “Ethiopian residents” are not allowed to work on: 1) the advancement of human and democratic rights; 2) the promotion of equality of nations, nationalities, and people, and that of gender and religion; 3) the promotion of the rights of the disabled and children’s rights; 4) the promotion of conflict resolution or reconciliation; and 5) the promotion of the efficacy of the justice

and law enforcement services (Proclamation No. 621/2009 2009, 4537).

⁷⁰ Beginning in 2010, NGOs started re-registering with the Agency that was established after the Charities and Societies Proclamation No. 621/2009 was formed. The Agency and BoFED took over the responsibility from the DPPA.

⁷¹ This is based on Miller-Grandvaux et al. (2002, 6) and the author's interview with an official of the DPPA in April 2009.

⁷² NGOs currently must submit to both the national and regional DPPAs.

⁷³ As mentioned in the previous section about the financial characteristics of local development NGOs, Proclamation No. 621/2009 limits the activities of local development NGOs based on percentage of financial sources. Most of the local development NGOs that rely on external sources are not allowed to implement any advocacy activities.

⁷⁴ NFBE schools are often called NFBE centers.

⁷⁵ The mix of mud and concrete means normally that the walls are made of mud and the floor is made of concrete.

⁷⁶ The terminology of "involvement" is complex. For instance, Shaeffer (1994) differentiates between "involvement" and "participation." According to Shaeffer (1994), "involvement" is more passive than "participation." Although meeting attendance for gaining information or explanation is sometimes considered to be involvement, meeting attendance does not include the "involvement" element in this study.

⁷⁷ Eight respondents answered "community"; one respondent answered "financial donor."

⁷⁸ For four of the twenty selected NGO staff, their current work at their local development NGO was their first job.

⁷⁹ Payment of a school director is decided by working years.

⁸⁰ The data was collected from "total enrollment in tertiary, public and private, full and part time" by UIS.

⁸¹ $R = .738$ at five percent level

⁸² When the author asked about the membership of NGO E, a staff member of NGO E said there were 2,500 members.

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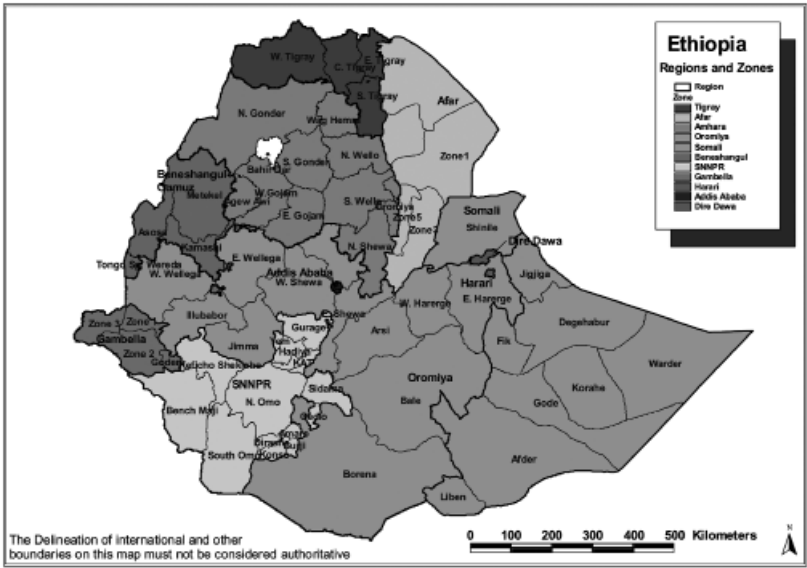
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Note:

An Ethiopian name consists of a given name and her/his father's name. Therefore, based on the style of text citation and references to works by Ethiopian scholars, as well as other scholars who research Ethiopia, the text citation for Ethiopian authors in this dissertation shows their given names. The references in this dissertation show each Ethiopian name in the order of a given name and her/his father's name without a comma between them.

Appendix

Map of Ethiopia



Source: DPPC Information Center

Index

- A
- accountability 25
 alternative basic education 46
 alternative development 13
- B
- Basic Education Association in Ethiopia 67
 bottom-up approach 13
- C
- case study methods 59
 civil society 17
 colonization 12
 community xi, 71
 community-based organizations 10
 community participation 28
- D
- degree of participation 30
 development NGOs xi, 11
 district level decentralization program 40
- E
- economic growth 13
 education and training policy 43
 education for all 20
 education sector development program 43
 emergency 12
- F
- free rider problem 15
- G
- giver and receiver relationship 54
 government failure 14
- H
- heavily indebted poor country 37
- I
- international development NGO 12
- J
- Jarsabiya 70
- K
- kebele 70
 Kebele Education and Training Management Board 73
- L
- ladder of accountability 26
 ladder of citizen participation 30
 liberal democratic theory 14
 local development NGO 12
- M
- market failure theory 15
 Millennium Development Goals 20
 mission 11

- N
- neo-liberal economic theory 15
- new policy agenda 16
- NGO “accountability” 24
- NGO decade 14
- NGOs 9
- non-formal basic education 46
- non-profit-distributing 10
- non-profit organization 10
- northern NGO 12
- O
- organized 10
- Oromia Region 61
- P
- Parent-Teacher Association 73
- participation 28
- participation approach 28
- participatory democracy 13
- peace building 12
- people-centered approach 13
- performance accountability 25
- policy accountability 25
- popular participation 28
- Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper 40
- private 10
- private voluntary organization 11
- process accountability 25
- process-based approach 28
- program accountability 25
- purposeful sampling 60
- Q
- qualitative research 59
- R
- relief 12
- rural development 13
- S
- self-governing 10
- Southern NGO 12
- structural adjustment 14, 15
- T
- third sector 10
- trickle-down theory 13
- V
- voluntary 10
- W
- woreda 70
- World Conference on Education for All 1

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Commendation about this book

This book is eye-opening: full of new findings on the realities of Local Development NGOs in Africa, which have received optimistic expectation that they could lead development in communities due to the closeness to people at the grass-root level. Through her exploration based on in-depth field research in rural areas of Oromia State, Ethiopia, the author eloquently reveals more complex realities – Local Development NGOs are heavily burdened with “accountability” to the government and donors; local stake-holders do not whole-heartedly welcome those NGOs but are in a more business-like relation in which they act and react on their own. Those interested in African educational development and NGOs must read it.

Professor Motoki Takahashi
Kobe University