Educating girls for development

– A study of organizational legitimacy in donor-dependent NGOs in Tanzania

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Subject: Organization & Leadership
Level and semester: BA thesis, Spring 2010
Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to express my appreciation to everyone that in some way has supported this study through its various phases and given me encouragement throughout this entire process.

I want to aim a sincere thanks to SIDA and the MFS-programme for making this study and journey to Tanzania possible. My time in Tanzania made me learn about the developing world and discover all the beauty and love that there is among the people, even though many are living under very poor conditions. It made me develop a new, genuine interest for the issues with poverty, gender and the developing world. People in general associate Africa with misery, problems and death, but I disagree. I experienced happiness and a positive struggle among the Africans and it especially occurred to me that there is so much life to be seen everywhere!

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the organizations of my study and to all my interview participants. Each and every one of you was important and significant!

I truthfully want to thank my tutors at the Linnaeus University; Dr Johan Höglund, senior Lecturer at the Department of Language and Literature, for his extraordinary knowledge of the written English, his enormous patience and never ending support, and Dr Mikael Lundgren, Senior Lecture at the School of Business and Economics, for knowing when to apply pressure, encouraging me to keep up, and the invaluable way of giving me hints through which I could later find out the answers myself. Thank you both for helping me through all this time and all the way!

Most important I want to thank my beloved family for their everlasting support, concern and love. Thank you for always believing in me and following my adventures whatever I am up to.

Kalmar, May 2010

Karin Mårtensson
ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to learn how donor-dependent NGOs in Tanzania, working with the issue of girls’ education, obtain and maintain legitimacy in the eyes of financial donors as well as in their local society. The investigation also aimed to explore which present and future organizational challenges they manage at the same time as they deal with the issue of legitimacy. A field study in Tanzania was conducted during ten weeks and three different NGOs concerned with legitimacy, were studied to see how they manage this issue and handle the demands from donors, government and society. Interviews and participant observation were made at each organization and a complementary study of SIDA and the National Ministry of Education was made in order to do a comparison of the situation and views. All organizations stressed the importance of well-working institutions in society, predictability in the financial support from the donors and most important: the societal support that leads to legitimacy. In order to gain legitimacy, the greatest need is transparency of the documents and records, keeping promises and being able to confirm the positive outcome of the work. The plan for future independence was not well developed at any of the organizations, even though they were at different phases. The major concern with being a donor-dependent NGO in the developing world is to manage the relationship with the government at the same time as you are accountable to society and tackle demands from the donors. The greatest fear of all organizations was that the financial support would be terminated.

KEYWORDS

Development, developing world, education, gender, non-governmental organization (NGO), society, financial support, transparency, change, adaptation legitimacy, institutions, isomorphism
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECHO</td>
<td>European Commission Humanitarian Aid</td>
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<td>ESDP</td>
<td>Education Sector Development Programme</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>IO</td>
<td>Institutionalized Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>JOHA</td>
<td>Barbro Johansson Model Girls’ Secondary School</td>
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<td>MFS</td>
<td>Minor Field Study</td>
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<td>MoEVT</td>
<td>Ministry of Education and Vocational Training</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organization</td>
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<td>NPO</td>
<td>Non-Profit Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSGRP</td>
<td>National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>TGNP</td>
<td>Tanzania Gender Networking Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>USD</td>
<td>United States Dollar</td>
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INTRODUCTION

In this starting chapter I will give a brief overview of Tanzania and its educational situation, with the main focus on the education of girls. This represents the background of my thesis and will give a general understanding for the phenomenon that will appear later on. Henceforth, I will illustrate a problem analysis and the importance of the problem that I will address, continuing with my research questions and the purpose of the study.

FOREWORD

The reason for doing this study was the sincere wish of acquire an opportunity to go to a developing country, and the MFS programme (Minor Field Study) offers this opportunity by providing scholarships to undergraduate and graduate students with an interest in the developing world. The purpose of the MFS scholarship is to give motivated students the possibility to conduct a field study in a developing country, and hopefully gain an interest for the developing world and related issues. The study, which is conducted during eight to ten weeks, is supposed to form the foundation of the graduation thesis. The MFS is a programme within the Swedish International Development Agency Cooperation (SIDA) whereas SIDA may be seen as a stakeholder.

There were many reasons for wanting to go to Africa, and Tanzania specifically. The country is famous for its diversified nature and friendly people, even though it is still one of the poorest countries in the world. According to the information I found before the journey, Tanzania seemed to have improved a lot regarding the equality within the educational sector, and therefore I found it interesting to explore how this work has succeeded. The purpose of my study was to investigate how non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working with the specific issue of girls’ education, can obtain and manage legitimacy towards local society, financial donors and the national government. The specific focus of gender equality within education, sprung out of a personal interest and belief that girls and women need to be empowered in order to reach development. I will explain this issue more thoroughly in the background of my thesis.

(Picture, Internet 1: www.africa-adventure.com).
BACKGROUND

- The United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania is a country of diversity. With its beautiful nature it has become very popular for tourists during the last decade and Tanzanian Safari and Mount Kilimanjaro are well known worldwide (Briggs, 2006). This East-African country hosts the largest refugee population in Africa, mainly due to conflicts in neighbouring Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. This has contributed to the diversified culture of the country (Briggs, 2006). In addition to this, Tanzania has long been considered a land of stability in the region of east Africa.

The economy of the country has expanded in a positive way during the past years, but segregation and differences between the rich and the poor are still significant (Internet 2: www.ne.se). Tanzania is still considered one of the poorest countries in the world (Elliot-Teague, 2008). The economy is also accused of being hampered by corruption, which creates a negative trend for the development of the country. Tanzania is one of the countries that receive most financial aid from Sweden, (Internet 3: www.sida.se) a country that has supported a number of reforms and development projects throughout a long period of time. This aid has contributed to the economic growth during the past decade (Internet 4: www.ne.se). Even so, when using the HDI (Human Development Index) as a tool of measurement, Tanzania ranks as number 151 out of 182 countries in the world, were the least developed is number 182. In comparison, Sweden is number 7. HDI explains the human development based on life expectancy, education and standard of living (GDP per capita). To compare, the life expectancy in Sweden is 80 years by contrast to 55 years in Tanzania. The GDP in Sweden is 36,7 USD and 1,2 USD in Tanzania (Internet 5: hdr.undp.org).

- The importance of Education and Gender for development

No country has ever reached constant economic growth without building a school system that provides primary schooling for all children (Löf, 2009). Bringing education to all children in the developing world is hence a decisive requirement in order to achieve economic growth (Meier & Rauch, 2005). Furthermore, according to Momsen (2004), education is one of the best ways for an individual to be able to move out of poverty and there is compelling evidence that the education of girls and women promotes both individual and national well-being. The former South African president Nelson Mandela’s famous quote supports this: “Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world” (Internet 6: www.ngopulse.org).

Regarding gender equality, the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995, stated that the second most critical area for action was; ‘Education and training of Women’. (The first was ‘Women and poverty’) (Internet 7: www.un.org). The idea that women have a great impact on economic development was presented already in 1970 by Ester Boserup, a Danish economist and writer with a specific interest in development issues. She had important missions within the UN, did several research projects and proposed theories on
how to accomplish development. Her report ‘Women’s Role in Economic Development’ (1970) is one of the most noteworthy and praised, and she is today seen as the originator behind the theories of the female impact on development. She discusses the important role that women play in the economies of all developing countries, and that the productivity gap between male and female needs to be reduced in order to gain economic growth.

**The issue of Gender and Equality**

The issue of gender in relation to development began to be discussed in the 1970s, but even though the research took place in Western countries, women in developing countries had been crying out against this since long before that (Sweetman, 2004). Prior to any research in this area, the general thought was that there were no specific differences between the poverty of men and that of women. The research led to an understanding of the negative effects of development on women, and the negative impact this had on economic growth and development.

Tanzanian women represent 51% of the population, but they receive less schooling than men (King & Hill, 1993). The lack of education among girls and women lead to massive economic differences between men and women, and it is often perceived as a reason for economic stagnation (Momsen, 2004). When discussing development, this is an important aspect to include since inequality within education is a great challenge to the socio-economic development of the country (MoEVT, 2008). Even though half of the population is represented by women, the country is still dominated by men, leading to women being socially disadvantaged (ILO, 2002). The ILO report (International Labour Organization), further states that women have a very low income compared to men doing the same work, and to the hours they work. Women are poorly represented in modern business sectors, which is partially seen as a result of the poor educational background of women. Nussbaum (2000) argues that men dominate the decision-making process all over the world, and this may be the reason why the needs of women disappear into the needs of men, when aid policies are introduced. But despite the important effects of education, the social aspect and cultural context, in which the situation occurs, is of great importance. Nussbaum (2000) stresses that issues like patriarchy still can affect women negatively, even if they reach the same level of education as men. “In a patriarchal society, women are more excluded, barred or subordinated than men in different ways.” (Eriksson, 2009, p 6).

**Development aid as a strive for development**

The European Union is, through its Humanitarian Aid Office (ECHO), the world’s leading donor of humanitarian aid (Internet 8: www.delken.ec). About 20 million people in the developing world, receive each year urgently needed assistance managed by ECHO. The aid is funded by European taxpayers and the assistance is channelled through its operational partners such as the UN, the Red Cross and different NGOs. The aim of this aid is to give immediate help to those who are most vulnerable, regardless of their religion, race, gender or political standing.
The Swedish counterpart to ECHO is SIDA. The purpose of the financial aid given by SIDA is to support countries in their development. The support can be the exchange of knowledge, the supply of a specialized workforce, strategic advice and economic support (Sida Studies, 2007). It is important not to forget that development aid is not simply the same thing as giving financial aid. Hasselskog (2009) indicates in her dissertation that aid primarily consists of meeting with and getting involved with the local society. This is why local organizations and small NGOs may have an advantage in creating connections and integrate with the citizens. This kind of organization is known for being present in the field and to incorporate with local people. Society is usually divided into three sectors: government, private and civil (Willetts, 2002). Primarily and most importantly, all aid aims to create conditions for poor countries to improve their livelihood in a sustainable way and to become independent (Sida Studies, 2008).

Non-Governmental Organizations in the developing world

The World Bank defines NGOs as “private organizations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development” (Vedder, 2007, p 2). The term NGO is very broad and it encloses a wide variety of organizations from large, long-established organizations such as the Red Cross, Oxfam and Amnesty International, to small community-based organizations, although these are not usually mentioned as NGOs (Vedder, 2007). NGOs or NPOs (Non-Profit Organizations) in general signify small, private organizations which purpose is to provide aid and assistance in developing countries (Willetts, 2002). Their action is in most cases based on voluntarism and NGOs often claim themselves to be democratic and working without self-interest (Thomas, Chhetri & Hussaini, 2008).

The number of international NGOs has expanded tremendously during the past few decades and the explanation behind this is often that “NGOs are presented to be the solution to many social and administrative problems.” (Ossewaarde, Nijhof & Heyse, 2008, p 42). But despite all the good work that many NGOs do, there are organizations working without honest purposes, and instead using the benefit of being a non-profit organization to receive funding for one’s own benefit. NGOs may have different directions and orientations in their work, and they can vary dramatically in size as they expand from being local, usually called community based or grass-roots organizations, to larger, active organizations on a national or global level. The general purpose of the existence of NGOs is to promote social movements and to be part of the civil society.

NGOs working in the field are often good actors to provide direct help where needed, since they, in many cases, consist of local people working for better conditions in the country or region (Internet 9: www.ne.se). They work voluntarily without being controlled by governmental interests, and instead with and among the citizens. Many NGOs are entirely dependent on donors and therefore work without a profit interest. Instead, people behind these kinds of organizations often spend their own money and time simply to make a change and help people in need. This approach in itself is a good start to gain trust and make a connection with people. It is common for NGOs to claim that, since they are the voice of the people, they
have greater legitimacy than governments (Willetts, 2002). Legitimacy is crucial for any kind of organization as the conformity to the organizations’ surrounding is what prepossesses its survival, and legitimacy is reached through alignment with the surrounding: “Organizational legitimacy refers to the degree of cultural support for an organization” (Scott, 1995, 46).

PROBLEM ANALYSIS AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

Organizations are institutions working within and with the context of a society. In order for organizations to function, they need to affirm the most crucial factor: legitimacy. “Legitimacy has long been recognized as a key and fundamental process in social life, and in organizations in particular” (Johnson, 2004, p 1). Legitimacy is essential both from the view of society and external stakeholders. Scott (1995) even implies that legitimacy is more vital than efficiency within organizations. Even though legitimacy is a basic requirement for all types of organizations, legitimacy is particularly imperative for NGOs. Without it they are unable to function in society and might fail to find financial funding from external sponsors. Legitimacy would hence be possible to study within any kind of organization, but as NGOs have very difficult conditions and high demands in gaining legitimacy, they are a particularly interesting choice of study.

The purpose of all development aid is to help countries reach a sustainable and independent development through economic growth. This applies both to the aid given to single organizations as well as that provided to an entire country by other nations (SIDA-studies, 2007). In order to accomplish this, there is a definite need for democracy (Sweetman, 2004), institutions (Hedlund, 2007), and the fulfilment of the demands of legitimacy (Coicaud & Heiskanen, 2001), both on the local as well as on the international level. Institutions can be described as cognitive, normative and regulative structures through which we seek to explain social behaviour (Scott, 1995) and the new institutionalism defines an institution as an organized and established structure or procedure which is based on formal or informal rules, which we may or may not be aware of (Johansson, 2002). Legitimacy is a typical effect of institutions which we may not be aware of, but that is crucial for the organization in order to work and survive (Meyer & Rowan, 1977/2002). These are all issues that most developing countries struggle with, and there are many reasons behind the lack of accomplishment.

Why focus on girls and education?

This thesis explores legitimacy from the perspective of organizations working with the education of girls and women in Tanzania. As has already been argued, girls and women need to be educated to the same extent as men to create economic growth (Momsen, 2004). Institutions are a condition for this to occur, as institutions such as schools, national regulations and formal systems are needed to the same degree as the informal and social norms of the society, which according to contemporary research, also are significant
institutions (North, 1990). The NGOs in my study all work to reinforce the conditions necessary for education and equality. Legitimacy is decisive for these organizations in order to receive financial aid and to be able to work in their environment (Johnson, 2004). By studying the organizations working with the important issue of girls and education, we can widen our understanding of organizational legitimacy, as these organizations portrait a particularly good example of organizations that need to struggle with legitimacy. While working with any kind of gender problem, legitimacy is an even greater condition, due to the often patriarchal situation in the developing world, which increases the already great challenges (Momsen, 2004). The education of girls has been a controversial issue for a long time, and organizations working to break the old ideas of only boys having to attend school, will most likely meet a great deal of resistance (Heward & Bunwaree, 1999). Hence, these organizations will function as a good example when the problem of legitimacy is studied. The example of girls and education will act as an illustration of a typical development issue with which many NGOs are working.

Legitimacy of donor-dependent NGOs

The problem that this thesis investigates is how legitimacy is gained, obtained and dealt with by NGOs in Tanzania. To investigate this problem, a study of three fund-dependent NGOs concerned with the education of girls in Tanzania was conducted. The organizations that are the focus of the study are NGOs and non-profit organizations whose work with development issues is financed by the aid of one or several donors. These three different organizations are working under different conditions and with different functions in society. They also organize themselves differently and have different approaches towards their work, visions and goals, but they are all working towards the same basic goal: to provide young girls with education. These NGOs are today supported by donors. Among those, SIDA is one of the grand supporters. However, SIDA will not give financial support for ever. Instead, all financial support aims to help the organization reach independence and self-sufficiency (Sida Studies, 2007). Therefore, it is of great importance to help these organizations work independently in the future, as this is the purpose with the financial aid provided. In order for them to be able to work independently, they need to gain legitimacy from society.

NGOs in the developing world meet a great deal of challenges when it comes to facing the demand of legitimacy both from the surroundings in which they exist as well as from the financial supporters (Kraeger, 2005). In their local environment, there are difficulties with expectations, the diversified culture and the lack of well-working institutions in society. These issues are all challenges that the organizations need to be able to adapt to and handle. It is important to find out how NGOs deal with these difficulties and whether they plan to be able to finance themselves in the future without support. This study will show how these organizations work in order to receive financial aid, and how they relate to the different demands of legitimacy from their donors and from society. I have narrowed these issues down into two research questions.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How do NGOs in developing countries work to become legitimate in the eyes of financial donors, local society and the national government?

2. Which present and future challenges related to the developing world context do these NGOs need to address as they negotiate the problem of legitimacy?

AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim is to explore the concept of legitimacy in donor-dependent NGOs in Tanzania, and discuss the difficulties and challenges that these organizations meet. The purpose of this is to emphasize the importance of well-working institutions and stress the need of legitimacy in order for these NGOs to receive financial support and to be able to become independent.

The reason for choosing to study NGOs working with the education of girls is that they constitute an excellent example of organizations dealing with problems of legitimacy as well as the problem with adaptation to their surrounding society and to the norms and institutions which are reigning. Basically, we can learn about what they have done in order to succeed with influencing people and making them grow in their society, a process which is impossible without legitimacy. Hence, we can assume that they in some way have succeeded in gaining legitimacy from the surrounding.

In order to study this, I will use the theories of legitimacy which discuss the relationship between institutions and a well-working society. In this way, I will be able to analyze the differences and similarities in the views of the different organizations. Thus, the result may be valuable to the organizations taking part and they will be able to gain knowledge from each other’s experiences and opinions. This may improve the organizational development in relation to these issues, which may in turn benefit the direction of their particular work within the NGO.

LIMITATIONS

The main subject of this thesis is organizational legitimacy, and not girls’ education as such. Instead, it is about NGOs working with this issue. The portrayal of girls and education is simply to be seen as an illustration of an important development issue, as have been explained above, and it constitutes the anticipatory reason for choosing these particular NGOs. I will still though, present some facts about the situation of girls’ education in Tanzania, as part of my study, and as a response to introducing this phenomenon in my introduction. But as the focus of my study is on how these NGOs gain legitimacy, the issue with girls’ education is not part of my research questions.
DISPOSITION OF THE STUDY

1. Introduction
2. Methodology
3. Tanzania and the local context
4. The organizations of my study
5. Theoretical Frame of Reference
6. Analysis and Discussion
7. Conclusions and Research Questions
8. Afterword
9. References

My thesis consists of nine chapters, whereof the first part is the introduction followed by a description of the method I used. The empirical result of my study is divided into two chapters: Tanzania and the local context and The organizations of my study. The purpose of this is to present a personal view of Tanzania in order to acquire an understanding of the environment in which the organizations of my study exists. The first part about Tanzania is based on a personal reflection from my experiences of the country, nature and the people. This chapter also includes the empirical result that I gained about the educational situation, gender and NGOs. I continue to present my empirical result in chapter four, which is about the organizations of my study. This presentation is based on the interviews and observations at each organization.

In order to clearly understand the result, I present a theoretical frame of reference, which I use as a tool for understanding the result in chapter six: analysis and discussion. I will continue this discussion by drawing conclusions and answer my research questions. To conclude my thesis I will present a chapter with afterword, containing a summarizing reflection about education and gender and a personal finishing word about the future.
METHODOLOGY

In my methodology chapter, I argue for choosing this direction to the study and why my choice of methods is best suited to investigate this problem. I will present my scientific approach, research design and relate these to the organization of my study. Thereafter, I explain the procedure and the collection of data. I will conclude by discussing methodological issues.

SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

○ Qualitative Research

Silverman (2004) argues that true learning is based upon doing. While performing qualitative research, we tend to interact with the objects of the study, which means that doing, as in actively taking part in, is a significant piece of the method. Researchers are interested in the individual’s point of view and with qualitative research we may be able to capture the subjective perception (Silverman, 2004). Qualitative research can be used to investigate social occasions and contexts, and while seeking to explore and analyze the social behaviour of people, the qualitative method is often the preferred method of use (De Laine, 2000). Travers (2001) argues that there is a great value in conducting humanistic enquiries, because it makes us think about and understand the meaning of being humans. My choice of a qualitative research method was natural since I wanted to acquire a deeper understanding of the organizational work the NGOs’ of my study perform, and how they function in the social context in which they work. In this way, the purpose was to observe and interact with them in order to gain an understanding from where I could draw conclusions about the effect of institutions and their legitimacy.

When performing qualitative research, it is of great importance that the researcher uses an open mind and sees the world from the participants’ point of view (Walkerdine, Lucey & Melody, 2002). This is generally called a hermeneutic view. Within qualitative research, hermeneutics is an area of reflection in which the researcher should be aware and engaged (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2003). It means that the interpretation of the researcher is an essential part of the study. In qualitative research, it is crucial to be aware of the interpretive activity that occurs during the whole time. Alvesson and Sköldberg (2003) indicate that hermeneutical interpretation provides the key to qualified methodological views and consequently, hermeneutics is an important form of reflection. The interpretation of the researcher is thus an important part of the study as it shapes the outcome of the result and the researcher becomes a part of the exploration of the unique moment that the study observes (Williams, 2002).

I was interested in the individual point of view of the people working in NGOs, and I wanted to learn more by sincerely listening to their opinions. By actively taking part in the interviews, I could interact with my interviewees and thus gain a deeper knowledge of each individual organization of my study. The semi-structured direction of the interviews also made it possible for the interviewees to explain their views without being limited by a structured set of interview questions. Bryman and Bell (2003) describe semi-structured
interviews as questions about predetermined areas and subjects, but with flexibility to each interview situation and with liberty for attendant questions that were not prearranged. Instead, those questions were a result of the outcome of the specific situation, and a response to generate further answers to the questions. Williams (2002) means that this moment of social interaction is never to be repeated in the exact same way again. Therefore, people performing qualitative research generally tend to avoid concepts like generalization. While dealing with matters such as the human beings and social situations that we can never re-create, it is impossible to test the result by making the same study again. Even so, the result may be applicable on similar cases and used to understand comparable situations.

**Inductive approach**

When using an inductive approach in the study, the researcher looks at the field of the study with explorative eyes, as an alternative to looking to confirm beforehand stated theories. In this way, you let the field guide you towards understanding and the theories are created and built as a result of the investigation (Bryman & Bell, 2003). A distinct area is explored, and from the empirical findings, theories can be built and a hypothesis generated. This method is commonly used in combination with qualitative studies, were you want to have an open mind and not be tied down to certain theories.

For my study, this explorative approach was preferable since I could not beforehand be fully prepared for what might occur in the field. I did not want to be hampered by preconceived assumptions. Instead, I formed my research questions during my study, and the most interesting things that appeared during the study were used as a starting point when I decided on which theories to use. In this way, my empirical findings and theoretical frames are a result of the case studies in the field. But even if the intention with this approach is to use a totally open mind and to look for new theories, the researcher will always be affected by previous experiences and knowledge. And as I will explain further on, the preparations before the field study are decisive and, thus, there will always be pre-assumptions and awareness that will affect the result of the study.

**RESEARCH DESIGN**

**Case Studies**

I performed an explorative, qualitative study using an inductive approach with interviews and observations of different organizations. When doing an explorative study of organizations, case studies is an excellent technique to gain a deep understanding and be able to map and define the objects. As Ellet (2007) argues “A business case imitates or simulates a real situation” (p 13). The purpose with using case studies is to reach a totalized understanding of the object, and the study can include interviews, participant observations and field studies according to Hamel, Dufour, & Fortin (1993). They furthermore conclude that the goals with case studies are to reconstruct and analyze a case from a sociological perspective. Case studies are closely linked with participant observations. Thus, the researcher will always have
to interact with the case. De Laine (2000) pushes this statement one step further by saying that being with and for is more imperative than simply observing and be looking at. As part of my study, I tried to interact with my interviewees in a way that would not interfere with ethical rules and norms for interviews (Kvale, 1997). I spent some time at the organization I studied before the actual interview and tried to get to know my interviewees at the same time as I told them about myself and my study. Through this way I could gain more personal contact and show my genuine interest for their work and organization.

Hamel et al (1993) argue that case studies are often linked with an inductive approach that, owing to the open mind, helps the understanding. However, it is never a simple task to define an object and explain a social issue or phenomenon. When looking closer into different cases, one may find specific details of interest, advantages and qualities that are unique for a particular case, which in the end may lead to a greater understanding of the problem. But in order to gain this understanding, Travers (2001) means that case studies require a longer period of study in order to develop intimate familiarity, something which, according to him, is the purpose of doing a case study.

### The organizations of my study

The primary organizations of my study were three NGOs that are supported by SIDA and dependent on other financial donors. Each organization of my study represents its own case, and even though they are not allied with each other, they all work in different ways trying to benefit the education of girls and women in Tanzania. The organizations were chosen because the great effort they have made regarding girls’ education. This does not mean that they were selected on a random basis. Silverman (1997) indicates that cases almost never are selected on a random basis. Instead, we make our choices due to convenience and a researcher almost always have to make certain choices. I am aware of this fact, but at the same time I believe that my choice of organizations is appropriate for the study because of their great success as organizations. This would not have occurred if they would have failed in gaining and maintaining legitimacy. They all showed a great involvement and engagement in questions regarding girls’ education and my interest sprung out of the work they have accomplished so far, and the size they have managed to reach. Even though they started as small NGOs, they are today well-working organizations with a great workforce and a functioning management. They have all contributed to the improved situation for girls in school, and it is interesting to map how they have managed to deal with obstacles in their surroundings, adjust to institutions and managed to gain trust and legitimacy from society. Since they are dependent on their donors, they have to reach certain goals and expectations as well as gaining trust from the society in which they function in order to be seen as a legitimate organization. Because of the controversial issue they work with, we can assume that their struggle to gain trust and legitimacy has been even harder than for an organization working with an un-conventional matter. As they have managed very well with obtaining legitimacy, we can assume that these organizations have an advantage to reach independence, since legitimacy is a requirement for this to occur. Hence, it is interesting to study how they plan for their independence. I have studied the following, three organizations:
Barbro Johansson Model Girls’ Secondary School was founded in the late 90’s, and the school is financed by voluntary donors and a Swedish trust fund called JOHA Trust. (I refer to the school when using the abbreviation JOHA). The school is built on its own premises outside the city of Dar es Salaam, and the target group is girls from all over the country, who in some cases have lost one or both parents. The objectives of the school is to provide quality education to girls from all over the country, regardless of their ethnicity, religion, their economic basic grounds, as long as they are Tanzanian girls who are intellectual talented. The vast majority would otherwise have got no education. Today the school hosts 560 students.

HakiElimu, which means the right to education, works to increase knowledge by conducting critical research about the educational situation in Tanzania, and spread the results among citizens with special focus on rural areas. The purpose of the organization is to via media, stimulate a dialogue between the people and policy makers in order to raise awareness of the unjust situation in the educational system. The organization claims that everyone has the right to quality education on primary and secondary level, and it works to achieve this understanding all over the nation.

TGNP is short for Tanzania Gender Networking Programme and it objects to an unequal society were women and girls are discriminated against. It promotes transformative feminism and the empowerment of women. In all levels, the organization wants to reach gender equality and social and economic justice and equity. Through policy advocacy, publications and training programs, it wishes to achieve awareness of the issue’s importance all over society.

In addition to my three cases, I made two additional studies: one with the Gender section at the National Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), which is part of the government in Tanzania, and one with SIDA at the Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam. The purpose of this was to be able to further compare the three NGOs and to acquire a possible difference of opinion and different approach regarding the same subject. As part of the government, the MoEVT is also part of decision making regarding education in Tanzania and they are responsible for the lack of places in secondary school and for the need to encourage putting girls to school. They are also the ones choosing to have a compulsorily school fee at secondary level.

SIDA is behind a significant part of the financial aid that each organization of my study receives. Therefore, an evaluation of the thoughts behind giving donations, and a description of what demands are to determine whether an NGO should receive support or not, is very interesting to present. Even the government is supported by SIDA and does not yet have a well-working and self-sufficient system. This means they also have to struggle in order to receive financial aid and their legitimacy is thus crucial.
PRACTICAL PROCEDURE

- Development Field Research

While preparing a field research trip, there are certain aspects of importance to take into account. As a researcher, you have an influence on the field you are studying that may affect the result and the participants (Travers, 2001). Travers describes symbolic interactionism as a social process that occurs in every social interaction. Basically, this rather complicated phenomenon means that humans behave differently in ordinary settings than when being part of a research project. This is one of the main reasons for not trying to disturb ordinary routines and instead, conduct the investigation as far as possible in natural environments. Even so, De Laine (2000) argues that even in a natural setting, people are influenced and well aware of the fact that they are part of a study. As a result, this may lead to them changing answers and behaviour according to social desirability bias (Passer & Smith, 2004), meaning “the tendency to respond in a socially acceptable manner rather than according to how one truly feels or behaves” (Passer & Smith, 2004, p 36). Silverman (1997) describes this phenomenon as the ‘halo-effect’, were one tries to glorify themselves in order to look good or better. This process might be either deliberate or unwitting.

To be part of the field for a long period of time puts higher demands on the researcher. He/she must be aware of all the circumstances that may affect the way of thinking like environmental issues and surroundings that are difficult to prepare for, and may influence the outcome of the study. Hence, conducting development field research needs even more thoroughly planned preparations and a great awareness of that you have preconceived beliefs and expectations of the field (Leslie & Storey, 2003). “Fieldwork involves an examination of one’s intellectual abilities and emotional control” (Leslie & Storey, 2003, p 119).

As the intention was to interact with the participants, these issues were important to take into account. It was important for me to be accepted and acknowledged by the people I met, and especially by the organizations that were part of my study. To gain contacts, the certificate from SIDA that stated my purpose was very helpful. Saying I was a student of SIDA actually provided me with a great deal of help since SIDA is well known in Tanzania thanks to the many years of support, projects and financial aid. It made it easier to get in contact with organizations and meet the right people to speak with.

The field study was conducted during two months in Tanzania during May and June 2009. The data were collected during this time and the main location for my study was the informal capital Dar es Salaam. The duration of the study helped in the understanding of the field and the developing world, and made it easier to get in contact with interesting organizations. The total time spent allowed for both discovering and reflection, which affected the result in a very positive way.

- Preparations

To be prepared for the field is mandatory. Yet even with the best preparations, a shock when first meeting a developing country is inevitable (Leslie & Storey, 2003). “Fieldwork is one of
those undertakings that you simply cannot be too prepared for” (Leslie & Storey, 2003, p 77)

De Laine (2000) mentions the importance of pre-studying ethical codes and the moral norms that reign in the place of the study. In order to be able to create a good atmosphere and connect with the study participants, it is necessary to make a good impression and be well informed about ideals, values and social behaviour. These preparations are not only necessary in order to make good contact, rather they are essential for the success of the research project (Leslie & Storey, 2003).

I found the organizations of my study with help from my contact at the Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam, and he helped me with getting in touch with the right persons. I scheduled visits with the different organizations, and I had contact via email with my interviewees before the visit. Prior to each appointment, I tried to collect as much material as possible concerning the organization, reports they had written and the work they had accomplished. In this way, I could be very well prepared for the interviews.

COLLECTION OF DATA

o Interviews

Interviews are an excellent way to interact with the participants of one’s study, and it is the essence of qualitative research (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). Today, interviewing as a method of collecting information is no longer an unusual method to use. Instead, it has become quite popular, respected and accepted as a valid way of doing research even outside areas of social science (Berg, 2007). Holstein & Gubrium (2004) are talking about the interviewer as an active part of the interview, but stresses that this is an unconventional approach. They mean that interviews are a special form of conversation, and even if the neutral position of the interviewer is indispensable (Kvale, 2001), the inevitable fact is that the researcher interacts with the interviewee and affects him/her (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). Basically, they mean that there is no such thing as a neutral, non-social, uninfluenced interview situation. Berg (2007) declares that there is always an exchange between the interviewer and the respondent, and the perceptual structure of the dialogue is dependent on the structure of the interview.

The result of the interview should not be seen as objective facts that are valid for everybody or to be generalized. Instead, the result is the perception of one person that is studied and those opinions will always be coloured by the interpretation of the researcher, which is an important bias to take into account (Berg, 2007). The interviews I made in my study were all based on the same semi-structured interview-guide (Bryman & Bell, 2003), but with different attendant questions according to each conversation. Thus, the interview-guide I used as a base (see attachment) changed considerably owing to the altered attendant questions which were formed based on each particular interview-situation and case. The actual interviews were more similar to dialogues or conversations, than to plain interview situations. This puts a very qualitative approach on the gained material, meaning that every person’s say was of importance. It was the total collected data that formed the foundation of the result, whereas the interview-guide cannot be judged by the result.
To investigate my selected problem of study, I created different questions regarding the organizations’ attempt to obtain legitimacy. I wanted to find answers to how well their work is adapted to social norms, to legitimacy and to the institutions in the surrounding environment. I also wanted to know if it is possible for these organizations to become self-reliant within the nearest future and how they intend to pursue this struggle. Furthermore, I was interested in finding out if the meaning of legitimacy affects their independent survival and how they plan to gain and obtain legitimacy in regard to society, donors and the government.

The interviews all took place at the organization in question and they were all recorded in order to more easily take in and analyze the material. They were conducted during my ten weeks in Tanzania, spread over time and booked according to availability with my interviewees. Each interview was very specific on its own and therefore the time differed, but in general they lasted for 45-75 minutes. During the interviews, I took brief notes, but mostly I tried to be part of the conversation and discussion, and trusted to the recording. The locations for the interviews were always chosen by the interviewees and at a place familiar and comfortable to them.

Selection of interviewees

The interview participants were not chosen by me, but as I contacted the organizations, explaining my mission, these particular persons were designated for me. I believe they were chosen based on their managerial positions, their particular knowledge within my subject, and their long work experience within each organization. But one may also be critical against the choice of people who clearly will portray a good example of the organization. Even so, the interviews were all an invaluable part of my study, and the interview participants were all highly dedicated, helpful and very informative. The interviewees were:

At HakiElimu I met with Samuel Saiguran, who is Manager at the Policy Analysis and Advocacy Unit and Robert Mihayo, who is Manager at the Information Access Unit.

At Barbro Johansson Model Girls’ Secondary School I met with Mrs Halima Kamote who is the Headmistress of the school. I also interviewed the teacher Susan Nakayiiga, teacher in English, History and Geography, and Paul Kijoka, teacher in Geography. I also got the opportunity to meet and speak with some students from different levels.

At TGNP I met with Marjorie Mbilinyi who is Principal Programme Officer at the department of Research and Policy Analysis.

At the Swedish Embassy in Dar es Salaam, I got to meet with a representative for SIDA, Mr Anders Frankenberg who is Senior Programme Officer with the focus on Education.

At the national Ministry of Education and Vocational Training I got the opportunity to meet with two women at the Gender Section, but I have out of respect chosen not to publish their names in my thesis, because of the risk of provocation. Instead I will refer to this interview with the shortage of this department: MoEVT.
Participant Observations

Observations were used as a complementary method to my interviews. Although the whole point of doing a field study is that the researcher gets to observe and interact with the field of the study, observation is an established technique for an enhanced study of specific cases (Silverman, 1997). As mentioned above, Hamel et al (1993) reveal a concept called participant observations. This means that the researcher interacts with the case of the study, and an interchange between the case and the researcher occurs. Even as an observer, you have an active role and it should not be forgotten that you are present, compared to ethnography were the researcher is supposed to sit quietly and make notes (Bryman & Bell, 2003). Alvesson and Sköldberg (2003) suggest that participant observations can give greater weight to arguments and data about social realities, than for example questionnaires. The situation of a social context is simply too complex to be analysed with basic straightforward questions, which they mean are institutionalized social constructions, trying to interpret a social reality by considering the data as facts.

In my study, it was important to be present at the different organizations of my study, and simply take notice of daily routines, atmosphere, and acquire a general feeling for how they pursued their goals. You become aware of how the personnel at the organization act towards each other and how they look at you as an outsider or visitor. Travers (2001) means that even without taking notes, you will come away with a reasonable understanding, simply by being present. I did not use an observation-template, nor did I follow a specific guide, but rather focused on being present and acquire a general feeling. The feeling is an important part of the research and since you as a researcher are affecting the environment by your presence, it is called participant observation.

I visited the different organizations in connection to my interviews, and took time to visit their libraries, read reports and meet the staff. Simply spending time during my visit helped me to get a general feeling of the environment at the organization and to make an evaluation based on the treatment I got. At the school I gasped the opportunity to meet and talk to some students as well, and even though they did not count as interviews as such, they still helped me in gaining knowledge and understanding for the school system and their view on girls’ education. I planned the visits beforehand by reading as much as possible about each organization at the same time as talking to people I met to acquire a general, public opinion. This was interesting because gaining legitimacy is vividly based on the reputation among the citizens, and I thought it was an important part to beforehand find out what people thought about the organizations of my study. I did not attend in any extraordinary situations or meetings during my observations, but that might have increased the validity of the observations even more.

Secondary Data

In order to conduct my study as successfully as possible, I prepared myself by reading as much as possible about the educational situation of girls in Tanzania and in the entire developing world. I collected literature, articles and reports of the field and took part in a
compulsorily preparation course held by SIDA. The two days course is an essential part of the MFS-program that every student that receives the grant is obliged to take part in. The purpose is to prepare the students for the encounter with the developing world and meet other students with similar interest. I tried to obtain knowledge and a pre-understanding of the culture, religion, nature, tourism and the economic situation of Tanzania. The secondary data I gained with information about the field and about the topic of my study made it possible for me to increase my knowledge and understanding. Even so, it is always difficult to be fully prepared and hardly anything was what I had expected.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

- **Source of error**

There is always a risk for error occurring when conducting research and there are certain aspects regarding this that needs to be taken into account (Silverman, 2004). For example, De Laine (2000) mentions ethical dilemmas that might occur during research due to various expectations. The researcher may without intention cross boundaries and step into sensitive or conventional topics. If this takes place, the greatest and most difficult question is to whom the researcher owes first loyalty. De Laine (2000) continues this discussion into what she calls a ‘conflict of interest’. Whose personal interest should be most considered if there is a conflict of interest: the supervisor, the management, participants, sponsors or individuals outside the study? Berg (2007) says that the trust between the interviewer and interviewee should never be compromised, and that the ethical code and obligation that the researcher has to the respondent should always be followed.

When I was about to undertake my study, I decided not to use an interpreter. Mainly this was because all my interviewees spoke English quite well, and because there are certain aspects to take into account when using an interpreter (Kvale, 2001). The language may always be an obstacle, even when the same native language is spoken. People have different way of expressing themselves and the use of the same words but for different meanings may be confusing (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2003). Thus, language is always a great bias that researchers need to be aware of.

Another problem with my interviews was that there were disturbing sounds in the background during some of the interviews. I let the interviewees choose the location, and therefore it was not based on the most suited place for recording. This led to some difficulties when analyzing the recorded interviews. I also considered that the social desirability tendency (Passer & Smith, 2004) might have been very strong since the organizations of my study are all eager to look good in order to receive donations. Thus, they might have polished themselves even more during the interview, in order to appear in their best light. Consequently, the findings from the observations and reports are vital for the total result.
To be completely neutral and objective during research seems to be an almost impossible task, especially while conducting qualitative research. Berg (2007) states that correspondents are always coloured by previous experiences, as well as by opinions and knowledge regarding the subject. Their wish to answer correctly or satisfying may compromise the reliability. Confirmation of high reliability of a study is often correlated to the ability to reproduce what has happened. As mentioned before, this may be an impossible thing to do when it comes to social situations. Nonetheless, the core of the study should of course be able to reproduce, but one may never reach the exact same conclusions (Williams, 2002). Silverman (1997) argues that the means you can take in order to achieve reliability risk destroying the core concept of qualitative research. Still, the purpose with reliability is to guarantee a way to reproduce the research and prove the results. Yet, as argued, this will be impossible if we at the same time wish to keep social interaction going and maintain a state were the interviewee feels free to answer subjectively. I believe that I as a person was part of the reason for how the conversations turned out. As in every social situation, the dialogue will turn out differently depending on the participants in it. I was the one making connections and gaining trust, and therefore believe that the interviews would not have turned out the same way with another researcher.

Validity means to which extent the result of the research is accurately a replication of what happened in the research situation (Peräkylä, 2004). As researcher, you must always be able to declare and confirm the results and methods used in the study because otherwise the credibility of the research may be at stake. This means you have to guarantee that the procedure has been done as described, and proofs such as recordings and notes may be necessary. Silverman (1997) discusses issues that may compromise the validity of a research. One problem is that the researcher simply selects the field data that fits the preconception. The other is the tendency to choose more exciting data at the expense of less controversial or exciting facts. These issues may never be totally controlled since they are in the mind of the researcher, and he/she may not even be aware of doing them.

Alvesson & Sköldberg (2003) prefer to use the word credibility when dealing with qualitative research, as validity might be impossible to prove. They argue that the issues mentioned by Silverman (1997) are of importance, but these matters are not as straightforward as they may sound theoretically. Credibility means we should not search for the absolute truth, but rather that the researcher through an open attitude should understand the whole phenomenon and trust in the empirical arguments. Perhaps this is better suited to describe what one wishes to accomplish with qualitative research.

When conducting qualitative research, I believe that you as a researcher prove your honesty and convince readers through the description of the case and the written report. It must be reasonable to believe that you in fact have completed what you say have done. For a researcher, to be able to achieve and obtain trust, which is conclusive in order to keep conducting research, lying or presenting artificial facts would be devastating and a definite failure of legitimacy.
The organizations of my study were chosen out of the great work that they have accomplished. It is inevitable not to be affected by this fact, as this also was a reason for studying them. Being in the field doing a study, where the purpose is to interact and gain a personal contact, it is impossible not to be committed and engaged. I studied an area of personal interest and with great dedication, whereas maintaining an objective research view is extremely difficult, but still very crucial. It is also hard not to gain a personal contact with the interviewees, and to some extent, this is also the purpose to do. I have though, finished this thesis almost one year after my return from Tanzania, and I believe that this affected the result positively, as the experiences and thoughts had time to settle and mature. This also opened the opportunity for new perspectives and interpretations, as I during my field study was very charged with impact and impressions. All of this has most likely affected the result, but as I review everything, I believe that that additional time for reflection only has affected the result in a positive way. I do not believe that the long time has led to any loss of memory, mainly thanks to the recordings any many notes that I made.

As the study is financed by the MFS scholarship, SIDA who is the organization behind this programme, may be seen as a stakeholder. Conducting a study for an organization may always affect the result in a way that suits the recipient. I believe though, that SIDA as an organization working for development, is well aware of the importance of a critical standing, and even though I did not investigate SIDA as such, there might had appeared criticism against their work in the study, but I do not believe that SIDA being an interest party, would have affected my critical standing.
Tanzania is a beautiful country with a nature that impressed me over and over again. The variety of the landscape is endless and while I was travelling through the country, the experience felt like a journey through all existing types of nature; steppe, savannah, desert, rainforest, river and forests and mountains – all within a couple of hours on the roads. The nature parks and reserves are spread almost all over the country, even if most are located in the north, west and south. The Safaris are located within the nature reserves, where the wild animals live in peace, and freely pursue their normal lives. The varying environments of the different safari parks are tremendous, even though some of them are quite close to each other. The difference in nature also mirrors which types of animals who choose to live in different parks, due to their different conditions. It is extraordinary to see how the animals adapt to their environment depending on where they are living, and amazing to watch them in their natural setting, without being affected by tourists and cars. Beyond the safari parks, the most remarkable natural phenomenon is probably the Mount Kilimanjaro. With its 5892 metres, this former volcano is the highest mountain in Africa and the world’s highest free-standing mountain (Briggs, 2006). (Picture, Internet 10: www.worldpress.com)

Along the east coast of Tanzania, there are beaches, islands and coral reefs. Most famous is the island of Zanzibar, very popular among tourists. Zanzibar is dominated by white sand beaches with bungalows, well-developed tourist areas with restaurants, shops, Scuba diving and snorkelling possibilities. In the capital Stone Town one can experience ages of overwhelming history, watch the ancient stone houses on the narrow, curvy and uneven...
streets, and buy souvenirs from one of the many markets. The feeling of being in a completely different place occurred, since Zanzibar is like a different country with their own language (Arabic) and united religious view (99% Muslims). In Zanzibar, they strive for independence through their own government and national regulations. (Picture, Internet 11: www.mbild.se).

- The Tanzanian People and culture

The best thing with Tanzania was without a doubt the people that I met. The people are the culture and represent the nation in a way that no description, book or piece of information could do. I was astounded by the colourful and confident women, carrying their children tied onto their backs in Kangas (a colourful garment) and not rarely with a heavy bowl on their heads. Children were playing everywhere and painted a beautiful picture of Tanzania, which is tremendously full of life and happiness. The Tanzanians are very friendly, generous, helpful and welcoming. To me, they seemed very laid back, un-concerned and curious. If you met someone for the first time, and realized that you knew someone in common, it was like you had been best friends forever.

It is easy to fall in love with Tanzania, and I believe this mostly has to do with the people. I did not notice any violence or violent behaviour. Instead people were curious and interested in my purpose and willing to learn and hear about Sweden. But at the same time as people were generally friendly and welcoming to foreigners, there was a lot of scepticism against the local Government and their leadership. Even though people did not state their opposition openly, I was told that a lot of mistrust sprung out of the lack of structure and the general thought that the country is being hampered by corruption. People seem to have a hard time trusting the Government, which is a result of the lack of well-working societal functions.

People come from many different beliefs and cultures, even though they all live in the same country. Due to the high number of immigrants from surrounding African countries, Tanzania is a very diversified country, but people see this as an asset more than a problem. The Tanzanians are very united, much because of the Swahili-language, which is steadily growing all over Africa. During my time in Tanzania, I was very impressed by the acceptance and diversity among the people, and the mixture of nationalities was noticeable everywhere. But despite the different religions and backgrounds, people seemed to live together closely and united. I even met several persons being married to someone of a different religion or from a different tribe, something that still can be very controversial. Yet the most significant discovery was the massive differences between the rich and the poor. Tanzania has no middle class, which creates a large gap between the ones with money and the ones without. Prices on groceries and essential products were extremely high compared to average salaries. This is owing to the fact that the rich can afford to buy things anyway, whilst the poor cannot. This leads to an ever-increasing gap between the rich and the poor.
Another interesting phenomenon within the Tanzanian culture is the Maasai-people. The Maasai are an ethnic group of semi-nomadic people located in Kenya and northern Tanzania, said to be the original inhabitants of east Africa, and the most well-known ethnic African group in the world (Lawrence, 2009). This extraordinary group of people are living completely under their own rules and regulations, apart and distant from regular society, defending their traditional way of life. They are running their own schooling system within their society, and they still live on hunting (Briggs, 2006). (Picture, Internet 12: www.top-things-to-do.com)

**Surrounding context**

The infrastructure is not nearly as developed as the increased number of cars and vehicles demand, and this creates huge problems with transportation. The roads are few and usually in a very bad shape. Due to the lack of functioning streetlights, directions and signs, the roads are overcrowded which creates traffic jams and queues. This is a substantial problem since transportation of any kind always takes very long.

Moreover, electronic communication is a major, yet somewhat improved, problem. The telephone line is less developed and the postal service system is not working very well. The Internet is still very expensive to use, which means that everyone cannot afford it. E-mails and homepages are not a given, not even for well-funded organizations. The most convenient way of communication is to use mobile phones. Even though this also is quite expensive for a person with an average income, it is a form of communication used also among poor people. In fact, the telecom industry is the fastest growing and most lucrative business in this part of the developing world (Internet 13: www.zain.com). These are all examples of great challenges that Tanzania today is facing, and challenges that organizations in this environment have to adapt to.

**THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION IN TANZANIA**

SIDA has an ongoing cooperation with the Tanzanian education sector in order to improve the educational situation in the country. The program is called ESDP (Education Sector Development Programme). This programme is a key part in the public reform called NSGRP (National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty). The reason for this is that education is an essential key in order to achieve growth and reduce poverty (ESDP, 2007). Even though gender equivalence in primary school is almost reached, this gain is lost when it comes to higher education. Evidently, this is an issue of importance because of the great need for gender equality within education in order to achieve economic growth. De Bruyn (1995)
declares that education is critical for the ability to participate fully in social, economic and political life and the development of society as a whole.

ESDP (2007) also stresses the importance of bringing education to those who already have dropped out or missed school. Non-formal education, adult and folk education are possible examples. This will provide opportunities for knowledge and skills that can strengthen literacy and grant the necessary skills needed for the national development. Kabeer (1999) presents facts implying that in order to achieve development through education, basic education is not enough to achieve national economic growth. Instead, there is a need for both primary and secondary level, so called basic education. ESDP (2007) states the same about education by arguing that “there is a growing recognition that benefits begin to have significant effects only after the Basic Education phase has been completed” (p 5). A great problem with this is that Tanzania does not have enough places at the Secondary school level, compared to the number of places in Primary school (TZ fig 2008). This leads to children being excluded from school after finishing primary school (Interview: MoEVT), a situation that tends to affect girls more negatively than boys since the general opinion is to rather educate the boy child than the girl child (Momsen, 2004; Sweetman, 2004). The major problem with this issue is that girls without education, who do not know how to read or write, have very great difficulties in managing their lives and fit into society. “Women that are not educated today, are seen as the lowest class” (Interview: Halima Kamote, Headmistress, JOHA).

ESDP (2007) furthermore implies that technology these days is an imperative factor for the economic growth of nations and that the use critically depends upon the extent of higher education. Tanzania does not perform well in this area compared to other countries at a similar stage of development (ESDP, 2007).

Another problem with the schooling system in Tanzania is the bad reputation and the lack of structure and quality in basic education (Interview: Susan Nakayiga, teacher JOHA). This is a major problem all over Tanzania and it mostly refers to public or governmental schools. This has resulted in parents and children choosing not to attend school, simply because of the low standard. Some teachers fail to deliver quality education or refuse to come to school because of the physically poor shape of the school combined with a low salary. The salaries of teachers coming from private and public schools differ substantially and this makes some teachers not wanting to do their jobs. At the same time MoEVT knows for a fact that there are too few teachers in the country, compared to the number of students that are in the schooling system (Interview: MoEVT). The result of this is that many families want to put their children in private schools instead, but since the cost for this might be much more comprehensive, they may not be able to afford it, and hence decide for the children to stay home. The quality of education is an issue of importance. Bringing children to school is not enough if the quality is failing (Save the Children, 02/03). The need for quality not only refers to the one within the actual educational situation. In addition, quality can be also protection from conflicts and learning about and understanding peace. Furthermore, it can be manageable class sizes, valid and appropriate textbooks that encourage the children to respect values and rights, and give them confidence to stand up for themselves. These are all crucial factors in the attempt of improving the educational situation.
Even so, the trend has been positive during the last decades. Today there is a general opinion that girls should be educated to the same extent as boys. “It is no longer controversial to educate girls, instead this is seen as something good which is supported and it is status for the family to educate their girls” (Interview: Halima Kamote, Headmistress JOHA). It is though, still controversial in some parts of Tanzania to educate girls, even if this view has changed radically during the last 10 years. This trend is also a result of global changes and development that influence the nation.

GENDER IN RELATION TO DEVELOPMENT

Gender is a charged term but inevitable to bring up when discussing the subject of development. According to De Bruyn (1995), policymakers and researchers within UN agencies and the World Bank nowadays propose special programmes for development based on gender, as a result of previously having been criticized for only having focused on programs with female participation instead of women’s overall status and position. Gender can be defined as “socially-ascribed meanings given to the categories man and woman” (p 12). It refers to ideas about specific norms and expectations on men and women. The gender-based development approach focuses on social roles of both male and female, as well as on gender equality aiming to empower women. Awareness of gender-related issues must be raised all over the world, both among men and women and it is decisive in order to achieve the development goals (De Bruyn, 1995).

Special focus has been made on the education of girls and the situation with inequality in society in Tanzania. ESDP (2007) emphasizes the importance of primary school access for the vulnerable, for example girls. Many girls drop out of primary school and miss essential schooling. This is often due to the long distance they must travel with inferior transportation, the high risk of being assaulted and exposed to violence, the lack of money in the family, the need for the girl to work in the household, early pregnancies and sometimes early marriages (ESDP, 2007). “Gender based violence is a major issue. In order to protect ourselves, as women, we need to be economically empowered” (Interview: Marjorie Mbilinyi, TGNP). The great problem with girls that drop out of school is that if you miss one year, you are not allowed to re-start the same year again. Instead these girls will be thrown out of the schooling system (Interview: MoEVT). The total number of childrens’ school years increases today, but the enrolment of girls declines (ESDP, 2008).

There are statistical results implying that girls in the developing world that receive seven or more years of education, marry four years later and have 2.2 fewer children (United Nations, 1990). One extra year of primary school will increase wages by 10 to 20 percent, and
one extra year of secondary school up to 15 to 25 percent. 90 percent of a woman’s income
will be reinvested in their families, compared to 30 or 40 percent for a man (Borges, 2007).
Research has also shown a consistent relationship between better infant and child health and
higher level of schooling among mothers (Bicego & Boerma, 1993). In Tanzania, as well as
all over the developing world, these are facts that need to be considered on a governmental
level. Therefore the MoEVT in Tanzania strives to support girls’ enrolment in school and
increase the number of places in Secondary school. It tries to erase the rule of girls not being
allowed to return after a one-year drop out, and wants to raise awareness about the importance
of educating girls, especially in rural areas where this opinion has lower support (Interview:
MoEVT). By giving girls more support it increases their chances of a sustainable livelihood
(Interview: Marjorie Mbilinyi, TGNP).

THE STRUCTURE AND IMPORTANCE OF NGOS

The bodies and structures of NGOs may differ considerably. The requirements are that they
are independent from Governmental control, and are non-criminal and non-profit making
(Willetts, 2002). Most NGOs are not seeking to challenge the government or political
standings, and they operate with minimal public attention or controversy (Thomas, Chhetri &
Hussaini, 2008). At the same time, there are NGOs trying to engage public policy by
confronting the state and corporation interests. Thomas et al (2008) furthermore advocate that
due to the many NGOs and their difference of approaches, the legitimacy of these kinds of
organizations has been challenged. Some NGOs have been accused of sidestepping
democratic processes, as a result of them earlier having had a great societal support that let
them operate freely without being questioned. This issue made the authors investigate the
degree of isomorphism among NGOs, as it is important to find out how much trust we should
put in this kind of organization. NGOs often have a great public support, only due to the fact
that they are opponents of the government and imply that they are working for a better cause,
leading to minimized external control. Ossewaarde, Nijhof and Heyse (2008) support this
criticism by stating that NGOs often are aiming to improve the life of disadvantaged people,
but that they do not always succeed in doing this. As a consequence, the legitimacy of NGOs
is frequently questioned.

My experience from meeting with different NGOs in Tanzania really made me see
substantial differences depending on who is behind the organization and what its purpose is.
The structures vary considerably as do the intentions and the ways of working. A NGO is a
liberated kind of organization, which opens up for free choices and entrepreneurship but at the
same time this approach makes it easier for those without sincere interests. Many NGOs in the
developing world are donor-dependent and unfortunately not all of them are honest with their
purposes. The procedure of starting an NGO is on the one hand a bit complicated, but at the
same time anyone can do it. The purpose is to provide aid and do something good, but far
from all have this intention. I met people who simply tried to get donors for their own benefit,
without using any of the money for the intended purposes. I visited an orphanage whose
owner, according to a Swedish volunteer working there, had made a fortune on private donors
and volunteers, giving money out of apprehension for the poor children living under dreadful
conditions, which the owner kept on purpose since this leads to more donations. Sometimes
the children at the orphanage were not really orphans, but the parents had put them there to
receive money and get rid of the need to pay for food during daytime.

Well-meaning and honest NGOs with sincere purposes are hence even more
important in the building of a functioning society. They are the ones who are able to reach out
to the people and make a difference. But in order for them to work properly and pursue their
mission, NGOs in most developing countries are as mentioned depended on sponsors and
funding, whereof the majority are foreign donors (Parks, 2008). Parks (2008) points out that
this, though, is an uncertain field. If the donors find new areas of priority, they might move
their funding leading to the NGOs dependent on these donors facing a crisis. The NGO in this
position now has to decide whether to follow the new demands or interests of the donors, with
the risk of losing their current focus, or facing a massive decline in the budget. Parks (2008)
furthers states that donor priorities are constantly changing. This is due to many factors, for
instance global areas of concern of the time being as well as societal, political, economic,
strategic and personnel factors. As a result, shifting priorities of international donors might,
instead of strengthen, undermine the credibility and effectiveness of the NGOs. When the
NGOs as a result of this change their objectives to suit the donors and attract new funding,
they will gradually lose their autonomy. “Within the domestic political environment, this
trend exacerbates perceptions that the NGOs are representing donor interests above national
interests, seriously damaging their credibility and effectiveness.” (Parks, 2008, p 214).
THE ORGANIZATIONS OF MY STUDY

In this section I present the collected data, both primary and secondary, that I gained during my case studies in Tanzania. I will present each organization as its own case, based on both interviews and observations, and continue with a brief summary of the result I got at my two additional studies.

BARBRO JOHANSSON MODEL GIRLS’ SECONDARY SCHOOL

A short introduction of JOHA

Barbro Johansson Model Girls’ Secondary School (JOHA) is a girls’ school founded by the Swedish missionary Barbro Johansson in the 1990s. It is run by donations from individuals and international donors. The girls attending have to be especially talented and if they pass the application, an economic investigation is made to see if they are able to pay for the school fee themselves. If they are qualified but do not have enough money, the fund will pay for the whole or part of the cost. In this way, talented girls from poor, rural areas have a chance to succeed with a good education, which they otherwise never would be able to afford. The purpose of the school is to be a model to other secondary schools for girls, and it works hard to keep a high educational standard (Internet 14: www.johatrust.ac.tz).

Legitimacy, status and reputation

The school believes it is important with a good reputation all over Tanzania, since it is through this reputation that it acquires students. At the moment, the school has a very good reputation owing to the good performance of the students, and the quality of the school is measured by the performance of the students. Hence, academic performance is a very important part in gaining legitimacy. Halima Kamote, the Headmistress, states that the objectives that they put up as an organization is what make people believe in them:

“If those objectives you have set can touch the heart of people, then they will continue supporting you. And if you are doing it in the right way, then you can be assured of the support.”

The local surrounding and donors expect the school to fulfil the objectives it has set for itself, and primarily that means acting as a model school by portraying the best example of what a
girl school should be like. Based on my observations, the high standard of the school was very noticeable based on the facilities, which were in much better shape than usual standard of most buildings in Tanzania. Compared to public schools that I visited, the standards of JOHA are much higher. When speaking of the school, people in general reacted positively, even though it was not a certainty that people had heard of the school.

**Challenges in the surrounding and with being an NGO**

To make people in the surrounding society aware of the good that the school is doing, the school believes in the concept; “See and believe.” That means when society will see the outcome of the students, people realize the advantages with quality education. The girls are often able to get a good job or start higher education, and the trust from society comes with the good result of the students. Both students and employees will help in this process by being good ambassadors for the school. The students I spoke to were all very happy to be able to study at JOHA. They were grateful of the donations made by SIDA, and they appeared as very motivated to achieve well in their academic performance.

The school believes that the major challenge it is struggling with, is the problem of finance, and states that it simply never has enough money to cover everything that it wishes to achieve. The need is always bigger and there is always more to do. Halima Kamote declares:

“We have to find ways so that we don’t depend on donor-support...
Major challenge would be finding resources for ourselves.”

But the staff at the school, including the management, implied that this is very difficult today since the country cannot even support its own budget and the whole country is dependent on donors. Instead, JOHA implies that there is a need for changing the economy of the country as a whole and this cannot be done by one school or institution. In order to work as an NGO in the developing world, the national policies and structures need to function, and there is a great need for good country policies on education:

“...a population that understand the importance of education.
More and more people come to realize that we need to have
education if we want development in this country.”

(Halima Kamote, Headmistress)

According to the school, this situation has changed vividly during the last ten years, and it likes to believe that it is part of the change.

**Demands and transparency**

As an NGO you are checked both by the donors as well as by the government. When you can actually prove what you have done, being checked means gaining legitimacy. Reports are made annually and sent to all donors and they state progress, finances, management and
future plans. If there are any specific demands from each donor, those are stated in separate contracts. The donors may have demands that are limiting for the school so that the school board cannot always make their own decisions what to do with the money. Transparency is an important issue and both donors as well as parents must be able to attain information about how the school operates. All the staff that I met was very helpful, welcoming and comfortable. It did not appear as if they tried do come about in a certain way based on my presence. The students were curious and grateful that I had interest in visiting their school and listening to their opinions.

HAKIELIMU

- **A short introduction of HakiElimu**

HakiElimu is not only a NGO but can also be defined as a Civil Society Organization, since it works to challenge the government and question methods and policies, trying to create awareness and political action. HakiElimu works to realize equity, quality, human rights and democracy in education by facilitating communities to transform schools and influence policy making. The people of the organization work to stimulate imaginative public dialogue and organize for change. They do so by conducting critical research, policy analysis and advocacy at the same time as they collaborate with partners to advance common interests and social justice (Internet 15: www.hakielimu.org).

- **Legitimacy and societal support**

HakiElimu is dependent on six different donor partners which all are based in Western countries. HakiElimu finds it important to not have one donor that is providing a significantly larger amount than others, because of the increased influence from this particular sponsor that this might bring about. If no sponsor is having the advantage of being the largest, it cannot put demands and pressures on the organization or on the other donors. In this way, HakiElimu will not be overly dependent on one sponsor. If one sponsor disappears, it can still continue with its work without experiencing a major crisis. Instead, when the support is spread equally, the impact of one sponsor will be limited. Robert Mihayo declares:

“We do not want any donor to dominate over the others, for strategic reasons, because in case something happens with the major donor, then the institution is bound to be crippled”.

The total pot from the donors is put together and HakiElimu decides what to use on what. The donors cannot influence on what or in which area the money should be used. Instead, the organization itself is responsible for the strategy planning, and the donors have to accept the plan given to them. The plan is based on what HakiElimu wishes to accomplish in the communities and the information is gathered through research of the needs of these
communities. HakiElimu was very firm in these opinions and very eager to make me understand that there is no such thing as donor-demands on the organization.

There is much support that HakiElimu has managed to gain legitimacy. The organization describes the public support it has as superior, and the enormous support it has actually made the government change their prohibition of the organization. The societal support has grown through debates in society and based on the fact that many people are writing about the organization. HakiElimu believes that the legitimacy is gained through the work it does in the communities, and this is always according to the fixed plan of strategies.

“If we fail to fulfil the expectations of the community, or to what the community used to see us do, then we lose credibility and legitimacy.” (Samuel Saiguran)

During my time in Tanzania, I often asked people about HakiElimu, and almost always people were familiar with the organization and responded in a very positive way. It was clear that HakiElimu is both well-known, and has a good reputation.

- **Challenges with being an NGO**

The work of the organization is important for society since it is advocating that education is a basic right to every person and every child. “On the base of that, donors see that we are doing something logical” (Samuel Saiguran). HakiElimu promotes the importance of education and means that donors also easily understand that there is very little that a nation can do without education. “It is very difficult to develop without having an educated population” (Samuel Saiguran). HakiElimu is certain in its beliefs and in what it does. The people who work for the organization imply that they are firm in following their strategies and keeping what has been promised. “We stand our ground, and stand up for our people and that’s the reason that donors believe in us and wants to give us money” (Robert Mihayo).

Both Robert Mihayo and Samuel Saiguran state that transparency is crucial for any kind of donor-dependent organization. If one wish to receive funding, it is vital to be able to present and declare everything that you are doing, because with transparency comes trust. They further state that transparency basically is the only demand that donors have on the organization, as long as it presents an annual report stating everything that has been done throughout the year, and every donor gets the same report. At the organization, you can collect any report that has been published for free. The organization also has a library which is open to visitors and the staff were proud to show publications they had made and reports that people had written about the organization. The workplace emerged to me as very organized, structured but still welcoming. It has grown into a large organization, and uses a whole building with several floors and offices.

One of the major challenges for the organization is the relationship with the government. An example of this is that the government has said to put a certain amount of money in the school system, but according to HakiElimu, it is not possible that all of this money has reached its intended destination. This action and questioning of the government offended them, but also led to the people questioning the government. This led to a conflict
with the government in 2005 that resulted in HakiElimu being forbidden to visit any schools or have anything to do with the schools. Even though I told them I was going to visit this particular department at the government as well, they were affirmative in their viewpoint of the government, and ascertain of their right of the disputation.

- **Difficulties and the future**

According to HakiElimu, the major difficulty with being dependent on donors is the uncertainty of the future and the lack of predictability. If there is an international crisis, and the donors are affected economically, the dependent organization will be affected as well. Supporting NGOs in developing countries might be the first thing that an organization cuts down on if it has financial problems. But all the donors are given a 4-year plan and contract; otherwise the work would be very difficult. Furthermore, the government may change local policies which can cause problems. There are examples of when governments have demanded all financial donors to stop giving money to NGOs. Another problem is that donors may try to affect what the organization does by trying to impose an international agenda on the country. I am under the impression that this happens more than anyone wants to admit. At HakiElimu, I obtained a feeling of an organization that in its structure came across as very alike a western organization. This was due to its way of responding, acting and based on the actual order in the office. HakiElimu may say that it is not influenced by the donors, but I interpreted an organization that was very much influenced by western standards and that very hard tried to suit this agenda, to the extent that it differentiated itself from regular social behaviour.

The support of the organization is also its reason for surviving and what in the end will lead to its independence. HakiElimu plans for its future independence but do not see that this is possible before the entire population of the country has reached a certain level of education. But Robert Mihaylo announces the downside with the support;

> "This kind of public sympathy is also a challenge. The community is expecting so much from the organization, but your capacity is only so much..."

A great problem is to satisfy the people and communities and at the same time cooperate with international organizations and keeping a good relationship with the government.

**TGNP**

- **A short introduction of TGNP**

Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP) is a NGO that has been working in the civil society sector since 1993. TGNP is an advocating organization focusing on actual promotion of facts and research within gender equality, equity and women’s empowerment objectives. It is done via encouragements for changes of policy regarding gender at all levels.
in the Tanzanian society and beyond. Because of inequalities of resources, women and girls often have unfulfilled economic needs and they are stuck in a situation with an unjustified share of work. Women are condemned to work at home, which can be seen as unpaid labour at the same time as they have economic responsibilities outside the home. TGNP emphasizes that most women lack legal rights to inherit and own property (Internet 16: tgnp.org).

A social movement of change

In the beginning when the organization first started, the gender related work of the organization was extremely controversial. During the 1980-1990, it was hard to use the word feminism because of the negative reaction it led to. But when the international forum started to change, people realized that the organization was dealing with the idea of gender and patriarchy, as well as class, because women are not always seen as an equal class to men.

The organization tries to connect the public with the private, and make people see the connections between social relations in the family and with the laws of the government. The purpose was in the beginning to make people see that the government does not support a patriarchal relationship, were men dominate and are being in charge over women. This was initially a great challenge but the development in the area is massive and many things have changed to the better regarding women’s situation. TGNP believes it has had a great part in the change and the effect its work has had on the social movement, which it argues is part of the democratic process of the country. It is still controversial to say that women should have equal rights to men or to call yourself a feminist, but things have changed and the country has moved a long way. TGNP strikes me as the kind of organization who can manage to change peoples’ thoughts. The large office was kind of disordered but still welcoming and productive. TGNP has an immense library that I could use while waiting for my interview, and people seemed to be very busy and there was an overall ongoing activity. The staff that I met was confident at the same time as laid-back, and I easily acquired trust for the organization.

Legitimacy and societal support

TGNP claims that the biggest challenge concerning legitimacy is not the actual donor dependence, but rather located within the local community. Since the organization is trying to challenge basic structures of society, locally, nationally but also globally, by contributing with building a strong transformative information channel, it needs to gain support in the community. Today, it speaks for a great social movement and the most important part of legitimacy is to remain accountable to this grassroots’ movement. Another important part in the legitimacy process is in the membership within the organization, which is based on members from different leading women organizations all over the world. When society sees the membership of these influential women, the organization receives legitimacy and trust. The key issue has always been to be critical, mainly of patriarchal structures, but always in a constructive manner.
The government and transparency

Being an organization dependent on donors means that people will have access and insight into the organization. “I actually think we are being checked a lot more than some department within the government” (Marjorie Mbilinyi). This is due to that many people are looking into the organizations’ work and follow reports and statistics, which it has to present in order to receive financial support. But being checked is part of the need for transparency, which TGNP also stresses, is vital in order to receive funding.

One of the major issues the organization is facing is the cooperation with the government. It tries to work alongside the government, and sometimes it performs work or research on the request of the government, but the dilemma occurs when the government changes the budget plan or priorities. Sometimes, there are larger changes in the macroeconomic framework and as a field organization it is affected and determined by that. The great challenge is trying to simultaneously work alongside the government and stand up for members and grassroots movement and TGNP is working on a border line between the influence of the government and with the people whom it is working for. Marjorie Mbilinyi describes these circumstances:

“How do you both mainstream gender issues without being domesticated or becoming a part of the government and at the same time; how do you strengthen a civil society movement which is challenged and demanding the needs, concerns, rights of the majority of Tanzanian women?”

I got the impression that if any organization could mainstream these conflicting difficulties, it is TGNP. The organization appeared as very affirmative and resolute in its opinions, at the same time as confident and calm. The people of the organization know that they are working for a good cause and with an important issue. They know that there is a need for them in society together with a growing recognition among the citizens of this need.
ADDITIONAL STUDIES

As I described in my methodology, I made two additional studies: one with the Ministry of Education, the responsible ministry for national education policies with focus on gender, and one with SIDA, one of the main donors of all my organizations. The purpose was to extend my knowledge and be able to compare the result to discover if there was any difference in opinion. As these two organizations are counterparts to the organizations of my study, it is important to investigate in what way they affect the work of the NGOs. By describing these counterparts, we can more easily understand the context in which the organizations of my study exist since they work towards them.

- National Ministry of Education and Vocational Training

The primary function of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training is to promote education and Vocational Training in Tanzania. The MoEVT is a governmental institution and the responsibilities are to manage and supervise Pre-Primary, Primary, Secondary, Special Education, Adult Education, National Vocational Training, Teacher Education, School Inspection and Planning and co-ordination of all educational plans (Internet 17: www.moe.go.tz). The Gender section works to promote the standing of girls and women in the Tanzanian society, within the educational system, which means equal rights and education for all. “We have a role to play as far as gender is concerned, and when girls’ education is concerned” (MoEVT).

One great issue that the MoEVT is working with is the drop-out from school, mainly due to teenage pregnancies, which results in girls being banned from the schooling system. It wants to change the policies about girls not being allowed to come back. Today, people in general want to educate all their children but the issue of poverty is the greatest problem, when some families simply cannot afford paying for school uniforms, books and transportation. The MoEVT declares that the criticism against the lack of quality within the educational system is due to the large number of children. The population of the country is simply too large.

A way to prevent children being excluded from the schooling system is to build more schools in the communities, closer to people’s home. That would bring fewer problems with transportation and lower the costs, even though the wish is to have more boarding schools or hostels where the girls can stay during the week days. There are results showing that girls in boarding schools perform better, but to be able to solve this, there is a great need for funding. There are at the moment not enough resources to build more boarding schools. The cost per girl is also higher compared to that of boys since girls have other needs for toilettes and restrooms. In many cases, the girls decide to stay at home if the facilities are not acceptable or satisfactory. Another great problem is that the girls are forced to work in the household, which takes both time and energy. The solution that MoEVT has to this is that the families instead should hire a house girl to work for them, only many cannot afford this.

MoEVT means that the development in this area is improving. More girls are completing their education and more schools are being built and more teachers get education.
Primary education is free which is a result of the Education Sector Development Programme that MoEVT has worked for during the past years.

“That is the aim of the government, that nobody should be left behind, she or he, they should all go to secondary school.”

MoEVT believes it is important what the society thinks of them and indicates that society is grateful for the improvements in the education system and appreciates the good work and great effort that the MoEVT has done in this area.

SIDA

The Embassy of Sweden in Tanzania represents the Swedish government in the United Republic of Tanzania, and since Tanzania is a developing country, the representatives are SIDA staff. The mission of the Embassy is to strengthen the relations between Sweden and Tanzania, both government to government, as well as between citizens, companies and organisations in the two countries (Internet 18: www.swedenabroad.com). SIDA works primarily to reduce poverty and to achieve national growth and independence in the country. The work of SIDA is to cooperate with the local government and support them with strategies and instruments in their pursuit of development (Internet 19: www.sida.se). The purpose of the financial aid given by SIDA is to support countries in their development and help them to help themselves. It is important to understand that SIDA is a development cooperation and not a charity organization. This help is channelled both through governmental authorities as well as via non-governmental or civil society organization. The NGOs play an important role in the development of society and thus, may need support to be able to change basic structures and influence the community to struggle for their rights. SIDA tries to set up a positive cooperation with these organizations and may ask one to carry out research within a specific area (Interview: Anders Frankenberg).

The demands on the organizations that wants funding are strict: they need to have good supervision over their finances, report well and according to a certain structure, and they need to have an independent board. Before support is given, SIDA conducts a thorough analysis of the organization: how it is structured, how they handle follow-up, finance and internal control. SIDA uses an external person to help with the analysis and after the report is finished, SIDA determines whether the organization should receive financial support or not, and if all requirements are not fulfilled, the application is denied. On the contrary, if the outcome of the report is positive, SIDA will go through their demands and internal policy before any aid is given. This policy is stated in Guidelines for Civil Society Organizations (2007, p 5) and one of the main demands is that:

“The organization shall have a strong legitimacy.”
SIDA primarily works with organizations whose policies correspond with our Swedish policies and interests. On the basis of that, SIDA chooses to work with organizations working with issues of justice, and this might be organizations that are questioning the government. Thus, the government might find it troublesome that SIDA supports these organizations. The agenda of SIDA may differ according to what is currently a great global issue. At the moment these are questions of rights, corruption, information and transparency, as well as democracy questions.

"We support that organization that pursues questions that entirely correspond with our ideals and our beliefs." (Anders Frankenberg, my translation).

The goal is to increase the conditions for a democratic society and to get Tanzania to be able to make its own decisions, solve problems and see needs. Half of the financial support goes directly to the government, and the other half to civil society organizations.

To become self-dependent is a long and hard process for every organization dependent on donors. They need to change their structures, strategies, and working plan as it is now based on donations. It is a transition-phase which takes a long time, requires a lot of planning and that is often very complicated. Even if SIDA supports the process, there might occur problems like changes in Swedish policy were for example the Swedish government may demand changes in the support. As all my organizations mentioned, SIDA agrees that the greatest fear for the donor-dependent organizations is that the donors will disappear and terminate the support.
THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

My Theoretical Frame of Reference consists of theories and concepts that can be used to explain the situation of NGOs in the developing world. They are chosen due to their connection to my empirical findings and will be used as tools to interpret the result.

INSTITUTIONALISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT

- Institutions & Institutional theory

According to the older definition, institutions are the same as ‘game rules’ or restrictions that people put up in society to outline human collaboration (North 1990). The institutions can promote the development of society through time and will thus constitute the key to acceptance and change. Organizations are one typical example of institutions. The institutions give structure to everyday life, as they are characterized by stability at the same time as they limit the choices of the individual. Institutions cover all kinds of restrictions that people create to shape human interaction. Newer theories within this area have further developed the idea of institutions and suggest that every institution is a result of human performance, even though this process may be un-witting (Johansson, 2002). This means that “…while institutions are certainly the result of human activity, they are not necessarily the products of conscious design” (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, p 8). Powell and DiMaggio (1991) argue further that institutions also are cognitive structures that bound the interaction between people and between organizations, and this process is more often than not, unconscious. However, an organization is always a result of deliberate acting. Selznick (1948) defines organizations as “a system of consciously coordinated activities or forces of two or more persons” (p 25). Organizations can be seen as both an economy on the one hand, and an adaptive social structure on the other hand. These two rather conflicting demands require a great deal of adaption as well as variation within the organization. The organization would not function if either the economy or the social structure would fail (Selznick, 1948).

Institutional theory focuses on the deeper and more resilient aspects of social structures (North, 1991). It considers the processes by which structures, including schemes, rules, norms, and routines become established as trustworthy guidelines for social behaviour. Different areas within institutional theory explain how these elements are created, accepted and adapted and how they sometimes fail or decline. Within organizations, these phenomena all presuppose good organizational structure in order to favour different types of work and they are all key concepts within the area of legitimacy. Institutions themselves produce legitimacy which in turn leads to the creation of new social norms and social conditions.

Douglas North (1993) received the Nobel Prize in Economy year 1993 for his groundbreaking description of the importance of institutions as a part of economic theory and economic history. The central issue in economic history and economic development is to clarify the development of economic and political institutions that create an environment that, in turn, stimulates productivity (North, 1991). North describes institutions as part of our historical heritage, a heritage that affects us greatly today. He describes institutions as human inventions that structure social, political and economic interaction in society (North, 1991).
The institutions constitute the routines for connections between people. This happens primarily by the legal framework like constitutional law, the banking system and the industrial and business network, but also through informal disciplines like norms, customs and traditions. North (1993) emphasizes the great importance of institutions for growth and welfare, where in particular the ability to change and adapt to new circumstances are central, as development is not possible without change. At the same time, the institutions need to convey stability and predictability. “Institutions provide the incentive structure of an economy; as the structure evolves, it shapes the direction of economic change towards growth, stagnation or decline” (North, 1991, p 97). Consequently, we need to evaluate the significance of institutions when talking about society, development and not least, organizations. Organizations are dependent on surrounding institutions and they operate based on the functionality of the institutions in their environment (Scott, 1995).

- New institutionalism of organizational analysis

Powell and DiMaggio (1991) mean that institutional analysis presents a paradox by being an in fact old theory while at the same time often being presented as ‘new’ in contemporary literature. Institutionalism represents a unique approach to the study of social, economic, and political phenomena, but it is still more difficult to describe what it is than what it is not. Institutionalism simply has different meanings in different disciplines, and even within organizational theory, ‘institutionalists’ vary in their description of the phenomenon. There are as many new institutionalisms as there are social science disciplines, but Powell and DiMaggio (1991) focus on the one within organizational analysis and, more specifically, on organizational change.

New institutionalism address the fact that institutions function in an environment consisting of other institutions, called an institutional environment. Every institution is influenced by this broader environment, and an organization and its environment are located in a larger organizational field (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). An organizational field is least an area where organizations that produce the same service or product act mutually, but it also refers to a field with similar organizations, working for the same cause, but in different ways. The main goal of organizations in this field is to survive, and in order to do so; they need to establish legitimacy which is a result of the surrounding institutions. The organization receives assets from the surrounding and the flow of these assets depends on the organization’s legitimacy. The legitimacy, in turn, is based on how well the organization accords with the institutions of its environment.

The new institutionalism in organizational analysis can be seen as a theory of organizational legitimacy. It is mainly based on the assumption that legitimacy is imperative for organizations (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). The theory shows how organizations change their structure to be more similar to other organizations in their environment, a phenomenon called isomorphism (Scott, 1995). But this mirroring of its surrounding that organizations do is not necessarily intentional, but rather a result of an automatic adaptation. Isomorphism is an implicit unconscious process that occurs when society creates a certain insight about how organizations are. This insight is based on the surrounding institutions whereas the
organizations will become similar. Social and cultural environmental aspects are vital in order to understand the processes whereby these organizations strive to attain legitimacy. The use of isomorphism is a way for organizations to try to attain legitimacy. By using isomorphic practices, organizations believe they are linked symbolically to valued norms, which can help them gain legitimacy. The theory of new institutionalism argues that organizations thus incorporate the surrounding institutions through isomorphic practices into its formal structure and hope to gain legitimacy which is crucial for their survival. As a result, every organization in a particular organizational field incorporates the same institutions, and hence become isomorphic (Scott, 1995).

### Institutional environment

Zucker (1987) claims that organizations are influenced by normative pressures, which sometimes arise from external sources, such as the state, and sometimes from within the organization itself. The organization constantly needs to adapt to these pressures, which leads to what Selznick (1948) calls an adaptation of social structure. Selznick (1948) means that organizations always are adaptable and that the constantly ongoing adaption befalls both the surrounding environment as well as the inner part of the organization (members, employees, management). Organizations that foster more or less the same values as in its society where they exist will more easily be accepted (Holmblad Brunsson, 2002). This adaptation is a must for the organization to acquire legitimacy, but sometimes the flexibility does not completely correspond with the original strategies of the organization. This may lead to the organization actually changing their former structure and strategies, in order to adapt to changes in the environment or to demands from stakeholders or society. The adaptation might thus change the core value and characteristics of the organization (Johansson, 2002).

The effect of the above-mentioned adaptation may lead to what Selznick (1948) calls “institutionalized” organizations. This means that the organization has developed informal characteristics that are not directly correlated with the mission or function of the organization. Instead, they act based on an aftermath of their institutional environment and they are dependent on resources of this institutional environment – an environment of norms, values and beliefs - for their survival. The contribution of the resources of this environment depends on the legitimacy of the organization (Zelditch, 2004/2007). In turn, the legitimacy of the organization depends on the extent to which its structure works in harmony with the institutions of its environment. Hence, organizations integrate the institutions of their environment into their structure and the structure becomes similar to other organizations in the same environment.

Meyer and Rowan (1977/2002) developed the theory of Institutionalized Organizations (IO) and it is yet another example of a procedure that occurs when organizations use the institutions in their surrounding environment and incorporate them into the internal structure of the organization. This may lead to organizations losing their uniqueness and distinctiveness, which are advantages in the competition with other organizations. As already mentioned, all organizations are dependent on their surrounding environment, which means they are dependent on the work of other organizations.
Simultaneously, they struggle to be independent and self-reliant to increase productivity and efficiency, and to gain competitive advantages. It is hard to be unique and competitive, when the milieu affects you to conform.

- **Coping with conflicting demands**

In the organizational field in which an organization exist, the demands from surrounding institutions as well as from other organizations, suppliers, sponsors and financiers, may differ vastly. This can compromise the outcome of the organizations’ work as they on the one hand experience the need to meet the demands from their surroundings, while they on the other hand want to keep the work in accordance with their own strategy (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978/2007). Even though Pfeffer and Salancik (1978/2007) are not seen as researchers within the area of institutional theory, they are interesting due to their thoughts of pressures and demands on organizations. They mean that organizations are controlled by external sources and henceforth suggest that by loosening of dependences to other, external control can be reduced. One way to accomplish this is through diversification: “Organizations with many small suppliers are potentially less controlled than ones with a few major suppliers” (p 145). This should, over time, lead to more diversified organizational structures.

A difficulty with this though, is still the situation when the suppliers have different demands and expectations on the organization. If the organization does not cope with the requests, it may lose suppliers and stakeholders (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978/2007). At the same time, the organization experiences demands from customers and clients. These may change over time so that the organization has to adapt. For organizations aiming to fulfil the requests of suppliers and customers, this adaptation might not be too harmful as long as the organization is willing to change. The great dilemma occurs when the organization is freestanding, wishing to provoke or challenge the Government and express certain standards or missions. These organizations must stand firm in their beliefs, even if it means they will lose some of their suppliers and customers, or they will lose credibility (Parks, 2008). However, if the organization is dependent financially on their suppliers or donors, the situation is even more complex and difficult. The organization is obliged to listen to demands and expectations from the donor, at the same time as they must promote their standards and work. If they are dependent on many donors, the organization may experience problems with conflicting demands from different donors. At the same time, having many donors makes the organization less dependent according to the above statement (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978/2007). The result is that for donor-dependent organizations, many donors and suppliers diminish the dependence and external control, and increase the internal control.

Meyer and Rowan (1977/2002) also discuss this problematic phenomenon when organizations are facing conflicting demands or demands that may not correspond with the purpose of the organization. This is called ‘de-coupling’ and means that the connection between different circumstances might be very vague or nonexistent, even though the organizations pretend it is there. The organization may have different parts that behave and act differently, according to the situation. Outwards, the organization presents the side or
aspect that the surrounding demands, but at the same time they behave in a different way internally.

LEGITIMACY

- Organization Legitimacy processes

Holmblad Brunsson (2002) describes legitimacy as a vital process for organizations. They simply need to be accepted in order to function and remain. An organization that is not accepted, in other words legitimate, will eventually be terminated. No matter how great its efficiency is, without the acceptance from the surrounding, the organization will not survive as it is dependent on its environment (Scott, 1995; Holmblad Brunsson, 2002; Meyer & Zucker, 1989). This puts higher demands on organizations than simply having to focus on production and effectiveness. In fact, legitimacy can be so significant and decisive that even if an organization fails completely in efficiency, it might still survive thanks to its legitimacy (Meyer & Zucker, 1989). This is what researchers call ‘permanently failing organizations’ meaning that an organization may exist even though it is constantly failing in effectiveness. Due to its high legitimacy and the societal belief that it is fulfilling its purpose, it remains.

Thus, the legitimacy of organizations is considered as a “thoroughly normative notion associated with public moral justification, legality, and representativeness” (Vedder, 2007, p 5). Legitimacy is fundamental to understanding the internal structure of an organization. Johnson (2008) tells us that during two decades, social psychologists have been trying to understand how legitimacy processes merge into structures within organizations, and how they are of essential concern for predicting organizational growth and survival. Legitimacy has long been recognized as a fundamental key process, both in organizations as well as in social life (Weber 1924/2007). Even so, it is still difficult to explain the underlying process of legitimacy (Johnson, 2008).

Legitimacy is present in every social situation as we tend to adapt to existing social norms and acceptable behaviour, even if they are in conflict with our own personal beliefs. Basically, we behave and act according to what is legitimate, desirable, and appropriate in every specific situation. Zelditch (2001, p 33) provides a broad definition; “…something is legitimate if it is in accord with the norms, values, beliefs, practices, and procedures accepted by a group.” The core notion of legitimacy aims to organize the relationship between the government and the people of civil society (Coicaud & Heiskanen, 2001). This is particularly important for civil society organizations, for example NGOs, working with the purpose of influencing the state and government.

- The source of legitimacy

According to Jost and Major (2001), the discussion of legitimacy springs from political ideologies which need to be legitimate in the eyes of the public and civil society in order to gain ground and transfer mission and beliefs. The primary and general function of ideological
thought is to legitimate ideas and actions that might otherwise be alien or unpleasant. This means that potentially offensive ideologies can be seen as rational and reasonable once they have become legitimate. Individuals in society tend to follow the majority group and believe that the ideas presented by the majority are adequate, fair and correct. The tendency is thus to reinforce ideas and beliefs which make them even more legitimate and accepted. Coicaud & Heiskanen (2001) reveal the downside of this political legitimacy that influence people not to make rational, free and well-informed choices. Instead, the political opinion will be manipulated resulting in abuse of public power which may end in the oppression of democracy and human rights.

Legitimacy is often mentioned while raising the question of power (Zelditch, 2006). To exert power to gain trust and get support for presented beliefs, one needs to be seen as legitimate. When this is achieved, power is easy to wield. For leaders and management, legitimacy is also crucial in order to exert power, authority and influence over a group of people. Concurrently, power without legitimacy might be both dangerous, when used falsely, or impotent, without effect of influence (Zelditch, 2006).

- How to gain, establish and maintain legitimacy?

One valid question in the discussion of legitimacy is how legitimacy happens and how organizations gain social support (Johnson, 2007). Legitimacy is described as a social process that mediates the relationship between special actors and social structures (Johnson, 2007). These actors create a social reality through the group interaction process. Some scientists dispute that this process springs from cultural elements and that legitimacy becomes relevant in the immediate group situation. The question is which conditions must ideally be met for an organization to be called legitimate. Vedder (2007, p 6) presents the criteria of legitimacy; “being exactly as purposed, neither spurious nor false; accordant with law or with established legal forms and requirements...; conforming to recognized principles or accepted rules and standards.”

Once legitimacy is gained, it also needs to be established and sustained. In order for this to happen, beliefs and values need to be normative (Scott, 1995). Legitimacy is gained through structural arrangement under isomorphic rules. It is established via the organizational structure and sustained with constant care and awareness of the surrounding demands. Organizations attempt to practice legitimacy by creating and maintaining structures, routines and practices that are in accordance with their socioeconomic, cultural and political environments. These environments promote homogeneity among the organizations and this often encourages legitimacy. Organizations that try to break these norms and ignore imitation by being too different, risk their survival by losing their legitimacy as a result of not following the requests of their surrounding. Organizations with high legitimacy, which can show that they implement the demands of their environment, are not questioned to the same extern as other organizations, and thus can more easily survive (Holmblad Brunsson, 2002).
International NGOs are increasingly involved in international governance and policy-making and they have become powerful players in the international arena (Vedder, 2007). This fact suggests that the legitimacy of NGOs is wide ranging, or they would not have been able to grow this substantially and they would not have been able to gain this much societal support. Even governments are putting trust in NGOs, and the major influences they have are now part of many societies in developing countries. NGOs often reflect on themselves as being legitimate and believe that they are portraying the ideal example of legitimacy (Willetts, 2002., Vedder, 2007., Parks, 2008). This is due to the fact that the legitimacy requirements to be met often can be even higher for NGOs than for other organizations.

NGOs are becoming increasingly important in global organizations and their impact on the lives of millions of people all over the world grows constantly. Vedder (2007) claims that NGOs in many ways wield their power in a way that is similar to that of governments, and this is a reason why the legitimacy of NGOs should be questioned. One problem is that the criteria of legitimacy are tailored to suit governments as they seek to secure compliance and establish supremacy. The activities of NGOs concern all aspects of the lives of their citizens, as they seek to work for certain activities and limited areas. This fact raises the question if NGOs really are the most suitable candidates for involvement in global governance.

But under what conditions can NGOs be rightfully called legitimate? Vedder (2007) implies that NGOs are said to contribute to the overall legitimacy of global politics and law, as they present a future-oriented view. Some authors even believe that the involvement of NGOs on the political level is preferable to further expansion of international authorities. However, the self-imposed role of NGOs may be less natural than it appears, and they do not always appear as part of the democratic process. They can interfere with the lives of people in the developing world, but these people are not always part of the decision-making, and in some cases not even represented in the organization. Instead, many large operating NGOs have their institutional bases, members and donors in the North at the same time as they affect the lives of people in another part of the world (Vedder, 2007). NGOs often have one major area of focus resulting in limited expertise in other areas, whereas national governments must have this knowledge and overall awareness.

Organizations overall have different demands than private persons, who are said to be able to speak freely and open. It is a democratic right to express one’s wishes and opinions, even if this is compromised by non-democratic regimes in many parts of the world. NGOs that are private organizations may be seen as private persons who do not need legitimization, and they can use this advantage to express their opinion, hiding behind the face of a private person, but influencing with the impact of an organization.
ISOMORPHISM

- **Organizational Isomorphism**

History has taught us that organizations need to be unique to survive and to gain market shares (Holmlblad Brunsson, 2002). Organizations within different industries are organized differently, each based on their own history. It has also been argued that the prerequisite for efficiency is uniqueness and that only distinctive organizations survive. But in fact, this does not reflect the reality. Powell and DiMaggio (1991) show through new institutionalism in organizational analysis a striking homogeneity of practices in states, schools, and corporations. Again, organizations act similar when they adopt institutions of their environment into their structure so that they become isomorphic with each other (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991).

There are several reasons why organizations become isomorphic and follow this standardization (Holmlblad Brunsson, 2002). For once, the set of rules in society are usually the same for all organizations and particularly the same within the same organizational field. The organizations are forced to follow these rules and guidelines and establish their activity accordingly and hence become similar. People working within the same occupation usually have similar educational backgrounds, and they have learned how to organize their work in the same way. Even if they work in different organizations, they generally arrange the work in a similar manner. It is also safe to do what other organizations do, and it is likely that organizations do the same as other successful organizations do. At the same time, the organizations in a particular field are dependent on each other just as much as they are dependent on adaptation for survival. This consequently leads to organizations adapting to the same environment so that they become identical.

- **Isomorphism among NGOs**

NGOs in particular want to be seen, and are often seen as individualistic and distinctive organizations (Thomas et al, 2008). They work to address and resolve a societal problem that has been undermined by the state or government. They want to fill a gap where there is a need. But instead of being unique and outstanding, there are often several NGOs working with the same mission in the same field. The most common areas for NGOs are community development, women and children, education, health, and natural resources. In this way, many NGOs work with the same project, and in the same region. They promote themselves as being different and one of a kind, but the uniformity among them is usually striking. How will donors know which one to trust and support with funding?

Worldwide, the numbers of NGOs rise and societal support increases. NGOs, or primarily larger International NGOs, have received larger impact and can influence government and national laws. This means that the NGOs are doing a good job and succeeds with their purpose. But the more NGOs there are, the more similar to each other they become. They are not only working for the same or similar purposes, but instead organize themselves to be similar to each other (Thomas et al, 2008).
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of the study was to see how the donor-dependent NGOs of my study work to obtain legitimacy in the eyes of donors, society and local government. I will analyse my empirical findings and use the theoretical frame of reference as a tool to understand the result. I will alternate discussions about my different organizations in the text.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHALLENGES

1. Institutions and the environment

Within the Tanzanian society, there is a great need for the institutions to function. Institutions are vital and fundamental for any kind of society to function and as Scott (1995) mentioned, organizations are dependent on surrounding institutions and the functionality of those. We can start by noting that the organizational environment, in which the organizations of my study exist, force them to adapt to complicate circumstances which organizations in, for example, a developed society, would not have to consider. Consequently, if the institutions are not working properly, organizations in this environment will have a lot more difficulties to function than they otherwise would have.

 Organizations mirror their surroundings, which means that the surrounding (like local society) put up certain expectations on the organization that the organization incorporates in order to fit in. This leads to that organizations in the same environment become similar in their appearance to the surrounding. This is both an unwitting process, but also a way of gaining legitimacy. If the organization incorporates the social norms of society, they automatically believe that they represent the good and hence acquire legitimacy (Scott, 1995). An NGO in the developing world, dependent on financial donors located in western countries, bounded to incorporate national institutions which may not function well, needing to gain acceptance and legitimacy from society, which beliefs are based on social and cultural behaviour, are in my opinion, forced to submit some kind of de-coupling (Meyer & Rowan, 1977/2002) in order to be able to handle these very diverse demands. The surrounding demands on these NGOs are threefold: society, donors, and government, and the claims from them on the organizations are dissimilar and massive. The organizations need to structure and organize themselves with different faces towards different surrounding pressures, because the demands are so unlike. The extraordinary part is how these organizations all manage to handle this very well, and still be firm in their agenda and beliefs, while at the same time adjusting to different demands and fitting into their diverse environment.

Judging from the result, people in general have a low trust for the national government and the governmental institutions in Tanzania. Instead, many people in Tanzanian society have put their beliefs in NGOs, working for good causes, trying to improve

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1 The term “western” is of course is a heavy generalization and primarily I am referring to countries similar to Sweden, like northern Europe and Scandinavia. This is a concept that will appear sometimes during the analysis, in purpose to portray the differences between the developing world and the developed world.
livelihood for the people. An example of this is HakiElimu who has very high support all around society. People seemed hopeful and happy when I asked them about this organization.

The social context in which the organizations exist

The argumentation does not stop by concluding the fact that the organizations need to put up different faces towards different stakeholders. Instead, the organizations are also influenced by normative pressures which arise both from inside of the organization as well as from external sources (Zucker, 1987). It is not unlikely to imagine that some people within these today rather large cooperations are opposing the agenda and the adjustment in accordance with the above implications about de-coupling. The organizations are not simply adjusting to surrounding demands from the three different sources, but also to normative pressures, leading to an adaptation of their social structure (Selznick, 1948). For example, the management of JOHA implied that it is continuously working on a plan for independence, as this is a current demand from SIDA, but none of the teachers or students I spoke to believe that this could happen. As the whole strategy of the school is based on being given financial aid, they did not comprehend this as possible.

The organizations need to be a reflection of the society in which they exist. Again, the organization will foster the social structure of the environment in which it exists, including values, norms, ideals, and culture, into their structure (Holmblad Brunsson, 2002). As we are dealing with a developing country, the policies are changing and the society is evolving, and these organizations need to follow and adapt accordingly. It is not unlikely to think that some of the changes are affecting their former structure and strategies, as it has to adapt to the surrounding. The question is though, whether this change has forced any of the organizations to change the core value or actual characteristic of the organization? (Johansson, 2002). As for TGNP, I would rather say that it has changed the social structures of society. It has worked against the normative and general thoughts, and managed to change how people view on gender in society, even though it advocated an issue as controversial as feminism. By reaching out to the Tanzanian women, and presenting research and fact that confirmed their legitimacy, it managed to gain support and create awareness. With transparency, trust and honesty, it proved its point and influenced a change in society.

Institutionalized organizations

To take this one step further, we reach Selznicks (1948) theory of institutionalized organizations (later developed by Meyer and Rowan, 1977/2002), which states that organizations might develop informal characteristics that are not correlated with the core mission. These informal characteristics may be used to gain societal trust, and appear in different ways towards different stakeholders. I am certain that the MoEVT are adapting constantly according to wishes from stakeholders as SIDA. Towards society, it presents the progresses in the schooling system as if those were a result of their work, even though HakiElimu has been advocating for these changes long before anything happened. MoEVT implies though that society believes it is thanks to their effort that more girls are in education...
today, and I believe that the employers of the MoEVT are under the impression that this is owing to their effort. At the same time, they implied that the facts presented by HakiElimu about the financial figures in the education sector, were not true. HakiElimu claimed that the figures presented by MoEVT could not be correct according to their calculations, even though MoEVT declared that they were.

The teachers and students of JOHA expressed a general opinion that the overall educational situation in the country is low due to the lack of places in secondary school. They do not see any changes in this area within the nearest future and both students and teachers were grateful for the donor-support, as the support has made it possible for them to continue with secondary education. But neither teachers nor students could see how the school would be able to exist or function without this support. In relation to SIDA, the school board conveyed that it is working on a plan for independence and that this is doable within the nearest future. The school is bound to find ways to independence, and act as if it is possible, even though this plan is in direct conflict with their core mission. Without the funding, the school cannot pursue their mission. Today the school does not have a fixed plan for this change of strategy, but by saying and implying that it is possible, it can keep donors.

Both MoEVT and Barbro Johansson’s school are good examples of institutionalized organizations. They have both adapted to the structures and norms of society and made them part of their strategy and this is merely a consequence of the development and the demands of society than the other way around. JOHA wanted to be, and was once, the role model to other girls’ schools and in the front row of the development. Today, there are many other girls’ school, succeeding to reach almost the same level of education, but without the external funding. JOHA is still a model in quality, facilities and results, but have at the same time stagnated in its pride of being on top. As for TGNP and HakiElimu, they set the agenda for change and are both important actors in the development of local society.

- Signs of isomorphism among the organizations

The mirroring and reflection of its surrounding of local society that organizations accomplish, also refers to the surrounding institutions. The organizations integrate the institutions into their structure, and as they all are doing this, they become similar. They are similar to the environment but also to each other. The organizations create routines, structures and practices that are in accordance with their environment (cultural, socioeconomic, and political), and they become alike as they all are incorporating the same structures. As I have stated, there are many reasons for organizations to become isomorphic, and it is simply a natural way of adapting to its organizational field, but it is also an attempt to gain legitimacy. Zelditch (2004/2008, p 37) says that “It is reasonable to suppose that the similarity of an organization to the other organizations in its environment increases its validity, dissimilarity from them undermines it.” As all organizations incorporate the same institutions of their environment, they become isomorphic. In the case of my organizations, they are all mainly affected by SIDA, and I would assume that they are more affected by this institution than by national policies. At the same time, they are firm in maintaining cultural structures as part of their agenda of really acting as spokespersons for the Tanzanian people. Again, they all incorporate
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the same social values, but, as Zelditch (2004/2008) mentions, it is common to incorporate national laws and structures of authority, which makes the organization more valid for its members. This seems to be essentially true, but I disagree in the case of NGOs in the developing world. Instead of incorporating the authorities of society, they try to question the government and oppose national structures. They want to change the constitution created by the state and, they may be similar to each other, and they are indeed influenced by SIDA and other donors, but I do not believe there are many similarities to the one of the government. Either way, being adaptive to national laws and authorities would, in a developing country were the national institutions are failing, not make the organization gain societal trust and legitimacy.

I come to wonder if the organizational type of HakiElimu will become more common among NGOs. This organization may well be seen as an example for other organizations as it is portraying an example of how to receive funding. The donors seem to fight for being a supporter of HakiElimu, and the legitimacy may repay the other way around. By this I mean that the donors as well receive legitimacy by supporting an organization like HakiElimu. I wonder though, if this course of action in a consequence of HakiElimu having adding western influences into its structure so greatly, that the organization now attracts the donors because they feel the familiar way of systematizing and they can more easily impose their agenda on a organization that is already working in alignment with western norms.

EXTERNAL CHALLENGES AND PRESSURES

 Contradictory demands from different parties

The organizations do not only need to adjust to the three different surrounding aspects of pressure (society, donors, government), but they particularly need to adapt to specific requirements from the donors. According to Parks (2008), donors tend to call the relationship as if they are ‘partners’, but the reality reflects a different situation. “It is rare to find a perfect alignment of vision and interests between donors and the NGOs that they are funding.” (p 217). HakiElimu expressed the adamant view that it was not influenced by the requests or demands of the donors. The organization put up the agenda and strategy, and the donors are bound to follow it if they wish to support it. SIDA on the other hand, explained that there are multiple rules and standards that need to be met and implemented for the organization to receive aid. In my opinion, HakiElimu had already implemented all of these demands, adding them into its structure, making them part of its strategy but at the same time pretending that they were a result of its own initial agenda. Instead, the organization has become so institutionalized that it is an example of a well-working institution made and created by western donors, based on the changes that it wishes to implement in the country. To me, HakiElimu appeared to be structured similar to a western organization. But the employees are devoted and dedicated Tanzanians with a tremendous ability of reaching the heart of people and gaining trust. I believe that the Tanzanian society and the people in the communities favour the vision of HakiElimu and what it stands for. They like to believe that HakiElimu is
the change and future and that is how it can gain so much support, even though HakiElimu is not really a free-standing, typical NGO. It is the exception and they have succeeded in an extraordinary way. Maybe due to the fact that it in reality is implementing the donor’s demands and requests? Now it has done it, and adapting so thoroughly, it can afford to be solid and self-confident.

I believe, though that there is a downside to this. The flexibility of HakiElimu appears to be low, maybe due to the fact that it is trying too hard to be in a certain way and to adapt the institutions. The organization forces itself to look and come off in a firm way, giving little room for change, simply because of the fear to fall. But HakiElimu has succeeded well with balancing these demands, maybe by integrating them so well that the demands now appears to be their strategy. In any case, Pfeffer and Salancik (1978/2007) declare the importance of spreading the influence among many suppliers instead of being dependent on a few. This is exactly what HakiElimu has managed to do, and as a result of this, the organization has managed to turn the dependence to its advantage and make it appear as if it is the one putting demands on the donors. Although I believe this is not quite true, it does not matter as long as it is working.

JOHA appeared as more flexible regarding demands from donors and stated that it of course were adapting accordingly. JOHA also implied that it is limiting when the donors have demands that it is bound to follow, if those are not in alignment with its own agenda. Sometimes donors may have conflicting demands, but JOHA implied that this is usually adjustable and I am under the impression that they are very eager to adjust to the demands of the donors, especially since the support from SIDA is about to be terminated within the next three years. As for TGNP, it did not appear as stressed about different demands from donors, but were more concerned about actually producing good in the local community.

o Changes in demands or environments

The three organizations of my study mentioned the difficulty with uncertainty about the future. Being dependent on donors means being dependent on their agenda and changeable situation. If the donors experience a crisis, the dependent organization will suffer and in turn, face an even larger crisis. There might be changes beyond the control of the donors, but there might also be a change of interest. “There are a number of scenarios in which an advocacy NGO can lose its funding for reasons beyond its control.” (Parks, 2008, p 215). Parks (2008) describes it as a natural phenomenon that the donors might well change their opinions and decide to support another organization. They are influenced by the current popular issues on global development; health, education, economic growth, governance, democratization, and human rights, but these are shifting over time. In fact, Parks (2008) furthermore implies that this may lead to the NGOs adjusting their agenda accordingly with the new interest of their donors, simply not to lose the support. This is a problem as it undermines the effectiveness of NGOs that may have to change their objectives and activities in order to suit donor priorities. The result of this is that the NGOs will decline in their effort to reach autonomy and thus they may lose their legitimacy.
Another significant challenge is to cooperate with the government. The NGOs in the developing world are, just as any other organization, dependent on national policies and structures. If these are not well-working, it is harder for the organization to create a systematic structure. The national policies must also correspond to the work of the organization. Vedder (2007) implies that NGOs have become important actors in the international arena and within the policy making of the country. According to Thomas et al (2008), the acceptance of local NGOs among governments differs vividly based on country policies. In for example old communist states, there is often a great suspicion against this kind of organization, and that leads to lack of support. Consequently, when the policies of the NGO do not correspond with country policies, the government is likely to oppose the organization. An example of this is when the government in Tanzania forbade HakiElimu to visit any schools after the NGO had advocated for improving educational policies and criticized the work of the government. This case is especially remarkable as the massive support that HakiElimu has among the citizens, was the reason for government to withdraw the prevention.

As for TGNP, it has struggled hard with issues that were not originally in the agenda of the government. JOHA implies that there is a great need for better policies on education, even though these are improving all the time. Although, mutual for these three organization was that they all presented massive critique against the government for not doing enough to deal with this issue and to help girls.

**Donor influence**

It is interesting to consider how influential the donors actually are. The donors are creating institutions in the developing world where they exist as actors in society and are part of the environment. Johansson (2002) says that institutions are shaped by cultural and historic norms. Thomas et al (2008) state that “Each national polity has its own cultural, political framework for the third sector.” (p 36). So by which culture are the institutions that the westerns donors bring about, shaped? Clearly they are influenced by western norms. Vedder (2007) claims that donors in fact are implementing a western agenda in the developing world, consciously or un-consciously. But either way, how is that affecting the NGOs? HakiElimu for example, have all of its donors in western countries. Would the organization have been different if the donors were themselves from the developing world? In my opinion, HakiElimu appeared to be very efficient, systematic and orderly. SIDA also told me that HakiElimu is eager to report on time and be dutiful, and that it will never change an agenda that has been set. Other organizations that I visited came across as more flexible and not restricted by a fixed agenda. I wonder if HakiElimu, as mentioned before, has incorporated the institutions made by the donors so completely that it has become inflexible and rigid.

**Possibilities for future independence?**

The organizations of my study all implied that they are working on a plan for future self-sufficiency, although this is currently a distant situation for all of them. Being independent from donors means having to secure an income in another way, something that is not simple
at the current situation. In developed countries, like Sweden for example, non-profit organizations or sports unions and associations, receive financial support from our government (Interview: Anders Frankenberg, SIDA). In Tanzania though, this system does not work and thus, the NGOs as well as the Tanzanian government, are dependent on external sponsors such as western donors or private financiers. As has been stated, these organizations are important for the Tanzanian development as they are part of the change and building of society. Hence, they are important. The reason for them not being able to work independently within the nearest future is, in my opinion, the lack of societal functions such as governmental support that this kind of organization suffers from. The absence of these functions in society is most commonly due to lack of national leadership and because of political setbacks (Meier & Rauch, 2005). But in order to create this, there must primarily be awareness in the government that these NGOs are filling an important part. As of now, the government has merely been working against HakiElimu and not welcoming their criticism about their own work, which is a sign of stagnation and unwillingness to change and see your own failures. The other problem is of course, the fact that the government does not have enough financial resources to support all societal functions, and as mentioned, there is not even enough capital to cover the budget of the education sector.

LEGITIMACY

o Importance of legitimacy

Organizations inherit an underlying wish to portray themselves as good, or better than they are. During my interviews and organizational visits, all the people I met were affected by my presence and the fact that I was supposed to write about their organization. During the interview situation, my interviewees tried to make the organization look as good as possible, as this was an opportunity to promote them. Coming of well is an important part in the legitimacy process.

We know for sure that any kind of organization needs legitimacy to survive and to function. In fact, I have implied opinions saying that legitimacy is more important than the actual outcome of and the efficiency within the organization. Meyer and Zucker (1989) describe permanently failing organizations that keep their societal support even though they fail in effectiveness. However, I do not believe this would work for a NGO in the developing world; their effectiveness is what is creating their legitimacy. TGNP does this by creating knowledge and spread the thoughts of equal rights and how important it is to remove patriarchal structures that inhibit development. HakiElimu does this by their reports and research, constantly updating the communities with the need to education and how the situation looks statistically at the moment. JOHA does so by producing well-educated girls that, without the school, would lack access to secondary education. Consequently, these organizations need to be both effective and legitimate to function and remain.

HakiElimu serves as the prime example of good legitimacy. It is the voice of the people and demonstrates that an organization has to act in align with the norms, values,
beliefs and practices accepted by a group. (Zelditch, 2001) describes precisely what HakiElimu is doing. It explores the relationship between the government and civil society and wants to influence that state by being the voice of the people. It manages to be this voice, provoke the government and still get them to change policies and at the same time fulfilling the demands of the western donors.

### Legitimacy of NGOs

It may appear as if NGOs easily gain legitimacy, simply because they are working voluntarily, for a better cause, and devoting their lives to the need of others. It is no wonder that people in general believe they are doing it for good reasons. However, Thomas et al (2008) believe, that the legitimacy of NGOs often has been challenged. There has been a lot of scepticism against larger NGOs, located in western countries but operating in the developing world. They have been accused of having high administrative costs and not being able to declare all their funds. At the same time, these kinds of NGOs are increasing in size, in number and in their involvement in the international arena (Vedder, 2007). Their ever-increasing influence indicates the legitimacy they have gained. But as I have pointed out above, there are major differences between different NGOs. I believe, and have seen myself, large differences between NGOs and think that the thought of all being the same, simply is an excuse of not wanting to support either of them.

However, there are many larger NGOs that work very well and make a difference, even though they may have their institutional basis in the North and still working in the developing world (Vedder, 2007). NGOs play an important role in societies all over the world (Vedder, 2007) and particularly in the developing world where there is a need for advocacy of democratic rights. As pointed out before, Coicaud & Heiskanen (2001) discuss the downside of the political legitimacy created by governments. This is why NGOs play such an important role in society, as they can influence people to reconsider the political standings of the government, and the ideology that might be forced upon them. Every citizen need to evaluate what they actually believe is right, and advocacy NGOs can help in this process. Smaller NGOs may even have different opportunities to meet with the local people, actually be one of the people, and do the work themselves, right on the spot. And these smaller NGOs have in fact a large influence on national governments, for example the organizations of my study. We know for sure they are doing something good, or they would not have been able to grow this substantially. They are influencing the government and they are all gaining a massive societal support.

I imply that the legitimacy of NGOs is even more difficult to gain because of the difficulties in the social context in which they exist. Their society is evolving and changing more substantially and continuously than in a developed country. The organizations need to adapt to the changes and act accordingly, even though many changes may be influenced by western norms. At the same time, the organizations need to remain representative to local society to be accepted by the citizens. But as stated, the western influences from the donors, wanting the organization to follow their constitutions, must create conflicts within the
organizations. Again, the organizations of my study are handling these conflicting demands very well and manage to gain both societal trust, as well as adapting to social norms of donors and incorporate the institutions that the donors bring about.

- **Downside of legitimacy?**

When I asked random people, for example at the different organizations, about the other organizations I studied, the response was always very positive. These organizations all have a good reputation and status, or legitimacy, even among each other. But at what point is the legitimacy too much? HakiElimu told me the difficulties that come with good legitimacy and explained that it also puts pressure when the community asks for too much. As mentioned above, these kinds of organizations need to constantly care for their legitimacy and can never settle with what they have accomplished so far. If the support is large, there is always an underlying request for more. HakiElimu needs to work hard to maintain the good reputation and standing that it has in society.

An additional issue of having and maintaining great legitimacy is that the organizations are all being checked continuously. No matter the kind of organization, it must be hard having different people all the time looking into, and both criticise and praise, the work. Even so, the organizations of my study pointed out the importance with openness and transparency of reports and documentations. This is why I can draw the conclusion that the theory of Meyer and Rowan (1977/2002) that organizations with high legitimacy are being checked less due to their high support, does not correspond with my findings about NGOs. They have high legitimacy, but they need to constantly work to maintain it, and are checked to prove their effectiveness and sincerity.

Another valid question regarding the downside of legitimacy is if NGOs really are presenting national interests and local needs above the requests of the donors? Parks (2008) mentions this as an issue and I am also certain that there are NGOs that do not always put local needs above the donor interests. The importance in this is to evaluate each and every organization, and based on good judgment, choose which organization we want to support and trust. We can trust the investigations done by SIDA, as they are far more comprehensive than what we could do by ourselves. But one thing is for certain; an investigation needs to be made before the first aid is given. The initial investigation must be followed by additional investigations, of course. The investigation needs to be thorough and detailed, because there are organizations without sincere interests and there are people who are abusing the easily gained legitimacy of NGOs for their own benefit. As donors, we have a massive responsibility to support the right organizations working with sincere interest and improving the livelihood of the people in the developing world. The institutional changes in Tanzania (as well as in the entire developing world) are so massive and constant, that the organizations are and need to be, constantly changing. NGOs that are unreliable and work against the development may be hard to spot on first sight, but with a deeper investigation, one will soon discover that there is no transparency or accurate reports. In my opinion, it is very important for donors to be able to separate these from the genuine organizations and put the aid where it will actually help to make a difference.
CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I will end my thesis by stating the conclusions I have drawn after answering my research questions. The most important findings might be repeated in this section, even though they have been stated before.

ANSWER TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How do NGOs in developing countries work to become legitimate in the eyes of financial donors and local society?

Legitimacy is decisive for any kind of organization, but I am bound to conclude that it is even more vital for a donor dependent NGO in the developing world to have this kind of trust and support, than it is for most other kinds of organizations. As an example, if there would be a major catastrophe with a western paper, or pulp-, industry polluting the nature, people would react negatively but still buy the paper because of the need. If, on the other hand, a crisis or scandal were to happen to a donor-dependent NGO, people would withdraw their support and the organization would fall. On the base of that, I want to conclude that legitimacy is even more vital for a donor-dependent NGO.

To gain legitimacy, the donor-dependent NGOs need to have transparency in their work and present their result in a reasonable manner. The result is also very important: these organizations must always be productive and able to prove that they are working for a good cause and filling a need. They need to be effective to establish their purpose, and the result must be in accordance with the wishes of the local society – which is the reason for their existence – and it needs to satisfy the requests of the donors and correspond with the interests of those.

In order for these NGOs to maintain their legitimacy, they need to constantly keep up the good work, and prove it repeatedly. They need to work really hard to gain legitimacy, but they need to work even harder to maintain it. This is a constant and never ending work, and I would rather say that they have to improve their work constantly in order to maintain their legitimacy. Simply doing what they have always done would after a while make people lose interest and believe that the organization has stagnated.

Which present and future challenges related to the developing world context do these NGOs need to address as they negotiate the problem of legitimacy?

The NGOs are vital in the building of a functioning society and imperative for development. As mentioned, the surrounding in which the organizations exist is one of the greatest challenges that they deal with, both present and future. The poor cooperation with the government and between institutions, make their work a lot more complicated and difficult. At the same time, the organizations need to be a reflection of their surrounding, which is hard when they try to be prominent and portray a different and future vision. The adaptation to the dynamic society is also a factor with both a positive and a negative effect. The NGOs are part of this evolutionary process and changing accordingly. At the same time as rapid and instant changes are difficult for any kind of organizations, these can be even more problematic in the
developing-world context. The changes might be so extensive, that the NGOs are forced to transform structures and strategies, so that they run the risk of losing their characteristic as they adapt to the interests of the donors.

The greatest fear for the organizations is a termination of the donor support. Most donors are aware of the fact that development takes a long time and that the support is needed running over a significant period of time to have an effect. But the dependence constitutes the greatest challenge that the NGOs deal with, and as they are dependent on the donors to exist, they need to constantly manage this relationship and justify their use in society. This, of course, is done through acquiring legitimacy. This is also crucial if they should ever be able to reach financial independence in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

The organizations of my study are all types of institutions on which the surrounding has demands and expectations, to which the organizations in turn, need to adapt. HakiElimu describes these demands as a result of their hard work in gaining trust, but also as a challenge as it constantly needs to keep up the work to satisfy the communities. However, HakiElimu makes an extraordinary example of organizational legitimacy when they got the government to retract the prohibition of them, solitary based on the great societal support that the organization has. This support from society simply created too much pressure for the government to neglect. The conclusion we can draw from this, is that HakiElimu has done very well in gaining legitimacy, and this NGO has managed with its purpose of opposing the government.

But at the same time as HakiElimu is strong and independent, it is clearly affected by western norms and the conduct of western behaviour. HakiElimu stands out as a dissimilar organization in Tanzanian society, and is in many ways more similar to western customs of organizing. I believe this is an aftermath of the influence from the western donors, and that they undeniably are – conscious or unconscious – imposing an international agenda on the country. The agenda that donors impose are cultural, political and economic. In our well-developed western world, the general opinion tends to be that we know how things should be done, and that less developed countries do not. We believe that our way of doing things is correct, and therefore we often try to change and improve by making people follow our way. The context and culture in Tanzania are very unlike ours and the social circumstances demand a different approach. I do not believe that west trying to impose a western “correct” agenda in the developing world is the method for reaching sustainable development. Instead, we need to consider local conditions and as foreigners adapt accordingly. The donations to NGOs should not be based on western approaches, but rather in alignment with local conditions.

As the organizations in turn need to be a reflection of their society, the conflicting demands are bound to be too immense if the donors at the same time want them to adapt to their rules. The difficulties are enough with an already very dynamic and constantly evolving society. Adapting to environmental changes as for example changes of national policies, at the same time as working in alignment with the requests of the donors, and without offending
the government but still create action for change, are all very difficult variables for NGOs in
the developing world.

Another difficulty, as I have mentioned before, occurs when the organizations all
incorporate the same values and social norms of the surrounding. The organizations of my
study are all supported by SIDA, and are forced to adjust to similar demands. They are all
trying to work align with the local government, at the same time as influence citizens to
oppose for their rights and contribute to the change of national policies. According to this
theory of isomorphism, they should all be unconsciously developed in a similar manner, and
integrate national structures of authority into their organizational structure. But I believe that
the uniformity in the case of my organizations rather is a question of not incorporating
national structures, and instead working against them by trying to be different. Since the
national regulations are not working properly, in would be worse for the organizations to
incorporate them, than to not. The attempt to influence and oppose the government has of
course much to do with the local context in the country where the organizations exist, and
they would probably not be able to do this in a country oppressed by dictatorship or
communism. Even if the government tried to stop HakiElimu, it realized its loss and the
greater importance of agreement with the citizens. The Tanzanian government may have its
issues in leadership, but it is at least not trying to diminish its population.

The legitimacy of the organizations is what makes them survive, receive funding
and be able to influence well. To gain legitimacy, they need to produce an outcome and be
effective. I agree with the theories of legitimacy being more important than effectiveness but I
dismiss that NGOs in the developing world would survive without effectiveness, only due to
their high legitimacy. If they were to stop producing valuable products (reports, talented
students, understanding and awareness) their legitimacy would immediate decrease and the
organization would lose donors and trust. Being checked all the time, in all your work, must
be hard to any organizations, but the NGOs of my study are well aware that this is a crucial
fact and a certainty for the organizations to exist. The not genuine NGOs I met would never
be able to handle transparency, and hence, cannot survive very long. This knowledge is
uplifting, as any organization may seem very good at first sight, even though not all of them
are. Those who are trying to earn money by using the concept of NGOs, pretending to work
freely and unselfish, will hopefully be discovered and lose funding. Again, this makes the
organizations of my study even more powerful. They, as well as I, may sound overly positive
and subjective on their behalf, but they have fought a long way and succeeded in a terrific
way, worth all possible praise and support.
AFTERWORD

As an ending of my thesis, I have chosen to finish the discussion about education and gender and once again state why this is so important. I will conclude with adding finishing words and a personal reflection about the future, which I paradoxically call the present and the future, simply to state that the present is what forms the future.

WHY DISCUSS EDUCATION AND GENDER?

The education of girls and women is imperative in order to achieve economic growth and development. I chose to study organizations that share this thought to see how they work to support this theory and influence society. As they work with this issue in different ways, I think it is suitable to praise their work and support them. At the same time, these organizations have succeeded well in gaining legitimacy, which is why they were of particular interest for my study, but this also shows that they have done well regarding girls’ education. The opinion about women as a lower class and that girls should not have the same opportunities as boys and men, have changed, and are continuously changing all the time. The organizations of my study have all in some way contributed to this development in Tanzania, and I believe this is something that must be supported henceforth.

The general level of education among girls is increasing all over the world, leading to greater economic power of women, especially in the developing countries (Tempus, 2010). Gender-related development is improving and women nowadays have larger economic power than they used to. Women get more support from international institutions that have: “realized that the fastest and most lucrative way to develop peaceful, healthy and substantial societies are to give women more economic power” (Foroohar, 2010, p 27, my translation).

But despite the positive development, there are massive differences between the rich and the poor in Tanzania, and among the poor, the girls are the poorest. If they, at the same time, are not particularly talented, they have very few chances of succeeding. Tanzania does not have a well-developed well-fare system to support the poorly talented, and I cannot help to wonder if these are the girls that MoEVT referred to, when they suggested that families should have house girls so that their own girls could focus on their studies. MoEVT, as part of the government, working to support girls and women, actually suggested that families, in which schoolgirls are forced to conduct housework after school, should have house girls instead, as there are not enough places for all Tanzanian children at the secondary school level. Within the national policy of education, every student is supposed to get a certain amount according to the plan, but only half of this is delivered and, according to SIDA, there is not enough money in the national budget to cover this. MoEVT is the ministry
responsible for controlling and distributing this money, and the hope is that they will be able to handle this on their own in the future. MoEVT declares that the criticism against the lack of quality within the educational system is due to the large number of children and that the population of the country simply is too large. It does not seem to have a solution to this problem and regarding the differences in quality between the schools, it blames the individual schools for not delivering quality.

The act of MoEVT is part of the social context which reigns in Tanzania. Social structures are very hard to destroy or change. MoEVT is, as everyone else in the Tanzanian society, affected by social norms and it is vital to understand these codes as well as the socioeconomic structures. In many ways, Tanzania has come a long way in their strive for development, but patriarchal structures still inhibit the development. At the same time, education is not solid enough to reach development (Sen, 1999). It is one part in an extremely complex process, requiring many factors. In Sweden, for example, women and men are equally educated, but in the business sector, women are under-represented among managerial positions. Yet, the first thing that needs to be done is to educate all women and girls to the same extent as boys. With an equal and educated population, the attempt for development can proceed.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

The government in Tanzania is not even close to carry the burden of national development in all sectors. This is perhaps not even a fair thing to demand at this stage of development. Not even in Sweden is the government dealing with and handling everything. We have plenty of non-governmental and non-profit organizations working freely, unreservedly and wholeheartedly within many different areas. They are all part of the societal growth and development of this country, just as the NGOs in Tanzania are an important part of the development there. The changes of development are constant and always ongoing, and it is the totality of all citizens that shapes the whole. We are all part of it and every person counts. The deprived and poor girls in Tanzania, with little access to education, are an invaluable asset in the development of the country, just as they are in every country all over the world. If they are left behind, the development of the country as a whole will be affected negatively, since we know that no country can develop without an educated population.

Fortunately, there have been several major changes regarding the issue of girls’ education and the lower status of women in Tanzania, as well as in many parts of the world. This development is constant and keeps going forward all the time and thus, shows that it is possible to make a difference. There is no such thing as “we cannot do more” or “this will never improve”, because evidence shows that, thanks to all the hard work that has been done by so many dedicated and devoted people, the situation of girls in the developing world has improved, and is still improving. We can never settle for average, but must always find new ways to improve, and speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. In every society there are obstacles working against the development and making it more difficult, but the real catastrophe would be to let institutional boundaries obstruct our struggle for development.
Rules and regulations should never stand in the way for free will and intelligent thinking that can promote and create growth and progress in societies all over the world.

It is vital that we keep up the struggle for development, in the developing world where the need is significant, but also at home in our part of the world. We can never stop the development but we can slow it down by working against it. I believe it is important to accept changes as part of the evolution. The world is evolving all the time and there is always more to be done, it is only at matter of will. The will to change is the key to development, and 

**development is not possible without change.**
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Robert Mihayo, Manager Information Access Unit 2009-05-18

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Halima Kamote, Headmistress 2009-06-02
Susan Nakayiga, Teacher in English, History and Geography 2009-06-03
Paul Kijoka, Teacher in Geography 2009-06-04
Students 2009-06-02, 2009-06-03

TGNP
Marjorie Mbilinyi, Principal Programme Officer: Research and Policy Analysis 2009-06-22

Swedish Embassy, Dar es Salaam, SIDA
Anders Frankenberg, Senior Programme Officer: Education 2009-06-08, 2009-06-09

Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, Gender Section
Out of respect and due to the risk of provocation, I have chosen not to publish the names of the two interviewees I had at the MoEVT. 2009-06-08
ATTACHMENT

Interview-guide

1. How do you do in order to receive financial aid?
2. Which are the major challenges you meet in your work?
3. Which demands do your donors have on you as an organization?
4. How do you handle opposites/different demands between different fundraisers? (donors outside Africa, national government, local society/communities)
5. What do you believe are the major difficulties with being an organization dependent on financial aid?
6. Do you today have a plan or vision for a future independence?
7. How do you plan to finance your organization and employer?
8. How do you plan this development? Describe.
9. What do you believe are the major challenges with being self-sufficient?
10. How is your work affected by legitimacy?
11. Which difficulties with legitimacy do you face in your work?
12. Do you have an organized plan to obtain legitimacy towards the society? How?
13. Are there any specific troubles with the diversity of the culture in Tanzania which you meet in your work?
14. How is your work affected by social norms in the society?
15. How do you handle them?
16. Which expectations does your surrounding have on you as an organization?
17. Do you notice any difference regarding expectations local, national and international that affects your work?
18. Can any of this be an obstacle in your strive for independence? (social norms, legitimacy, diversity, expectations)

Additional questions at Barbro Johansson Model Girls’ Secondary School:

1. How do you adapt your work to gain the trust and acceptance from the society?
2. How do people react to the fact of a girls’ school?
3. What is the general opinion about girls’ education compared to that of boys?
4. Has this opinion in any way changed?
5. How can you gain trust from people being opposed to the thought of girls and education?

6. How was it in the beginning for you to run this school? (Difficulties in surrounding)

7. What is the most important in order to obtaining the gained trust you have from the society in which you operate?

8. What would happen if you would not have the trust from the society?

9. How would you describe the development regarding education of girls during the last 10 years compared to before?
   a. What made this change of peoples thinking?
   b. What have you done for this change?

10. What is your opinion about the situation today?

11. What do people think about girls without education?
Linnaeus University – a firm focus on quality and competence

On 1 January 2010 Växjö University and the University of Kalmar merged to form Linnaeus University. This new university is the product of a will to improve the quality, enhance the appeal and boost the development potential of teaching and research, at the same time as it plays a prominent role in working closely together with local society. Linnaeus University offers an attractive knowledge environment characterised by high quality and a competitive portfolio of skills.

Linnaeus University is a modern, international university with the emphasis on the desire for knowledge, creative thinking and practical innovations. For us, the focus is on proximity to our students, but also on the world around us and the future ahead.