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NGOs, Development, and Dependency: A Case Study of Save the Children in Malawi

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A Case Study of Save the Children in Malawi

Senior Project Submitted to
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by
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Introduction

Our world has seen and faced many struggles and humanitarian crises throughout history. Actors coming to the aid of those in need have ranged from small scale religious missionaries to great powers within our international system. Today, non-governmental organizations or NGOs play a larger role in attending to the humanitarian, environmental and political problems that arise around the world. NGOs are non-governmental, non-political, non-profit making, voluntary organizations established for the benefit of members (a grassroots organization) or of members of the population.[1] They can be local, national, or international organizations comprised of volunteers driven by the moral incentive of improving indecent conditions.

NGOs have a history that goes back to the late 18th century.[2] The first sign of NGO activity stemmed from the church. In 1795, the spreading of Christian faith around the world along with missionary activities to 'civilize the savages' brought about voluntary associations of people.[3] Notable groups, like the Young Men Christian Association (YMCA) eventually realized the failure in solely religious appeals and moved toward offering a broad range of social needs. Aside from religiously motivated groups, organizations of use during the end of the 18th century to the 19th century were anti-slavery and women's suffrage groups.[4] In fact, the momentum gained by these groups over decades sparked the establishment of NGOs in many fields.[5]

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[1] "Definitions of an NGO," Non-Governmental Organizations, http://www.gdrc.org/ngo/wb-define.html.
[2] Thomas Richard Davies, "Emergence to 1914," in *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 23.
[3] Maurice Nyamanga Amutabi, "The Genesis of NGOs: The Idea, the Movement and Implications for Kenya," in *The NGO Factor in Africa: The Case of Arrested Development in Kenya*, by Maurice Nyamanga Amutabi (New York: Routledge, 2006), 60-61.
[4] Thomas Davies, "NGOs: A Long and Turbulent History," The Global Journal, last modified January 2013, http://theglobaljournal.net/article/view/981/.
[5] Davies, "NGOs: A Long and Turbulent," The Global Journal.

NGOs began to influence national legislation and international negotiation. From 1870 to WWI, there was an expansion of diverse international organizations that consisted of groups like the World League for Protection of Animals, the Universal Scientific Alliance, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the International Olympic Committee, and 400 other bodies. International non-governmental organizations (INGO) hold the same mission as NGOs but operate internationally, having multiple posts throughout the world that tend to specific issues in each country. Though voluntary organizations have existed throughout history, contemporary NGOs and INGOs have developed over the past two centuries. It was not until the 20th century these actors gained global importance and were formally named.

The term 'non-governmental organization' became commonly used through the United Nations Charter at the end of WWII.[6] The United Nations (UN) defined INGOs in resolution 288 on February 27, 1950 as "any international organization that is not founded by an international treaty" and goes on to say that the vital role of NGOs is sustainable development.[7] The UN is an intergovernmental organization or international governmental organization (IGO), meaning it is a structure based on a formal instrument of agreement between sovereign states.[8] The term intergovernmental is most appropriately used when describing relations of any kind between sovereign states and their government representatives. Important to note, the views of states and governments in regards to the word 'international' has changed from meaning relations between official representatives of sovereign nations to now including activities between individuals and groups within two or more different states, as well as intergovernmental relations.[9] Global forces

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[6] Davies, "NGOs: A Long and Turbulent," The Global Journal.
[7] "NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations," Nonprofit Expert, http://www.nonprofitexpert.com/ngos-non-govermental-organizations/.
[8] "IGOs and NGOs," Northwestern University Library, http://www.library.northwestern.edu/libraries-collections/evanston-campus/government-information/international-documents/igos-and-ngos.
[9] Clive Archer, "Definitions and History," in *International Organizations*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1992), 1.

like international NGOs often function through these international bodies. INGOs and NGOs are brought in by UN agencies and other IGO as 'partners' and contractors of services in their programs.[10] Needless to say, the incorporation by these UN agencies did not hurt the NGO movement. Notably, rapid growth in funding for NGOs started in the 1980s, but took off in the 1990s as UN agencies were provided billions of dollars to go toward NGO projects and programs.[11]

NGOs vary in every aspect of their composition, making it difficult to place them under one single definition. While NGOs are not part of the government or directly tied to a business for profit, many of them do have relationships with governments and international organizations through their work and funding. Additionally, they receive funding in an assortment of ways such as grants or donations by individuals, companies, government or federal agencies, and philanthropic foundations. The purpose, relationships, and actions of NGOs are also very different. One cannot emphasize enough the level of diversity that exists among this voluntary sector.

To break it down, the types of NGOs at work can be split into two groups, advocacy NGOs and operational NGOs. An advocacy NGO's purpose is to promote or bring attention to a certain cause, typically by raising awareness, lobbying, press work, and activist events.[12] For example, Greenpeace is an advocacy INGO committed to using peaceful protest and communication to address global environmental problems and promote solutions for a green future.[13] Unlike advocacy NGOs, operational NGOs are relief-oriented or development-oriented

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[10] Amutabi, "The Genesis of NGOs," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 65.
[11] Amutabi, "The Genesis of NGOs," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 65.
[12] "NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations," Nonprofit Expert.
[13] "About," Greenpeace, http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/about/.

organizations that have participatory and delivery services.[14] Some of the world's most powerful NGOs are centered on development. This can be attributed to the fact that this type of NGO is primarily providing emergency services during a disaster or working to promote sustainable development within a nation. Even though operational NGOs commonly deal with providing aid and other services, some often use advocacy tactics to pursue humanitarian or rights-based agendas. The distinction is that while advocacy may be incorporated in their work it is not the organization's primary purpose. Regardless of the type, once in place they both use unique methods for executing plans and face different challenges and triumphs while working.

Concerning humanitarian crises and solving problems it is best to look at operational or developmental NGOs. The crises and conflicts within Africa have called for operational NGO involvement in numerous African countries. This phenomenon has been occurring at an increasing rate, and has not gone unnoticed. One would think the involvement of NGOs would decrease over time with the helpful services they provide, and yet they are growing in number. In general, it is the task of the NGO to promote and deliver certain freedoms or rights to underprivileged populations. The work of an outside actor, however is complex and comes with consequences that will later be discussed.

For the most part, NGOs can be seen as volunteers bringing aid and resources to those struggling to survive through famine, political corruption, civil unrest, and much more. The idea is that NGOs work for the common good. They are volunteers making a difference in the lives of impoverished and suffering people around the world. However, it should not be assumed that one who makes a difference is automatically benefitting the world in some way. Ideally, any entity described in this way would reflect something positive and worthy of praise. This does not

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[14] "NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations," Nonprofit Expert.

happen to be the case as scholars are increasingly calling into question the merit and motives of the angelic actors we call NGOs.

Taking voluntary work at face value fails to provide a clear picture of what is actually going on. Some weak states struggling to combat the challenges to improve their nation may end up depending on voluntary groups and intergovernmental organizations. This is especially prevalent in Sub-Saharan Africa. Confusion arises when NGOs are aiming to foster ownership and good governance while at the same time pursuing charitable activities that promote dependency. The role of the voluntary sector has become focused on eradicating the worst effects and taking care of those who have failed to adapt.[15] This is puzzling because those actions explicitly oppose movements toward empowerment. Delivering goods and services does not empower a state, but makes them dependent on those actions and materials. If NGOs want states to attain good governance and create an environment where their assistance is no longer needed why is not that the case? More specifically, this paper questions how NGOs fail to make developmental improvements that create self-sufficiency and are sustainable for African governments.

I attribute this failure to the way some NGOs, knowingly or not, work to perpetuate a dependency within weak African nations. The NGOs with ample resources and experience attempt to tackle state systematic problems by creating solutions as they see fit. Their approaches neglect to combat and improve the legacy of colonialism that has brought some of these nations to such a poor position in the international sphere. Underdevelopment can be the result of a number of factors, but this paper looks specifically at the work of NGOs. International NGOs are of interest due to their relationship not only with the nation they serve, but also the interests of

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[15] Brian K. Murphy, "International NGOs and the Challenge of Modernity," *Development in Practice* 10 (August 2000): 343.

the outside Western governments or international agencies that pursue certain agendas. Importantly, any failure does not solely reside in features of the past or the powerful relationships NGOs have but those are significant portions of the story that further our understanding of the situation.

The work done by these actors may not be sustainable but it often does provide people with a material need they otherwise would not have. As it would be nice for each state around the world to provide and protect the people that live within their own borders, that simply is not the case. After gaining independence African countries, or more accurately the newly established governments, were under pressure to develop. Being unsuccessful in the eyes of powerful international actors, faith and resources were given to organized volunteers to help those 'troubled' nations. I aim to understand and answer the question raised earlier on the lack of development given NGO involvement by arguing that operational NGOs are focused on reaching their goals by providing all of the fundamental resources and intellectual capital required to attain success, and in doing so simultaneously undermine their own missions and the state they are helping by making them dependent on their presence.

This puzzle will be investigated by taking a deeper look into the work of NGOs in Africa. By looking at an NGO's exact work and role in a weak nation, one is able to draw conclusions regarding their impact. This is a necessary measure due to the fact that assumptions about NGOs have previously prevented any critical investigation as to their whereabouts. Although NGO literature exists through international cooperation and development, there is limited research carried out on individual case studies of NGO activity in Africa.[16] Significantly, this paper examines an NGO that is keen on development, specifically in the education sector.

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[16] Maurice Nyamanga Amutabi, "Introduction," introduction to *The NGO Factor in Africa: The Case of Arrested Development in Kenya* (London: Routledge, 2013), xxxvii.

Save the Children will be the focus of my analysis. It is a leading actor across the globe receiving acceptance and support by the international community and donors. Also, Save the Children is used because of their innovative education programs throughout Sub-Saharan Africa that are paving the way for other NGOs. This paper looks at Save the Children's work on education in Malawi.

Malawi is located in southeast Africa inhabiting roughly 17 million people.[17] Why Malawi? It is of particular interest to me since I will be traveling there to volunteer as an educator. More importantly, Malawi is a prime example of a nation that is underdeveloped and struggling with many developmental challenges, especially education. Sub-Saharan Africa in general has lagged behind the rest of the continent in terms of education. Save the Children also uses Malawi as trial for their community school program, which makes them ideal for researching. Seeing Save the Children's actions in Malawi will provide a picture of their work and whether they fulfill all it is that they promote.

As expressed earlier, criticism of NGOs has been picking up steam among scholars. Currently, scholars are debating and calling into question the utility of these actors. Some have gone as far as to describe NGOs as the new colonialists in Africa, while others claim what we read on NGOs is artificial and produced by those protecting and promoting the organizations.[18] This is extremely troubling for two reasons. First, these arguments imply that these nations are not treated as sovereign states which is a widely understood and accepted norm in our international system. Having a dependency and being dominated externally hinders a state's right to self-determination. Second, NGOs could then have the power of further destabilizing many

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[17] "The World Factbook: Malawi," Central Intelligence Agency, last modified March 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mi.html.
[18] Michael A. Cohen, Maria Figueroa Kupcu, and Parag Khanna, "The New Colonialists," Foreign Policy, last modified June 2008, http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/07/the-new-colonialists/.

countries, which would be displeasing and dangerous for the states themselves and the surrounding territories. This topic is of importance since it plays a part in the lives of millions of people and brings into question the practices of international actors and their goals that are looked upon highly and actively trying to be achieved throughout the world.

In tackling the influence of NGOs in Africa, this Senior Project begins with a chapter laying out the framework for thinking about the animal NGOs have become. It will also examine the arguments and scholarly research related to NGOs in general and particularly Africa, by looking at the literature surrounding development efforts of NGOs and thoughts on their implementation and value. The second chapter will introduce a history of both Save the Children and education in Malawi to illustrate where they are both coming from and what Save the Children wants compared to what Malawi needs. Lastly, this paper looks at the case of Save the Children's Village Based Schools (VBS) in Malawi. In this chapter, one will see what Save the Children is doing in terms of educational initiatives and the impact it is having on Malawi's citizens and government.

The Rise of NGOs and Their Global Development

NGOs are very much intertwined in the dealings involving international aid. The conversations revolving around these actors can be both hopeful and troubling. They are non-state actors and yet they have heavy impacts on states and are increasingly utilized by states. It was stated earlier when defining NGOs that they are non-political and yet some are centered on advocacy for political change. This chapter reviews these conversations and various perspectives held by scholars in regards to NGOs in our international system. It is essential to observe the role of NGOs in the world and how we thought about them and continue to think about them today.

The fact that NGOs are on the rise is not up for debate. Our international system has come to a point that fosters and encourages the growth of NGOs. Fortunately, scholars, policy activists and other observers provide us with ideas as to why that is, giving insight into what kinds of structures allow for things to be this way or the changes in the world that produce such results. Naturally, people see NGOs differently and confronting those difference allows for further understanding and perspective. Something has happened that changed the way the system uses and views NGOs. We will first look at a brief overview of different schools of thought that will show a range of viewpoints regarding NGOs in the world and their growth. Then we turn to arguments on NGO involvement in Africa specifically. Ultimately, this chapter addresses the domination of NGOs and how this has played out in the international context and Africa in particular.

Theoretical Evaluations

An introduction to various theoretical perspectives is an appropriate starting point when beginning to think about the global position of NGOs. Political studies scholar Clive Archer

outlines four major schools of thought regarding international organization, which he distinguishes as traditionalist, revisionist, structuralist, and globalist.[19] Traditionalist thinking encompasses both realist and neo-realist assessments that focus on a state-centric model.[20] Under this mode of thinking, realism assumes states are self-interested and focused on maximizing their power.[21] This school grapples with interactions and problems on a state-to-state basis, focusing on security and the advancement of a sovereign nation's position in the world. For this reason, the traditionalist school of thought is not useful in this context as it leaves little to no room for non-state actors within international affairs.

The next school in Archer's set is revisionism. In regards to developmental NGOs, Galia Chimiak examines that under this thought the "potential effectiveness of both IGOs and INGOs is understood as a corollary of these organizations ability to acquire resources indispensable for their existence."[22] This theory may consider NGOs but fails to value aspects of intervention. This is not to undervalue the importance of resources for these actors, but instead points out that intervention and their specific actions are of greater interest. Touching on specific aspects of their functioning, like accruing resources, only reveals so much about the actors. Therefore, both traditionalist and revisionist schools of thinking neglect to recognize important pieces intrinsic to NGOs.

The structuralist school of thought incorporates the perspective of dependency, which is tied to practices of colonialism.[23] Structuralism acknowledges the power of NGOs in the global sphere, showing how NGOs have the space within the structure to weigh in on global and

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[19] Chimiak, "The Rise and Stall," 37.
[20] Chimiak, "The Rise and Stall," 37.
[21] Judith Goldstein and Robert O. Keohane, "Ideas and Foreign Policy," in *Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions, and Political Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 4.
[22] Chimiak, "The Rise and Stall," 38.
[23] Chimiak, "The Rise and Stall," 38.

domestic politics. Marxist centered views privilege structures of world politics, noting how they are created by economic factors.[24] Before further investing structuralist thought, let us turn to Archer's last school that Chimiak finds to be of most use for understanding NGOs.

The globalist school of thinking, for Chimiak, accurately assesses the role of NGOs. She argues "that global problems need global solutions, representatives of the 'globalist' school call for greater grass roots and INGO activism, which should make up for governments' reported lack of commitment or inability to solve the problems of the Planet Earth."[25] Additionally, Kal Raustiala argues that NGO inclusion does not deteriorate the state, but serves as an advantage, making both sides benefit with proper cooperation between the two (state and NGO).[26] These views can be applied to the NGO framework effectively, especially since they call for greater cooperation and involvement by NGOs.

This is problematic considering the current questioning of their position, but at the same times provides an explanation for NGO action. The view of NGOs in the 'globalist' school sees that these actors may in fact be helpful as an aid to the state; to a certain extent this is true. In many cases, NGOs play a leading role in development outside of state control. Globalist arguments explain that the appearance of NGOs is due to a state fault and their assistance is needed in order to build a stronger global society. This is an appropriate way to possibly understand the perspective of international organizations. It seems these ideas give much of the credit to NGOs. This provides a basis for thinking about positive frameworks NGOs work within. However, structuralists ideas do not always find this to be the case. Structural arguments

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[24] Chimiak, "The Rise and Stall," 38.
[25] Chimiak, "The Rise and Stall," 38.
[26] Kal Raustiala, "States, NGOs, and International Environmental Institutions," *International Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (December 1997): 720.

addressing the rise of NGOs take a top down approach that provide a greater view of the actors and elements that keep NGOs in play on at a global level.

It is apparent that some scholars believe NGO involvement is positive, as it brings an actor from the outside of governments into the mix to help solve world problems. While there are other theories that venture further than Archer's four major schools it is structural thinking along with portions of the globalist perspective that were essential to uncover. Up against the other three schools, structuralist thinking best explains the proliferation of NGOs in the world and how the configuration of the system allowed for their growth.

The Proliferation of NGOs

Structuralism provides substantial explanations for the proliferation of NGOs. To be clear, INGOs are the focal point since they have connections both on the ground and in the wider international realm. Having a grand presence on the world stage, these actors have accumulated an ability to deliver in many capacities. This leads to the question of how and what occurred to make such an influx of non-governmental actors. Structuralist arguments alongside normative conditions provide answers to these questions.

A structural top down approach explains the emergence of NGOs in contrast to a bottom up way of thinking. A top down view puts emphasis on larger international institutions and the main role they played implementing NGOs on the scene. Kim Reimann defends the top down view adding to the literature on how NGOs have been supported from above. Conversely, bottom up reasoning sees NGOs as a "societal force rising to challenge or replace the state from below."[27] In her paper concentrated on the growing emergence of NGOs, she argues that the postwar period expanded international political opportunities and bred an environment favorable

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[27] Kim D. Reimann, "A View from the Top: International Politics, Norms and the Worldwide Growth of NGOs," *International Studies Quarterly* 50, no. 1 (March 2006): 46.

to NGO growth.[28] Here, 'international political opportunities' refer to increased access, funding, partnerships, and other advantageous elements of that nature. The top down examination focuses on certain features of political globalization. Since NGOs are a global phenomenon it directly links them to the politics and economy of globalization.

Scholars often note that there is ambiguity associated with words and ideas such as globalization or neoliberalism. Both globalization and neoliberalism factor into this assessment of NGO proliferation as they drove and continue to drive the way NGOs act. The globalization of politics enacts global change through intergovernmental organizations, or larger bodies that influence policies separate from state governments. In a short history of INGOs, Chimiak illustrates the role of globalization in development when writing:

> Globalization has brought to door of development and developing countries alike the awareness that we live in an interconnected world and therefore we have the moral responsibility but also the self-interest to engage in activities aiming at leveling the disparities between the more advanced and less developed in the world...Globalization as a state of mind seems to have had a decisive influence on both social and business entrepreneurship.[29]

This uncovers a dichotomy of interests that accurately portrays the NGO predicament. Intergovernmental organizations such as the World Bank or the World Trade Organization take up the important role of monitoring and maintaining standards on a global scale. The combination of "moral responsibility" and "self-interest" are encompassed in the concept of global governance that IGOs and INGOs uphold. Global governance, a term taken up by the UN, is the effort by international organizations and actors to improve problems faced over the entire globe. [30]

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[28] Reimann, "A View from the Top," 45.
[29] Chimiak, "The Rise and Stall," 26.
[30] Archer, "Definitions and History," in *International Organizations*, 2.

Coming out of the Cold War, the idea of having a responsibility to citizens globally stuck throughout the international community. Global governance, a term taken up by the UN[31], is the actions of international organizations and actors to improve problems faced over the entire globe. Additionally, global governance creates an arena where global views and initiatives are taken up on a state level. As mentioned before, the role of NGOs in global governance has increased. In this context, NGOs are known as an emerging part of global civil society that operates to make significant developmental changes.

Globalization, in the framework above, provided the avenue for outside intervention by global civil society into states to provide for their citizens. To some extent, common national problems became global ones. This was seen as soon as global actors started attempting to handle issues that could not be solved within a nation. It then became increasing relevant to use NGOs to efficiently spread and produce what international organizations viewed as positive improvements within the world. Often this viewpoint leads people to conclude that NGOs are merely an extension of the forces working above them. Political globalization provided the platform for NGOs to blossom. This not only gave NGOs a formal role in global governance, but also made available greater access to resources.

Moreover, globalization created an importance for NGOs. The influence of international treaties and international organizations made NGOs look like they were following the interests of capitalist enterprises. [32] Many argue it is NGOs that advance these agendas. For example, scholar Maurice Amutabi finds global governance initiatives to be dominated by global and economic forces that infiltrate regions across the planet in an attempt to create a single capitalist world

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[31] Archer, "Definitions and History," in *International Organizations*, 2.
[32] "NGOs: Non Governmental Organizations," Nonprofit Expert.

system.[33] To counteract capitalist perceptions NGOs developed an emphasis on humanitarian issues, aid, and rights-based sustainable development. More specifically, aid delivery and services of NGOs are accepted and encouraged by the overarching IGOs that are around to promote peace and serve as watchdogs over the system. Gaining their partnership, employment or approval secures NGOs a unique place in the system between international organizations, national governments and civil society.

Sinister arguments regarding globalization in the world system challenge the power given to intergovernmental organizations and their motives. Going off of the top down structural approach it is significant to understand the criticisms given of the structure providing NGOs support and affluence. If poor perceptions label those that fund and questionably 'control' some international NGOs, it would not be far off to claim something similar about the NGOs themselves. Paul Zelza finds that the motives behind globalization to contain hidden schemes due to its intentions and objectives. Additionally, he finds that these objectives are undermining in the way they interfere with a 'weak' nations' ability to form their own version of democracy and organize internally.[34]Similarly, Malcolm Waters defines globalization as "a perpetration of western dominant ideologies such as neoliberalism and democracy and economic systems such as capitalism, across the world."[35] As globalization opened up a space for NGOs to engage in the world, structural adjustments were made.

The structural agenda, from these perspectives, is viewed as an imposition of ideas from greater forces. The reconstruction of this arrangement can be understood as global actors putting

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[33] Amutabi, "NGOs, Capitalism and Globalization," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 40.

[34] Maurice Nyamanga Amutabi, "NGOs, Capitalism and Globalization," in *The NGO Factor in Africa: The Case of Arrested Development in Kenya* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 34.

[35] Amutabi, "NGOs, Capitalism and Globalization," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 34.

energy toward local settings. This aspect of the globalization process is what Brian Murphy sees

as globalization revised. Murphy argues:

> Inescapably, one of the most dramatic effects of globalization has been the intense localisation of its impact on ordinary people. The more globalized the systems and mechanism of commerce and finance, the more isolated and marginalized are individuals, their families, their communities, and the more particular circumstances of their lives…Localisation has been obscured by the rhetoric—pro and con—about the general and worldwide impact of globalization. In the final analysis, however, impact is, by definition, local and specific.[36]

These structural adjustments are explained the exploitation of non-governmental actors on

individual citizens. Murphy finds, structural adjustment to be a neoliberal economic ideology

that neglects the well-being of the community as a whole.[37] Additionally, Julie Hearn recognizes

the way structural adjustment programs encourage private organizations to take charge of

welfare services.[38] The domination of NGOs in states, in this respect, has resulted from a sudden

push in neoliberal initiatives. Important factors of neoliberalism include: free trade enterprise,

freedom from any government control; cut-backs in expenditures on public social services such

as health, education and water; emphasis on deregulation by eliminating any controls on pricing,

so that market forces determine prices; and replace communal with individual good.[39]

Neoliberalism can be identified when countries become integrated into the world market

regulated by economic governance institutions.[40] During the 1990s, a large portion of developing

countries moved away from their national development strategies and opened up to global flows

of capital and goods.[41] Peter Evans and William H, Sewell, Jr. do not confine neoliberalism to

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[36] Murphy, "International NGOs and the Challenge," 331.
[37] Murphy, "International NGOs and the Challenge," 333.
[38] Julie Hearn, "African NGOs: The New Compradors?," *Development and Change* 38, no. 6 (November 13, 2007): 1102.
[39] Amutabi, "NGOs, Capitalism and Globalization," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 50-51.
[40] Peter Evans and William H. Sewell, Jr., "Neoliberalism: Policy Regimes, International Regimes, and Social Effects," in *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era*, ed. Peter A. Hall and Michelle Lamont (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 35.
[41] Evans and Sewell, "Neoliberalism: Policy Regimes, International," in *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal*, 35.

work in a one-dimensional way, instead they distinguish facets of the neoliberal phenomenon. The authors point out the ways neoliberalism as theory, ideology, and policy effects global social imaginary by explaining:

> The neoliberal social imaginary extols entrepreneurship, self-reliance, and sturdy individualism; equates untrammeled pursuit of self-interest and consumer satisfaction with human freedom; glorifies personal wealth; sees volunteerism as the appropriate way to solve social problems; and associates governments programs with inefficiency, corruption, and incompetence…The prevalence of this social imaginary, even among those whose welfare has been undercut by neoliberal policies, helps reinforce the political power of neoliberalism as ideology and policy paradigm.[42]

Without going into detail on every aspect of neoliberalism, it is significant to note the ways neoliberalism as policy impacts this social imaginary. The excerpt above illustrates how an emphasis on neoliberalism can be an imposition on states and separates them from state-led development efforts. In this way, some developing governments are deemed unable to solve internal problems and the ideal solutions can be properly achieved through volunteer organizations. Neoliberalism promotes the deregulation of states to remove power from the state, leaving them it open to outside influence and involvement. In this global capitalist system states invest in groups like NGOs to implement said economic and political ideals. When globalization made space for NGOs within the system, it also provided them with the 'political international opportunities' mentioned earlier.

Greater forces backing and supporting NGOs allowed for their strong emergence onto the scene. Access to higher levels of funding is possible as their objectives overlap with those of greater international organizations. The promotion of democracy and production of results is of value in the world today and NGOs, in this view, happen to do just that. NGOs have become a force in their own right. The ideas and structure that enabled their advancement gives context to their presence within the world. Bringing Chimiak's globalist thinking full circle, we can see that

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[42] Evans and Sewell, "Neoliberalism: Policy Regimes, International," in *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal*, 38.

it very much comes into context with this structuralist view. While one finds that NGOs boost the abilities of the state the other sees these actions as directly undermining the state's authority. As described above, the global forces in terms of great powers and intergovernmental organizations orchestrated an international structure highly conducive for NGO growth. This structure enhanced their scope and ability and essentially granted NGOs greater power, which influences those they reach.

Africa's Inability to Get the Job Done

It is rare to read on Africa without any mention of its past colonial history. Colonialism remains relevant and felt throughout Africa long after independence was granted. The colonial legacy of Africa is a repeated story of control and exploitation by European and American power.[43] To recap, colonialism is the complete domination over a territory by another entity that has the ability to decide all aspects of life within that territory. This unequal relationship enables the greater power to use this additional territory for its own gain. Colonialism in Africa divided up the continent and physically made the borders that separate African countries today.

European powers dictated African traditions of political rule, cultural outlook, languages, and systems of education.[44] Additionally, the colonial economy was hell bent on using African natural and human resources for its prosperity. This was the colonial system and way of life for African countries until independence. One should bear in mind that reference to Africa as a continent may be referencing a majority, but it does not intend to make generalizations about the continent. Africa is a diverse continent filled with countries that have come to being and function in different ways. While territories hold distinct histories an overall perception and treatment has

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[43] Issa G. Shivji, "Silences in NGO Discourse : The Role and Future of NGOs in Africa," *Pambazuka Press*, 2011, 3, ProQuest ebrary.
[44] Shivji, "Silences in NGO Discourse," 4.

been and continues to be experienced from its colonial legacy; which will be discussed in the following.

In Africa, independence did not always come in the form of a gift, but instead an ongoing political and economic struggle. Inevitably, complications arose in countries that were less prepared and apt to take on such an enormous transition. Going from a completely dependent entity to a sovereign state proved to be destabilizing. While some nations had established anti-colonial movements and advocated for change, others received it somewhat unexpectedly. This is in reference to the fact that leaders in some nations had unmet expectations of their colonial rulers and were left with little support. Independence put states directly to work sorting out a way to function on their own. Many African states were faced with postcolonial reforms, which translated to developing the economy in an environment of unequal international relations.[45] Unfortunately, instead of dismantling despotism after receiving independence states fell into centralized despotic governments.[46] This created weak civil societies among states, causing those within rural populations to lack livelihoods available to the center.[47] With the decline of economic performance and the struggle to maintain some semblance of governance that could be viewed as legitimate outside actors reentered to assist failing countries.

Lacking the proper foundation to succeed, the reentry of economic powers could be predicted. Poor or bad governance was viewed as a fault of an African state. Africans were seen as incapable of developing successful policies or systems within their own borders. The management and allocation of resources to states became necessary from donors, especially the

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[45] Mahmood Mamdani, "Conclusion: Linking the Urban and the Rural," in *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 287.
[46] Mahmood Mamdani, "Introduction: Thinking through Africa's Impasse," in *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 25.
[47] Mamdani, "Conclusion: Linking the Urban," in *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary*, 295.

World Bank.[48] The involvement of foreign donors may have not been so heavily criticized had they not taken over as such an authority over the states. Issa Shivji views this just as prior colonial times since it seemed as though Africans were treated like they had no capacity to think or formulate policy.[49] Failure to perform on their own after decades of dependence made states weak and helpless. Coming to the rescue, agents with aid capabilities had and continue to have power over these nations.

Pleasing performance by African governments was rewarded with aid.[50] In the years between 1982-1995 little economic growth throughout the region made foreign aid a primary source of national incomes.[51] In the eyes of donors, it was essential to create a state that could maintain 'good governance' as it was the way to achieve sustainability. However, Africa's weaknesses boil down to two areas: capacity and accountability.[52] Here we see the emergence of development discourse along with ideas involving capacity building. Donors and NGOs alike advocate for capacity building or the ability to design and deliver policy.[53] NGOs have been put in a greater light in terms of ability and effectiveness in areas of state failure. This passage highlights the greater capacity and responsibly NGOs were and continue to be seen as having:

> By the 1980s, the reputation of NGOs as development organizations was already getting widespread and this was reinforced by media coverage of famine relief in Africa. Food distribution centers with long lines of the starving and NGO rescue missions in poor, inaccessible areas were beamed in television news and audiences all over the world. NGOs became main features of documentaries on how to best intervene in the development of the South. They devised impressive development models to go with their development agenda. NGOs were extolled by donors as being more accountable, more efficient, more innovative, more democratic, participatory, and empowering than their governmental, bureaucratic counterparts.[54]

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[48] Shivji, "Silences in NGO Discourse," 20.
[49] Shivji, "Silences in NGO Discourse," 22.
[50] Shivji, "Silences in NGO Discourse," 20.
[51] Hearn, "African NGOs: The New Compradors?," 1102.
[52] Shivji, "Silences in NGO Discourse," 23.
[53] Shivji, "Silences in NGO Discourse," 23.
[54] Amutabi, "NGOs, Capitalism and Globalization," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 45.

When it comes to accountably to the people within a single nation donors increasing call on NGOs. Unlike African governments, NGOs are successful in the eyes of donors as they promote goals set by global entities that enforce the welfare of citizens around the world. Once again, the aspect of localisation is important, as this is the area where NGOs can shine. Proven to be effective and accountable they have become the source in which majority of aid is entrusted.

NGOs are an integral part of the equation to get these states to where the world thinks they should be. Through globalization, economic growth is seen to go hand in hand with the welfare of a nation's citizens. This is the development mentality within Africa that focuses interests on the economy. Globalization discourse is predicated on foreign private capital that centers on this growth.[55] Attempts to increase growth are ultimately up to NGOs as it is clear African nations are often viewed as unable to do the job based on both past history and corruption in government. International NGOs have become global civil society entering into places such as Africa and mobilizing citizens while attending to the needs of the country. NGOs are expected to both deliver outputs while simultaneously building an environment that allows a state to take ownership of operations. As you may have begun to realize, this is a paradox. NGO delivery of growth and results does not automatically translate into development and African countries can attest to this.

NGOs or Colonialists?

Seeing NGO functions and views of these actors by the larger powers that fund them, one can understand the possible pressures NGOs face. It is clear that NGOs hold certain responsibilities and results are expected of them. Regardless, representation should not be so misleading. NGOs are painted to merely be participants, but they can have a hold over the places

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[55] Amutabi, "NGOs, Capitalism and Globalization," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 45.

where they work. Like former colonizers NGOs have an unequal relationship with their beneficiaries. This relationship is composed of the developer and those being developed. Does this relationship resemble that of Africa's colonial past? Michael A. Cohen, Maria Kupcu, and Parag Khanna would say yes. In an article titled, "The New Colonialists" they express how NGOs and other development groups are the only thing standing between these states and their complete failure. They believe these private actors are "increasingly taking over key state functions, providing health, welfare, and safety to citizens" all the while making governments weaker.[56] For them, the rise of voluntary organizations and their activities have made NGOs the "new colonialists." While this argument is not what one would hope to hear, many scholars think along these lines. The relabeling may be extreme, but the reasoning is not.

The shift in power to NGOs and the legitimacy awarded to these determined actors does not keep people away from what could possibly be going on. Although aid may be for the development of a weak nation, it completely bypasses host governments and goes straight into the hands of development organizations.[57] Cohen, Kupcu, and Khanna cite how "in 2003, the USAID Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance distributed two thirds of its budget through NGOs rather than affected governments."[58] And with this aid it seems NGOs continue to enforce neo-colonial and neo-liberal strategies created by the World Bank, IMF, and WTO. By agreeing with the idea that these strategies are beneficial to Africa's economy, NGOs divert Africa from their development path resulting in dependence on these capitalist structures.[59] While "new colonialists" can be an intense description, it is not incorrect to find the job of NGOs to be inconsistent and dependency building.

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[56] Michael A. Cohen, Maria Figueroa Kupcu, and Parag Khanna, "The New Colonialists," Foreign Policy, last modified June 2008, http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/07/the-new-colonialists/.
[57] Cohen, Kupcu, and Khanna, "The New Colonialists," Foreign Policy.
[58] Cohen, Kupcu, and Khanna, "The New Colonialists," Foreign Policy.
[59] Amutabi, "Introduction," introduction to *The NGO Factor in Africa*, xxxv.

As these views may find NGOs to be entities of external domination, it is not to say they are doing nothing. Some find, including Cohen, Kupcu, and Khanna, the longevity of NGOs to be stalling efforts to keep their jobs alive; recognizing that without the problems their assistance would not be needed. Some NGOs may in fact have polluted motives but this is not representative of the whole. An NGO lacking the ability to relate and understand problems at a local level may very well not last. Conversely, one that sticks to practicing 'successful' development methods may thrive. The maintenance and growth of an NGO does not mean it does not fall under the "new colonialist" description. This view encompasses developmental NGOs at work, including those that positively impact the lives of individuals and communities.

An Overview of Save the Children and Education in Malawi

About Save the Children

The global civil society that NGOs have become can be represented in the Save the Children organization. Save the Children is an INGO that aids children in numerous capacities, all around the world. Starting in London in 1919, Eglantyne Jebb and her sister Dorothy Buxton created the Save the Children Fund in response to the horrors brought to children after WW1.[60] Jebb recognized the starving and diseased children struggling from the blockade placed in Britain. The suffering these children were facing called the sisters into action. Jebb and her sister campaigned against the suffering by joining the Fight the Famine movement. The sisters soon realized the act of solely spreading information was not enough so they shifted their methods to direct action.[61] Early work consisted of raising funds, through advertisements in the media, for hungry children in need. Individual donations over time were given to organizations feeding and educating children throughout Europe.[62]

Jebb and Buxton were determined to bring children the resources they needed in order to survive. Not long after Save the Children began, Jebb had ideas about everyone becoming involved in the promotion and action of securing the welfare and rights of children. Feeling passionate about the welfare of children it would take more than their voluntary efforts to make a substantial change. Her vision was not limited to Britain, but applied to the entire world. With fewer emergencies occurring in 1923, Save the Children began researching and developing children's rights projects.[63] Jebb's ideas on rights of children were implemented by The League

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[60] Amutabi, "The Genesis of NGOs," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 62.
[61] "Save the Children: Our History," Save the Children, https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/about-us/history.
[62] "Save the Children: Our History," Save the Children.
[63] "Save the Children: Our History," Save the Children.

of Nations and motivated today's UN Convention on the Rights of the Children.[64] Aspirations by

Jebb to reach children across the world became possible as the organization grew and found

opportunities to work. The many wars throughout the 20th century created emergencies on a

global scale. This statement by Jebb addressed her vision for the Save the Children Fund:

> If we accept our premise, that the Save the Children Fund must work for its own extinction, it must seek to abolish, for good and for all, the poverty which makes children suffer and stunts the race of which they are the parents.

> It must not be content to save children from the hardships of life – it must abolish these hardship; nor think it suffices to save them from immediate menace -- it must place in their hands the means of saving themselves and so of saving the world."[65]

Jebb passed away in 1928 leaving behind an organization that would continue to work tirelessly

on what she started. Save the Children appeared wherever they saw the need for their assistance.

This philosophy drove them to reach new areas around the globe when assisting children after

WWII, during the Korean War and with development projects post colonization. Coming out of

WWII, the idea of a collective fate (new world view of 'moral responsibility') motivated people

to move throughout the world into foreign places.[66]

In their gradual expansion Save the Children sprouted in several countries over the globe.

Save the Children has created numerous campaigns for children over the decades of their

existence to address and aid humanitarian crises. Save the Children is now the world's leading

independent organization for children that passionately pursues Jebb's vision to work not only to

relieve child suffering, but also give them the means for 'saving themselves' and eventually the

world.[67]

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[64] "Save the Children: Our History," Save the Children.
[65] "Save the Children: Our History," Save the Children.
[66] Maurice Amutabi, "The Genesis of NGOs: The Idea, the Movement and Implications for Kenya," in *The NGO Factor in Africa: The Case of Arrested Development in Kenya*, by Maurice Nyamanga Amutabi (New York: Routledge, 2006), 63.
[67]*Moving Ahead on Education: Save the Children's Global Education Strategy to 2015* (London, UK: Save the Children International, 2012)

Today, Save the Children organizations are actively working in North America, South America, Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia. They have invested in children across 120 countries, including the United States.[68] This goes to show that global governance and eradicating problems not only applies to developing nations, but is worldwide. Each Save the Children organization aims to provide support in one or multiple areas depending on their location. This organization stretches across a vast range of territory and has each location serving children differently while holding onto the same overarching goals. With that said, Save the Children in Denmark looks different than another organization in Jordan due to the specific needs of the children. The actions taken by Save the Children pertain to health, education, child protection, child rights governance, and advocacy.

Save the Children summarizes their actions around the world by stating that they provide lifesaving and emotional support for children in disasters, campaign for long-term change to improve children's lives, give children access to food and healthcare, secure quality education for children who need it most, protect vulnerable children, and work in the poorest countries to help families out of poverty cycle.[69] With support from their donors and corporate partners within the private sector they provide the resources to access the lives of millions of children.

Since Save the Children covers many areas of need, it is valuable to hone in on a specific area in which they work to further understand the approaches, results and impacts of their actions. There are situations that need quick material relief of suffering and those that require prolonged assistance. Being interested in the developmental features of Save the Children, it is fitting to look into their work in education in undeveloped states. One very important aspect of this organization is the education they provide to those in poverty. Save the Children sees education

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[68] "Save the Children: Where We Work." Save the Children. https://www.savethechildren.net/where-we-work.

[69] "Save the Children: What We Do," Save the Children, https://www.savethechildren.net/what-we-do.

as a way to break the cycle of poverty while providing multiple benefits to children, families, and entire communities.[70] Outlining the beliefs and ideas of Save the Children toward education will provide an understanding of their approaches to and actions in this area.

Save the Children organizations throughout the world believe children have the right to quality education. This INGO reaches children completely without educational opportunities and those that are receiving an education that fails to teach them basic skills. Save the Children values the benefits of education, which is why they are progressing to achieve good quality education universally. Seeing that higher education has strengthened democracies and increased peace and security it is of grave importance to improve education levels and attain this higher state and quality.[71]

In Save the Children's 2015 strategy report they write, "The overall goal of our programme, policy, and advocacy works to ensure that every child receives a good quality education and learns the skills and knowledge they need to thrive in the 21st century."[72] Additionally, their educational goals include equal access to education for all children. Through large-scale educational programs, collaboration with partnerships, and work to influence local, national, and international policy they hope to tackle this goal. Importantly, Save the Children plans to give children access to education but also aims to improve the ways they go about this action. Innovation is an essential factor in their work that forces them to thrive for improvement by testing and researching their methods. Save the Children has taken on the ambitious task of providing quality education to all children.

A five-point strategy defines the objectives for their 30 national member organizations bringing education to children. The first strategic objective is basic education or giving "access

[70] *Moving Ahead on Education*, 6.
[71] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 5.
[72] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 3.

to a good quality basic education, especially to those who are excluded, marginalized, or living in conflict-affected fragile states."[73]As mentioned earlier, the ability for children to gain basic knowledge in areas such as literacy, numeracy, and other skills will improve chances for the future. Save the Children does not think it is enough to put children in school, but finds it imperative that they are truly learning while they are there. The second objective maintains the idea of basic education even in emergency situations. Save the Children is committed to educating children, especially those in unstable positions. Crises often take children out of school for different amounts of time, which interferes with their growth. Save the Children plans to maintain child education by increasing the government and community capacity to continue education programs through emergencies, increasing the capacity of Save the Children in these regions, and collaborating with other sectors such as child protection and shelters to include an emphasis on education in times of emergency.[74]

The third objective targets early childhood care and development. Children over the globe are susceptible to poor mental development as a result of unhealthy conditions. Save the Children has made early childhood care an objective to aid children earlier to increase their chances for healthy development and success. This development starting with children ages 0-8 years old has helped increase primary school enrollment and lower dropout rates.[75] Beginning earlier puts children in a better position to excel as they formally begin school. Save the Children plans to strengthen children throughout various stages of their lives, making the fourth objective education for youth empowerment. This objective is "to empower vulnerable youth (age 12-24) in rural and urban areas through education and training to become active economic, social, and

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[73] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 11.
[74] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 12.
[75] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 13.

political citizens."[76] Strengthening the voice of youth is an important part of development that they will carry with them throughout their adulthood to impact their communities.

This empowerment also plays a hand in the overall strengthening of civil societies. Encouraging the youth to understand and appreciate their right to education is the first step to accessing a larger community. The last objective is driving global and national policy change.[77] In the eyes of Save the Children, the right of education for children is something everyone should prioritize. Changing global policies to benefit children's rights to education will take organization on many levels.

Over the years, Save the Children has developed strategies they believe will secure children the right to education everywhere. Save the Children organizations throughout the world implement proper schooling in failing regions. This is not only to provide children with proficient skills, but also to make the rest of the world value quality education for children through significant and sustainable shifts in education policy and practice.[78] For Save the Children, achieving this development starts with individual children in local communities. Importantly, this approach targets marginalized citizens in local communities to reach global goals. Later, we will see the work of Save the Children in the weak state of Malawi, and how their strategies and approaches contribute to the development throughout the nation.

Introducing Malawi

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[76] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 15.
[77] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 16.
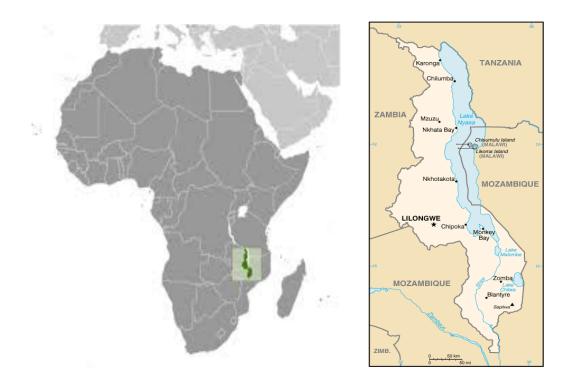[78] *Moving Ahead on Education,* 18.

Figure 1-2 Map of Africa Indicating Location of Malawi

Source: (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mi.html).

Malawi is a country located in southeast Africa bordered, by Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique. Being landlocked, it is one of the most densely populated and least developed countries in the world.[79] One of the most prominent features of Malawi is its 580 km long lake, making up a roughly 29,000 square km its total surface area. According to The World Factbook, Malawi has a population of around 17 million people with 53% of the population living below the poverty line.[80] Malawi's economy is predominantly agricultural having 80% of the population living in rural areas. The country's gross domestic product (GDP) or national income and output for their economy was 4.2 billion US dollars in 2014.[81] Additionally, agriculture makes up one third of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP) and 90% of export revenues. [82]

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[79] "The World Factbook: Malawi," Central Intelligence Agency.
[80] Poverty estimations last reported in 2004.
[81] "Data: Malawi," The World Bank, http://data.worldbank.org/country/malawi.
[82] "The World Factbook: Malawi," Central Intelligence Agency.

Unfortunately, this nation endlessly battles the challenges brought on by its political inconsistency. The progression Malawi has made over the years has been constantly met with setbacks. Most recently, in 2013, donors withdrew direct budgetary support (accounting for 40% of Malawi's budget) after a large-scale corruption scandal. The African Development Bank, the International Monetary Fund, multiple European countries, and the United States have now, more than ever, been channeling funds through NGOs within the country.[83] Overall, the government confronts difficulty when developing their market economy, tackling environmental problems, addressing HIV/AIDs, and satisfying foreign donors.[84] Looking back to Malawi's history provides a sense of how the nation arrived in the place it is in today.

Malawi: Government and Education

Malawi has undergone severe political and education reform throughout the 20th century. The nation's history up until independence has had a range of education initiatives. This instability along with Malawi's poor economic position made education lack the attention it receives today. It seems during colonization, authoritative rule, and the transition to democracy, Malawi has depended on external actors for the advancement in the education sector. A history of education in Malawi helps provide an understanding of how organizations like Save the Children came to have a heavy stake and pursue their humanitarian goals throughout the country.

Prior to its independence, Malawi was named Nyasaland under its British colonizers. During colonial rule in the early 20th century a new style of formal education emerged by Scottish missions eager to produce literate and skilled Christians.[85] The missionaries were determined to enhance the level of education accessible to the population, but this had

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[83] "The World Factbook: Malawi," Central Intelligence Agency.
[84] "The World Factbook: Malawi," Central Intelligence Agency.
[85] T. David Williams, *Malawi: The Politics of Despair* (London, UK: Cornell University Press, 1978), 78.

implications at the time. Employers felt a more advanced system of education for Africans would encourage the spread of impractical and dangerous ideas.[86] Missionaries debated over what they believed to be an appropriate educational structure and ultimately wanted to create the conditions that would lead to African control over their own resources and political community.[87]

However, by the 1920s, their mission was scaled back due to a reorganization of the Scottish missions; this meant Nyasaland would not see any investment in higher education again until WWII. This greatly affected the progression of education throughout the nation and limited those within Nyasaland's colonial borders. Formal education neglected to be reestablished until 1941, which made Nyasaland far behind other British African territories.[88] Despite the work of British and Scottish missionaries the educational system in Nyasaland was one of the least developed in British-ruled Africa.[89]

Liberating itself from Britain in 1964 Nyasaland became Malawi, an independent sovereign nation in Sub-Saharan Africa. Within two years Malawi officially became a republic, declaring the Malawi Congress Party to be their only political party within the nation led by Hastings Kamuzu Banda.[90] Banda went on to have nearly unlimited control over the government and nation as a whole. Banda led a repressive regime unconcerned with fulfilling the responsibilities to the people. His governance failed to protect the well being of the majority of the population because it primarily focused on those within the center.[91] Additionally, this authoritative rule neglected to prioritize education even with pressures from the outside.

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[86] Williams, *Malawi: The Politics of Despair*, 80.
[87] Williams, *Malawi: The Politics of Despair*, 81.
[88] Williams, *Malawi: The Politics of Despair*, 82.
[89] Williams, *Malawi: The Politics of Despair*, 82.
[90] Williams, *Malawi: The Politics of Despair*, 230.
[91] Karen Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms and Their Adoption during Democratic Transition," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa: Paradigm Lost?*, by Jeanne Moulton, et al. (Connecticut, US: Greenwood Press, 2002), 15.

At the beginning of independence in 1964 up until the end of Banda's reign in 1994, Malawi had been a target for donor-led systemic education reform.[92] Two of the major donors invested in education reform throughout Sub-Saharan Africa and Malawi specifically were the World Bank and the United Sates Agency for International Development (USAID). Prior to their involvement, Banda came up with plans to develop Malawi that did in fact increase economic growth. His developmental focus on commercial agriculture and liberalizing markets generated steady economic growth that barely reached the rapidly growing rural majority.[93] This skewed distribution of development mirrored his first attempt at systematic education in Malawi. Banda with the monetary backing of the World Bank, their first major donor to help construct educational reform, focused on providing education at the secondary and higher levels. This plan along with other variations for shaping the education system in Malawi were orchestrated and funded by the World Bank. The 1980s saw a reform agenda driven by the World Bank that the government in Malawi accepted due to the additional resources they provided and the legitimacy it provided.[94]

The donor initiated reforms in the 1980s and early 1990s centered on resources, equity, and system efficiency were shifted in 1994 as Malawi's political setup underwent dramatic changes.[95] In 1994, Malawi moved from a one-party dictatorship to a multiparty government led by Bakili Muluzi.[96] New thinking changed the direction and approach to education in Malawi. After the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, universal education was a key feature in

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[92] Jeanne Moulton and Karen Mundy, "Implementation Research and Educational Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa," introduction to *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan Africa: Paradigm Lost?*, by Jeanne Moulton, et al. (Connecticut, US: Greenwood Press, 2002), 13.

[93] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 15.

[94] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 20.

[95] Adela Mizrachi, Olivia Padilla, and William Susuwele-Banda, "Active Learning Pedagogies as a Reform Initiative: The Case of Malawi," *USAID*, January 22, 2010, 1.

[96] Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology Malawi National Commisson for UNESCO, *The Development of Education: National Report of Malawi* (n.p.: n.p., 2008), 5.

governmental shifts to democracy.[97] When racing to instill multiparty governance in Malawi, Muluzi put universal education at the center on his platform.

Education was not only at the forefront of the agendas for international government organizations such as the World Bank, but also the political shifts occurring in Malawi and other African states. Officially having a multi party system, Malawi declared that its state would work toward Education For All goals (EFA).[98] EFA essentially translates to a global initiative to have all nations providing free primary education to their citizens. Coming out of this transition, education symbolized democracy, which made people enthusiastic about schooling and increased enrollment rates. This growth can be seen by looking at the way primary enrollment soared from 1.8 million in 1992/1993 to 2.9 million in 1994/1995.[99]

Malawi was not alone when promising its nation free primary education. At the turn of the 21st century, many countries were making it their goal to provide free universal primary education. This movement caught the attention of the international community, making outside volunteers and organizations ready to give assistance.[100] Malawi, coming from a vulnerable place, was not in the position to execute this goal using its own means. Education reform and system development had been navigated through the assistance of the World Bank. This ambitious goal drove Malawi to focus on reallocating government resources to education, specifically at the primary level.[101] Increases in resources proved to be effective during the first few years of

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[97]Roger Avenstrup, Xiaoyan Liang, and Soren Nellemann, *Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, and Uganda: Universal Primary Education and Poverty Reduction* (n.p.: n.p., 2004), 5.

[98] Avenstrup, Liang, and Nellemann, *Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, and Uganda*, 5.

[99] Demis Kunje, "The Malawi Integrated In-service Teacher Education Programme: An Experiment with Mix Mode Training," *International Journal of Educational Development* 22, nos. 3-4 (2002), http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0738059301000657.

[100] Moulton and Mundy, "Implementation Research and Educational," introduction to *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 1.

[101] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 30.

development until donors became dissatisfied. Jeanne Moulton and Karen Mundy explain this important controversy by stating:

> In general, this dissatisfaction hinged upon the notion that Malawi had failed to appropriately assess the long-term costs of its program of rapid educational expansion after 1994, and was continuing to press for unsustainable levels of expansion at higher (especially secondary) levels… Malawi, USAID claimed was continuing to sponsor an elitist education system and was failing to 'address the paradox of a free, universal primary schooling within a system that is still conditioned by standards and expectation of an elite, high cost, selective education.'[102]

If one thing is clear, Malawi did not have the capabilities or capacity to deliver universal primary education in a pleasing manner to donors. Despite a change in goals, Malawi had not completely shaken all that remained from its authoritative past.

Several controversies frustrated donor relationships with Malawi making reforms to national education plans no longer enough for donors. USAID continues to be dedicated to developing education efforts, which is why they experiment with educational programs. Between 1995 and 2000, USAID contributed the largest amount of funding to the primary education sector.[103] The hope for reaching universal primary education in Malawi rests in the hands of outside donors, especially USAID. USAID funds NGOs including Save the Children to carry out innovative educational programs and make basic quality education a reality.

Community involvement, a methodology of Save the Children, is believed to be the key to sustainable expansion of the Malawi school system. Further, donors have expressed the most interest in this method since it engages local communities, ensures school quality, and emulates democracy through broader consolidation of participation.[104] Funding directed to NGOs to build and expand this community based initiative illustrates the fact that the progression of localized individual projects was the priority. When attempting to deliver on international and national

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[102] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 35.
[103] Mizrachi, Padilla, and Susuwele-Banda, "Active Learning Pedagogies as a Reform," 5.
[104] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 42.

goals of bringing education to children around the world and specifically in Malawi by working directly local communities, Save the Children is leading the pack.

Village Based School Initiatives in Mangochi, Malawi

Malawi, having an unstable history when it comes to education reform, needs assistance to establish a sustainable educational system. The nation has experienced rapid changes in their education reform, which was pushed further when shifting to a democratic state. This transition opened up new areas of donor interest, including community level involvement in primary schools.[105] Malawi, declaring that they aspire to bring primary education to all, provided a context for community level involvement by outside actors. Community participation in Malawi is now done by two donor initiatives, which consist of the Malawi School Action Fund and developmental NGOs that support village or community based schools.[106]

The largest community based program started in 1994 by Save the Children-USA through funding from USAID.[107] Save the Children established community schools because the government of Malawi fails to fulfill educational commitments in many rural communities.[108] Working outside of the government's reach provides educational opportunities to thousands of children seeking an education. Believing all children have the right to education it is seen as appropriate and essential for these volunteers to create a successful education system that can eventually be supported by the government. This goal has yet to be achieved.

Save the Children has pioneered the way for community schools throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. Their method of using resources from local communities has proven to be cost-effective and yields promising results where these schools are active. Looking into village-based pilot programs such as the ones led by Save the Children-USA in Malawi provides us with a case to see the way their overall goals as an organization play out to promote development in this

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[105] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 42.

[106] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 43.

[107] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 43.

[108] Agency for International Development, *Evolving Partnerships: The Role of NGOs in Basic Education in Africa*, by Yolande Miller-Grandvaux, Michel Welmond, and Joy Wolf (n.p.: n.p., 2002), 9.

struggling nation. As we look at the direct process of their actions to revamp education in Malawi, it is important to keep in mind the entire developmental impact this has on the nation. To an extent we will see the job being done on the ground and how this adds to the overall picture of development or underdevelopment.

The practices of Save the Children emulate the methodologies of larger institutional organizations such as their donor USAID. This is in reference to the localized approach taken by Save the Children and that they eventually become involved in contracting USAID programs. The previously ignored communities in Malawi that Save the Children works with are benefitting from the presence of the volunteers and have the resources to change the lives of many. These village-based schools (VBS) actively bring education to those previously without, working toward the goal of achieving free primary education in Malawi and producing results for Save the Children. In the midst of this community level development a dependence on Save the Children's ideas, resources, and innovations is created. When looking into the schools they build, teachers they train and students they teach we fail to see overall improvements to the system and the empowerment of the government.

Save the Children in Mangochi, Malawi

Before beginning work in Malawi, it was important for Save the Children to reflect on their already established community program in Mali. Mali was the first location in Sub-Saharan Africa where Save the Children began building community-based schools, which is why they took the outcomes from that experience into Malawi.[109] Learning from Mali, Save the Children decided to focus on quality over quantity. Instead of building one school in each village, they adjusted their program and began creating primary schools that would be able to serve several

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[109] United States Agency for International Development, *Partnerships in Education* (n.p.: n.p., 2003), http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACS082.pdf.

villages.[110] The community aspect of these schools cannot be stressed enough. The entire idea revolves around a motivated community putting in work to make the school establishment thrive. This program mobilizes communities in this way to not only empower their children through education, but also make themselves capable of building and sustaining a school eventually without any guidance from outside volunteers. With that being said it was essential for Save the Children to find a community that was in need of such a program and were eager to embrace the opportunity.

Save the Children entered into southern Malawi's Mangochi District in October 1994 due to lack of government involvement in the region and the many complications the schools were facing.[111] Let it be known that all areas of Malawi are not in dire need of NGO or voluntary assistance. Areas in the North and located near Lilongwe, the capital, are attended to by Malawi's government school system. It is not the case that the entire country is lacking proper schooling, but instead that many districts outside of the center are. This is a significant amount knowing that much of Malawi's population lives in rural areas. Mangochi at the time was a district significantly behind others with 51 percent of the school going population out of school, and around half of the teachers in the 231 schools were without professional teacher training.[112] Mangochi is an example of the results of Malawi's move to attaining EFA goals. Pupils essentially stormed the classrooms only to find that there was not enough supply to meet their demand. The Ministry of Education, Sports, and Culture (MOEST) was not prepared due to the fact that they did not have schools or trained teachers to accommodate the children.[113] In Malawi

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[110] United States Agency for International Development, *Partnerships in Education*

[111] Amy Jo Dowd and Lester Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National Scale," in *Community Schools in Africa: Reaching the Unreached*, by Deborah Glassman, Jordan P. Naidoo, and Fred Wood (New York, NY: Springer, 2007), 38.

[112] United States Agency of International Development, *Village Based Schools in Mangochi: Evaluation Report*, by Karin Hyde, et al. (n.p.: n.p., 1996), 10, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACA327.pdf.

[113] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 38.

specifically, there is a lack of trained and able-bodied teachers, which has made education goals difficult to achieve. This is why when Save the Children staff entered Mangochi and met with eight surrounding communities they made sure the community was committed to the project.[114]

Local community members began to build two school blocks with two classrooms in each of the eight communities in Mangochi.[115] Throughout the building process Save the Children staff provided roofs and monitored building to ensure they made a quality structure that met safety standards.[116] While it was easy for community members to take on the task of building the schools, creating a committee and mobilizing the community to participate and take on the responsibilities that came with opening the school proved to be more challenging.

Save the Children had a vision of the schools they were implementing through the partnership and labor of the local community and it was up to them to get the members of the community to see this vision too. Even though school committees had been institutionalized in Malawi in 1962 through the Education Act, they had not received any instruction to act upon.[117] Unaware of their roles and responsibilities, Save the Children trained communities, committee members and teachers by collaborating and reinforcing basic lessons through unique methods that used local materials.[118] The VBS community experienced continual training as the members and Save the Children volunteers saw necessary. The voluntary staff, District Education Office (DEO) staff, and local communities continue to refine this "grass roots-up" model introduced by Save the Children today.[119]

Teacher Training, Supervision, and Curriculum

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[115] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 41.
[116] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 41.
[117] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 42.
[118] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 42.
[119] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 42.

Training took place on a community level to mobilize the population and set them up for success. Additionally, training teachers in the classroom was imperative for the VBS pilot program. Teachers, along with community participation, were essential parts of these schools since they would be the most involved with the students. A teacher's level of education often determined whether they would be recruited to teach in the schools. Communities, Save the Children, and the DEO worked together in the teacher recruitment process. Communities chose among young women and men with a Junior Certificate of Education (JCE) and those who had completed primary school (eighth grade) leaving it up to Save the Children and the DEO to approve those nominated.[120]

Following MOEST standards, one must hold a JCE in order to be a teacher, although Save the Children did not institute this same policy, JCEs were strongly encouraged and incentivized through wages. Since Save the Children aimed to incorporate their teachers into civil service and have them accepted as MOEST teachers they provided them with the opportunity to earn JCEs.[121] In this same vein, Save the Children decided to cover teachers' salaries for a year with the expectation that they would be incorporated into the national education system. Save the Children made sure to involve MOEST from the beginning, and involve district level participation from Primary Education Advisors (PEA), which functioned as school inspectors.[122] Helping teachers get their certification and collaborating with the MOEST and PEA were steps toward sustaining the system.

Even though, the option for working toward a JCE existed, Save the Children still employed teachers having only completed primary education. Like other aspects of the VBS program, Save the Children strays from national standards in order to make things work. Hiring

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[120] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 43.

[121] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 43.

[122] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 40.

less qualified teachers allows Save the Children to choose from a greater pool of applicants, but is not in line with government policy. Having strict qualifications for hiring teachers was not desirable due to the heavy demand on instructors.

To maintain the goal of providing quality education, Save the Children closely supervised those teachers lacking JCEs. VBS supervisors were appointed and given a higher salary and greater transportation resources and training than average government inspectors. When visiting teachers, supervisors went over lesson plans and had discussions with them on a plan of action and methods for delivering the material.[123] The amount of support given to these teachers was much greater than government employees monitoring schools throughout the nation. For example, a single supervisor located in Chilipa (a neighboring district) and in charge of the VBS in that area was able to visit each teacher once or twice a month.[124] This was in stark contrast to the government school supervisors who visited around 10 to 15 schools in a zone, allowing them to make contact with the teachers one to three times a year.[125] The capabilities of Save the Children provided them with the alternative option of keeping less academically qualified teachers on board. This is not to say the other teachers were not monitored, instead it merely emphasizes the greater supervision of those without JCEs and the fact that Save the Children could afford such involvement.

After taking the necessary measures when hiring VBS teachers, Save the Children and PEAs took teachers through intensive training before the start of the school year. The training consisted of a two-week course around active child-centered teaching methods using diverse and

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[123] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 46.
[124] *Exploring Factors That Influence Teaching and Learning: Collection of Selected Studies Using the IEQ/Malawi Longitudinal Data 1999-2002* (n.p.: n.p., 2003), 15, http://www.ieq.org/pdf/ExplorationsCollectionStudies.pdf.
[125] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 46.

innovative approaches.[126] Not only did the beginning of the academic year warrant training, but the teachers were also trained through the course of the school year, typically on holiday breaks. This again demonstrates a higher level of involvement given to VBS teachers that does not exist for teachers in government-controlled schools. Teachers were instructed how to manage a classroom and teach students in captivating ways. The Save the Children team taught teachers a range of ways to go about teaching one lesson; one single concept may have been taught through writing, music, role-playing, drawing and physical activity.[127] The goal of training was to make teachers understand the limitless ways to go about the course material and how to utilize the resources around them to engage the children and invite their participation. When assessing the intensive training for teachers in community schools in Malawi Amy Jo Dowd and Lester Namathaka write:

> This system of intensive pre- and in-service training and support came to define SC's (Save the Children) field based teacher training. Through this effort, SC developed and tested 'Survival Skills for Teachers in Village Based Schools' that used MOEST teacher training but focused on practical skills, student participation, diverse methods and local materials. SC's training sessions were practical; pupils participated and a diversity of methods and local materials were used. During training sessions, teachers were required to try out the methods on each other and on groups of school-aged children (micro-teaching and peer teaching) and to be creative using local materials.[128]

These training workshops were made possible through Save the Children. The groundwork done by Save the Children's volunteers was met with guidance and approval from both PEA and MOEST. These partnerships at the local level were started from the VBS program and display the productive relationship between an NGO like Save the Children and governmental groups within Malawi enforcing national education policy. Save the Children approaches education in VBS by taking government standards and altering them to be something else entirely. The

[126]Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 44.
[127] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 44.
[128] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 45.

partnerships they create are of importance to them, as they believe they will provide a future that will keep progressing.

The curriculum taught in this VBS pilot was different from Malawi's national curriculum. Using the required subjects, Save the Children created a different hybrid sort of curriculum style. VBSs used subsidiary subjects (art, music, physical education) as vehicles for learning core subjects like Chichewa, English, math, and general studies.[129] Save the Children's "Integrated Curriculum" came to life as children "jumped while counting, sang in English, acted out skits in Chichewa and drew objects from nature."[130] The combination of subjects allowed teachers to spend more time on core subjects and did not overload students by doing seven full subjects. VBS classrooms stood apart from government classrooms in the way they had charts made by teachers, along with classroom accessories like flash cards, sentence strips, bamboo counters, and other various objects or inventions made from accessible materials.[131]

Aside from converting everyday materials into tools for the classroom, teachers and students were provided with the textbooks distributed by the DEO's office on top of the books purchased by Save the Children. In addition to the textbooks, Save the Children provided: exercise books, chalk, chalkboards, and more to both their VBS and government schools in the region.[132] For those on the outside, donors and other visitors, the VBS pilot program was a success not only because of the different feeling one had when entering into these decorated and unique classrooms, but also the fact that students were learning more than government school children. This was true for second grade students in the pilot program that saw success when they "had learned more over the course of the 1997 school year than did their government

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[129] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 47.
[130] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 47.
[131] United States Agency of International Development, *Village Based Schools in Mangochi*, 14.
[132] United States Agency of International Development, *Village Based Schools in Mangochi*, 14.

counterparts."[133] With a curriculum designed to increase literacy and numeracy levels quickly, and heaps of support and helpful lessons it is no wonder children were able to surpass other students outside of the VBS system.

Significantly, having the freedom to manipulate curriculum and jazz up classrooms with materials was an improvement made by the volunteers. Save the Children is not heavily monitored by government officials. By focusing on rural communities outside of the government's reach they face less government push back.[134] The way Save the Children involved officials on portions of the VBS program was a way to form relationships and try to attain sustainability, but let us not forget that while they can and do involve whomever they choose they ultimately decide the direction of their programs.

Thinking about this in another way, Save the Children works toward the EFA goals in one way and Malawi's education system is functioning in a different way with different people involved, making the two entities separate. Further, this becomes an issue when Save the Children wants VBSs to be incorporated into the national education system when their teachers, curriculum and policies are completely different. In this way, the Save the Children's VBS programs are supplying schooling rather than supporting the preexisting national education system, which results in two distinct systems.[135]

Impact of Village Based Schools

In 1998, the VBS pilot came to a close right around the same time quality education was on the government policy agenda.[136] To be clear the VBS pilot in Mangochi ended, but the ideas and techniques coming out of the pilot lived on through other community mobilizing programs

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[133] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 47.
[134] Agency for International Development, *Evolving Partnerships: The Role*, 9.
[135] Agency for International Development, *Evolving Partnerships: The Role*, 19.
[136] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 46.

inside and out of Malawi. In fact, other NGOs, the MOEST, neighboring governments, and USAID's educational programs replicated some of the aspects of the VBS pilot. For example, Redd Barna (Save the Children Norway) funded Save the Children volunteers in Malawi to implement VBS innovations in eight primary schools in the Machinga district, which neighbors Mangochi.[137] Through their partnership with the DEO and collaboration between Save the Children's trainers and the Machinga PEA this was done.[138] The VBS pilot did not go unnoticed and brought about changes in the outlook and policy of the MOEST. More specifically, it made the MOEST more invested in community mobilization and showed a greater commitment to providing quality education.[139]

While the VBS program ended the schools remained. Save the Children's VBS initiative was absorbed into USAID's QUEST (Quality Education through Supporting Teaching) program in Malawi. The goal of the project was to improve the quality of education in primary schools by decentralizing responsibilities.[140] Since Save the Children implemented the program they continued to practice the same approaches from the VBS pilot program into QUEST. Save the Children trained teachers with similar techniques used in the VBS pilot, incorporated the Integrated Curriculum, mobilized the community and had the ability to conduct research on the teachers and schools themselves when implementing QUEST across multiple districts in Malawi.[141] At the turn of the 21st century, QUEST supported more than 4,200 teachers in 472 schools in the Mangochi, Balaka, and Blantyre Rural districts in Malawi.[142]

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[137] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 47.
[138] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 47.
[139] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 49.
[140] *Exploring Factors That Influence*
[141] *Exploring Factors That Influence*
[142] *Exploring Factors That Influence*

Like the VBS program, Save the Children creates other programs revolving around education in Malawi. For example, Save the Children has a program called Literacy Boost in effect today that is designed to get children reading and thinking both inside and out of the classroom through support from teachers, parents, and the community as a whole.[143] Community based teaching and learning is a priority of both Save the Children and USAID. These programs give students and teachers the materials and knowledge to thrive in a school setting, while also allowing Save the Children to research and reflect on approaches that are proven to be most valuable. This NGO takes pride in the partnerships it creates in these developmental practices, along with the adaptive innovations that can be utilized by other international organization and NGOs.

Malawi has no formal framework with NGOs, but there are instances of collaboration that take place.[144] The lack of intensity in government monitoring of NGOs does not mean to imply that they are not aware or concerned with their activities. Government officials rightly worry about NGO motives and actions, and all governments at least request some sort of report from NGOs.[145] Save the Children demonstrates the strides that can be made in education development and the possibility for the relationship between themselves and the government to exist. Their methods for educating children and influence they have on the government regarding policy shifts, demonstrates all that the organization is capable of. Just as this program shows what they can do it reveals what they are failing to do. With the development of rural communities by NGOs comes the underdevelopment of states. Consequences such as these may be unintended, but are a significant factor of NGO involvement.

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[143]*Literacy Boost* (Lilongwe, Malawi: Save the Children, n.d.),
https://malawi.savethechildren.net/sites/malawi.savethechildren.net/files/library/Brochure_Literacy%20Boost.pdf.
[144] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 43.
[145] Agency for International Development, *Evolving Partnerships: The Role*, 15.

Analysis of Save the Children's Work

The VBS pilot program worked closely with the community and had other local participants involved in the program. Despite the praise it received by donors, MOEST officials, and researchers from the University of Malawi's Center for Research and Training found it hard to believe that the MOEST system could provide the same quality education without NGO support.[146] This is a valid concern still relevant today regarding NGO involvement in general. While it is nice to hear the changes being made in communities and additional supply of books at children's fingertips, it is important to keep in mind whether it is feasible for the nation. More specifically, there are goals that exist on a global level that many other nations also embrace, such as EFA. At the same time, overall developmental objectives for weak nations are important issues that need to be addressed when talking about state development.

VBS practices were taken over by USAID's QUEST program and not the government of Malawi as Save the Children had once intended. This outcome is disappointing considering the fact that Save the Children involved officials, where other developmental NGOs do not. Failing to prioritize governments and citizens within the states and communities, the work of NGOs is an issue for development and growth in Africa.[147] Even though measures were taken by Save the Children to integrate these schools into the government system it was not feasible for the government. Without strengthening the state to be capable to innovate and provide for rural communities on their own, governments are left with following the path Save the Children sets for them (in regards to rural communities they cannot reach) and align themselves with modern objectives like quality education.

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[146] Dowd and Namathaka, "Malawi, 1994-2003:Training on a National," in *Community Schools in Africa*, 47.

[147] Ogechi Njoku, "NGO's and Africa's Development and Economic Growth," *International Conference on the State of Affairs in Africa*, October 2006, 3,
http://iijd.org/PDF%20Files/Ogechi_Njoku__NGOs_and_Africa__with_IIJD.pdf.

Save the Children is invested in the education of the children in Malawi to the point where their workload and role exceeds that of any all other members taking part in the process. During their pursuit of quality education for all they exercise power that makes them ingrained in the operation. The innovation, creative ideas, resources, connections, and drive all belong to Save the Children and without them programs such as this would not be able to sustain themselves. While these local communities could be able to maintain infrastructure and govern the school they would not be able to provide on-going curriculum support and maintain teacher and supply costs without external help.[148]

In the VBS model, success is contingent upon on high levels of management, supervision, and resources in the community all of which are provided by nongovernment agents.[149] The support and resources redirected toward NGOs provides them with the power to take over and lead when tackling systematic education issues. Additionally, these actions and projects advance their own position, and leave the government in a similar weak position as before. This is seen in the way the VBS programs were adopted by others and eventually allowed Save the Children to partner with a resourceful donor and scale up their project. Ultimately, improvement in community schools by foreign volunteers does not translate to greater government capability and efficiency.

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[148] Jordan Naidoo, "What's Next for Community Schools?," in *Community Schools in Africa: Reaching the Unreached*, by Deborah Glassman, Jordan P. Naidoo, and Fred Wood (New York, NY: Springer, 2007), 181.
[149] Mundy, "Malawi: Externally Driven Reforms," in *Education Reforms in Sub-Saharan*, 43.

Conclusion

NGOs have influenced the lives of millions of people throughout the world through their humanitarian aid, development projects, and advocacy campaigns. These voluntary groups have dramatically increased in number and ability, resulting in higher levels of involvement at almost every corner of the world. Being such a significant factor at the local, national, and international level, it is important to look into their work and understand what impacts they truly have. More recently, the term NGO has come to resemble useful partners of governments and development agencies, as well as the development of philanthropies, non-profits, grassroots groups and civil society apart from the state and market sector.[150] At a time when development is key it is interesting to see the help provided by operational NGOs in weak nations and how that contributes to state development.

When one thinks of an NGO at work they may imagine someone bringing materials and information to those who lack the access and ability to obtain either. This is the work of developmental NGOs as they provide a need that people would otherwise suffer without. The truth is disasters and corruption are real. People and nations do not always have the means or capability to solve the problems that are negatively impacting them. The resolution of global issues has become the responsibility of global civil society.

INGOs like Save the Children take on this responsibility and work to tackle global problems at a local level. This was apparent in Save the Children's Village Based School (VBS) initiative that reached out to local communities in Malawi and worked with them to reach larger goals such as the World Declaration on Education for All. EFA and universal primary education goals are not unique to Malawi but stem from global goals and standards encouraged and created

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[150] Amutabi, "The Genesis of NGOs," in *The NGO Factor in Africa*, 59.

by an international agenda. It is the work of Save the Children to help nations like Malawi reach these goals by focusing their developmental efforts on individuals outside of the governments range.

By looking into the work of a specific program of Save the Children, their approach and outcomes were revealed. While Save the Children VBS in Mangochi, Malawi involved community members and officials to build schools and train teachers to deliver quality education, they did not successfully turn the program over to the Malawian government. The VBS pilot became part of a larger project funded by the United States Agency for International Development. Save the Children provides quality education where the government cannot through their resources, partnerships and creativity, but in order for EFA goals to be achieved volunteers are needed which is not sustainable development. Outcomes of NGOs vary and while some look better than others and last longer, their longevity should be investigated just as much as those that are short-lived. As we have seen, even one of the most 'successful' and resourceful NGOs has its faults, which will fall back on those they are serving.

Save the Children is a huge player when it comes to NGOs seeking to help developing nations, but they are just one. Although they may lead the pack, influence other development oriented NGOs and have a stake in over a hundred countries throughout the world, conclusions drawn on their work are coming solely from their work. This paper has emphasized the diversity among NGOs and investigated a program ran by Save the Children. The VBS pilot program in Mangochi, along with other community-based school programs ran similarity, shows possible inconsistencies and negative implications of the work of operational NGOs.

It is not that NGOs purposely work against state goals. In fact, both Save the Children's and Malawi's education goals are in line. They both want quality education to be accessible to all

of the children in Malawi. While they may want the same thing they have different approaches and Save the Children has the autonomy to take on projects of their choosing. NGO organizations taking into account participation by the local communities and ministries still fail to create sustainable development. This is due to the fact that NGOs and governments are not on the same level and NGOs can operate more freely and have the resources, trust and relationships to fuel elaborate and effective programs. Without the work of Save the Children the VBS program would not have been possible and children seeking education in rural communities depend on Save the Children to keep the programs alive. The grassroots style taken in this case proves civil society is capable of taking responsibility for their own lives, but the withdrawal of external support would eventually cause the operation to crumble.

The role of NGOs is complex and is often viewed as that of charity. Even when an organization mobilizes society and an effort to empower citizen is made, improvements may result but for how long? It is unsettling to think outside organizations are keeping weak nations together. The contemporary situation of NGOs settling into regions around the world becomes concerning when their presence is necessary and departure is unclear. Being in the unique position to work between governments and civil societies with the backing from international organizations makes these actors capable of real change and improving conditions for the better. Charity and external domination fail to make lasting changes for those who need it. Forms of charity prevent effective development in many parts of Africa. As scholars have suggested, voluntary groups are not focused on change as much as charity; this is the determination to solve other people's problems for them.[151]

The rapid growth of NGOs has created an environment where NGOs can flourish. It seems they work to make people's conditions better by implementing solutions, instead of

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[151] Murphy, "International NGOs and the Challenge," 344.

helping them fix the reason they are in those conditions. The visions of Save the Children's founder, Eglantyne Jebb, were specifically to not simply take people away from their hardships, but provide them with the ability to improve their situation themselves. In Malawi, Save the Children is now providing education in 8 out of a total of 29 districts, reaching 72, 083 children ranging from 6-13 years old in primary schools.[152] This involvement includes community schools, along with other education programs under Save the Children. Looking at their VBS system, they do not offer solutions for the dependency of Malawi on outside developmental resources and ideas, but instead furthers this dependency lending temporary solutions to those in need. All in all, there are important differences between helping a state attain basic rights such as education and securing this standard for the future.

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[152] "Malawi: Education," Save the Children, https://malawi.savethechildren.net/our-programme/education.

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