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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD:

DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION BANGLADESH – NORWAY AND SUPPORT TO FULFILMENT OF THE CRC'S GOAL OF FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION

(The YWCA of Bangladesh)

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Abstract

This study examines how Norway, through development cooperation with Bangladesh, complies with and implements the CRC's article 28 and 29: The Right to Free Universal Education,. Examples are from cooperation with two NGOs in Bangladesh; the BRAC and YWCA of Bangladesh, which provides primary education programmes with support from Norway. I conducted fieldwork both in Bangladesh and in Norway, where interviewed representatives from the different levels and actors covering my research question. I followed the implementation of the CRC across the entire scale from the bilateral, via the national, to the local level, by use of theories on education, regimes and civil society. The results showed that the programmes I studied contribute to bring Bangladesh closer to fulfilling its commitment to the CRC. The NGOs represented different approaches. The BRAC addressed girls, ethnic minorities, disabled children and poor, reached one million children. The YWCA was a smaller organisation, focusing on providing quality education to the ultra poor children. Challenges still remain, although these two programmes represent success stories. More permanent success however, depends on continuity, and international actors have to be committed on equal level as the governments to ensure free universal education.

Keywords: The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), education, development cooperation, NGOs, Bangladesh, Norway.

(Jannatol Aktar in the BRAC)

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(The YWCA of Bangladesh)

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADB	–	Asian Development Bank
BRAC	–	Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (now Building Resources Across Communities)
BBS	–	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
CAMPE	–	Campaign for Popular Education
CEA	–	Compulsory Education Act
CR	–	Children's Rights
CRC	–	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRIN	–	Child Rights Information Network
EFA	–	Education for All
FTI	–	Fast Track Initiative
GDP	–	Gross Domestic Product
GoB	–	Government of Bangladesh
HR	–	Human rights
HIPC	–	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICESCR	–	International Convent on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ILO	–	International Labour Organisation
MDG	–	Millennium Development Goal
MoD	–	Ministry of Development
MoU	–	Memorandum of Understanding
NFE	–	Non-Formal Education
NFPE	–	Non-Formal Primary Education
NGO	–	Non-Governmental Organisation
NORAD	–	Norwegian Agency for Development
NPA	–	National Plan of Action
ODA	–	Official Development Aid
PEDP	–	Primary Education Development Programme
PRSP	–	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SFAI	–	School Fee Abolition Initiative
UPE	–	Universal Primacy Education
UN	–	United Nations
UDHR	–	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UNCRC	–	United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	–	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	–	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNGEI	–	United Nations Girls' Education Initiative
UNICEF	–	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
YWCA	–	Young Women's Christian Association
YMCA	–	Young Men's Christian Association
WB	–	World Bank
WFP	–	World Food Programme

Where there are no rights for women, how can children have rights? If the changes can reach my child, it will also reach me.

(Mrs. Aktar, 32)

Education for all is important for three reasons. First, education is a right. Second, education enhances individual freedom. Third, education yields important development benefits.

(John Daniel, UNESCO Assistant Director-General for Education)

1.0 INTRODUCTION: CHILDREN ARE THE FUTURE

Worldwide over 140 million children (13% of those aged 7–18) have never attended school (State of the World's Children, 2005). Children are vulnerable to poverty and deprivation, and children exposed to poverty are hindered in participating fully in society and realising their potential (Sen 1999: 90). Poverty is then not only a measure of suffering: it also measures disempowerment, a vicious circle where lack of capabilities, resources and power leads in turn to continued poverty. Bringing quality education to all children is one way out of this recurrent cycle of poverty and disempowerment (Drezé and Sen 2002: 5-9).

Protecting children from poverty is both a national and a global responsibility, and many international agreements have been adopted to address this challenge. The most important international tool in the work to empower children is the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which enjoys worldwide support. As the CRC celebrates its 20th anniversary in 2009, it seems particularly appropriate to investigate the degree to which the Convention has in fact been implemented. The first call for Universal Primary Education (UPE) came at the regional conferences of Ministers of Education in 1960, where the target year set for achieving UPE was 1980. Today, 28 years later, this goal has still not been reached, and many countries will have problems achieving it by 2015, the new 'deadline' set for the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Carmen 2002: 410).

1.1   Purpose and the research question

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how the right to education, as stipulated in the CRC, has been implemented in the bilateral cooperation[1] between Bangladesh and Norway in terms of education. The point of departure will be articles 28 and 29 of the CRC.[2] It is essential to understand the priorities set by the various actors involved in bilateral development cooperation.

The research questions are as follows:

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[1] This will include and focus on the relation to NGOs.

[2] See section 1.2 for more detailed description of articles 28 and 29 regarding the right to education.

1. How does Norway comply with its commitment to the CRC, Articles 28 and 29 on the right to education, in its cooperation with Bangladesh?

2. How have Articles 28 and 29 of the CRC been implemented:

> *– Bilaterally, through development cooperation between Bangladesh and Norway.*
> *– Nationally, through strategies carried out by two NGOs that are Norwegian cooperation partners in Bangladesh*
> *– Locally, by the local body of the NGOs.*

In this way I seek to follow implementation of the CRC, Article 28 and 29 across the entire scale from the international, via the national, to the local level. Norway's development aid, guided by Norwegian policies and strategies, represents the input that is expected to contribute to implementation of the CRC. The development dialogue, programmes, and projects in Bangladesh via the bilateral channel and NGOs will be analysed as the implementation output. Results from the national aid partners will constitute the implementation outcome, and the views of the interviewees locally in Bangladesh will give an impression of the implementation impact, although in-depth analysis of the impact is beyond the scope of this study.

I will use the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee[3] (BRAC) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Bangladesh as case studies at the national and local level in Bangladesh, as they are both recipients of Norwegian aid. For further details, see the methodology chapter. The analytical framework draws upon studies about education in development theory: Sen (1999), Tomasevski (2000-2006), Birdsall (2005) and Mundy (2006), theories about regimes, compliance and capacity: Checkels (1999), Madon (1999) and Hanf and Underdal (1998), and theories about civil society and NGO: Edwards (1999).

1.2   The CRC and the right to education

All the countries of the world have signed the CRC, but still two countries, the USA and Somalia, have not ratified it. Bangladesh was one of the first to sign and ratify the Convention.[4] The extent to which the CRC is legally binding varies from country to

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[3] BRAC recently changed name to Building Resources Across Communities.

[4] Bangladesh signed the CRC on 26th January 1990 and ratified it on 3 August the same year. Two reservations were added. In 1994 National Child Policy was enunciated, which incorporated the CRC into

country, depending on whether it is superior, equal to or subordinate to national laws. Most of the rights set out in the CRC are formulated as values, and it is up to the individual countries to formulate laws according to the values. When it comes to cultural, social or economic rights, the states' commitments are restricted by the states' capability to implement the Convention (Save the Children Norway 2002). By ratifying the CRC, national governments have committed themselves to fulfil and protect the rights of the child, and to be transparently accountable for implementation of the CRC by reporting to the Committee on the Rights of the Child. These reports are to provide information on the situation of children in the country and explain the measures taken by the state to realise the rights. The Committee comments on the reports and urges all levels of the government to further implement the CRC (Pais and Bissell 2006: 689).

The CRC manifests and mainstreams the understanding of a child as a human being of equal importance as adults, but with special needs for protection and support (Bajpai 2003: 1; Freeman 2000). Articles 28 and 29 in the CRC deal with the right to education.[5] Article 28 (UNCRC 1989) defines the responsibility of the state to provide free and compulsory education, and specifies that school discipline shall be consistent with the child's rights and dignity. International cooperation for implementation of these rights is encouraged. This is also encouraged in Article 4 (ibid.). Article 29 (ibid.) concerns the quality of the education provided. Education shall develop the child's personality and potential, respect human rights and value other human beings, as well as develop respect for parents, cultural identity, language and national values.

There are also other agreements and conventions covering children's rights to education. The most important of these are the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), Education For All (EFA, 1990 and 2000) and the Millennium Development Goals[6] (MDGs, 2000 and 2005), the Fast Track Initiative[7] (FTI, 2002). These

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Bangladeshi policies (Mustaque and Chowdhury 1999:80-81). Norway signed the CRC on 26 January 1990, and ratified it on 8 January 1991 (www.ohchr.org)

[5] The whole text of Article 28 and 29 may be found in Appendix C.

[6] The MDGs were launched at the UN General Assembly in 2000, and are endorsed by 189 countries. It was formulated as a roadmap setting out eight measurable goals to be reached by 2015 (www.un.org/millenniumgoals).

[7] The FTI was an initiative from the World Bank to ensure that no developing country with a clear plan for achieving UPE would be guaranteed financial support (Mundy 2006: 36–37).

agreements constitute the context of the CRC, which is relevant when discussing the Convention[8] (Bajpai 2003: 22–23; Tomasevski 2006: xi).

1.3 Outline of the thesis

In chapter two I explain the framework for analysing the research questions. The analysis will be across scales, examining how Articles 28 and 29 of the CRC are dealt with in Norwegian development policies, and especially in regard to Bangladesh. Further I will look at how Articles 28 and 29 are implemented through NGOs and to a limited extent through national policies in Bangladesh. In the following section I analyse the data collected during the field study in Bangladesh and Norway. From the collected data I will investigate how the NGOs work at the national level for education, in relation to the Bangladeshi government and towards Norwegian donor society. Finally, I analyse how the NGOs implement the policies at the local level.

2.0 CURRENT RESEARCH, ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

To explain the findings and to guide the analysis, I have developed an analytical framework consisting of policy concepts, theoretical approaches and method.

2.1 Definition of key policy concepts

The discussion in this thesis employs some concepts that may be understood differently depending on the cultural context and background. Therefore I will present the concepts with their internationally recognised understandings, as far as there are any, and with the Bangladeshi definition. I will also explain my reasons for the definitions chosen for use here.

2.1.1 The definition of a child

The CRC formulates the generally agreed definition of a child thusly: 'A child means every human being below the age of 18 years unless, under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier' (UNCRC 1989: Article 1). In Bangladeshi laws, however, the definition of a child is not uniform. The CRC has not yet been incorporated into Bangladeshi law, although the country has signed and ratified the CRC. What is viewed as the age of majority varies from issue to issue: e.g. the legal marriage age is 18

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[8] Convent on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966) and the School Fee Abolition Initiative (SFAI, 2005) as well as regional treaties also addresses the right to education, but these will not be dealt with here (Tomasevski 2006).

for women and 21 for men; a person below the age of 16 is a juvenile, but 7 is the minimum age for being criminal responsible (CRIN 2008.03.13).[9] In the Bengali language the word *shishu* means child – up to approximately school age, which six years of age, but used for older children, it has negative connotations.[10] *Shishu adhikar* is the term used in Bengali for the concept 'children's rights'. Blanchet (2003: 37–40) shows that using the word *shishu* in connection with children's rights narrows and misrepresents the content and intention of the CRC, as it leaves older children outside the scope of the CRC. I will use the CRC definition of a child, because that is the definition to which both Bangladesh and Norway are committed through the CRC. However, the Bangladeshi understanding of 'children' (*shishu*) should be borne in mind in analysing how Bangladesh has implemented the CRC.

2.1.2 The definition of primary education

Internationally there is no standard for the length of what is considered to be primary education. The various human right treaties merely speak of free and compulsory primary education, seen as the first stage of formal schooling, variously called primary, basic, fundamental or elementary. Primary education varies from 13 years in the Netherlands to 3 years in Angola (Tomasevski 2006: xxi). UNESCO (1961) sought to divide schooling into primary and secondary, two successive phases, to lengthen the time of obligatory schooling. In 1921 the ILO linked free and compulsory education to the elimination of child labour, and put the minimum school-leaving age at 14 years, which in 1999 was raised to 18 years (ibid.). Six years of education is recognised as the minimum necessary to sustain literacy (ibid.). In Bangladesh, primary education is considered as being classes one to five, starting from when the child is six years of age (Compulsory Primary Education Act 1990). I have used the Bangladeshi definition of primary education of classes one to five, as it almost corresponds to the minimum number of years needed to sustain literacy. Additionally, the aided programmes are mainly directed to the primary level.

2.1.3 The definition of education programmes

'Education' is broad concept that covers all forms of skill training from vocational training, literacy, life-skill training as well as academic learning. In addition to the State,

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[9] Child Marriage Restraint Act (1929), Penal Code (1860) and Employment of Children Act (1938) (www.right-to-education.org)

[10] See also Bissel (2003).

other actors provide educational programmes, of varying quality. The national curriculum sets a standard for whether these additional providers offer primary education or only non-formal skill training (Mundy: 2006: 28). In Bangladesh one finds a wide range of educational programmes, under various names. The term 'formal school' refers to the school system run by the government. Private schools also have formal school programmes, but since the pupils have to pay a school-fee I have distinguished these programmes from the others by calling them pay-schools. The programmes I studied were official registered Non-Formal Primary Education (NFPE) programmes. They provide five years of primary education, with a final examination after class five. My focus is on the primary education programmes, and especially NFPE. (See also Ibrahim 2002: ix; A State of Primary Education in Bangladesh 2000: xxiii).

2.2   Current research and theoretical perspectives

Three main approaches are particularly relevant in the context of my analysis. First, it is important to understand the position of education within the development debate, and as a target for aid. For this purpose we will need to revisit development theory. Second, theories that can explain how international agreements or regimes influence a state are required. They will be used in analysing how states, and actors within the state, respond or comply with such agreements or regimes. Third, as NGOs are important providers of education, we will need to understand their role in the context. I have defined the concepts I have used under each of the different theories.

2.2.1 Education in development theory

Within development theory we find the belief in a positive correlation between education and political, economic and cultural development (Birdsall and Vaishnav 2005: 256), with education related positively to both equity and productivity (Mundy 2006: 33). Education is viewed as human capital: an asset people cannot be separated from (Todaro and Smith 2006: 369).

Amartya Sen has explained development as freedom: freedom means the freedom to live the life one wants to live. Such a life can be achieved through capabilities, and education and health are the essential 'enabling' factors for obtaining capabilities to achieve such freedom (Dréze and Sen 2002: 38). Freedom enables people to help themselves as well as to influence the society in which they live. Further, a literate population can more

readily participate in the public sphere and thereby ensure democratic institutions (ibid.:143). Child labour is connected to the non-schooling of children. If children had more incentives to stay in school, schooling would have a positive effect on the termination of child labour. Girls enrolled in schools tend to marry later and literacy among disadvantaged groups enables them to resist oppression (ibid.: 39).

Education is seen as a strategy for creating development by both the radical-, modernist- and neo-liberal schools of development theory.[11] However, contrary to the widespread assumption that aid to primary education has been extensive, up to the 1990s aid to education generally involved medium-sized, short-term bilateral initiatives, largely directed towards higher education. This might have been because donors saw primary education as being a national responsibility, as well as due to the weak coordination of aid to education. UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank all funded educational programmes, but none of them took a coordinating role (Mundy 2006: 27). After the 1990s aid to basic education has increased rapidly, although the increase represents only a fraction of what will be needed to reach the goal of UPE by the year 2015 (ibid.: 40).

Education is seen as an entitlement, a right of every child recognized both by the UDHR and the CRC, – but a right does not apply to citizenship. This is why education has gained a status as a global public good, and it needs international coordination and commitments (Mundy 2006: 45). A common challenge for rights-based global public goods is that they are often not recognised within the legal system. However, the right to free and compulsory education has now become enshrined in legislation in almost all countries (Bajpai 2006: 356). On the other hand, Tomasevski (2006: 115) shows that governmental guarantees of free primary education for all children are frequently violated, and that a global legal framework also addressing multilateral organisations might be needed to support free education (Tomasevski 2005B: 78).

The shift in 'aid-to-education regime' has been marked by the growing use of multilateral channels, harmonising bilateral aid at the country level, making international agreements operational, through the FTI ensuring resources to well-planned educational initiatives and greater willingness to long-term commitment (Birdsall, Levine and

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[11] To read more development theory, see Arndt (1989), Tilak (1994), Desai and Potter (2002) and Potter et al. (1999).

Ibrahim: 345–346). Despite these positive shifts, Mundy argues that the changes are only relative, as old patterns seem to persist in the new Official Development Aid's (ODA's) plans. Birdsall (Birdsall and Vaishnav 2005: 263) leading the FTI, warns against a lack of donor commitment to flexible long-term financing.

Despite the efforts made, and all the positive effects arising from primary education, UPE has proven hard to achieve. Dréze and Sen note three factors that keep children in school: 'accessibility, affordability and quality of school' (2002: 154). Tomasevski uses four factors that correspond with those of Dréze and Sen: *Availability*, which consists of availability of schools, funding and well trained and paid teachers. *Accessibility,* which here means free compulsory primary education, with parental freedom of choice. *Acceptability,* the school has to live up to certain minimum standards of quality and let the pupils learn about children's and thereby their own rights. *Adaptability,* school has to be an alternative also for children with disabilities or children that have been out-of-school (Tomasevski 2001: 14). Beeckman argues in addition for indicators suited for assessing behavioural changes among pupils that can reflect the outcome of the CRC approach in schools (Beeckman 2004: 77).

2.2.1.1 Summary

In my analysis, the four *A*s will be used as indicators to examine and assess the national strategies and local school programmes of organisations. The *A*s are concrete, and using them for the analysis will enable me to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the programmes and how the programmes correspond with the CRC's demand. I will also focus on how human right values and principles are reflected in the programmes, at the local and national levels. However, behavioural changes will not be discussed in this thesis. Sen's capability argumentation will be reviewed. Donor coordination and long-term commitment will be used for analysing the bilateral cooperation between Norway and Bangladesh.

2.2.2 Regimes, compliance and capacity

What makes states comply with and implement international agreements? Regime theories can give an answer to this question. Stephan Krasner has defined regimes as 'a set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures that direct countries behaviour within a specific issue-area' (Krasner 1983: 2). This definition has been widely discussed. Different schools have tried to find new

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definitions, but so far Krasner's is the one most generally used and accepted (Hasenclever et al. 1997:8).

The CRC represents a regime according to Krasner's definition. However, the CRC regime does not provide for any specific punishing mechanisms. It relies on reputation and on condemnation from citizens and international society in case of being non-implemented. Therefore the CRC is a soft regime,[12] which easily can be violated. However, almost 20 years after its inception, the CRC still influences the policies and strategies regarding children. To understand why the CRC still provides influence, the ideational approach appears as useful, as it explains that power and economic interests are not the only explanatory factors. [13] According to the ideational approach 'learning' is seen as an important factor for explaining changes in policy preferences (Haas 1992: 2). Knowledge, norms and ideas constitute a belief system that is seen as directing influence and decisions. The belief system can be changed when policy-makers adopt new knowledge through a process of learning (Ibid.: 5; Checkel 2001: 553–588). However, for the knowledge achieved to have impact on regimes it has to be widely shared by key policy-makers. Epistemic communities[14] have become important channels for the dissemination of knowledge. NGOs and NGO coalitions may also serve as channels for learning (Hasenclever et al. 1997: 150). Sharing of knowledge and confrontation of different viewpoints may serve as vehicles to international learning (ibid.: 209). Changes in beliefs are more likely to come about when arguments build on quantitative data, whereas qualitative data and social or political issues are less likely to lead to changes. A time perspective of a decade or more is needed to see the process of policy changes (Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier 1994: 184–187).

International NGOs 'are increasingly regarded as important in their capacity to influence global policy on development matters such as poverty alleviation, sustainable development, and human rights' (Madon 1999: 251). The strength of NGOs lies in their 'simultaneous attachment to places and local cultures on the one hand, and their critical

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[12] When there is no enforcing mechanism or economic benefits the regime is soft (Little 2005: 375).

[13] To read more about the different schools (power-, interest- and ideational based approaches) within regime theory, see Hasenclever et al. (1997) and Checkel (2001).

[14] Epistemic communities means network of professionals possessing widely recognised competencies and expertise (Haas in Hasenclever et al. 1997: 149).

engagement with the global on the other' (ibid.: 253). Globalisation[15] and advances in communication technologies have led to a more connected NGO community that can make networks and coalitions at multiple levels (ibid.: 254). These networks or advocacy coalitions can communicate knowledge about the grassroots level to the states. (Korten 2002: 144–146).

It is also important to remember that the different states have varying capacity to comply and implement. Developing nations often face challenges in implementing and complying with international treaties, due to the lack of relevant capacity. Such capacity can be divided in two main categories. The first concerns competencies and resources, while the second involves the capacity to make use of them (Hanf and Underdal 1998:164–165). Many developing nations lack trained personnel, stable, long-term financing for programmes as well as political will to implement. In that way ODA or bilateral donors might gain substantial power in influencing policy-making as it might contribute to one of the lacking capacities (ibid.: 165).

2.2.2.1 Summary
All the above arguments are applicable to the case study in this thesis. Bangladesh has a wide-ranging and active civil society, also with strong NGOs. The bilateral relation involves influence between the states, and from the NGOs to the states. In the analyses, learning and advocacy will be used to explain NGO influences on the states, and vice versa. Capacity – competencies, the ability to apply these competencies – will also be taken into the discussion.

2.2.3 Civil society theories on NGOs

The civil society[16] contains many different types of actors, but in this thesis I focus solely on NGOs[17] with a national structure. NGOs have become important actors within the development field. They are generally seen as having several comparative advantages for providing development compared with donor state agencies (Dengbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen 2002: 157–158). Lately this has been questioned. The services provided by NGOs might be primarily state responsibilities, which NGOs

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[15] See David Held's definition in Held et al 1999.

[16] The United Nations Development Programme's definition is: 'Civil Society is, together with the state and the market, one of three "spheres" that interface in the making of a democratic society' (Desai and Potter 2002: 490).

[17] By 'NGOs' are meant any non-profit, voluntary citizen groups or local activist groups, which might have national affiliation and sometimes also an international association. They are task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest or belief system' (Princen and Finger in Andersen 2007: 69).

help to fulfil through development cooperation. In that light, NGOs then appear as a threat for further weakening of the developing state, as the state can become accustomed to not having to take responsibility for carrying out its duties (ibid.: 166; Tvedt 1998: 208–209).

In theories NGOs are seen as having greater chances of success when resources are directed simultaneously towards organisational development (internal factor) and economic security (external factor), so that each factor supports and feeds into the other (Edwards 1999: 367).[18] Further, organisations are more likely to succeed when they have clear long-term goals. Without long-term goals NGOs tend to lose direction, and stop learning from their own mistakes. It is important to balance material and social development goals – especially within organisations working with relief programmes as they easily drift into becoming service providers and lose their political drive. The greater bureaucracy among donors, as well as donor demands for short-term results and large-scale service provision, harms the development and success of NGOs. On the other hand, donors who are flexible and sensitive can contribute to NGOs' success and thereby to development (ibid.: 371–373).

2.2.3.1 Summary

The criteria for successful NGOs are important when analysing the NGOs and their programmes. The NGOs in question in this thesis provide services, but they also advocate on behalf of their target groups. Internal and external factors of the NGOs will be examined, to clarify the ability of the BRAC and YWCA to keep their goals and influence their donors.

2.3   Methodology

My research question involved two main directions: firstly to examine whether Norway complies with its commitment to the CRC through its development cooperation with Bangladesh; secondly, to study how the CRC has been implemented in order to reach the grassroot level and the children. The questions are formulated to invite explanatory answers, so that both of the directions are examined. Therefore I chose an embedded case study with a qualitative approach (Yin. 2003: 6, 13, 120–121). Qualitative research relies on analytical generalisation, in opposition to quantitative research, which is based on statistical generalisations and therefore demands precise testing of hypotheses. The

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[18] By 'success' Edwards means maintaining the NGO's overall goals and keeping the NGO financially viable.

aim of qualitative studies is to identify conditions under which particular causal effects may occur and to make empirical observations, by drawing upon existing theoretical approaches. From the analysis of empirical observations new insights may be discovered which can be generalised into theoretical propositions (Yin 2003: 22–26). In this study a qualitative approach is suitable to discover what types of strategies are most successful for implementing the CRC requirement for basic education. This approach also allows a detailed study of all the three levels of interest.

2.3.1 Interviews, selection and language

For the research it was important to have two example countries that could be used to find out whether and to what extent there has been compliance with the CRC, and how policies have been implemented. Bangladesh and Norway were chosen because they have longstanding development cooperation. Both countries signed and ratified the CRC at an early stage. Since 2002 primary education programmes have been one of two main targets in the cooperation between Bangladesh and Norway (MoU between Bangladesh and Norway, 2003-2008). However, the asymmetry in the relation, Bangladesh being a receiver of aid and Norway being a donor, will be discussed in relation to capacity and influence. Bangladesh was chosen because the country works to achieving EFA. Since 1990 Bangladesh has done much to promote literacy and educate the whole population. The country still has a growing population, where 35.5% of the population is under 15 years (Globalis.no 2008.05.07). Full literacy is a challenge for the country, which suffers from corruption and instable leadership (Royal Preposition No.1 2007-2008: 110 and1112). Norway was chosen because the country's development policies emphasise children and young people as essential for creating development (Three billion reasons 2005:9). Norway is also committed to be among the countries that give most aid to education, and thereby contribute to achieve EFA (Royal Proposition No.1 2007-2008: 12). Another important factor is my familiarity with both countries, their cultures and languages. I have earlier worked with the YWCA in Bangladesh and learned Bengali during that period.

Qualitative field studies were carried out in both Bangladesh and Norway (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000: 3–4, 204; Parker 1999: 32). [19] In order to follow policy at the various

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[19] The fieldwork took place for three weeks in Bangladesh, and two weeks in Norway in September and October 2007. I have interviewed ten different types of actors: NORAD, Save the Children Denmark,

levels, it was important to collect information from key persons in the organisations and agencies concerned. At the local level, where the activities were carried out, informants were chosen more randomly. Focused interviews were used to gather information from the respondents, but the interview guide opened up for a conversation, enabling the respondents to add additional information (Yin 2003: 90–91). The local-level interviews had a different design than those conducted with key persons and representatives within the organisations and the agencies.[20] In addition to the interviews I also wrote down my impressions and observations immediately after visiting the field, so that I could later return to the data for more reflective analysis (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2000:7–8). Collected data were used to analyse and complete my interpretation of the interviews and observations (Yin 2003: 92–93).

I decided to focus on NGO-driven projects since they aim to reach out-of-school children, a hard to reach group who tend to be especially vulnerable, and are therefore an important group for the CRC to empower. [21] It is also this group that is addressed by the EFA, the MDGs and FTI. By looking at the work done by NGOs, it was possible to get to know many of the challenges facing a country seeking to achieve implementation of the CRC. The NGOs I chose for my study was the BRAC and YWCA of Bangladesh. The BRAC represent a large organisation, 'the largest in the world employing 97,192 people, with the twin objective of poverty alleviation and empowerment of the poor' (The BRAC vision, 29 January 2008). The YWCA, by contrast, is a small organisation in Bangladesh, but is part of an international structure present in 125 countries worldwide. The objectives of the YWCA are to unite women and young girls irrespective of caste, creed and religion (YWCA annual report 2005–2006).

The interviews were conducted in three languages (Bengali, English and Norwegian). Knowing all the languages, I could communicate directly with my interviewees. This made it easier for them to be open, and for me to ask follow-up questions. In the interviews in Bengali I also had an interpreter, which gave me time to write down the

UNICEF Bangladesh, the Norwegian Embassy in Bangladesh, the BRAC and YWCA of Bangladesh on national and local level of the organisations, as well as in their school programmes. Including all the children and parents I have been in contact with, I have spoken with approximately 80 persons. Detailed descriptions of the respondents may be found in the fieldwork report.

[20] See the interview guide in Appendix B.

[21] Bangladesh and Norway have also established extensive state-to-state cooperation on primary education, but that goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

answers, reformulate questions and gain a deeper understanding. I had two female interpreters, one in Dhaka and one in Chittagong. Female interpreters were useful for getting access, as most of my interviewees at the local level were women and children.

2.3.2 Reliability and validity

In carrying out the interviews I met challenges in relation to both the correctness and truthfulness of the answers I received (Kvale 1996: 136). Especially at the local level, interviewees appeared concerned to give me the 'correct' answer or what they thought I wanted to hear (ibid.:33–34; Yin, 2003:38). It was hard to maintain privacy while doing the interviews at the local level, as other people were constantly intervening in the conversation. On some occasions I had to hold interviews with a group rather than one individual. Representatives of the organisations were often around when I conducted the interviews, and this might have influenced the reliability of the answers (Kvale, 1996: 243). [22]

For the YWCA of Bangladesh the respondents seemed at ease, and as I had previous contact with the organisation I was able to access all levels. This strengthened both the reliability and the validity because the interviewees were familiar with me (Kvale, 1996:147–148). The organisations in which I was doing the research were both providing me with information and giving me access to respondents, especially at the local level. As I was familiar with all levels of the YWCA and knew the people working there, my position was more that of an insider, in the way Halstead defines the insider/outsider paradigm (Halstead, 2001: 310). Being a foreign woman and knowing the local language gave me a special position in the society and in the meetings with my respondents. As a woman I was welcomed into the female sphere, but as a foreigner I was also allowed into the male sphere. In the end I was probably restricted from full participation in both groups, because I was a non-native of the country (ibid.: 317–318). This might conceivably have influenced whom I got to talk with and the reliability of the answers received.

To do research on different levels, demands a wide range of respondents to cover each level. I have tried to fulfil this criterion with the respondents chosen, though due to the limited time for the fieldwork some potential respondents had to be omitted. This might

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[22] I use Yin's (2003: 35–39) definitions of validity and reliability.

have affected my possibilities for drawing conclusions, especially at the bilateral level (Yin 2003: 35).

2.3.3 Limitations

Visa restrictions meant that the fieldwork in Bangladesh had to be conducted in the course of only three weeks, too short a time to familiarise myself with the organisations and people interviewed. The short time made me more dependent on my gatekeepers. This has also meant that it was important to be critical when presenting and analysing the data (Yin 1999:110–113). My study is an example of how Norway works with the implementation of the CRC through its development cooperation. The study does not provide any generalisation of how aid is used to implement conventions such as the CRC, or how Norway works in general to comply with the CRC and the right to education.

3.0 RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter I will present and discuss results from my fieldwork. Firstly, at the bilateral level, including Norwegian policies regarding aid to education, financing of education in receiver country. Within the bilateral activities I focus on the aid and policies directed to NGO activities in Bangladesh, but I will also compare it with the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) education strategies. Secondly, I will discuss policies and strategies regarding education at the national level in Bangladesh. Thirdly, the local situation and programmes will be presented and discussed according to the four *A*s.

3.1   Bilateral Cooperation: Norwegian Efforts for Compliance with the CRC

Three Billion Reasons, Norway's development strategy for children and young people in the South (2005: 25) binds Norway to enhance the capacity of partner countries to fulfil their obligations to the CRC. To be able to discover how Norway works for increased provision of education, I will examine the Norwegian policies in relation to Tomasevski's four *A*s. Then I will discuss financing and coordination of aid strategies, and also shortly how Norway can influence the receivers policies and strategies.

3.1.1 Development Policies

Education is one of the most essential tool to fight poverty; according to Sen, but also according to the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and Norwegian development policies (Fighting Poverty Together 2003-2004: 5; Interview 1

NORAD). Worldwide Sen's capability approach, have had influence on the development countries as well as on donors understanding of development and needed actions to create such (Education Job No. 1 2003:6). The development cooperation I found in my fieldwork in Bangladesh was based on the priorities of the former Norwegian Government. The former Minister of Development saw children and young people as pivotal for creating development. Education was stated to be "Job No. 1" enabling children and youth to choose their future (ibid.:6; Three Billion Reasons 2005: 25). Therefore high priority was given to educational programmes in the development cooperation (Education Job No. 1 2003:1; Three Billion reason 2005: 7). Norwegian cooperation partners are obliged to making primary school available for all school-aged children. Availability include that there are enough buildings and material, and that these are in a condition that encourage learning. Teachers have to be educated and trained to teach (Fighting Poverty Together 2003-2004: 117-118). Focus is also given to support institutions that facilitate education so that further development of education programmes can take place (ibid.). Norwegian policies regarding education focus on strengthening the whole chain of education, from pre-primary to vocational training or postgraduate level (With Paper no. 35 2003-2004:118). The latest Royal Proposition (No.1 2007-2008: 12) underlines Norway's commitment to work towards EFA, as well as strengthen the position of children and children's rights in Norwegian development cooperation.[23]

Norway has chosen education as one of two main areas for support to Bangladesh, for the period 2004 to 2009 (MoU, 2003-2007). This is implemented through participation in a group of likeminded countries, led by the Asian Development Bank (ADB). The group support the Governmental primary education development programme (PDEP II) (Royal Proposition. No.1 2007-2008: 110,112). Within another group of likeminded countries, Norway supports the BRAC's basic education programme (BEP), which addresses hard-to-reach groups as girls, minorities, children with disabilities and other children who are out-of-school (Royal Proposition No.1 2005-2006: 117). In addition Norway channels aid through Norwegian NGO's projects. One of these are YWCA – YMCA Norway, which again supports their sister organisation in Bangladesh (Royal Proposition No.1 2007-2008: 224).

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[23] Norwegian aid is channled through the Norwegian embassy at the country level. NORAD's duty is to '…ensure that the Norwegian development cooperation has high quality and is evaluated' (norad.no).

The objectives of the PEDP II are to improve quality, equitable access and efficiency in the primary education. The programme aims to include all children below 14 years of age to lengthen the school prospective (Bangladesh Country Report 2006: 29). The programme focuses on three main areas; improving quality of teaching and learning, increasing access to schooling to disadvantaged groups and strengthening planning and management of primary education through a national monitoring and evaluation system (ibid.: 5). The BRAC aims to give children a second chance to get into the education system. Children who are not enrolled in the formal school at the age 8 - 10 years therefore are the targets for the BEP. BRAC offers primary education in four years, instead of five, to overhaul some of the lost time. The organisation collaborates with formal schools to avoid competition, as well as to collect information from villages about the need for schooling (Interview NORAD 1). In the PEDP II availability, accessibility and acceptability are the main concerns, while the BEP focuses more on adaptability and accessibility. These two programmes are in line with Norwegian priorities, and correspond in high degree with the CRC's demands to education.

3.1.2 Capacity, Coordination and Financing

Capacity is a challenge at all levels within the education sector. The GoB allocates 2.4% of the GDP on education (Bangladesh Country Report 2006: vi). Internationally 6% of GDP is regarded as necessary to provide a sufficient education programmes. Although the Government has increased own spending on education, Bangladesh will continue to be dependent on external financial support to manage to provide enough education for a still growing population (Education For All 2003: 29). Governmental schools provide education to 55% of all enrolled children. Other actors such as NGO schools, private schools and Madrasahs also provide education and they are important for testing out different types of education programmes. (Al-Samarrai 2007: 4). In addition to the finical challenges the Bangladeshi education system struggles to get enough schools, bring down the number of student per teacher and get enough educated teachers (Bangladesh MDG Report 2006: 13). Further, decisions regarding schools and education are in high degree centralised, which limits local adjustments (Musthaque and Chowdhury 1999: 90). The primary school curriculum is not developed in sufficient way, and both the organisations I visited complained about this (Interview 1 BRAC; Interview 1 YWCA). The curriculum does not provide for any long-term vision for child

development, and participatory methods for learning are not encouraged (Musthaque and Chowdhury 1999: 90).[24]

Norway emphasises that programmes have to involve different levels of the government to make sure that implementation will reach the ones it intends to reach (Interview 1 NORAD). Further, Norway urges the GoB to take the lead within the education field and harmonises all programmes directed towards education. The Government has to distribute and decentralise education in order to include more children (Interview 1 NORAD). Despite this, the BRAC still finds cooperation with the national level of the GoB challenging (Interview 1 BRAC). The PEDP II searches to strengthen and support the capacity of the GoB. Norway finds it important to build up the receiver country so that they in the future can run the education sector without donor support (Interview 1 NORAD).

Further, Norway views donor coordination as important for aid initiatives. By coordinating donor support, the receiver country does not have to relate to too many different conditions, and can rather focus on implementation and administration of the programmes. These are reasons why Norway has been actively supporting the establishment of sector programmes where donors can coordinate and provide aid directly to receiver countries' budget within a specific sector (Fighting Poverty Together 2003-2004: 15; Interview 2 NORAD). Although this is an increasing trend, most of the Norwegian aid still goes through projects (Royal Proposition No.1 2007-2008: 96). The Norwegian Embassy in Bangladesh explained that coordination is an important tool, but to a limited extent. There has to be a balance between the time they have to use on coordination, and the time available to implement the decisions (Interview with the Norwegian Embassy in Bangladesh).

3.1.3 Influence

Norway is a small donor, although Norway gives almost 1% of its GNI in aid (Royal Proposition 2007-2008: 12). On the other hand being a donor always opens up for possibilities to influence. As mentioned above, Norway was contributing to the establishing of sector programmes, and Norway was also one of the initiators behind the EFA (Interview 1 NORAD). Norway aims to have an open relationship with its partners,

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[24] Appendix D contains information about the education situation in Bangladesh.

and the BRAC confirmed this openness (Interview 2 BRAC).[25] In Bangladesh Norway can influence through the groups within which they coordinate aid. For Norway it is important that the PEDP II is an integrated part of the education system, and Norway urges the GoB to mainstream the PEDP II into the regular education programme (Interview 1 NORAD). However, influence also goes the other way from the ones receiving aid to the donor. This will be elaborated further in chapter 3.2.

3.1.4 Summary

In these discussions I found that Norwegian polices regarding aid to education comprise availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability. Further, the right to free education is challenged by international law on trade in services. One way to combat the threat of fees on education would be an international framework that also addresses international actors. Norway has possibilities to influence, which is done both by the choice of projects for support, as well as raising demands within the projects chosen.

3.2   The National Level: Implementation of the CRC in Bangladesh

This section addresses the national level policies and strategies for education within Bangladesh. The discussion builds on the interviews conducted in Bangladesh, as well as literature. Firstly I will revisit the strategies for education with regards to Tomasevski's four *A*s in the two organisations studied and compare them with the strategies of the GoB. Secondly, I will look at the organisations ability to maintain their goals and to be successful in their work. Thirdly, I will find out whether the NGOs compete with the GoB in providing education. Lastly, I will analyse the organisations ability to influence.

3.2.1 Education strategies in Bangladesh

I will here analyse how the BRAC and YWCA contributes to make education available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable, in relation to GoB's education programmes.

3.2.1.1 Availability

"The nation is fully committed to bringing all primary school-age children into school, giving them quality education, bringing the dropouts and the older un-enrolled children to school for a second chance/…/" (Education For All 2003: 22).   Despite this

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[25] The donor group was not satisfied with BRAC teacher's salary, and suggested that this should be increased. This was only possible with an increase in aid, which was accepted by the donors who raised the aid accordingly.

commitment Bangladesh still has almost 5 million children out-of-school (Tomasevski 2006:123). Statistics are not trustable e.g. due to lack of birth registration (ibid.: 48). There is little information available about density of schools, although one reason for not going to schools is the distance to school. The GoB has little cooperation with NGOs or other providers of primary education (ibid.: 49). The infrastructure in the schools is weak and it restricts especially girls' participation (Bangladesh Country Report 2006:9). Parental choice of education is limited (Tomasevski 2006: 124). Most teachers have the formal training, though the quality of this is weak. In addition the teachers have very little time together with the pupils (ibid.: vii). All these fctors restrict the availability of school to Bangladeshi children.

The BRAC cites three requirements for starting a school programme in a village. First, there has to be around 40-45 children who are not enrolled in the formal schools, with parents wanting them to attend school. Second, there must be a house available for renting throughout the entire period of the programme, which is four years. Third, there has to be preferably a young, married woman who has the Secondary School Certificate (SSC), or preferably the Higher School Certificate (HSC)[26], and who is willing to take the training and follow the class the entire period. These demands are made to ensure a full class and that the programme can be completed on time and offer a stable context to the pupils (Interview 1 BRAC). BRAC does not use the term "dropout", as they see children as being pushed out-of-school, due to lack of money, remote schools, ethnic background, gender, being first generation learners, or for a combination of these reasons not being able to follow the normal speed (ibid.). To include those children pushed out of formal school BRAC has developed their own material containing additional drawings and explanations. The BRAC's school is located within the village or neighbourhood to reduce the barriers especially for female participation in the programmes. Further the programme is not based on homework, because nearly 70% of the pupils live in house without electricity, which makes it hard to read after darkness (ibid.).

In the BRAC schools there are 33 pupils at maximum in each class. Two thirds of these are girls. The teacher is usually female, because women are viewed as more suitable for

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[26] SSC is obtained after passing the class 10 final examination, and HSC is obtained after passing class 12 final examination.

taking care of children. Teachers receive 13-15 days training course, in addition teachers attend a training course in the local BRAC office once a month. There they get the possibility to ask about coming challenges, share and discuss experiences with other teachers and trainers. The teaching material is developed so that teachers do not have to develop the lessons themselves (Interview 2 BRAC). The teachers have monthly meetings with the parents; in addition they visit the parents if the children are absent from class, to ensure that the pupils will return to the class (Interview 1 BRAC). Many children have to help their parents in the field, especially during harvesting. Therefore the teachers have to discuss the schedule of the class with the parents and adapt it to their needs.

The YWCA established "free school" programmes in poor neighbourhoods to address the ultra poor[27] and give children from these families a possibility to get a quality education. The YWCA demands that the children are between 6-7 years when they enrol. The age varies both within the class and between the schools. Many of YWCA`s pupils did not know their own age. In one school the teacher told me that the oldest pupil they had in class five were probably around 16 or 17 years (Interview 2 and 4 YWCA). For becoming a pupil on the YWCA "free school" the mother has to be member of one of YWCAs programmes on health, micro credit or literacy. In addition only households with a low income (around Bangladesh Taka (BDT) 5000-6000 a month) [28] are accepted (Interview 2 YWCA).

The "free schools" tries to keep the number of pupils under 50 per teacher. Teachers are female and required to have at least SSC, preferably HSC, and the public teacher training (Interview 1-3 YWCA). YWCA organises exchanges of teachers between their schools so the teachers can learn from each other. Yearly there is a national seminar, which the teacher can participate in (Interview 1 YWCA). The YWCA teachers have regular contact with the parents, through their additional programmes, to motivate them to keep sending their children to school and listen to the parents' views and needs. Most of the contact is directed towards the mothers, though for certain decision YWCA finds it important to include fathers as well. Many fathers send their children, especially

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[27] Defined as: 'those who have no assets, consume around 1,800 Kcal per day and spend 70 percent of their household income on food' (WFP in Bangladesh 2008.05.12).

[28] 5000-6000 BDT is approximately equal to 63.5-72.2 Euro. This was mentioned in the Dhaka school, and variations are likely in the different schools.

daughters, to their village when they become teenagers or when grandparents need support in the village. Villages are also viewed as safer than cities, and the right place to find a suitable partner for their children. Teachers in the YWCA schools try to convince parents to let their children complete school before returning to the village (Interview 2 YWCA). YWCA does not adjust the timing of their lessons according to parents wish. On the other hand the pupils only have about 2-4 hours lessons a day depending on which class they attend. This makes it possible for them to work besides going to school (Interview 2, 4 and 5 YWCA).

3.2.1.2 Accessibility

The GoB has committed "/.../ to ensure free and compulsory primary education to all children, without discrimination" (Education For All 2003: 28). The Government has not defined what it means with "free" education, - children or their parents still have to pay for everything from admission to examination. Such a corruption reduces access (Tomasevski, 2006:123). The Education Watch report for 2001 showed that pupils' monthly expenditure in public primary school was BDT 736[29]. This varied between urban and rural areas (Bangladesh Country Report 2006: 11).

The BRAC education programme is totally free. There are no fees for admission, examination or for attending school. In addition the pupils get notebooks, pencils and they get to borrow teaching material. There are no demands for school uniforms. The school programme is full financed by donors (Interview 2 BRAC).

The "free school" of YWCA is not totally free. YWCA chose to impose a fee for the programme due to parents' conviction of fees as a quality stamp. The fee is minimal and if parents are in economical troubles, they can be exempt from the fee. In some of the branches pupils get a meal, and in all the schools pupils are offered cultural programmes. The school uses school uniforms, which is free for "free school" pupils. The "free school" is financed mostly by money from the pay-school also run by the YWCA, but directed to wealthy families (Interview 2 YWCA).[30]

3.2.1.3 Acceptability

Many children find formal school a great challenge, and this is one of the reasons why many children dropout of school (Bangladesh Country Report 2006: 22). (Bangladesh

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[29] BDT 736 is approximately equal to 7.7 Euro.
[30] Only 15% of YWCA's budgets come from donors (Interview YWCA-YMCA Norway).

Country Report 2006: 22). The national curriculum contains 52 competencies that the pupils are tested against at the end of class five. It is common that pupils have to repeat a year or even drop out-of-school when failing the yearly examinations. The GoB runs Food-For-Education Programme, which managed to increase enrolment, but it also affected the quality of education as the classrooms got overcrowded by pupils, due to the sudden increase of pupils, and teachers had to distribute the food, which gave them less time to teach (Ahmed and Arends-Kuenning 2006: 673; Musthaque and Chowdhury 1999:86).

The BRAC bases their education on the national curriculum, but they have their own material for the first levels (Interview 1 BRAC). English is a difficult subject to teach and thus extra time is needed to make the children understand. BRAC uses participatory methods for learning. The pupils learn about children's rights and human rights in class four and five. The rights they learn about, is the right to life, right to safety, that everybody is equal to law, right to be judged, right to property, right to free choice of religion, right to education, right to love and care from guardians, right to recreation and the right to equal treatment regardless of gender or ethnicity. They also learn that child labour is not legal (ibid.). Both NORAD and the Norwegian embassy emphasised that the strength in the BRAC programme was their wide range and ability to deliver results (Interview Norwegian Embassy in Bangladesh; Interview 1 NORAD).

The YWCA also uses the national curricula and the public textbooks, though for English they have additionally material. YWCA "free schools" use song and dance in the teaching. The "free school" holds a high standard and when the pupils have the possibility to continue school, they usually obtain very good results. The school programmes varies a little between the different schools (Interview 3 YWCA). Further, YWCA does not directly have programme on children's rights, though all their work is based on human rights. In one of the schools, they celebrated *sishu mela*[31] (Interview 2 YWCA). The YWCA-YMCA Norway underlined that the quality in the education programme was the strength of YWCA. When visiting the schools the enthusiasm of the pupils and the teachers were visible and convincing (Interview YWCA-YMCA Norway).

3.2.1.4 Adaptability

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[31] Children's market arranged on the International Children's Day, 20. November.

In the GoB's educational plans it is clearly stated that education is a right of all children, without discrimination (Education For All 2003: 28). Children with disabilities, minority religion and ethnic minority groups lack access to education. Inclusion of these children is expensive and the Ministry of Education has suggested that the Ministry of Social Welfare should provide education for these children through special institutions (ibid.: 37). NGOs are also asked to direct programmes towards these groups (Ibid.: 47). There are about 14% children working in the age group 5-14 years. Economic hardship of their parents, poverty and distressed migration are usually the reason why the children have to work (Bangladesh Country Report 2006: 22). Migrant children are especially hard to include in education programmes.[32] Neither the formal school nor the NGOs had programmes to reach these children. This shows that the Bangladeshi education system is far from inclusive.

The BRAC's primary programme is directed to include girls, indigenous children, children who work and children with disabilities, both with physical adjustments and awareness rising among the pupils and teachers. (Interview 2-4 BRAC). The BRAC's material is developed to be inclusive, by presenting girls, boys, ethnic minorities, and children with disabilities, as well as rural and urban context. The teaching methods are especially adjusted to make learning easy. For areas where the majority of the population speak other languages, materials are developed in the mother tongue of the minority group. Teachers should be recruited from the same minority group, however it is very difficult finding potential teachers from theses groups as there are few adults with SSC (Interview 1 BRAC). BRAC's programmes have also been directed especially to include girls, as girls have often been excluded from school participation. Recently BRAC has registered an increasing number of boys never enrolled in school (Al-Samarrai 2007:2). BRAC is afraid that the strong focus on girls has led to decrease in incentives for sending boys to school. Therefore BRAC sees the need for developing programmes that can reverse this trend (Interview 2 BRAC).

YWCA's "free school" is located to reach the poorest of the poor, who have no other school alternative. The YWCA has teachers and branches run by persons coming from minority groups around the country. This ensures that pupils belonging to the minority groups can get explanations in their own language (Interview 1 YWCA). The teachers

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[32] This is internal migration, which may be caused by lack of work (Bangladesh Country report 2006: 22).

often have to contact parents, who are migrating for work, in order to make them stay if possible (Interview 1 YWCA). The YWCA also mentioned that they had seen an increase in revoking of girls from the class four and five, worrying that this tendency was a result of an increase in early marriages (Interview 3 YWCA).

3.2.1.5 Summary
Regarding the four *A*s, BRAC strengths are that their programme provides easy access and that they are adaptable to many different groups of children, while YWCA strengths are that their programmes are acceptable, in terms of providing high quality education, and including the ultra poor children.

3.2.2 Successful NGOs

The BRAC and the YWCA both provide services and are therefore in the risk of not being successful NGOs, according to Edwards' theory of successful NGOs.

The BRAC's objectives, as mentioned above, are poverty alleviation and empowerment of the poor (BRAC.net). To alleviate poverty BRAC has developed a holistic approach that combines microfinance, health, education and other social development programmes, to generate livelihood possibilities. The Primary School Programme reaches 1.056.000 children from its 32 000 schools (Interview 1 BRAC). To not stagnate or become dependent service delivers, the BRAC has developed its own competency on development question, and has become a specialist within its working fields. The research and evaluation division and the BRAC University are important for the knowledge production that provides donors with vital information about the Bangladeshi situation as well as BRAC's programmes and progress (BRAC.net). In addition the BRAC has established branches in the UK and the USA (BRAC Annual Report 2006).

The donor group, where Norway is represented, put conditions only regarding policies. For the donors it is important that the BRAC addresses poor, female, disabled and bilingual children (Interview 1 BRAC). This is in line with BRAC's approach. The BRAC finds the cooperation with the donors' flexible and open, and vice versa. If the donors put up conditions impossible to fulfil, the BRAC can show why it is impossible and what is needed to make it achievable (ibid.; Interview with the Norwegian embassy). For establishing and running education programmes the BRAC needs a long-term commitment form the donors for at least five to ten years, in line with Jenkins-Smith and Sabastier (1994: 184-187; Interview 1 BRAC). This is often a challenge. The donors

find the programme necessary, but only until the number of out-of-school-children has decreased, and the formal school has developed programmes that include different groups (Interview 1 NORAD). The BRAC therefore has only a five years agreement with the Norwegian embassy (MoU 2002-2007).

YWCA of Bangladesh is a small organisation in Bangladesh, though it serves around 75,000 poor people. The objectives of YWCA, as explained above, are to unite women and young girls irrespective of caste, creed and religion, and to make them become aware of their own situation and to be self-reliant. YWCA has programmes within health, literacy and micro credit for women, and primary education programmes for children. The programmes are directed to serve families as a whole. (YWCA Annual Report 2005-2006). YWCA has a reputation of reaching those in extreme poverty and providing them with quality education. However, due to stagnation in the growth of the pay-school, which finances the "free school", the "free school" is limited from growing (Interview 1 YWCA).

 YWCA-YMCA Norway earlier supported the buildings of the pay-school. Due to policy changes such projects do not get support any longer (YWCA-YMCA Norway). Despite this policy change YWCA-YMCA Norway and YWCA of Bangladesh keep working for education, as their target group are children and young people (ibid.). This is a critical point for the organisation, where the internal goals are developing on line, though external financing is not following (Edwards 1999: 373). The organisation searches new solutions to continue its growth (Interview 1 YWCA). To develop further the organisation will either need new funds or additional donors (Interview YWCA-YMCA Norway). It is not easy for a small organisation to find donors or funding. The process of applying, evaluating and reporting on programmes takes many resources. Every donor has different conditions and they often focus on quantity rather than quality (Interview 1 YWCA). YWCA's existing donors have been supporting them for a long period. They have an open and easy relation and it is unproblematic to discuss challenges and ideas from both sides. The donor, YWCA-YMCA Norway, sees YWCA in Bangladesh as a very good partner, as the YWCA knows what is required and they take the lead in the partnership (Interview YWCA-YMCA Norway).

3.2.3 Supplement or a Competitor

The BRAC manage to reach out to a large part of the society. They have developed specialized competency in the different groups of children excluded from the formal schools. On the other hand, the BRAC schools are becoming more famous and popular, and thereby they also attract children of middle class families. A study found that approximately 50% of the pupils in BRAC schools belonged to BRAC's target group (Musthaque and Chowdhury, 1999:93). This was reflected in my interviews, where the background of the children varied (Interview 2-4 BRAC).

YWCA's "free school" conditions for enrolment are that children have to come from poor families, and the "poorness" has to be described when they apply for acceptance in the school. This ensures that the school reach their target group. On the other hand YWCA is a small organisation and such kind of demand is therefore easier to implement at all level of the organisation (Interview 2-6 YWCA).

Both the BRAC and the YWCA school programmes contribute to enlarge the availability of the schools in Bangladesh. They are both specialized on groups that have difficulties in accessing formal school and they therefore function as a supplement to the formal school. The teachers and the material hold a high standard, which again increase the possibility for continued studies also after the five first years in formal school. The donors see both the NGOs' work as important additional programmes reaching groups the GoB currently is unable to reach (Interview Norwegian Embassy in Bangladesh; Interview YWCA-YMCA Norway).

3.2.4 Influence and capacity

The NGOs have gained extensive experiences during the years with NFPE programmes. Their knowledge is collected and communicated to donors. This has led the donor community to put pressure on the GoB to increase flows of ideas and cooperation with NGOs on education. One result has been the cooperation between GoB and BRAC on the pre-primary education programme, where BRAC has programmes to prepare children from poor families to enrol in primary school (BRACeducation.org 2008.04.29). This kind of solution can make up for the lack of resources and educated personal in a transition stage, though it might be seen as a threat against the state

independence and ability to mange its own responsibilities (Hanf and Underdal 1998: 165).

The BRAC has their own research division that has been able to measure and count their outputs, as well as measuring their impact on society. Further, BRAC has an extensive communication unite that manage to spread their information to key persons in the donor community and to epistemic communities (BRAC.net; Interview 2 BRAC). BRAC proves that their programmes are necessary through statistical facts and by bringing the donors on field visits. Transparency is important for BRAC, and they can therefore provide donors with information about their projects within a day (Interview 1 BRAC). The BRAC is good on connecting the grassroot reality to donors' perspectives and plans (interview 1 NORAD). In the interviews with both NORAD and the Norwegian embassy, BRAC's ability to show results and open communication was viewed as a strength in the cooperation.

YWCA, as a smaller organisation, does not have the same possibilities to follow up the programme and measure the impacts. They do collect the outputs, and they also present success stories of people who have been reached by their programmes (Interview YWCA-YMCA Norway). Many donors are concerned about quantitative results. YWCA finds it challenging, because their strength is more connected to quality. The old donors know YWCA's quality and have seen their impact on the villages where they are present (ibid.), but quality is harder to communicate to new donors. To influence at the global level, YWCA of Bangladesh has to go through their sister organisations or the world alliance for YWCAs. Though at the national level YWCA organise rallies to influence the society and decision-makers (Interview 1 YWCA).

3.2.5 Summary

The BRAC`s strengths is that the programmes are adaptable and includes various groups of children. They reach a large part of the population, though they are not as big as the GoB, and can therefore more easily adjust to the needs. At the same time their size, their efficiency and their ability to describe their programmes through statistics and research are influencing the donors. YWCA, on the other hand, is smaller and reaches fewer children. Though, it is even easier for YWCA to adjust to local needs. This might be a reason why YWCA's has been able to develop high quality in their "free school". The

YWCA's uniqueness is also their ability to reach the ultra poor. On the other hand, YWCA has more challenges influencing new donors, due to high demands to qualitative results.

3.3 Local Perspectives: Case Studies

This section rely on the field visit and gives answers to both the outcome of the policies and aid in terms of type of programme and actions towards the children.

3.3.1 Formal school

Although primary education has moved closer to become available for all in Bangladesh, the formal schools I visited showed lack of quality. In the classrooms the number of pupils ranged from 70 to more than 100. The interviewed children went to school to meet friends and play, and none mentioned song or dance as methods for learning (Interview 1 Formal School). Formal schools are known for using violence to maintain discipline among the pupils (ibid.; Interview Save the Children Denmark). The interviewees knew little about their rights, though all knew they had the right to education (Interview 1 Formal School). According to the interviews with NORAD an enhancement in both teachers training as well as in the curriculum is needed (Interview 1 NORAD).

3.3.2 The BRAC experience

The interviewees participating in BRAC schools did all like their school, and they liked it better than schools they had gone to before. The main reason for liking the school was the use of song and dance in addition to friendly teacher who explained concepts easily (Interview 3 BRAC). All the interviewees had dreams for continuing schooling and reach positions such as doctors, teachers, police officers, engineers, computer operators or to study for a Masters. Though, the possibilities for fulfilling such dreams were rather limited. When asking about their older siblings, almost none had passed the SSC exam. Most of their siblings were either married or working, although they were rarely even 20 years old (ibid.). Most of the interviewees of the BRAC schools had heard about children's rights. The right most of the pupils knew was the right to education. Some also knew that they had rights to grow up, to treatment and health, to security and to love and care from parents and teachers (Interview 2-4 BRAC).

The parents I interviewed mostly had some education, although a few had no education while the most educated parent had even a Bachelor degree. Almost none of the mothers were working, even not in the cases where the fathers were dead or injured (Interview 2-4 BRAC). The few mothers working were all living in the slum in Dhaka, while in Chittagong, which is a more conservative region, mothers were not allowed to take a job, or to continue studies after marriage (Interview 1 BRAC). The BRAC school was known to them through friends and relatives who had heard that it offered good quality education, and some had even withdrawn their children from alternative schooling to admit them in the BRAC programme (Interview 4 BRAC). Parents knew that children had the right to education. The interviewees all valued education as important for their children, and if their economical situation allowed them to, they would let their children continue studying (ibid.).

The interviewed teachers in the BRAC school had all passed HSC exam, and some had continued studying to Bachelor degree. Being a teacher allowed them to leave the home for some hours, which they appreciated. Some of them worked part time as teacher and part time as tailors. They had parents-meetings monthly, but they also had to visit parents if the pupils did not come to the class. The BRAC offered three months parental leave, which is one month more than commonly offered in Bangladesh, and this was important to the teachers. The teachers knew that children had the right to education, to love and care, to security, to a home and to health care. They learned about children's rights through the BRAC's training programme, but also on TV (Interview 2-4 BRAC). Although the BRAC has low dropout numbers, absenteeism seemed to be a challenge in the classes. Teachers reported that the pupils often were absent (Interview 3 BRAC).

3.3.3 The YWCA experience

The interviewees in the "free school" of YWCA enjoyed their school because they liked to learn and they liked the use of singing and dancing as methods for learning, similar to the BRAC. The teachers were seen as friendly and helpful. All pupils wanted to continue studying, to get a better future or to be self-reliant. Some also mentioned that it was important with education to contribute to develop their country. Other mentioned that the moral lessons were very important to develop them as persons. The YWCA interviewees also had dreams about becoming doctors, teachers or computer engineers, though many were more realistic, realizing it was small probabilities for such positions.

Education was depending on money, and it was more likely that they would have to quit school after class five. The dream jobs then were to enter the garment sector, work in an office or in the military (Interview 2, 4 and 5 YWCA). Most of their older siblings were already working or married, and all the pupils felt expectations from their parents to contribute to the family's economy (ibid.). Most of the interviewees had to help their parents after school. In one of the school many pupils also had to work themselves besides the studies; as maids, in teashops serving and cleaning or collecting plastic waste to sell to the State collection of waste (ibid.). Almost all pupils had heard about children's rights. The right to education was the right most of the pupils knew, but also right to love and care from guardians, health care, food, recreation, equality, security, the right to life and to a clean and safe environment were mentioned. One of the children that were working as maid also knew that children should not be working (ibid.).

The interviewed parents had very low education, if any at all. They usually worked as day labours, maids, rickshaw pullers or similar occupations, which gave an instable and insecure salary. The school in Lalkhan Bazar a slum in Chittagong, was the one reaching the poorest of the poor, while in Patenga Beach the teachers told that the people living there were now doing much better than five years back. Therefore children in this school seemed to be better off than the ones in Lalkhan Bazar (Interview 2, 4 and 7 YWCA). The parents saw education as important and a definite goal was to give their children as much education as possible. Parents believed that school was an alternative to the bad influence children could be subject to if they were 'hanging' in the streets the whole day. All the mothers wanted, was that their daughters would study longer than they had been able to do themselves. For their own children they wanted another future. When I asked if they knew children's rights one mother told me:

> "Where there are no rights for women, how can children have rights? Before women and children can get rights there has to be a change in Bangladesh. It is hard to create such change when one lives in a joint family and has no education. If the change can reach my child, it will also reach me."
>
> Mrs. Aktar, 32

The teachers of the YWCA "free school" had passed either SSC or HSC level, and public teacher training. They found their work challenging. Children were often absent

and then they had to visit the parents and discuss the reasons for the absenteeism. In particular, many children from classes four and five disappeared due to work, and the teachers had to convince the parents to let the children complete school. Sometimes they managed. The teachers of YWCA meant that the right to education was the most important right for the children, though also the rights to love and care, to recreation, identity and nationality was important. Children's rights were usually a theme for discussion when they had meetings with parents. Many parents beat their children, use bad words or do not give them enough food. These are some of the reasons why the "free school" offers food and moral lessons (Interview 4, 5 and 6 YWCA). Children, parents and teachers valued education as very important for their lives and were satisfied with the programmes delivered by BRAC and YWCA.

3.3.4 Summary

Both pupils of BRAC and YWCA schools were encouraged to learn through similar methods. The BRAC gives more training to their teachers as well as offers them good conditions to work under. On the other hand, the YWCA's programme educated their pupils to be active participating citizens, though with a clear connection to reality.

4.0 CONCLUSION

The intention of this study was to investigate how Norway has complied with implemented the CRC's articles 28 and 29 through development cooperation with Bangladesh, using examples from the BRAC and YWCA of Bangladesh.

The programmes I studied in Bangladesh were successful in making education more available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable, and thereby bringing Bangladesh closer to fulfil its commitment to the CRC. The NGOs represent small numbers compared to the needs of the country, but they help to define a standard for education, and how to work with a children-centred approach. The BRAC's strength is its adaptable approach that includes disabled children, girls and ethnic minorities, and its accessibility by providing education for free. The strength of the YWCA is their ability to provide high quality education to the ultra poor children. The programme shows the importance of quality as a necessity for providing education. The BRAC introduces the rights of the child in its primary school programme, and the YWCA has human rights as part of their strategic objectives. Almost every child participating in the programmes knew to a certain degree about children's rights, and especially the right to education.

The BRAC and the YWCA show that they are not mindless service providers. They themselves raise demands to the donors, and they also function as knowledge providers as their evaluations and research were based on experience. The donors described them as taking the lead in the partnership. The BRAC and YWCA, on other hand, described their donors as open and flexible. Both YWCA and BRAC fulfil the demands of Edward's successful NGO. Whether the organisations have influence on Norway and Norwegian policies is hard to prove. The fact that Norway has chosen education as one of two main areas for cooperation in Bangladesh may be combined results of the needs of the country with the possibilities that lies in cooperation partners such as the BRAC and YWCA.

Bangladesh still is a developing country; it suffers from corruption in many spheres of life including the educational system. The citizens of Bangladesh want education, and in lack of Governmental free quality alternative, other actors continue to be important. One interviewee said that:

> "Our country needs people with higher education. The country and the society cannot improve without education/…/ even if we cannot continue to study after class five, this education will help us and guide us"

<div align="right">Hallima Barua, 11 years, Interview 2 YWCA</div>

Equal to Sen's (2002:38) capability approach this girl underlined that education enables people to take better decisions and acquire better lives.

My study indicates that the programmes Norway supports in Bangladesh do help the country to coming closer to implementing the CRC articles 28 and 29 and leads to the conclusion that so far, Norway does comply with its obligations to the CRC, in the the cooperation with Bangladesh. However, for achieving the desired effects of the programmes, it is important that Norway extends its support beyond 2009.

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Appendix A.   List of Interviews

Interview with the Norwegian embassy in Bangladesh, Dhaka, 2007.09.11

Interview 1 BRAC 1, the national office, 2007.09.26

Interview 2 BRAC Chittagong office, 2007.09.17

Interview 3 BRAC school in Sikolbha, Chittagong, 2007.09.17

Interview 4 BRAC school in Koas Nogol, Chittagong, 2007.09.19

Interview 5 BRAC school in Gulsan 1 slum city, Chittagong, 2007.09.19

Interview 1 YWCA of Bangladesh national office, 2007.09.26

Interview 2 YWCA of Bangladesh free school in Dhaka, 2007.09.27

Interview 3 YWCA of Bangladesh Chittagong office, 2007.09.16

Interview 4 YWCA of Bangladesh Lalkan Bazar free school project 2007.09.19

Interview 5 YWCA of Bangladesh Patenga free school project, 2007.09.17

Interview 6 YWCA of Bangladesh pay-school project Chittagong, 2007.09.16

Interviews at the formal school in Chittagong, 2007.09.17 and 20

Interview at the Butterfly Hill free school project in Chittagong, 2007.09.20

Interview with UNICEF Bangladesh, 2008.09.27

Interview with NORAD 1, 2007.10.09

Interview with NORAD 2, 2007.10.09

Interview with YWCA-YMCA Norway, 2007.10.09

Interview with Save the Children Denmark, 2008.02.19

Appendix B.   Interview guide

NORAD
1. One of the main aims of Norwegian development aid is to contribute to full enrolment in school and a quality in education. What are the reasons behind the priorities? Why does Norway focus on education?
2. To what extent do international treaties influence the Norwegian priorities? Which international treaties are important for Norwegian development policies? Is the Convention on the Rights of the Child one of these treaties?
3. How do Norwegian development policies contribute to the implementation of the CRC, and the right to education?
4. In addition to organisations getting support through Norwegian NGOs, NORAD also supports some local organisations directly. How are these organisation chosen?
5. How do the partners chosen for cooperation fulfil the demands of Norwegian development policies? How are the cooperation followed up? Which goals do they have to fulfil and what happens if they do not fulfil the goals?
6. One of the organisations that receive support from the NORAD is BRAC. They have an extensive work on primary education all over Bangladesh. What is the strength of the organisation from a Norwegian point of view?
7. How is the cooperation with this organisation? Have you had any challenges? How are they solved?
8. How does NORAD find the education situation in Bangladesh? What type of programmes has bee successful and what has been less successful?
9. Is the Convention of the Rights of the Child a tool for NORAD? Why/Why not?
10. Do you have any statistics? Do you know anyone else I should talk with?

YWCA-YMCA of Norway
1. What type of programmes does YWCA-YMCA support in Bangladesh? How is the education programme in YWCA of Bangladesh supported?
2. Why did YWCA-YMCA decide to support the programme? What is the goal of the educational programme? Did YWCA-YMCA raise any demands when the cooperation of the programme was started? How doe YWCA-YMCA follow up the programme?
3. What is the strength of YWCA of Bangladesh and their educational programme? What types of programmes has bee successful and what has been less successful? How does YWCA work to reach the hard-to-reach groups?
4. One of the main aims of Norwegian development aid is to contribute to full enrolment in school and a quality in education. How did that influence the decision to support the education programme in YWCA of Bangladesh?
5. To what extent do Norwegian development policies influence the work of YWCA-YMCA? Do international treaties and policies formed in World YWCA and YMCA influence the area of work more than Norwegian policies? Does the Convention on the Rights of the Child influence the working areas of YWCA-YMCA? How?
6. How do you start cooperation on programme? How are the cooperation followed up? Which goals do they have to fulfil and what happens if they do not fulfil the goals?
7. How is the cooperation with YWCA of Bangladesh? Have you had any challenges? How are they solved?
8. How does YWCA-YMCA find the education situation in Bangladesh?

9. Is the Convention of the Rights of the Child a tool for YWCA-YMCA in your work? Why/Why not? How?
10. Do you have any statistics? Do you know anyone else I should talk with?

Save the Children Denmark
1. How does Save the Children work for implementation of the CRC in Bangladesh? How does the local culture influence the work?
2. Does Save the Children work through other NGOs in Bangladesh?
3. How does Save the Children find the education situation in Bangladesh? And how does Save the Children view the different providers of education?
4. How does Save the Children work towards the GoB?
5. The GoB has signed and ratified the CRC, and delivered reports to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, but what has in fact happened to implement the CRC?
6. Children in Bangladesh and Scandinavia have very different position. How does that influence your work?
7. The CRC is the convention that most countries has signed and ratified, although few countries have fully implemented it. Why?
8. The right to education is covered by many conventions and agreements, which Bangladesh has signed. What is the biggest challenge for Bangladesh to reach the goal of free and compulsory education?

The Norwegian embassy in Dhaka
1. One of the main aims of Norwegian development aid is to contribute to full enrolment in school and a quality in education. What are the reasons behind the priorities? Why does Norway focus on education in its development cooperation in Bangladesh?
2. To what extent do international treaties influence the Norwegian priorities? Which international treaties are important for Norwegian development policies? Is the Convention on the Rights of the Child one of these treaties?
3. How do Norwegian development policies contribute to the implementation of the CRC and the right to education?
4. Norwegian development policies formulated in Norway are very general. Can the embassy adjust polices to the local situation?
5. In addition to organisations getting support through Norwegian development NGOs the embassy also support some local organisations directly. How are these organisation chosen?
6. Does the partner chosen for cooperation fulfil the demands of Norwegian development policies? How is the cooperation followed up?
7. One of the organisations that receive support from the Norwegian embassy is BRAC. They have an extensive work on primary education all over Bangladesh. What is the strength of the organisation from Norwegian priorities?
8. Which demands are given to the local cooperation partner? Do they have specific countable goals?
9. How do you experience the cooperation with BRAC? Do you have any challenges? How are they solved?

Representatives at the national level:
1. What type of programme does the organisation run? Which classes? How many students? How many teachers? How many lessons a day? How many subjects do they cover? What is the goal of the free school?

2. What is the main goal of the education programme? Who is the target group?
3. If the target group is the poor children, who have no other alternative schooling, how is that reflected in the age in the class? Is there any age limit for the primary education programme? Why?
4. How do you go about when you decide to start up a school in a new area? Where do you find the students? Is it hard to get the children to join the school? Do they come regularly? What do you do when they are not coming?
5. Your programme is high valued and popular. How does that affect the programme? How do you deal with those consequences? How do you select your students? Do you expand your programme according to the amount of children that wants to join?
6. Which strategies are used for reaching the poorest of the poor?
7. Do many of the children join formal schools after finishing the programme? How is it for children from your programme to join formal school afterwards? Do many complete SSC and HSC level?
8. How do you work with children and parents to keep up the interest for the programme during the entire period of the programme? How long is the period of the programme? Do you hold any examination in the end of the programme?
9. How do you decide to start up a programme in an area? What is the dropout rate of the free school programme?
10. Are you following the national curriculum? Is this curriculum sufficient?
11. Is the Convention of the Rights of the Child included in the material you use in your educational programme? What is the most important in the convention?
12. Many teachers are using/teaching English words they don't know the meaning of. How do you avoid that in your programme? Do you make sure teacher knows the meaning of all the words in your material?
13. What are the duties of the teachers? How are the teachers trained? Which level of education is demand from the teachers? How are their salaries compared to the other schools? Who are teachers? Do they stay with you for a long period?
14. What is the strength of the organisation and the educational programme? How do the children and their parents view the programme?
15. Are there any costs for the students/parents of the primary education programme?
16. What is the strength of the organisation and the educational programme? How do the children and their parents view the programme?
17. How is the programme financed? Has donors played a role for establishing the programme? How? And who supports your education programme today?
18. Which conditions are given to you from your cooperation partner in Norway? Do they have specific countable goals?
19. How do you experience the cooperation with donors to your education programme? Do you have any challenges? How are they solved?
20. How do you find the cooperation with the donor? What kind of demands for results do you meet from the donor/s?
21. What are the policies set by donor regarding the collaboration?
22. Does the donor highlight the Convention on the Rights of the Child in the cooperation?
23. What are the main priorities of the donors for the cooperation with YWCA on the education programme?
24. Do you find that the donor understands the Bangladeshi reality/context and thereby understands your challenges?

25. How do you find the education situation in Bangladesh today? What has to be the roles of the NGOs? What should be the role of the government?
26. Your programmes seem to me to be very sufficient and popular among the students, teachers and parents. How does that influence the programme and your goal for the programme? When did the programme expand?
27. Do you have any statistics? Do you know anyone else I should talk with?

The local organisations in Bangladesh
1. What type of school does the organisation run? Which classes? How many students and teachers are there? How many lessons a day? How many subjects do they cover? What is the goal of the school?
2. Who are the students of this programme? How old are the students that participate in the programme? Where, how and who register their age?
3. How do you go about when you decide to start up a school in a new area? Where do you find the students? Is it hard to get the children to join the school?
4. What is the target group of the programme? I heard that the programme is very successful and popular, and often viewed as better than the formal school. How does that affect the programme? How do you deal with those consequences? Do you expand your programme according to the amount of children that wants to join? How to you collect and chose the children for the programme?
5. How do you work with children and parents to keep up the interest for the programme during the entire period of the programme? How long is the period of the programme? Do you hold any examination in the end of the programme?
6. Do many of the children join formal schools after finishing the programme? How is it for children from your programme to join formal school afterwards?
7. What are the duties of the teachers? Do they have any additional duties to teaching? How are the teachers trained? Which level of education is demand from the teachers? How are their salaries compared to the ones in other schools? Does the teacher stay with you for a long time? Is it hard to find teachers? Are they reliable in terms of not being absent since it is fewer holidays?
8. What is the strength of the organisation and the educational programme? How do the children and their parents view the programme?
9. Have you heard about the Convention of the Rights of the Child? Is it included in the school programme? What is the most important in the convention?
10. Do you have any statistics? Do you know anyone else I should talk with?

Teachers
1. What is your name and age? What is your occupation? How long have you been with the organisation? How do you like your work?
2. Which classes do you teach? How many students are there? How many teachers are you? How many lessons do you have a day?
3. Who are the students of this programme? How old are the students that participate in the programme?
4. Do the students come regularly to the programme? What do you do when they are absent? How do you work with children and parents to keep up the interest for the programme during the entire period of the programme? Do you hold any examination in the end of the programme?
5. Do many of the children join formal schools after finishing the programme?
6. What are the duties for you as teacher? What is your educational background? Did you have to take any education to become teacher? Do you receive any

training from the organisation? Do you plan to be with the organisation for a long while? Why?

7. If you find any challenges in your job, whom do you talk to? If you find anything missing in your programme like missing material for do the teaching, or that you do not know the subject to well, with whom do you talk?
8. What is the strength of the programme? How do the children and their parents view the programme?
9. Have you heard about the Convention of the Rights of the Child? Is it included in the school programme? What is the most important in the convention for you?

Students:
1. What is your name? How old are you? Which class are you now in?
2. How do you like school? Why do you like it?
3. Do you have siblings? Do any of them also go to this school? What type of school? Did your parents go to school?
4. What do you want to do when you are grown up? What are your parents doing for job? Do your parents like the school? What do they want you to be in the future?
5. What do you do before and after school?
6. Will you join SSC and SHC after you have completed this programme?
7. Does the teacher come every day? What do they do if you are not in school? Is it easy to ask the teacher for help?
8. What is the strength of the organisation and the educational programme?
9. Have you heard about children's rights? When, where and how did you hear about it?

Parents
1. What is your name? How old are you? How many children do you have? What is your occupation? What do your wife / husband doing for a living?
2. How many of your children are in this programme? Why did you decide to send your child to this programme? How do you like the school programme? Why do you like it?
3. Did you go to school? Is it the first of your children to join school? Which class has the other children completed? Which class do you wish your children to complete? What type of work do you want your children to do after completing school? When do you want your daughters to get married?
4. What do your child/ children do before and after school?
5. What does the teacher do if your child is not coming to school?
6. How do you like the organisation and this educational programme?
7. Have you heard about children's rights? When, where and how did you hear about it?

Appendix C.   The CRC Article 28 and 29

"Article 28
1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:

(a) Make primary education compulsory and available free to all;

(b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need;

(c) Make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;

(d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;

(e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.

3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international cooperation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientific and technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Article 29
1. States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to:

(a) The development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential;

(b) The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations;

(c) The development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values, for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own;

(d) The preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin;

(e) The development of respect for the natural environment.

2. No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed so as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principle set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State"

(UNCRC 1989, article 28 and 29[33])

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[33] The CRC may be found at: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm

Appendix D.   Education situation in Bangladesh

Bangladesh became independent from Pakistan in 1971. During the 20 first years of independence little progress was achieved in terms of education. The literacy rate rose from 26% to 38% between 1974 and 1995, while from 1995 to 2004 the literacy rose to 51.6% (BBS 2006). In 1990 Bangladesh gave strong commitment to the goal of EFA and ratified the CRC (Nath, Sylvia and Grimes 1999). Following this Bangladesh added the Free and Compulsory Education Act in 1990 (Jalaluddin et al. 1997). The World Bank's (worldbank.org) statistics reported an increase in enrolment from 79.6% to 94% (1990-2005), gender party index shows 100% for primary school and completion rate for primary school has reached 76.4% (2004).

Although, the picture shows an improvement in the education situation (Ibrahim 2002: 1; Al-Samarrai 2007: 2), enrolment data remains confusing due to reasons such as; absence of birth registration, the data on school-aged children comes from more than one source, data from different sources are not collated and double or multiple enrolments inflates the figures (Education For All 2003: 48). Absenteeism among pupils and teacher is widespread. Very little data is available for those not enrolled in schools. These are not visible in the statistics (Musthaque and Chowdhury 1999: 90). The latest years there has even been decline in the enrolment from 97% in 2001 to 94% in 2005, which appear to reflect a real decline and not only improved reporting (Al-samarrai 2007: 4).

GoB allocates 2.4% of the GDP on education (Bangladesh Country Report 2006: vi). This is very low in an international comparison, where 6% of GDP is the expected norm for education's part of GDP. Total Governmental expenditure on education was 13% in 2003-04, which is still low compared to other low-income countries (Ibid.: 9). Although the Government has increased own spending on education, Bangladesh will continue to be dependent on external financial support to manage to provide enough education for a still growing population (Education For All 2003: 29). NGO schools enrol about 9%, equal to 1.5 million school-aged children (Al-Samarrai 2007: 4). Most of the NGOs target children that are too old to enrol in formal school. Governmental schools provide education to 55% of all enrolled children. Private schools and Madrasahs also provide education (Al-Samarrai 2007: 4).

Bangladesh has a large number of out-of-school children varying from 10.18 million (Bangladesh Consensus 2001) to the BBS (2004) registered 2.4 million children. More realistically Tomasevski (2006: 123) estimates Bangladesh to have almost 5 million, equal to 25% of all school-aged children out-of-school. Dropout rates vary from 32.3% (BBS 2004) to more than 50% for primary school (Ibrahim 2002:13). To become schoolteacher, SSC and the public teacher training is required. 96% of all formal schoolteachers fulfil somehow the criteria (CAMPE). Formal school has a limit of maximum 59 students per teacher, but this rule is often broken (Bangladesh MDG Report 2006: 13). The schools have usually two shifts, which gives the teachers very short time with the pupils. Further, teachers are also engaged in non-academic work and they may be transferred to other area when needed, as they are civil servants (Bangladesh Country Report 2006: vii). Being a mono-linguistic country with 98% of the population speaking Bangla, little attention has been given to the minorities (Education For All 2003: 17). The primary school curriculum lacks a clear vision for child development, and participatory methods for learning are not encouraged. Further all decisions are centralised, which limits local adjustments (Musthaque and Chowdhury 1999: 90). The PEDP II aims to improve some of these aspects.