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When Elephants fight, it is the Grass that Suffers:

A Case Study about the Stability of a Small Private Children's Home in Ghana.

MPhil in Development, Specializing in Geography

Trondheim, May 2015

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ABSTRACT

The field of development today is teeming with new actors and philanthropists. Now, small private actors and individuals are contributing with services and aid to the poor living in the Global south. These services used to be the responsibilities of governments, market agencies and large NGOs.

By focusing on a children's home in Central Region, Ghana, this study wishes to analyze the consequences of such small and private initiatives. The research seeks to analyze the interaction between the various actors involved in the children's home, and to explore their arenas for communication. Moreover, it aims to discuss the accountability of this development project and the responsibilities of each of the actors. The analysis will be made by using the theoretical framework that is based on Norman Long's theory about the encounters at the interface and combining this with various concepts of accountability, in order to see how they influence each other.

The data was collected using a case study of a children's home in Ghana, housing 85 children. Qualitative methods were used, and in-depth interviews were conducted with the director of the home, the staff working there, the sponsors, volunteers, other NGO workers assisting the home in various ways, and the National Coordinator in OVCs in Ghana.

The findings reveal that the relationships surrounding the home are filled with tensions because of weak communication, while they are seemingly more efficient and less bureaucratic. The expectations the director and staff, sponsors, and the Department of Social Welfare have towards each other, are not met. Because of unequal power relations, the techniques to prioritize own rationalities have had consequences for the transparency of the home. The informal structures of small, private initiatives, such has this children's home, have costs for the stability of such projects.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ACRONYMS

AEDA	Agona East District Assembly
AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
CBO	Community Based Organization
CRI	Care Reform Initiative
DSW	the Department of Social Welfare
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GRO	Grassroots Organization
GSRH	Ghana Standards for Residential Homes
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ISEA	Institute of Social and Ethical Accountability
LFA	Logical Framework Analysis
MESW	Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO	Non-Profit Organization
NSPS	National Social Protection Strategy
OVCs	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
OVC NPA	National Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
RHC	Residential homes for children
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TSO	Third Sector Organization
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDESA	United Nations, Department of Economics and Social Affairs

| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund (Formerly: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund) |
| WB | World Bank |

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In Central Region, Ghana, there is a small village. In this village, there are multiple children's homes. One of them is run by an elderly Ghanaian woman and her ten employees that are together taking care of around 80 children from one to 16 years. Most of the children are there because they are orphans, others due to poverty or other reasons. The home takes care of the children and helps the village and surrounding areas overcome the struggles of street children. For the children, the home means safety as they are receiving multiple meals a day, education and a safe environment. The children's home is funded by private individuals living in Europe and America. After visiting the home or volunteering there, the sponsors have been willing to put a lot of money into the home in order to keep the children safe. In many ways, this children's home is more vulnerable than public children's homes, or homes run by larger humanitarian organizations. This thesis is about how this vulnerability is handled in their everyday operation of the home.

Foreign private donors are contributing to substantial transfers across borders in order to support such orphan care initiatives, as well as other incentives aiming for development (Kharas, 2007). What makes them distinct from others is that they operate outside the more formalized development industry. In Ghana, many small, private development initiatives are funded by foreign private individuals in the Global North, and managed by staff and directors in development organizations in the Global South. For studying the stability of such projects, the relationships, and partnerships in such organizations, I have selected one case. This case provides a good base for the study as the vulnerability of small, private development projects is clear when many children are relying on its stability. This thesis is based on the difficulties surrounding the small private actors in development. How do they function outside the formalized and professionalized development system? What are the consequences of the private partnerships?

Strategies for efficient development have been researched and discussed for decades. Whereas modernization theorists emphasize the markets ability to create a trickle-down effect where wealth will automatically spread to the poor, dependency theorists focused more on the government's role and substitutions to include development in the South. Following the mid-20th century, grassroots theories started arguing that communities and individuals should be included in development efforts in order to make it useful and efficient (Willis, 2011). The

last decades, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have played a major role in development in the Global South, and more and more private actors and individuals are working to develop, provide aid and assistance to groups and communities (Anheier, 2005; Anheier et al., 2001; Kharas, 2007).

Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced new initiatives to address poverty and development. National and international, but also local, informal and community-based services are and have been noticeable. They stand for a major part of the initiatives to work on development issues found in many of these countries (Anheier, 2005; Patel & Wilson, 2004). The value of charity has been present in African societies for a long time. The content and form of such services was changed during the colonial era when missionaries and philanthropists formalized social provisions (Patel & Wilson, 2004). A bit before, and after the independence in many African countries, most of such civic services focused on political engagement and social development. Since the mid 1900's however, society reconstructions, national development and youth service programs have been on the agenda. The governments were criticized for being corrupt and mismanaged. After public funding started to decline in the 1980s, and as a result of the implementation of structural adjustment programs, the development of the civic service ground to a halt (Patel & Wilson, 2004). However, the struggle for independence and globalization, led to an increasing number of grassroots initiatives from both inside and outside the Sub-Sahara African countries, focusing on improved human conditions. The pressures of global market competition were, and still are, threatening the support systems of the economies in the Global South. As a result of the colonial legacy and global market forces which are working in favor of rich and powerful countries, poverty continues to be a great challenge in Sub-Saharan Africa, and the need for efficient development programs and -actors is therefore still significant (Anheier et al., 2001; Patel & Wilson, 2009). Civil society initiatives are significant in addressing dangers to human security and development. Therefore, in order to understand the role of these types of services, it is recommended that future research should contribute to a deeper knowledge within this field. Voluntary activity also became increasingly important to African development, and many of such organizations built on the former self-help values in the pre-colonial societies (Patel & Wilson, 2004). New actors have created new opportunities to overcome poverty, and to exchange ideas, knowledge, and commitment. Informal institutions, where volunteerism plays a big role, are increasing in number (Anheier, 2005; Anheier et al., 2001; Patel & Wilson, 2004).

1.1.1 Non-Profit Organizations

This thesis focuses on one institution in order to examine small, private initiatives which are primarily running on voluntary and altruistic engagement, aiming for development in the Global South, especially Sub-Saharan Africa.

The concepts used to define and categorize various private and voluntary development organizations are many. Some of the concepts are hybrid organizations, Third Sector organizations (TSOs), and voluntary organizations, Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Private Voluntary Organizations (PVOs), Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) and Grassroots Organizations (GROs). NPO is a term which is often interchangeably used together with voluntary association, charities, NGO or TSOs. For the purpose of this thesis, the concept *small NPOs* will be used because the term describes the type of organization that I write about. They may be defined as social entities created for the purpose of producing goods and services to groups who cannot finance these services on their own. To some extent, NPOs are a part of the development system also in Ghana. They are self-governed, and have a considerable degree of voluntary participation. Here, this concept includes all organizations or foundations which are neither public nor private, but rather based on voluntary and philanthropic contributions by the civil society (Anheier & List, 2005). These are independent of government, value-driven – which emphasizes their motivations to achieve social goals (improving welfare, health, education and so forth), rather than being motivated by the distribution of profit, and lastly, in the attempt to achieve their goals NPOs reinvest any surpluses that may have been generated. The consequences of having self-regulation and informal organizations are important to address (Anheier & List, 2005). Furthermore, this study focuses on small NPOs which are founded and are managed by a few individuals and receiving funding from abroad.

1.1.2 Philanthropy

Philanthropy refers to personal contribution for the benefit of public causes. It is commonly associated with the intention to increase the well-being of people and to improve their quality of life (Anheier & List, 2005). The altruistic motivations of workers and organization within the field of development is widely known and questioned. Philanthropy may be defined as the 'advancement of society' through services that are neither provided by state or market, nor for political or economic reasons (Harrow, 2010). In much of the academic literature, philanthropy is understood as donations aiming to better human conditions. It may be seen as

a supply-side response to welfare needs in societies, mainly operating on voluntary principles (Harrow, 2010). Salomon describes it as "the private giving of time or valuables for public purposes" (Harrow, 2010; 123). However, it may also be defined as voluntary and moral action that improves the idea of the public good and intervenes in others' lives to make the world better through human effort. This raises the question of moral and motivation. The 'giving' is mainly performed through foundations and nonprofit organizations or through civil society. The concept may also be understood as networks and network organizations in which philanthropic individuals and organizations respectively link together, share, and collaborate with each other. Strong evidence also shows that networks encourage donations of both time and money (Harrow, 2010). The widely used concept of philanthropy has brought many new actors into the field of development. Philanthropic donations are normally characterized by their tendency to cross global borders and to emphasize values such as altruism, social exchange, and non-rewarding seeking behavior. It may also be regarded as a humanizing of gifts (Brett, 1993; Harrow, 2010).

The motivations of developmental actors are, in other words, important to ensure altruistic intentions which guarantee a willingness to do good and accountability concerning the money flow (Anheier & List, 2005; Brett, 1993). A common form of philanthropy is the financial donations made by individuals and foundations. It represents a major source of non-profit sector funding. The motivations for philanthropic donations are regarded as a result of the satisfaction in giving and, in some cases a benefit from improved reputation. Philanthropic amateurism points to the voluntary associations' lack of professional expertise due to the deficiency of resources, or *philanthropic insufficiency*, which leads them to rely heavily on volunteers in dealing with social problems. Usually, philanthropic services focus on a few specific subgroups; in this case orphans and vulnerable children (Anheier & List, 2005).

1.2 Stating the Problem

The aim of this study is to describe and discuss the conduct of small NPOs, as well as opportunities and challenges that such organizations faces in the field today. To illustrate such an organization, this research has chosen to focus on one privately funded children's home in Central Region, Ghana. Furthermore, the study aims to investigate the endurance and stability of such development projects. In choosing a children's home to illustrate such organizations, one obtains a good example. This because sustainability will be essential considering that

sponsors and staff cannot abandon the project without major problems because they have taken on the responsibility for many children's future quality of life.

This thesis aspires to address the roles of the different actors within such organizations and to analyze their ability to communicate, negotiate and promote their interests towards each other. By actors, I refer to children's home staff, foreign sponsors, children workers NGOs, and government officials. Furthermore, it debates their motivations, values and management in order to understand what may challenge the sustainability and stability of the project. The regulation of smaller development initiatives which are started by private individuals is often weaker, and their incomes are likely to be more unstable than those of larger development NGOs. Because of this, it is both necessary and interesting to investigate the stability of such small NPOs, their coping mechanisms, and their challenges. This study appreciate the importance of work that such projects undertake, and reflects on how small, private initiatives function.

1.3 Justification of this Study

Alternative development theories led to a necessity of including communities and micro level, or individuals and small groups, in to the new development programs and strategies. Moreover, this led to the establishing of new organizations within the field. These organizations focus on health, education, participation and such. Many of these organizations are today classified as NGOs. Being part of civil society, they differ from government and private corporations (Anheier, 2005; Pieterse, 1998; Willis, 2011). The importance of these organizations, together with new philanthropic and volunteer activity, has grown in the last decades. Today, there are numerous different organizations operating in the field of development, varying in size, goals and objectives. Among these organizations are also the smaller, private initiatives described above and studied in this thesis.

Due to the rise of alternative development theories, private and voluntary Non-profit organizations, both smaller and larger, had an increase in number in the 1990's. They have contested bilateral and multilateral aid, which have been criticized for being both bureaucratic and money consuming (Pieterse, 1998). Despite alternative development strategies being a topic on the rise, the effects and challenges of the smaller NPOs described above, have not been explored to a great extent in previous research. By using the example of children's homes, this research hopes to contribute to more knowledge on this topic.

The World Bank (WB) has recognized NGOs as important actors in development projects. However, some of these organizations are operating more independently and reporting and accounting is more inconsistent, and therefore they are facing a new set of challenges (Anheier et.al, 2001). Such organizations in countries in the Global South often find themselves between governments with limited capabilities and under-funded public administrations on one side, and the unpredictability of the international donors on the other (Anheier et.al, 2001). Today, the non-profit sector is facing an increase in public control and therefore demands more efficient programs and greater accountability. As small budgets, more demands and more competition enters the field, it becomes important to understand the way such organizations functions as a part of development in communities (Anheier, 2005; Anheier et.al, 2001). As this sector is facing a number of new challenges that are yet to be investigated, this paper aims to contribute to this investigation by focusing on the more spontaneous initiatives which are started by only a few individuals. Despite an increase in research on the non-profit sector, so far these smaller initiatives have not been extensively explored.

1.4 General Objective

The general objective is to understand and analyze the nature of dynamics of relationships between the private international funders, the management and running of the children's home and the rules and regulations that operate in Ghana in order to understand how small private development initiatives operate.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

1. To understand what encounters small, private non-profit organizations, such as children's homes, are faced with and what their challenges are.

2. To understand the organization's actor's rationalities, and their influences on the interaction, and accountability to each other.

1.4.2. Research Questions

1. What are the responsibilities and involvements of the different actors that are studied?
2. How do the different actors interact?
3. How are the actors accountable to each other and to the children?

4. What are the development consequences of such small private partnerships?

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This research paper is divided into seven chapters. Above, chapter one provides a background to the study, a presentation of the objectives and research questions that are used for this study and a justification for the chosen topic. Chapter two provides a contextual framework on the partnerships in small, private NPOs and the regulation of Orphans and vulnerable children, and children's homes in Ghana, and the NPO that is being studied. Further, chapter three presents the theoretical perspective, concepts, and models for this study. Following chapter three, chapter four focuses on the methodology, the research process and the quality of the research and analysis. Whilst chapter five provides an analysis of the interaction between the main actors and their ability to negotiate, chapter six discusses the accountability of the project, its goals and objectives as well as evaluating the sustainability and challenges. Also, it tries to suggest methods for improvement within the home in terms of sustainability and the stability of funding and communication. Together, they form the empirical findings and the analysis. Lastly, chapter seven offers a summary of the research findings, conclusions and further recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUALIZING NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the situation of orphans and vulnerable children (OVCS) in Ghana. This is in order to understand the context and society within which these children's home operate. It also aims to explain the structures within Ghanaian government working with OVCs, and to describe the different categories of transfers made from foreign donors to such children's homes as a Non-Profit Organization (NPO). Furthermore, it will give insight to the various types of organizations operating with OVCs within Ghana. It will also give a brief explanation of alternative facilities for the care for OVCs in the country. By doing this, I hope to present a framework which may help to understand the context of the children's home used in this case study, in order to contribute to a clearer picture of their effects, options and alternatives.

2.1 Profile of Ghana
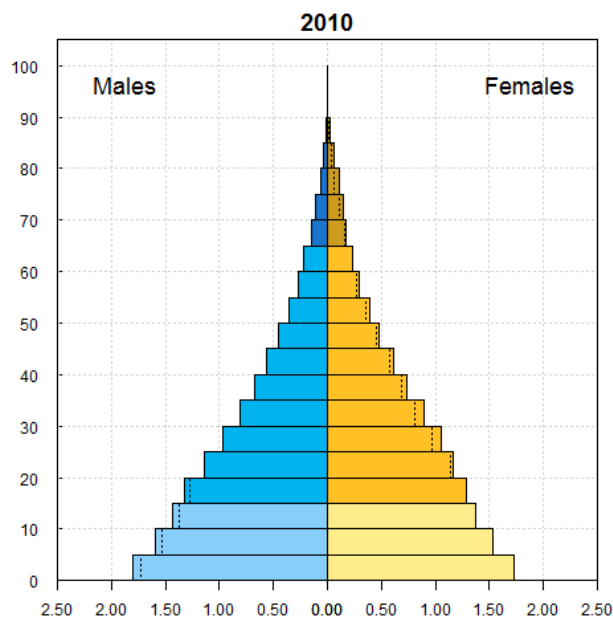
Figure 2.1: Population pyramid for Ghana 2010 (Source: UNDESA, 2013).

The Republic of Ghana is a country located in western Africa. It shares borders with the Ivory Coast to the west, Togo to the East, Burkina Faso to the North, and the Gulf of Guinea in the South. As the first African country, it became independent from Great Britain the 6th of March 1957. Today it is divided into ten administrative regions. Furthermore, there are 216 terrestrial and administrative districts, of which 46 are relatively new (Central Intelligence Agency, Undated; Ghana Districts, Undated). Ghana is host to a population of close to 26 million, and

has a growth rate of 2.19 percent. The life expectancy in Ghana is 65.75 years. A high number of deaths in recent years are caused by AIDS (Central Intelligence Agency, Undated.)

Ghana's economy is primarily based on agriculture, as 57 percent of the country's land area is classified as agricultural land area, and the sector holds 56 percent of the labor force. Despite a growing economy and Ghana having managed to be classified as a middle-income country, 28 percent of the population finds themselves below the poverty line. This is a reduction from 52 percent in 1992. Today, 71 percent of the Ghanaian population is literate (Central Intelligence Agency, Undated; Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010; UNICEF, 2011; UNICEF, 2013). In 2013, the growth in the country's economy slowed down to 5.5 percent. However, in the long term, the economy's outlooks are expected to be more positive as new oil reserves will be explored (World Bank, 2014). The Country is one of the more stable countries in West-Africa, making it especially attractive to foreign volunteers and donors to start development projects.

2.2 Global partnerships in Ghanaian Development Projects

Since the 1970s, new partnerships have emerged between development partners in the Global North and -South. These relationships are often related to development programs, where partners in the North contribute with financial support. Initially, such relationships developed as an expression of solidarity between the regions. Furthermore, the intentions of North-South partnerships aimed to ensure local ownership of development activities and to strengthen their sustainability and efficiency (Ashman, 2001; Elbers & Schulpen, 2011). These partnerships are based on transfer of resources, where the Northern aid agencies provide financial and technical support, and the southern counterparts account for the implementation of developing programs. These relationships are value-driven and are inspired by shared goals, mutual influence, trust, and respect. However, despite their mutual dependence, power relations between the two are often unequal (Ashman, 2001; Elbers & Schulpen, 2011).

By providing access to financial resources, Northern actors may have strong influences over Southern partners. It is therefore important to consider the latter's influence in decision making and how they may promote their interests without losing financial support. Also, their ability to advocate new agendas without invoking financial sanctions is crucial. It is also important for the Northern agencies to acknowledge their responsibility in the program, as

partners potentially *weaning off* [1] may be crucial for the future of such development programs (Ashman, 2001; Elbers & Schulpen, 2011). Through such partnerships the implementers in the South may be expected to follow certain requirements and demands for reporting. When discussing such relationships, it is therefore crucial to develop a suitable dialogue in order to include everyone's knowledge. Moreover, it may enable the Southern counterparts not to be overrun by foreign donors, as they may not be well informed about the best alternate ways to ensure the development goals in the local setting (Elbers & Schulpen, 2011: Kharas, 2007).

This is a relevant topic both for governmental and official partnerships, and also for the smaller and private partnerships which are the main topic for this study. Relationships and networks in development practices between partners in the North and the South have been established. One of the first partnerships began between governments. Later, remittances grew to be a large part of money being transferred from the North to countries in the South. Private organizations and companies, civil society organizations and private donations contribute to a large portion of the money flow going into development programs in the South. There are many different partnerships today, and all of them may vary in their conditions for aid, demands for reporting, their size, and the stability of money flow. A critical factor for partnerships is the sizes of the organizations which are being funded. If the organization is large, it is more attractive to the large agencies' donations, as the outreach and impacts are expected to be larger (Elbers & Schulpen, 2011). In this sense, one might see a tendency of small private initiatives also having partnerships with individuals rather than with large agencies. This is the case for the children's home in this theses/ paper…. The smaller contributors' transfers are usually characterized by less stability and consistency, but the increase in these private transfers have made them more important and of greater value to people living in the South, such as in Ghana, and it is distinct from market values, and the state. Additionally, the sector is largely self-regulated, and works as a supplement to government regulation. Therefore, they are usually assisted by codes of conduct in order to maintain certain standards. (Gugerty, 2010; Kharas, 2007; Srinivas, 2009).

The global development networks consist of multiple donations and cooperation. The way development organizations in the Global South, such as the children's home in this case study, relates to their global context, varies according to the type of aid they receive, and on

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[1]   Refers to the process of sponsors pulling out of projects and ending partnerships (Ashman, 2001; 91)

their level of independence and obligations to the partners. As mentioned above, there are numerous variations within the money transfers and the foreign donors. Furthermore, regulations and management is also different between various types of development organizations in the Global South. A clear distinction may be made between civil society organizations, private sector, research institutions, bilateral organizations, and multilateral organizations. Yet, what is common for many of the NGOs in for instance Africa, is that they share a greater part of the risk, as their donors in the North provides the income and therefore also have the ownership of the economic resources and therefore can regulate the conditions (Ashman, 2001; Elbers & Schulpen, 2011). The relationships between actors in development will be further elaborated in chapter five. The children's home which was subject of the data collections in this study falls under the category civil society organizations. The regulation of such NGOs depends on the donors, partners, and government.

This children's home's donors are mainly individuals living in Europe or Northern America. Some of them were using their private funds to finance projects at the home. Others were collecting money from private firms and individuals in their home countries, and therefore also had an additional obligation to them. The children's home's sponsors are mainly young European women who started sponsoring the home after working as a volunteer, but a few of the sponsors are also men of retirement age. While some of them regularly make donations for the day-to-day expenses and consumption, some of the donors are either saving up money to fund particular projects, or to make larger purchases when visiting the children's home.

2.3 Development perspective in small, private NGOs

With the alternative development theories, development was seen as something which had to be done in- and with the participation of those living in the community. Development should come from below. By giving education, and provide for basic needs to vulnerable groups in the society, one would be able to achieve development. It came as a reaction to the debt crisis and the lack of accountability by international organizations, and the Structural adjustment programs. Alternative development theories looked at development as something more than just economic growth, and addresses the need of empowerment and agency – meaning that the community themselves should create development (Pieterse, 1998; Willis, 2011). Moreover, many focus on providing for the basic needs of groups in the community. This focus first came in the 1970s, but peaked in the 1990s (Emmerij, 2010). This may also be said for the children's home that have been studied. Their aim is to cater for the needs of the children

through feeding, education, and providing security. This may be seen as their development perspective – to cater for the basic needs of the children.

Theories and perspectives of development have often been criticized for their faults. As small, private NPOs often exist outside the formal structures of development, the professionalization of their work may be affected by lack of knowledge on development strategies or potential outcomes of their aid. One of these criticisms is that development often creates dependency of outside actors – in this case the sponsors in the Global North. This is called the dependency trap (Harvey & Lind, 2005). Evidence that development creates dependency is inconclusive, but it is still worth addressing this issue as such dependency creates more vulnerability in such small, private NPOS that may already be characterized by instability of funding.

2.4 Defining Orphans and Vulnerable Children

In 1990, the Ghanaian government ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). During the following decades, Ghana has made progress in legislation and development of social policies for the protection of the country's children. Still, improvement in the quality of care for children has been important for Ghanaian government for much longer. In recent years, the government has also initiated reforms to improve protection; among these is the Care Reform Initiative (CRI), which will be discussed later (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). The National Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC NPA) was initiated in 2010 to complement and reinforce existing legislature and other social policies for OVCs. The OVC NPA sets out time limited goals and objectives, as well as measurement of progress to ensure care for Children. The Ghanaian Ministry of Employment encouraged development partners, private sector, Non-Governmental Organizations and community groups to strengthen partnerships and involvement in the implementation of the action plan (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010).

Government and organizations in Ghana use a number of definitions of orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs). The definition used in the National Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children, and also the definition chosen for this purpose, the definition of all OVCs in Ghana includes the following: "*A child under the age of 18 who has lost one or both parents to HIV/AIDS or other causes*". Furthermore, they specify vulnerable children as:

> **Box 2.1: Groups included in the OVC NPA definition of OVCs**
>
> "- Orphans;
>
> - Children infected or affected by HIV/AIDS
>
> - Children abused or neglected
>
> - Children in conflict with the law
>
> - Children in need of alternative family care
>
> - Children with disabilities
>
> - Children in "hard to reach" areas
>
> - Children affected by the worst forms of child labor
>
> - Children living on the streets
>
> - Children in need of care and protection under section 18 (act 560)[2]".
>
> (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010; 12).

2.5 OVC Situation in Ghana

In recent years, the number of orphans has been growing at an alarming rate, and because of this, there have been a greater need of focus on research and resources directed towards vulnerable children. OVCs face multiple risks, such as economic and social risks, but also psychological risks and trauma. Children which are orphaned or in vulnerable situations often tend to drop out of school and to face insecurity, health problems, loss of human capital, and malnutrition (Ansell, 2008; Subbarao & Coury, 2004). In order to prevent doubling in projects, Subbarao and Coury (2004) stresses the need for coordination between actors, and also the need to investigate vulnerable children's needs, adaption strategies, and opportunities. In order to understand and consider what can be done about the OVC situation in a particular country, one needs to gain knowledge about what is already being done in terms of care-giving and legislation. A study in Africa in 2004, showed that more than one third of all orphans were orphaned because of one or both parents dying of AIDS, and this number is still

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[2] To clarify, Act 560 constitutes the Children's Act of Ghana. Section 18 includes the definition of care and protection and mentions the reasons for a child's need for care and protection (Government of Ghana, 1998). This section is included in the appendices (Appendix I).

increasing ten years later (Subbarao & Coury, 2004). In addition to the above mentioned risks OVCs face, they also face the risk of exploitation and abuse due to heavy workload in foster families and covering the household tasks of their late mothers. Furthermore, orphans in the streets face risks such as prostitution, drug abuse, HIV infection and crime (Ansell, 2008; Subbarao & Coury, 2004).

In Ghana in 2008, children comprised almost 48 percent of the total population. The number of OVCs in Ghana varies depending on what definition of orphan and of vulnerability is being used. By using the definition presented earlier, 230 000 children have been orphaned from AIDS in Ghana (2005), and in total there are approximately 1.3 million orphans. This means that about 12 percent of children in Ghana are single or double orphans (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). Respectively, the United Nations Children's Fund's (UNICEF) estimated the number of aids orphans in 2012 to be 190 000 and the total figure of orphans is estimated to be 1 million in 2012. According to UNICEF (2013), 5000 of these orphans are likely to live in children's homes and other residential care institutions. Many children also live unnecessarily in institutions, because they have living parents who would be able to take care of them if they had more resources (Ghana Web, 2013; Subbarao & Coury, 2004).

HIV/AIDS is a major origin of orphans in Ghana. These orphans create an even more difficult phenomenon, as they, because of this, often face stigma, which may act as a barrier to being accepted by the communities. Poverty is another cause for OVCs, as parents are not able to provide for all of their children due to lack of resources. Furthermore, domestic violence, trafficking, diseases and discrimination, maternal deaths, conflicts, and so on, place many children in Ghana and the Global South in general, into orphan hood and vulnerable life situations (Ansell, 2008; Subbarao & Coury, 2004).

The average age among OVCs in Ghana is 11.4 years, and 76 percent or orphans attended school between 2008 and 2012. (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010; UNICEF, 2013) Despite many of the children having caregivers, these caregivers are over-burdened and do not have the socio-economic capacity to care sufficiently for these children. The number of children in Ghana receiving inadequate care according to the UNICEF's standards was 20.7 percent between 2005 and 2012. The majority of these children are found among those living in poverty (UNICEF, 2013).

Due to the difficult situation for many children in Ghana, there have been efforts in protecting their children. In addition to ratifying the UN Convention of the Rights of the child, Ghana also protect the children of the nation with their own children's rights, written down in Act 560 (Manful & Manful, 2013). In recent years, there have also been a number of initiatives concentrating on the well-being of OVCs in Ghana. Some of these initiatives will be described below.

There are also numerous actors working with OVCs in Ghana. The government, through the Department of Social Welfare, holds a major part of the responsibility. There are also numerous organizations and larger NGOs, such as UNICEF, Save the Children, Care and Orphan Aid Africa, which contribute to improved circumstances, education and caregiving for the country's OVCs (Directory of Development Organizations, 2011; DSW, 2015a). Foreign private donors also have an increasing role in orphan care in Ghana. Many of them are collecting money which they use to provide resources, income, food, shelter and education for orphans in Ghana, particularly through smaller private children's homes initiatives (Frimpong-Manso, 2014). These actors and their work will be further described below.

2.6 The Government's Initiatives on OVCs – The National Plan of Action

In many developing countries, the sharing of roles and responsibilities is disputed. The governments, NGOs and international donors differ in their view on the role of non-governmental actors. NGOs also often are suspicious on the governments' purposes, especially in countries where commitment is limited (Brinkerhoff, 1999). In the case of collaboration between state and civil society, a supportive legal and regulatory framework is important to implement (Brinkerhoff, 1999). In Ghana, the Department of Social Welfare has in later years been working to improve this framework. There is great opportunity for civil society to operate within in Ghana today. Additionally, the governments have implemented multiple measures to guide those working with children welfare in the country. The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) is the national government organ which works on OVCs and children's homes in Ghana. They estimate the number of Children's homes in Ghana to be 148. However, only ten are registered at the DSW. The Department has the obligation to promote and protect the children rights, administrate child related issues, community care and in general, the making of budget, the planning, and the monitoring of OVCs in Ghana (DSW, 2015a; DSW, 2015b). One of the major tasks of the DSW office is the supervision of children's homes in Ghana. Mainly, the DSW's mandate is to realize the

enforcement of the guidelines for the registration and operation of such homes, and to monitor activities within the homes. This is done through the National Standards for Residential Homes for OVCs in Ghana (DSW, 2015a; DSW, 2010).

The National plan of action for OVCs (OVC NPA) concerns the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare (MESW) and the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs' attempt at reinforcing existing legislature on vulnerable groups in order to protect children from vulnerability, and also to reduce the risk of abuse. It addresses goals and objectives as well as indicators which will be useful in measuring progress over a period of three years. The OVC NPA works as a tool for coordinating work and responsibilities concerning OVCs in Ghana. It also seeks private and civil society actors to build partnerships. In short, the OVC NPA aims to place the issue of OVCs on the Ghanaian government's agenda (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). By implementing coordinated measures, the ministries aim to reduce the number of children becoming orphaned or homeless, and the number of children at risk of poverty or violence. It does so by implementing three strategies focused on prevention. This means they will put an effort into keeping vulnerable children within their families and their communities, with the aid of money transfers and improved housing, health and educational services. Also, in order to support children who are already separated from their families and help them return to extended families or other family placements, such as foster care, it aims to provide protection by using social workers and cash transfers to such families. The latter strategy, *transformation*, emphasizes strategies that provide the state and other sponsors with the capacity to promote development and opportunities for OVCs (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). Under these three strategies, the OVC NPA addresses goals and useful approaches. It also identifies indicators, time frame, and estimated cost, before recognizing the groups and agencies that are responsible in reaching these goals. Among these agencies are also NGOs and small private initiatives working with child welfare in Ghana. The OVC NPA defines fifteen clear goals, and multiple actions aimed at achieving each of these goals (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010).

2.6.1 The National Standards for Residential Homes for OVCs in Ghana

The National Standards for Residential Homes for OVCs in Ghana is considered a tool for monitoring that the residential homes for children (RHC) are working in accordance with their responsibilities. The standards also serve as criteria for registration of homes in Ghana. It also

it seeks to identify institutions which establish homes for reasons other than the well-being of the children (Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). For a more extensive, detailed description of these standards, the may be found on the DSW webpages (see reference list). Only a brief description is provided here. The standards describe the purpose of the institution, transparency, the qualifications and training of the management and staff, and employment practices at the home. Furthermore, they describe how the homes should be organized, how surroundings may ensure privacy and safety, the financial viability, and the Children's Act 560's rights of the child. Furthermore, the standards decide the criteria for admission of children, diet and nutrition, health care access, right to education, family participation, and transition to independent living or reintegration with family as well as follow up communication after children have left the home. In short, the standards address the responsibilities of the RHCs in adhering to the laws and regulations made by the Ghanaian government (DSW, 2010; Government of Ghana, 1998). Yet, although the DSW is aware of numerous unlicensed residential homes, little effort has been made to close them down, as there are insufficient options for providing alternative care. The majority of residential homes are operating illegally, since they are not registered with the DSW as required by law. The reason for this is that the standards and fees are unrealistically high (Frimpong-Manso, 2013). Implementing the standards is done by social welfare officers who visit the homes and check up on requirements:

2.6.2 The Care Reform Initiative

Recently, the DSW recently made a new initiative on OVC care in Ghana. The Care Reform Initiative (CRI) was started in 2006 with the aim of ensuring appropriate parental or alternative care for OVCs, and to use institutional care in RHC only as a last resort. The DSW states that "*the Care Reform will furthermore set an enforceable minimum legal standard of care in all settings and encourage dialogue and action. In addition to this, the Care Reform will also raise the awareness and understanding of the issues facing vulnerable children by the public at a large and child care professionals*" (DSW, 2015c)

In short, the Care Reform Initiative is trying to establish a more a stable approach to the caring for OVCs by (1) preventing disintegration of families through strategies that strengthen families. These strategies may be the social grant program, scholarships, food packages, national health insurance, and other ways of supporting poor families so that the children may stay with them. Furthermore, the initiative seeks to (2) reintegrate children with the extended

family (Kinship care) by finding relatives who are able to look after the child, (3) to find a temporary or permanent foster family for those who cannot be provided by kinship care, and (4) to find a family who are willing to adopt and care for the child, preferably with a Ghanaian family, if all possibilities of family reunion is exhausted, (DSW, 2015c; DSW, 2015d). This means that placing a child in an institution such as RHC is to be done only as a last resort. This reform, together with the national standards for RHC, is the two largest implementations by the Ghanaian government in the effort to strengthen the OVCs' situation in children's homes in Ghana.

The reason for initiating the Care Reform was stated to be based on the high rate of established of RHCs, where there is a tendency for placing children in homes without exploring alternatives in family settings. Many of the homes are also undergoing poor planning and management, and the ratio between care takers to children is poor. Furthermore, many of the homes lack adequate bedding space, food, medication, and school facilities. This means that many of the homes are not operating according to the standards established by the Department of Social Welfare (DSW, 2015b). Research also shows that many children living within institutional settings may experience stressful conditions and may not successfully integrate into society later (DSW, 2015b). Children living in residential homes for children (RHC) are often stigmatized and have limited contact with community and family. Their right to privacy is invaded because of the often crowded conditions, and the minority religions and ethnicity are overlooked. Children's homes also provide poor stimulation for children, especially babies, and because of a lack of caretakers compared to the number of children; they are often unable to respond to psychological needs and consistency of care. Infrastructural costs and staffing expenditures makes RHC expensive compared to for example foster care. Furthermore, unmonitored homes may change course from charity to commercial status. Children in homes also often lack opportunity for free play, and schoolwork may be ignored in favor of domestic duties. These are some of the challenges the DSW associates with residential homes for children. It is important, however, to notice that some of these challenges may also be found within family settings, though the risk may be greater in an institution (DSW, 2015b; Subbarao & Coury, 2004). Evidence also states that many of the children living in RHCs do not need to live there at all as they have families who are able to care for them, or they have extended family that can care for them if they receive support (DSW, 2015b).

During the first phase year of implementing the Care Reform, the DSW provided courses in children's rights to all home owners in the country. They also collected data concerning the RHC, and designed the legislation as well as training social workers on de-institutionalization. These measures were all taken in order to achieve el adhere to the goals of the CRI. As a part of this initiative, DSW also enhances the importance of monitoring children's homes according to the National Standards for Residential Homes for OVCs (DSW, 2015c; Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). Using RHC as a last resort by initiating the previously mentioned four steps of placements of OVCs, the DSW hopes to reduce the number of OVCs in institutional settings, and to lessen the burden on caretakers in children's homes. By monitoring residential homes in Ghana, the DSW aim to improve record keeping, registration of children, care plans, and implementation of children's rights (DSW, 2015c).

The CRI already has had an impact upon the children's homes in Ghana. Even though resettlement in family care may take time because of the children's ability to re-integrate, the government has been advised to abolish children's homes as a result of abuse and criminal activities (Orphan Aid Africa, 2008; Syme, 2009). Worryingly, a large majority of children living in RCHs actually are not orphans. The number of children's homes in Ghana has increased by 40 % since 2002. Because of these alarming numbers, the Care Reform, together with OrphanAid Africa, has already resettled many children into their original families and are working on decreasing the number of children in RCHs even further. Resettlement into family setting has also been stressed by the national coordinator of OVCs, Mr. Fred Sakyi Boafo, who is also working on decreasing the number of unlicensed children's homes (Graphic Online, 2014; Orphan Aid Africa, 2008; Syme, 2009). When attempting to reintegrate children into their families, Frimpong-Manso (2013) found that because of poverty, many of the families were reluctant to accept additional children. As the kinship system is weakened by poverty, and the families' already inadequate finances may cause even more risk of vulnerability, reintegrating children became a challenge. Moreover, Frimpong-Manso (2013) refers to research that shows how many of the children reintegrated with their families had been forced to drop out of school because caretakers could not provide for registration fees, transport and uniforms. Some of the resettled children also become victims of abuse and were exploited for labor and household chores (Frimpong-Manso, 2013).

2.7 Care taking facilities for OVCs in Ghana

Ghana has numerous ways of taking care of OVCs. Despite the government's implementations of initiatives to reduce children placed in institutions, this research is focusing on children's homes. However, RHC are not the only care taking system for OVCs in Ghana. To understand the children's homes as a way of caring for OVCs, one also has to know what alternatives the vulnerable children in Ghana have. When talking about care of OVCs, many often talk of family settings, such as placing the orphaned child within extended family, foster family, or adoption as a permanent resort. These family settings are also mentioned in the DSW within the Ghanaian government as the better alternative to placing the child in institutions.

As a contrast to the institutionalized settings within Children homes, care through family collectives is often considered to be the preferred strategy for OVC care. As children homes may provide care for those outside family settings, they are able to encompass more OVCs. (Abebe, 2010; Subbarao & Coury, 2004). Care within the extended family is considered to be the traditional system where family bonds are strong and children maintain robust ties to relatives as well as parents. This system may also better adapt to changing circumstances. Many orphans are well looked after by their extended families, and are protected by their social networks (Abebe, 2010; Subbarao & Coury, 2004). However, due to AIDS and a large increase in the number of orphans, many argue that there are too many OVCs relative to the capacity of family collectives. Children's homes therefore have the advantage of reaching out to more OVCs than what family households are able to (Abebe, 2010; Subbarao & Coury, 2004).

According to the National Coordinator of OVCs, Mr. Boafo, one of the informants interviewed for this research, the government has made a distinction between children's homes and children's villages. The latter is divided into multiple smaller homes, with one caretaker in each home living with a maximum of seven to eight children. Mr. Boafo encourages new actors within the field to focus on such settings, as they may provide many of the same qualities as family settings.

Furthermore, Ghanaian societies also have what they call "Queen Mothers". These women acts as ancestral heads together with the chiefs, and have responsibilities associated with rites and rituals. Queen mothers are, in other words, recognized as leaders for other women within the same community (Lund & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). They often play a role in providing care

and support for HIV/AIDS orphans and vulnerable children. As OVCs are becoming an increasing problem in African countries, much because of HIV/AIDS, Queen Mothers also serve to assist OVCs. They identify their responsibility as catering for the children's needs and seek to promote the welfare of both women and children in the community. They use their networks to help OVCs into homes and work to ensure their integration into families, and to attend normal public schools within the community. However, as the number of orphans is high, they lack the resources to care for all those who need it (Lund & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). To support orphans, the Queens Mothers pay for basic education, medical care, feeding and clothing, and provide them with vocational skills. The DSW also states that the Queens Mothers are assisting them in preventing OVCs from living within institutional settings (Lund & Agyei-Mensah, 2008). Although the traditional system still provides alternative care for children, decisions concerning children's placement is made by families in informal settings, and therefore the DSW do not monitor these placements. Foster families are also not entitled to any benefits and help from the state. Because of poverty, this becomes a challenge for many (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

Foster care involving non relatives has not been frequently used. Only 70 people were registered as foster parents in 2006. This may be due to the fact that the care givers are not being paid for their services. Also adoption is a not frequently used option as there is little information on this topic in Ghana (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

In the 1990s, there was a large increase in residential homes for children in Ghana. In eight years, the number grew from 9 in 1997 to 100 in 2005. Today, the number is 148. In 2005, 90 % of the 4500 children in residential homes had one or two living parents (Frimpong-Manso, 2014). However, Mr. Boafo informed that only ten of the residential homes were registered by the DSW. This means that only ten were working in accordance to the Government's standards for RHC, and also signed up with the government. This low number is caused by poor regulation of NGOs. Though many of the homes are established on good intentions, there have been signs that some are used as a means to acquire funds from donors and volunteers (Frimpong-Manso, 2014). Furthermore, the DSW makes a distinction between public and private children's homes in Ghana. The public homes are defined as the ones funded by the government, with employees being paid by the DSW. Private RHCs are all those founded and managed by NGOs, private actors, churches, and other civil society actors.

2.8 Central Region and Agona East District

Central Region is one of Ghana's ten administrative regions. It borders to Ashanti and Eastern Region in the North, Western Region in the west, Greater Accra to the East, and to the Atlantic Ocean in the South. The region's administrative capital is Cape Coast. The region was a part of Western Region until 1970. Today, it covers 9.826 square kilometers, which is about 4.1 percent of Ghana's total land area, and the region is the home of almost 1.6 million people. Central Region's nature is typically rural, with only 37.5 percent living in or around the urban areas, Cape Coast, Agona and Efutu-Senya (Anyasor-Nartey, 2006a; Government of Ghana Official Portal, Undated).
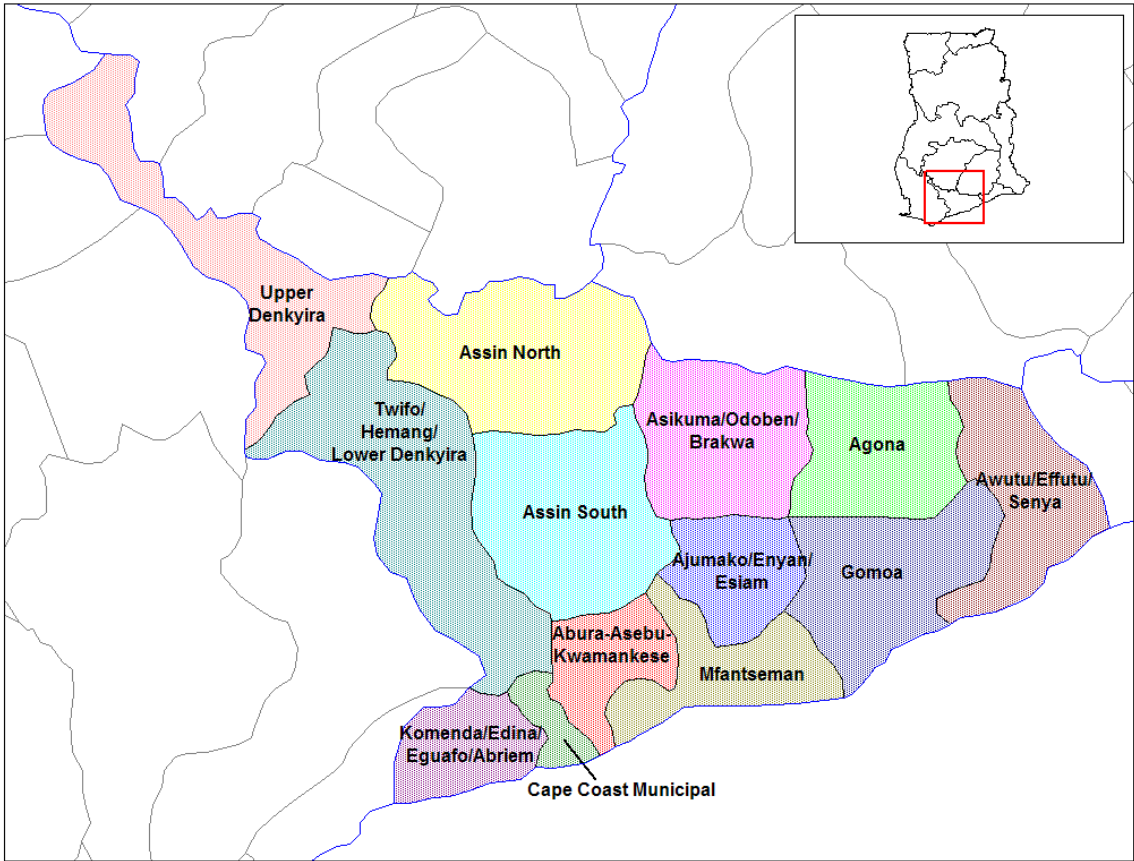
Figure 2.2: Map of Central Region, Ghana (Source: Agona West Municipal Assembly, 2015)

The region has a young age structure, as population under 15 years varies from 36 percent in Cape Coast to 44.3 percent average in the other districts. The fertility rate in Central Region is the same as that of the country in total. However, fertility rate is declining and the region is experiencing migration to larger urban areas. Child and infant mortality is decreasing. In 2006, 80 percent of all children born to women in the fertile age, between 15 and 49 years,

survived. This gave Central Region a growth rate of 2.1 percent per annum in 2006 (Anyasor-Nartey, 2006a). Furthermore, the average family size of the region is 4.4, and therefore lower than the national average of 5.1. This might be due to migration to other regions.

96.9 percent of the region's population consists of Ghanaians. 82 percent is Akan speaking and they therefore make up the largest ethnic group in the region. Within this group is the Fante tribe, who mainly are located along Cape Coast. The majority of the population in Central Region is Christians (81.5 percent), where Pentecostal and charismatic churches are the largest group, followed by orthodox and protestant churches. Muslims make up about 9.2 percent of Central Region population. (Anyasor-Nartey, 2006b; Anyasor-Nartey, 2006c; Anyasor-Nartey, 2006d; Government of Ghana Official Portal, Undated).

The literacy rate is lower than the national average, with not more that 51.7 percent literate in at least one language. Most of them learn reading and writing in school. The districts are encouraged to set up strategies that allow young mothers to go back to school. Low enrollment in schools, about 77 percent regional average at primary level, and 30 percent for males and 15 percent for females at secondary school enrollment, is mainly caused by poverty. Also, some children are kept out of school because of engagement in economic activities, such as child labor or begging. (Anyasor-Nartey, 2006b; Anyasor-Nartey, 2006c; Anyasor-Nartey, 2006d)

The Children's home selected for this case study is located in the Agona east, in a rural village with one hour bus connection to the closest town, Agona Swedru. This is only one of many private children's homes operating in the area.

The Agona East is one of 17 districts in Central Region and it is located in the eastern part of Central Region. It has a population of 85.000. The district was carved out of Agona municipality in 2006, and it encompasses about five percent of the total land area of Central Region. The district capital, Agona Nsaba, is close to the commercial center, Agona Swedru, in Agona West Municipality. The district lacks proper infrastructure, such as roads and sewage system, which leads to problems with sanitary conditions. River waters are also polluted (Agona East District Assembly (AEDA), 2013a; Agona East District Assembly, 2013b; Agona East District Assembly, 2013c; Government of Ghana Official Portal, Undated; Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 2015).

The dominant religion in the Agona East district is Christianity, but there are also Islamic and traditional religions. As there are many rural and farming communities, polygamy is a common characteristic, and many women are married at an early age. There are a number of health clinics in the district, but due to inadequate logistics, lack of laboratories, staff and accommodation, the health care system in the district is lacking. However, in later years, there have been some programs in family planning, preventable diseases, and nutrition improvement (Agona East District Assembly, 2013d; Agona East District Assembly, 2013e)

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

In order to understand the phenomenon one is studying, the use of theory becomes important. Theory enables the researcher to explain phenomena and meanings of human behavior and to connect it to reality. This chapter will focus on theories which explain the functions of NPOs and their responsibility to other institutions, the community, and other participants. The theoretical framework for this study was developed both before and after the fieldwork was conducted. The data generated during my fieldwork had an impact on the theoretical framework I needed for understanding and conceptualizing the phenomena that were observed. In order to combine the analysis to the theory and data, some adjustments and additions were made. Below, different theories and concepts will be presented and explained. The theory is valuable to my analysis, as it lays the foundation for my understanding of the phenomena and situations which arose during data collection. Norman Long (2001) introduced the "Encounters at the Interface" as an important tool to investigate interactions, conflicts and processes between different actors, but also to see how and where they are connected and influenced by each other (Long, 2001). Because of this study's focus on NPOs and development, accountability becomes a significant aspect of my analysis. Different dimensions and mechanisms of accountability will therefore be described below. Encounters at the interface and concepts of accountability will be used to create an understanding of the data collected, and in order to answer the objectives and research questions, it will be connected to this data.

3.2 Encounters at the Interface

Long describes the social interfaces as critical linkages or intersections between structures and processes. Furthermore, encounters refer to what happens between multiple knowledge systems and thus include both structure- and agency perspectives (Long, 2001; Long and Jinlong, 2009). Actor-oriented interface analysis is often used to understand cultural diversity, social difference, and conflict inherent in processes of developing interventions. Interfaces usually occur when intersected or social situations have different and conflicting arenas or standpoints. It is used a lot within development, especially to investigate the partnerships in small scale development, such as grassroots initiatives (Long, 2001; Long & Jinlong, 2009).

Even though interface interactions presume some degree of common interests between actors, unequal power relations and various interests and rationalities may generate conflict. In such situations, interface analysis aims to reveal types and sources of social incoherencies in order to identify or change the organizational and cultural factors contributing to the conflicting interests, values, knowledge, et cetera (Long, 1999). Norman Long (1999: 1) states that "Although the word 'interface' tends to convey the image of some kind of two-sided articulation or face-to-face confrontation, social interface situations are more complex and multiple in nature, containing within them many different interests, relationships and modes of rationality and power". Because of this, such analysis must place social differences and confrontations within the wider context of actors, institutions, knowledge, and power (Long, 1999). Furthermore, interface analysis aims to investigate the linkages and networks, where interaction over time influences the development of boundaries and expectations that shape further interaction. Rules, sanctions, procedures, and practices for handling conflicting interests and perceptions progress as a result of continuous interaction. Ways of interacting and relating to outsiders even develop in informal networks such as families (Long, 1999).

Norman Long introduced the notion of social interfaces as the often large gap between the national planning and policy, and what happens 'on the ground' (Long & Jinlong, 2009: 64). The idea is that multiple factors and the context of actors and interaction shape the outcome of planning and policies. This illustrates the complexity of these situations. Later, Norman Long extended the idea of interfaces into also accounting for the social incoherencies based on differences in values, interest, knowledge, and power (Long & Jinlong, 2009).

The interface phenomena are present in events where there are a number of spatially distant, institutionally multifaceted and culturally distinct activities (Long, 2001: 84). It helps to understand how phenomena or situations occur. Social, ecological, economic, technological, and ethical factors are influenced by different actors' interests, ways of organizing and political and cultural beliefs (Long, 2001). However, it is important to notify that use of the term culture within this concept has been contested, as it promotes a homogenous belief of culture and suggests that culture equals homogenous values, opinions and knowledge (Long, 1990). Furthermore, encounters at the interface concentrate on situations where conflicting communication occur, or where the different actors have a conflict of interests and different knowledge. Interfaces are constituted by domains, divisions, discourses, and cultural practices found in the general social life. In order to understand social mechanisms, they require interface analysis (Long, 2001). The everyday life is, in other words, influenced by a number

of interactions between a numbers of different actors. Conflicting social and normative interests and diverse bodies of knowledge, leads to multiple realities. Additionally power, authority, legitimacy, and interpretations will influence the interface (Long, 2001). Where do these actors interact? And how do they interact?

Within the field of development, the interface between "powerful outsiders" who are helping the "powerless insiders" has been much studied. Empowerment by the use of participatory methods by local groups has therefore been a growing concern. Despite good intentions, outsider versus insider power relations may have severe consequences to the interface of development agencies, the local community, and others (Long, 2001).

Knowledge, power, and discourses are important aspects to explore to understand how encounters at the interface progress over time. Knowledge is important for understanding rationalities and beliefs about oneself, other people, and about contexts. Furthermore, it is often entwined with power relations and resource distribution. Power and knowledge affect communication processes. As knowledge is a process of interaction, power is also a process where intricate struggles and negotiations over authority, reputation, and legitimatization of knowledge are contributing to types of interaction. Yet, it is important to consider the fact that decisions and involvement are not passive, but rather active processes of making strategies and dealing with information (Long, 1990; Long, 1999). Decisions and change may also develop through interaction and shared determination of internal and external influences and the existing relationships (Long, 1990). In other words, the actors are capable of communicating their decisions and to act upon them, but to some extent they are constrained by outside structures and collective space. Long (1990) defines this as us being *social actors*, which suggests that values and behavior is socially constructed through power, communication and knowledge. This proposes an approach similar to that of Anthony Giddens structuration theories, where agency and structure are the driving forces of change and behavior (Giddens, 1984; Long, 1990)

In order to understand what power, communication, and rationalities, knowledge and interests mean, the concepts will be briefly defined here. Power, in its original sense, means "to be able". One can view power in two ways; power to dominate and power to keep resistance (Sharp et.al, 2000). Allen (1999) states that there are three ways power can be reflected as. To have *power over* something is seen in dualistic relationships, where one actor has *power over* the other. This, to a certain extent depending on the relation, includes the power to decide or

command. This power may also be seen as inclusion or exclusion of groups (Allen, 1999). Next, having *Power to* do something is more a question of resources rather that power as a possession. In this way, power comes from using ones resources in a beneficial way and to cooperate with others and having the ability to transform situations (Allen, 1999; Allen 2003). The latter, *immanent power* refers to viewing power as the knowledge one is using in order to develop techniques to adapt to other social groups and maneuver (Allen, 2003). Foucault states that such power works through self-regulating techniques that is made through experience (Allen, 2003). In this study, as I show later, all forms of power can be seen to operate at this children's home. The different forms of power are entangled, and operate together at the same time (Sharp et.al, 2000). This makes it difficult to separate them from each other, but the analysis will use them to try to understand the ways in how power relations operate.

Long (1990) operationalize the encounters at the interface by focusing on certain areas that affect communication. These are mainly the power relations, rationalities, knowledge, and interests. By studying these areas, the researcher may find where conflicts and negotiations develop, and why (Long, 2001; Long and Jinlong, 2009). Communication may be referred to as the process towards reaching mutual understandings through exchanging information and ideas (Oxford Dictionaries, undated a). The links between power relations and communication is important to acknowledge, as to who controls the communication, information flow, and the decision making.

Rationalities, knowledge, and interests are some of the factors that Long (1990; 2001) addresses as influential to the encounters at the interface. These factors additionally contribute to communication, and will therefore be defined here. Knowledge refers to the interpretation and understandings of data, information and experience. It is therefore dependent on cultural, social and individual interpretation (Holmen, 2014). Interests refer, in this thesis, to involvement or participation in activities based on a claim, a right, or a share over an asset, such as power, influence or money (Oxford Dictionaries, undated b). Lastly, rationality is the way of being consistent with logic and what is reasonable (Oxford Dictionaries, undated c). Rationality is closely linked with knowledge and interests. Therefore, the three of them will be analyzed together in Chapter 5.

In order to analyze the rationality, interests and knowledge of the actors, I will look at the different development perspectives they may hold, and how they act accordingly to what

makes sense in order to achieve efficient development. The power relations will be studied by analyzing what resources the different actors have, how they try to influence each other and make decisions, and what techniques they are using in order to achieve power or influence. Lastly, communication will be analyzed by looking at the ways of interaction and how they handle negotiations.

3.2.1 Achieving Interface Analysis

The interface perspective should include the actors directly and indirectly involved, and in addition look at social and cultural repertoires and interests to see how they are making and remaking scenarios in the field of development. Actors in this field may include implementers, shareholders, activists, bystanders, managers, and so forth. The networks become a key element in the gathering of information, meanings and identities (Long, 2001). As the different actors have different interests, they "struggle" for room to maneuver. Hence, in interface analysis social interest, cultural interpretation, knowledge, and power become important to the confrontations and the links between the actors one studies (Long, 2001). Such interfaces are better studied in the areas where people already are engaged in interactions, problem-solving activities, or where they have a tradition for social practices or for the negotiation of their own roles and sense-making.

By doing such analysis, one rejects a homogeneous concept of culture, but rather focuses on heterogeneity, hybridity, and cultural repertoires - such as values, discourses, organizational ideas, symbols, and ritualized procedures. Heterogeneity refers to the coexistence of different social forms within one context or scenario of problem solving. This might propose multiple alternatives to a solution and to similar problems. Hybridity aims to explain the mixed-end products that develop when one combines various cultural repertoires (Long, 2001).

Individuals will not always act on behalf of the group one 'represents', but also sometimes act in the interest of others. Everyday social life will influence the development of discursive practices and knowledge. This is especially noticeable at critical points of discontinuity between actors and it is therefore important to capture such processes interface analysis. As a researcher, one should go where actors are already involved in interaction, problem-solving activities or routines and social practices and negotiations (Long, 1999).
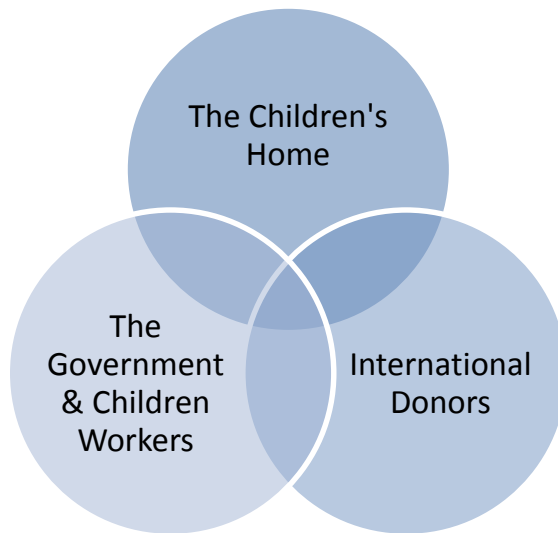
Figure 3.1: The interfaces of this study

In this research, the actors which will be studied are the Ghanaian government, the philanthropic/volunteers/sponsors, and the staff and the director at the orphanage chosen for my case study. As this study concerns the earlier mentioned "agents" interactions with each other, these interactions and situations should be analyzed in order to understand what is happening in the field of private development initiatives such as NPOs – more specifically, in this study; a private orphanage in Central Region, Ghana.

3.2.2 Encounters at the Interface in Private Children's Homes in Ghana

The theory of encounters at the interface is relevant to this paper as it addresses conflict of interests and interaction between partners in development. In the African perspective, tensions and frustration between partners in development are a common occurrence. This is especially regarding the matter of power sharing (Ashman, 2001). Critical determinants associated with effective partnerships, are the development of trust between the partners, the cooperative relationships, active communication, mutual influence, and joint learning. As noted above, this is neither freely negotiated, but not entirely limited by structures either (Ashman, 2001; Long, 1990). Ashman (2001) concludes that development partners in the North (U.S.) perceived the cooperation as fairly effective, while the African NGOs still saw room for improvement. This might be due to the power division in such partnerships. The donors provide (large) sums of money, and therefore they hold decisive ownership to the capital resources. The conditions placed upon the recipients, may make them feel disempowered and

force them to take on most of the risk in the partnership, as they are not sustainable without the funding (Ashman, 2001).

Despite having a shared goal in taking care of OVCs, their perceptions on how it should be done are different, and during the interviews, it became apparent that they are also disagreed on the responsibilities should be and how much the other party/parties should contribute. They also questioned the priorities and the methods of care taking. These differences will be analyzed and discussed in chapter five. The analysis will also review in which arenas the various actors meet and how they communicate. To understand this, the analysis will also go deeper into the role of each actor and look at their interdependence. Furthermore, it will describe all the various stakeholders of the home. Based on this, the analysis will assess their power relations, how they protect their interests, and what resources each of them have. The interface analysis of this paper will furthermore look at their rationalities and how they reason for their interests and values. How do they perceive the home and the other actors?

3.3 The Conception of Accountability

> Voluntary agencies are now so prominent in the organizational inventory of the development industry that we can see them as one of the 'three primary institutional sectors of human society', alongside governments and business. Their role therefore has strong social and political implications since it creates the possibility of a social system based on institutional pluralism rather than one dominated by either the state or private agencies…

(Brett, 1993: 271)

New actors within development are increasingly valued because they are believed to provide more accountable, effective and equitable services than the government and private agencies do. Value driven organizations claim to be grounded in altruistic motivations rather than in self-interest (Brett, 1993). Accountability looks at how one ensures obligations and efficiency which provides a stable basis for maintaining the actors' responsibilities and how one professionalizes the work of development organizations (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999; Stapenhurst & O'Brien, 2009). NGOs and similarly voluntary based organizations can be referred to as member-accountable people's organizations as they are service providers for the members and features structures and norms that should insure accountability to its members (Brett, 1993). Because altruistic beliefs have attracted donors, the organization is likewise held accountable to them. Also, such organizations may often be viewed as self-reliant, as they have been viewed as an occasion to avoid exploitation and corruption in development programs because

their membership should be based on commitment, participation and empowerment of the civil society rather than the élites. The NPOs therefore have an integrative role in societies (Brett, 1993; Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). However, theory may be different from practice. Legitimate questions have been raised about the capability to sustain altruism in all situations and under the influence of power. Some voluntary agencies have been discovered to be ineffective, opportunistic, corrupt, and motivated by selfish interests. Therefore, it is important to assess how performance is judged and how the development actors are held accountable to the public, employees, donors, or government (Brett, 1993; Kharas, 2007; Stapenhurst & O'Brien, 2009). Transparency is much valued in this sense. Transparency implies openness and open communication. Usually there are mechanisms to ensure transparency in development organizations (Ambrosio, 2013; Ebrahim, 2003; Stapenhurst & O'Brien, 2009). These mechanisms will be discussed below. Independence from the government gives NGO's more freedom and fewer demands for reporting and such. However, it may increase the vulnerability of such development projects as well, also prone to risk of mission drift – meaning diverging from their intentional tasks and goals (Jones, 2007).

Accountability came into focus during the 1960s and 1970s, when neo-liberalism was the dominant development perspective (Ambrosio 2013). Schools and governments were subject to audits and close examination in order to increase effectiveness and minimize risk of corruption and mismanagement. Furthermore, the accountability system was made to lower expenditures for the market to function efficiently (Ambrosio, 2013) It may be viewed as being a strategy for power, and because of this, it has received criticisms. Accountability has the last decades been used as a solution for most organizations and activities within development. Neoliberal accountability has, in many settings, achieved a hegemonic position, whereas it has been passively accepted by the public and civil society to follow such systems. It is moreover difficult to assess who should be accountable for what, and for what purposes (Ambrosio 2013; Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). Also, who is to decide this? Such complex questions means that there is no definite answer to how private actors in development should ensure their obligations, and to whom. The concept is said to be too narrow to be used for any purposes (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999). For this thesis however, the concept may be a useful tool to analyze how the actors see themselves accountable to each other and their expectations from each other, but also to study the power relations in the encounters at the interface. Furthermore, the perceptions of accountability between the actors in this study influence the encounters at the interface. The importance of power relations have often been left out when

analyzing and working with accountability. I therefore seek to bring this perspective in by studying power relations, communication, rationalities, interests, and knowledge in the accountability of the actors at the children's home.

The growth in the number of NGOs and development organizations have led to an increased focus on their responsibility, legitimacy, and ability to generate development, and at the same time to protect important concepts of "do no harm", trust from donors, and efficiency within the field (Ebrahim, 2003). In order to avoid scandals and to fulfil donors' beliefs of efficiency and transparence, concepts of accountability have been developed and emphasized in the field of development (Ebrahim, 2003). Such concepts therefore are relevant when discussing the trustworthiness and ability of an organization to fulfil the goals they have set out to achieve. It also shows why the concepts of accountability is relevant to this thesis, as it enables the investigation of challenges and the opportunities concerning the future sustainability of small NPOs such as small, privately run children's homes in Ghana.

Below, three elements of accountability will be presented, as well as five mechanisms which are commonly used to maintain trustworthiness and accountability within development organizations. In general, accountability may be defined as "*the means by which individuals and organizations report to a recognized authority (or authorities) and are held responsible for their actions*" (Ebrahim, 2003: 813). The World Bank (WB) defines it as "*the process of holding actors responsible for actions*" (Ebrahim, 2003: 814). It has also evolved further, to include that "*accountability is about being held responsible by others and taking responsibility for oneself*" (Ebrahim, 2003: 814).

3.3.1 Dimensions of Accountability

The notion of accountability has both an *external* and an *internal* dimension. The external dimension includes the organization's *obligation* to meet prescribed behavioral standards, while the internal dimension emphasizes the *felt responsibility* contributing to motivation to good individual and organizational actions and missions. It may also be defined as social accountability (Ebrahim, 2003; Stapenhurst & O'Brien, 2009). This may not be used only for NGOs, but also for other institutions, such as governments. Equally, it is important to investigate when doing research on NGOs and other development organizations and their relationship to their funders. In order to track funding and retain transparency, the reporting and the implementation of conditionality have therefore been central to organizations

receiving outside funding. However, funders usually gain good reputations from sponsoring development NGOs and the two therefore becomes interdependent. In terms of external accountability, organizations often have to deal with multiple demands (Ebrahim, 2003).

Accountability can also be analyzed in *upwards* or *downwards* accountability, which reflects an organization's relationship to its patrons, clients, and to themselves. This may also be referred to as vertical accountability (Ebrahim, 2003; Stapenhurst &O'Brien, 2009) Upwards accountability refers to the relationships to donors, foundations, and governments and usually focuses on whether money is spent on the intended purposes. Downwards accountability concerns the relationships with the groups the organization services. However, it may also include communities and those indirectly affected by the program. The accountability to the organization itself emphasizes their responsibility to its mission and staff, and therefore its decision-makers and implementers (Ebrahim, 2003).

Finally, accountability may concern *functional* or *strategic* areas. In other words, it may refer to the short-term and long-term effects. Functional accountability focuses on accounting for resources, resource use, and the immediate impacts of the project, while the strategic accountability address the impacts on actions of organizations and the wider environmental and structural changes. The term transparency is also associated with ensuring responsibility. It includes trustworthiness through consistent and thorough reporting and openness in expenses and incomes in general. The strategic and downwards accountability has had less focus than the functional and upwards accountability, which is being operationalized by, for example, reporting to a much higher extent (Ebrahim, 2003).

3.3.2 Mechanisms of Accountability

There are numerous measures frequently implemented to ensure quality and accountability among organizations motivated by altruism; reports and confession statements, performance assessment and evaluations, participation, self-regulation, and social audits. Most development organizations are neither elected bodies nor membership organizations, and therefore they need legitimacy in representing the views of poor and marginalized groups (Ebrahim, 2003). Mechanisms of accountability consist of tools and processes. Whilst tools refers to discrete devices or techniques applied over a limited period of time and are documented and repeated, processes denote a course of action where the means are important in themselves. Such means may be evaluation reports and documentations. Furthermore,

processes of accountability work to achieve participation and self-regulation (Ebrahim, 2003; Roberts & Scapens 1985).

The most widely used tools for accountability is *disclosure statements and reports.* They are frequently requested by governments and by some donors. In order to document money flow, activities, purposes, and such, nonprofit organizations must provide details about finances, organizational structure, and programs. The nature of reports to donors varies considerably both between different donors and different projects. Making such reports available to the public makes it a tool for social- or external accountability. However, less attention is given to the downward accountability to the receiving parties; the community members and service receiving groups themselves. Such accountability is controlled in the form of threats of sanctions or of the loss of nonprofit status (Ebrahim, 2003; Stapenhurst & O'Brien, 2009).

Performance and impact assessment, and *evaluations* are also widely used. There is a distinction between internal and external evaluations. Such assessments and evaluations aim to judge whether the goals and the objectives of the program are met, and whether they are reached. External evaluations, where outsiders measure the achievements of the program, are frequently used (Ebahim, 2003; Lerner & Tetlock, 1999; Stapenhurst & O'Brien, 2009). However, an internal evaluation, where NGO staff evaluates themselves and their own program, is also common. Usually, such reports focus on short-term goals, but it may also assess longer-term goals (Ebrahim, 2003). However, evaluations as a form of accountability assessment may cause difficulties in how to measure *progresses* such as empowerment and participation. It is somewhat easier to measure by *products* such as new schools or enrolled students et cetera. It is also difficult to monitor complex development programs because they tend to be simplified through a few quantitative measurements. Also, evaluations may take too many resources from small NGOs, and process-based NGOs will have difficulties proving their progress, making this analysis is more difficult (Ebrahim, 2003). Logical Framework Analysis (LFA) is a common tool in the evaluating of NGOs actions and achievements. By using LFA, one identifies the project's objectives and expected results, and also gets a list of indicators to measure the progress towards these results (Ebrahim, 2003). Performance assessments try to emphasize the programs rather than the NGO or the organization itself. Evaluations are often associated with rewards for success and sanctions for failures. This may lead organizations to exaggerate their successes while discourage them to investigate mistakes. The learning outcome of such evaluations would therefore be greater if such evaluations where conducted with the intention of the collecting of experience for the

organization itself. Evaluations should therefore work on encouraging the analysis of failure in order to strengthen the means of learning (Ebrahim, 2003).

Participation is, as mentioned above, also one of many mechanisms used to strengthen accountability in voluntary organizations. More correctly, this is defined as a process rather than a tool of accountability. In many organizations, this is an already existing routine. Ebrahim (2003) makes a distinction between four different types of participation. First, participation is achieved through making information about a project available to the public through meetings, hearings, surveys, and debating options. Participation includes community leaders and –members. The decision-making, however, remains with the project planners. Second, participation may refer to public involvement in the actual project, such as maintenance, workforce, and such. Third, the mechanism also includes negotiation and bargaining between the community and the organization, which gives the community power to influence projects. Lastly, participation may come in the form of people's own initiatives initiated independent of NGOs and state-sponsored projects, for instance through social movements. The latter two gives more power to the community members as decision-makers (Ebrahim, 2003). If done correctly, mechanisms of accountability, such as participation, strengthen the downward accountability, and may therefore lead to more successful developmental programs (Ebrahim, 2003).

Another effort made by organizations and networks in order to develop standards or codes of behavior and performance, is *self-regulation*. Such mechanism allows development organizations to address and to work on their own problems. A widely used tool of self-regulation is codes of conduct, but there also exist less formal self-regulatory networks. Codes of conduct are an enunciation of suitable and accountable behavior for a sector or an organization. However, the processes that are used for its establishment is equally important to its legitimatization. The main principles of such codes emphasize ethics of development and guidelines for organization management (Ebrahim, 2003). For self-regulation through the use of codes of conduct, accountability is achieved by clearly identifying the purpose or mission, and retaining a transparent structure, free of conflicts of interest, discrimination, corruption, and all other immoral practices. They often also ask for an elected independent board of directors, and stating the board's responsibilities. Finally, self-regulation should include a comprehensive and open financial book-keeping (Ebrahim, 2003). Self-regulation gives opportunity for development organizations to better their reputation and improve their

performance, their accountability to funders, service receivers, and to themselves (Ebrahim, 2003).

Lastly, *social auditing* is another tool of accountability. This mainly refers to the stakeholder exchange of ideas to assess and improve performance. It is a complex process involving all of the mechanisms mentioned above. It is yet to be embraced by development organizations. The process of social auditing is developed by the Institute of Social and Ethical Accountability (ISEA). Briefly explained, it combines the dialogue between stakeholders with the use of indicators, constant improvement, and public access to information about programs and the organization. As social auditing enables the opinion of all stakeholders to be addressed in development programs while also assessing the performance of the organization, it strengthens both upward and downward accountability (Ebrahim, 2003; Goetz & Jenkins, 2001). However, such mechanisms are costly. It requires both time and money, which may be difficult to generate for small organizations. Despite this, the great costs may decrease as auditing is integrated with other systems within the organization. There is also a risk that it may put off donors rather than attract them, if there is evidence of the organization falling short on one aspect. However, because it is combining a series of various tools, such as evaluations, with processes such as participation of all stakeholders, it is a valuable tool (Ebrahim, 2003).

These mechanisms of accountability have been important for various organizations to keep their legitimate status, transparency, donors, and good reputation with communities. They are embraced to various degrees among different organizations, depending on size, resources, and external stakeholders (Ebrahim, 2003). For private NPOs, such regulations are not formalized, and the organizations are organized around self-regulation and informal structures.

3.3.3 Accountability in the Encounters

The purpose of including the concepts of accountability in this research is to look at the challenges the children's home faces in terms of keeping the project stable and sustainable. It also complements the theory of encounters at the interface as the differences in communication, knowledge, rationalities, and interests directly influence the expectations the various actors have towards accountability. The analysis will discuss what the different actors expect from each other, and how and to whom they are accountable. Furthermore, the concept of accountability will help to analyze the power relations and feelings the actors have towards

each other. Accountability is, in this sense, valuable in order to understand how the encounters at the interface arise and progress.

In this analysis, the accountability concepts will be used in the evaluation of the expectations and conditions the actors have towards each other. By doing this, it will create a deeper understanding of their behavior, their rationalities, and why the encounters at the interface arise. Non-Profit organizations (NPOs), such as this children's home, are working outside the formal field of development where regulations, conditions, reporting, and accounting for expenses are important requirements. Because of this, their systems become more vulnerable and more challenging to control. On the other hand, such systems may be more flexible and able to adapt to challenges than the formal organizations.

The analysis will review how the actors are seeing themselves accountable to the other actors and the children. In other words; how do they perceive their upwards and downwards accountability? It will also address how the actors evaluate their external and internal obligations. Internal speaks to the organization itself, while the external responsibilities refer to the obligations towards the sponsors and the government standards. It will also look on the actions of the director in order to discuss whether they are strategic of functional. Functional actions speak to how she will spend the money according to her interests and priorities. By looking at the Strategic accountability, the analysis will discuss whether her short-term functional actions are weakening the strategic, long-term, accountability of the home. Lastly, the analysis will look at the consequences of having small private organizations, such as this home, which is outside the formal system. It will also discuss whether some mechanisms of accountability or structures within the home need to be adapted within small, private NPOs. The intention of having measures towards accountability is, as described above, to professionalize development work. The question therefore becomes – is private transfers an efficient way to do development?

CHAPTER 4: METHODS AND RESEARCH PROCESS

> **Box 3.1: Describing the study location:**
>
> The children's home that I studied was founded in 2002 by a woman, Madam, who was, at that time, in her early forties. At first, this home was run without any outside funding, but during the 2000's, as volunteers came to work at the home, they began to receive funding from several sources. The number of volunteers at the home is normally between two and six. Today, the children's home has several sponsors, which donate money on a more or less regular basis.
>
> Today, the Children's home is run by the same woman who founded it; the staff consists of ten workers, as well as a few teachers in the school. Because of one of the sponsors pulling out from the project, the number of teachers has decreased in the last year. In addition, the staff is assisted by a number of volunteers mainly coming from countries in Europe, Australia, and America. Together, they share the responsibility for about 85 children.
>
> The home consists of the main building, housing toilets and sleeping quarters for the children and the staff. The children sleep in two rooms – one for the boys and one for the girls. There is also an outside kitchen with roofing, a dining hall, a library, a few classrooms, and a playground for the children. In addition, there is a building for the volunteers and some of the staff, with separate toilets and a room to shower in.

4.1 Research Methods

Methodology is known as different ways of creating knowledge. There are different beliefs in how knowledge and data may be produced without affecting the validity and reliability of the research. Different methodologies utilize various techniques, methods, and procedures to collect and analyze data (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Methodology is both related to ontology and epistemology, which, in brief, is the way of seeing what the world is like and how to gather information about the world (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). In research, there are two central sets of rules and procedures used when investigating phenomena or situations; the qualitative and the quantitative. Whereas the quantitative is a numerical approach to sampling and analysis, the qualitative is more in-depth (Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

When conducting a research, the choice of methodological approach is based on its ability to generate the knowledge needed in the research (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). It therefore dependent on what the researcher aims to investigate.

This study is based on a qualitative approach in its studies of the experiences, feelings, and perceptions of personnel and sponsors in a private children's home in Central Region, Ghana, as well as of the opinions of officials working with OVCs in Ghana. Qualitative methods allow me to develop a broader view and give insights into their experiences and beliefs (Gatrell & Elliot, 2009). It would also give me an opportunity to look into matters unknown to me, as a researcher, before the research, whereas quantitative methods would only allow me to study phenomenon that are known before entering the field.

4.1.1 Justification of Methods

By choosing qualitative methods for this study, I have been able to acquire knowledge which helps me understand the reality of the children's home and its staff and sponsors, as well as the different components and the context of the home (Dowling, 2010; Kitchin & Tate, 2000; Maxwell, 1996). Qualitative methods allow the researcher to experience different realities and learn that there are no absolute values or truths, rather, these stem from experiences and beliefs. Therefore, in qualitative methods, such as interviews and observation, the focus is on constructing knowledge through interaction. This means the researcher seeks to understand the meanings and situations presented by the informants. Further, interpretation of informants, narratives and contexts contribute to such knowledge (Kvale, 1996; Maxwell, 1996; Yin, 2012). For this reason, research made from qualitative data is often described as being focused on the individuals affected by a specific phenomenon (Kvale, 1996; Maxwell, 1996; Yin, 2012).

To conduct this study I needed to collect data that could clarify the questions in my research. For this reason, I found it appropriate to use in-depth interviews and participant observation, as they would provide an in-depth understanding of the experiences and opinions of the people involved have concerning small NPOs, which in my case is the children's home. I also believed that in using in-depth interviews and participant observation, I would be able to include the complexities, the experiences, processes, and challenges the staff and sponsors of the children's home face when ensuring the future endurance and stability of the home (Crang & Cook, 2007). Before entering the field, I believed qualitative methods would provide me

with sufficient, *in-depth* knowledge, enabling me to gather the necessary findings for my analysis.

Qualitative methods have been criticized for not being objective research, but to be influenced by the subjective interpretations of the researcher (Crang & Cook, 2007). Compared to that of a positivist approach, it is argued that bias and subjective interpretations may have influence upon the analysis and results in qualitative research, but I don't take measures to claim a positivist approach either. As this is one individual case, it will be distinct from many others. It is also claimed that such research cannot be generalized for any other populations than the one being studied. Still, qualitative research provides useful data and research results may be of value to similar organizations operating in the same contexts. (Crang & Cook, 2007). Yin (2012) argues that analytical generalizations may be done for case studies. Small cases cannot make statistical generalizations, but they are also not intending to do this. Rather, analytical generalizations are using the theoretical framework to create a logic that might be appropriate to other situations. The theory is therefore an essential tool in making analytical claims from the study (Yin, 2012). However, the issue of reliability and critical reflexivity will be more thoroughly deliberated later in this chapter, where I reveal and discuss the subjective influences and the external influences on my result. Concerning the possibilities for generalization, this is not the goal in qualitative research, the goal is rather to explain the ongoing processes and experiences in a specific situation at a specific time. This is also relevant for this research, and therefore I hope to contribute to knowledge that will be useful for many, without claiming that the processes and phenomena raised in this research will be the same for others. Despite these criticisms, this research still benefit from the use of qualitative methods. One of these benefits is the in-depth knowledge described above.

4.2 Methods of Data Collection

In order to generate knowledge for my research objectives, I chose to focus on informants directly involved in the management of a small, private children's home - More specific; the staff, director, sponsors, and other contributors. These informants were the only ones who would allow me to construct data from the stories and experiences within the children's homes. To collect the data, I therefore chose to do in-depth interviews with these informants, as well as make observations at the home itself. I intended to do a purposive sampling of informants, where I deliberately looked for people who were a part of the kind of institution. I wanted to study (Maxwell, 1996). I therefore initially located to find a children's home where

I could find people who, as mentioned above, were in some way related to the home. In addition to seeking information from some of the staff and sponsors at the home, I collected data from people in organizations and the Department of Social Welfare working on OVCs in Ghana. This was done during a two months stay in Ghana. They had knowledge of the general OVC situation in Ghana as well as of the management and the regulations for Children's homes in the country. My primary data is also analyzed together with secondary data from documents, reports, and articles provided by the Ghanaian government or other organizations working with OVCs in Ghana.

4.2.1 Conducting a Case Study

To gain sufficient knowledge to answer my research questions, I found it most suitable to conduct a case study. I wanted to get a deeper understanding of challenges and experiences, so I chose to do my primary data collecting in one orphanage, as suggested by Yin (2012). This was mainly an explorative case study, as I was not sure what data I would find before I came to the field. It may also be categorized as a case study evaluation; hence much focus is placed on challenges, difficulties, and opportunities provided by the external actors and within the children's home. Furthermore, the functions and structures were evaluated as to whether they were able to sustain stability (Yin, 2012). Due to the lack of time and money, this research has been to some degree limited. However, changes have been made to make it possible. My data collection is therefore sampled from one children's home in Central Region in Ghana where the staff, sponsors, and other people involved with this particular children's home, became my main source of data.

The children's home I studied is located in Central Region, Ghana. Because of some of the findings in my data collection, the children's home will remain anonymous. This is to avoid creating unintentional consequences which may harm the home or its sponsors. As a researcher, I should make sure that my research will "do no harm" to the unit I study (Hay, 2010). This decision is made by the researcher. Though none of the informants had a specific wish to remain anonymous, this research still wants to respect the concept of "do no harm", and therefore protect the names and any specific information which may be linked directly to the home. I have, however, provided a short description of the children's home and the way it is structured and organized, in box 3.1 above.
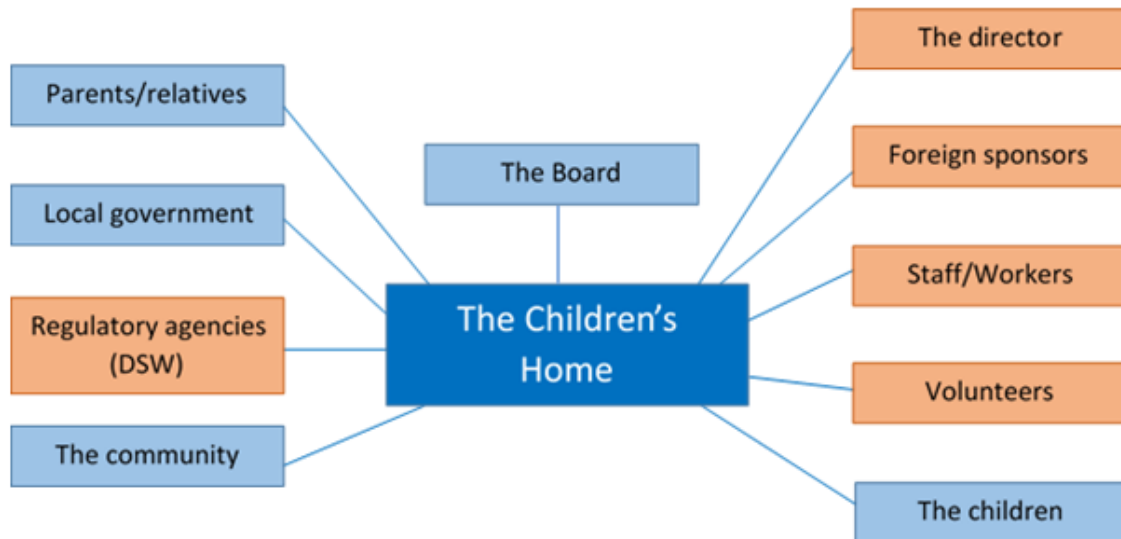
Figure 4.1: The stakeholders of the children's home.

The stakeholders in orange are the actors interviewed for this study.

It is worth noting that though most of my data was collected from this children's home, and the home is the main focus of my study, I have also collected primary and secondary data from sources outside the home. These sources were able to provide me with information which helped me put things into context, and also gave different views on the phenomena observed in the home.

4.2.2 In-depth Interviews

My main source of primary data was collected from in-depth interviews with various respondents. Through interviews I aimed to increase my knowledge about their experiences and beliefs, but also about the way they see the challenges of private orphanages. Most of my respondents focused on the challenges of the particular children's home I was studying. I wanted to get a view into their everyday life in this orphanage and also to make them reflect upon the future of the home.

To obtain this knowledge, I decided to interview people familiar with private children's homes, their funding, and their management. After getting to know the home through one of the sponsors, I travelled to Central Region, Ghana, to conduct interviews with the manager and the staff. If anyone might provide me with useful information about the experiences with such homes, it would be the staff and the manager herself. I interviewed them about their work at the home and about their view on the future of the home.

For me to gain insight into the stability and the future of the home, I also wanted to interview the sponsors, who finance the food, the staff, facilities and such. Most of the sponsors are former volunteers, but others have come to know the children's home through other projects in Ghana. By interviewing the sponsors, I wanted to get insights into their opinions concerning the qualities of the home, its staff, its challenges, and also their thoughts on the future of the home and their feelings towards the responsibility they had for the future of these children. I interviewed four of the sponsors, who have been contributing to this home for many years. They are mostly from European countries, but one of them is located in the US. While some send money every month, a few of them are not sending money on a regular basis, but save up larger amounts of money, which they, when visiting Ghana and the home, use to purchase materials.

I was able to conduct most of the interviews I was hoping for, with the exception of the Social Welfare Department's office in Cape Coast. All of the informants were informed about voluntary consent, confidentiality, purpose of the research, and recording before the interview proceeded. With the exception of one interview, all of them were recorded. The interviews were held in a classroom, office, or another room where the researcher and the informant could be left alone. However, the opportunity to find a quiet place at the children's home was somewhat restricted. For this reason, some of the interviews were interrupted by children playing, or people stopping by. Apart from three of the interviews with the sponsors, all of the interviews were conducted at the children's home. The interview with the head of DSW was conducted in his office in Accra, Ghana, while the remaining sponsors were interviewed through Skype or meetings in Norway.

4.2.3 Participant Observation

To enrich my data collection, I decided to use triangulation, which is the combination of a host of methods (Laurier, 2010). By doing this, researchers rely on several sources of data and may develop a wider knowledge on the phenomenon being studied (Laurier, 2010). Participant observation is common in qualitative methods, and it involves spending time, interacting, and working with people in order to get an understanding of their culture, practices, beliefs, and so on. In other words, one is "watching while doing" (Laurier, 2010). In order to understand what one observes, the researcher should participate in tasks, interactions, and practices in order to become a part of what is studied. Furthermore, the researcher should reflect on observations made when the study was ongoing (Laurier, 2010). An important part

of participant observation is to record observations regularly throughout the fieldwork, as this will ensure that no data is lost. Things which might seem odd at first may become normal after a while, and it is therefore necessary to record impressions quickly after observing them, often through field notes or a fieldwork diary (Laurier, 2010). However, it is important to acknowledge the researchers positionality and influences on the study, as observations may be criticized for being a subjective interpretation of data (Laurier, 2010). This will be discussed below.

In my case, the children's home was both the unit I studied and the place I conducted my observations. I lived at the home for one month in August. I worked at the home as one of the care takers. However, I quickly was branded as one of the volunteers, as my skin color and background was more similar to their. However, throughout my stay, I participated in bathing the children, cleaning the dining hall and bedrooms, and interacting with management, staff, and children. On arrival, I was introduced to the home by a person familiar with the home, which made me able to familiarize myself, as well as to get knowledge about the unit I was about to study. The staff already knew the purpose of my visit, which made it easy to start my study once I was there. Before beginning my interviews, I knew I wanted to observe their day-to-day management and life at the children's home, their practices in the treatment of staff and children, as well as to get insight into daily problems that might arise. Thus I intended to collect a lot of data from my observations. This proved to be difficult, as the management and children often spoke in the local language, Fante[3], but also because it was difficult to pay attention to my observations while the children were eager to play with me. Also, I was not able to observe much of the teachers and classes in school, as I did my fieldwork in August, before the summer holiday ended. However, the observations that were made were regularly written down in a fieldwork diary which I had in my room at the children's home. Some questions were proved difficult to ask, as the older children were told by the management not to talk about certain matters, and because the staff might be skeptical of giving me truthful information.

Concluding, the observations taught me a lot while I was there, and therefore influence my analysis. The staff was eager to talk to me and appreciated my study, which makes it easier to

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[3]   The Fante language is a dialect of Akan and belongs to the Niger-Congo family. It is spoken by the Fante people in Southern Ghana (Wæhle 2009).

use the data, as they were both aware of- and happy to be a part of my study. However, as I was viewed as one of the volunteers, I had limited access to information which was shared between the regular staff and the director.

4.2.4 Secondary Data

In addition to retrieving primary data through in-depth interviews and observation, the analysis also uses secondary data. Secondary data refers to data which already exists. It is used to give meaning and provide a contextual background to the research and primary data. Secondary data is found in existing literature. The use of such data might be implemented in order to justify the research and findings (Crang & Cook, 2007; White, 2010).

For this study, secondary data were found by using governmental websites to retrieve documents on laws and situations regarding vulnerable children in Ghana (White, 2010). In order to provide more extensive knowledge to my research findings, I also used data taken from statistics, published books, journals, news articles, and online sources concerning the topic of children's homes, organization accountability, and OVCs. In addition, Governmental- and other documents were useful in my attempts to provide a description and an evaluation of the context this children's home is operating within (White, 2010). I have also had a critical approach to the sources I have used, as secondary data may have been manipulated, or may not be completely trustworthy. The secondary data I have found will also be used as part of the basis of my analysis (White, 2010). The secondary data is mainly retrieved from official websites of the government of Ghana and municipalities within the country, scientific journals, or from academic books. They have been evaluated in order to ensure quality and objectiveness.

4.3 Choice of Informants and Sampling Technique

For my study, the information gathered from this study was collected using purposive in-depth interviews and observations. As this research is based on a case study, my sampling was non-randomized, which means I was looking for informants with some kind of relation to the children's home. Out of these, a small sample I believed to have valuable knowledge for my study was chosen to be interviewed.

I also needed to find a children's home where I could conduct my study. I used my network and friends in Ghana as well as in Norway to find an orphanage privately run by one or a few

persons and located in Ghana. I came in touch with a few young women which, at that time, I believed to own an orphanage in Central Region, Ghana. However, I later came to know that these women were among the sponsors, and that the home was owned by a local woman. This, however, did not affect my study. On the contrary, as I learned more about the home, I decided it was even more appropriate for my study than I first had thought. While I was in the field, I lived at this home. Living there was both an opportunity and a challenge for me. Being there, it was easy to find the informants I needed, and I was present at any time, meaning that in case of any unexpected events, I would be there to observe it. This also gave me the opportunity to meet one of the sponsors, which gave me an interview. It also reduced the distance between me and them. Further, I was more available for questions and communication. However, it also turned out to be challenging, as I rarely got any time for myself to methodically reflect on my observations and thoughts. I solved this by making an agreement with the other volunteers. They gave me some time alone in my room, while they were playing with the children.

From this point on, the sampling of informants was simple. As I intended to interview the staff, and informed them about this, most of them called me whenever they were available for an interview. Since they were already at the home, I did not have to spend time trying to find the informants I needed.

After discovering that the home had multiple sponsors, I also contacted the major sponsors and asked to interview them. They were all positive to my study, and many of them agreed to an interview. In addition, I wanted to interview people with knowledge on the general situation of Orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) in Ghana. I therefore contacted numerous organizations working with OVCs in Ghana, as well as the Department of Social Welfare (DSW). I was lucky to get an interview with a central person within the department.

4.4 Characteristics of Informants

My data collection was taken from mainly one unit – the children's home. I made 16 interviews with 17 informants – I had one interview with two sisters who together are sponsoring the home, and another one with their contact person at the home. They were a valuable source of information to me, and also functioned as gate keepers – introducing me to the field. The remaining 15 respondents are my primary informants.

4.4.1 Primary Informants

The 15 primary informants were all in some way either related to the children's home, or had extensive knowledge on the general situation on OVCs and children's homes in Ghana. These informants were comprised of sponsors, staff and volunteers, children workers, and employees within the Department of Social Welfare.

I managed to get an interview with the director of the home, as well as six of the care takers or members of the staff. These were all Ghanaians from 24 years and up into their 50's. Two of the younger staff members were orphans, raised at the children's home. None of the staff had any higher education, but some had relevant experience from previous work with children. Most of my informants in the staff were caring for the children in some kind of way, in addition to having responsibility for administration or cleaning. I also decided to conduct two interviews with volunteers from Europe. They both were in their early twenties and, by the time I arrived, they had been staying at the Children's home for two weeks. There were six volunteers there at the time, but I decided to interview these two as they had been there for a longer time than the others, and were planning to stay for some months. They did not have much experience from working with orphans. The young woman, from Switzerland, had been working at a children's toy store, while the Swedish man had been employed as a teacher's assistant in his home country.

Of the sponsors, two sisters are from Norway, and they were the ones who introduced me to the home prior to my arrival. They have separate jobs in Norway in addition to funding the children's home. During my stay at the children's home, I met a sponsor from Sweden, and I managed to interview her. She used to be one of the major sponsors of the home, but due to issues with the management of the home, she had withdrawn some of her funding. The Norwegian and Swedish sponsors are funding the children's home through foundations they have established. They generate money from companies and individuals in their respective countries in order to fund the project in Ghana. The two last sponsors I interviewed were two elderly men from the Netherlands and the US. They had a background from engineering. Earlier, they used to have some building projects at the home, and had for a few years contributed with some small funding each month I also wanted to conduct interviews with two other major sponsors located in Norway and in Switzerland, but unfortunately this was not possible at the time.

In this research, the sponsors, staff, and management of the children's home represent some of the views of people working in small private organizations dependent on external funding. How is quality and stability ensured within such initiatives? How do they cooperate with the global and national actors? I wanted to include views on the consequences of such homes, as experiences from the field might provide me with valuable information in order to further consider solutions and discuss dilemmas.

Lastly, I also conducted three interviews with people working with children's homes and OVCs on a more general basis, and therefore possess broad knowledge on the topic of OVCs in Ghana. Two of them were familiar to- and in some ways cooperating and assisting with the home I was visiting. One of them worked with an organization sending volunteers to different children's homes, like the one I visited, and the other worked for the Association of Children's Homes. Both of them have known this children home for many years. The last interview I conducted in Ghana was with the head of the Department of Social Welfare and the national coordinator of OVCs in Ghana. All these interviews were conducted with the aim of generating knowledge about the context in which private children homes in Ghana are run, and to examine this special home by looking at the context of the other actors and government policies. I did not want to do interviews with the children, as this thesis is focusing on the administrative issues and the organization itself. Moreover, I did not want to put the children in difficult situations as they might get consequences from telling certain stories.

Below, I will provide a short description of the informants. The names are changed and some information is left out to ensure the anonymity of the children's home. Most of the interviews were conducted in English, excluding two, which were done in Fante with the assistance of a translator.

Table 4.1: Characteristics of informants

Pseudonym:	Sex:	Age:	Occupation/position:	Started working with the home in:	Nationality:
Madam	Female	56	The Director/Founder	2002	Ghana
Worker	Male	54	Care taker	2009	Ghana
Worker	Male	24	Compound cleaner and assisting in other tasks	Came there as	Ghana

				an orphan		
Worker	Male	29	Care taker	2002	Ghana
Worker	Male	31	Teacher, assistant and communicator	2014	Ghana
Worker	Female	29	Cook	2011	Ghana
Worker	Female	37	Cook	2012	Ghana
Volunteer	Male	19	Volunteer	August 2014	Sweden
Volunteer	Female	22	Volunteer	August 2014	Switzerland
Sponsor	Female	25	Sponsor	2008	Sweden
Sponsors	Females	29 & 24	Sponsors	2009	Norway
Sponsor	Male	68	Sponsor	2009	The Netherlands
Sponsor	Male	72	Sponsor	2011	USA
Middleman	Male	52	Coordinates volunteers for children's homes.	2004	Ghana
Children's homes advisor	Male	50	Work with a children's homes NGO. Gives advices to this home.	2010	Ghana
Mr. Boafo	Male	51	The national coordinator for OVCs	-	Ghana

4.4.2 Gate Keepers

I had two gate keepers which also allowed me to do interviews with them. One of them was one of the sponsors from Norway (24), who introduced me to the home and suggested it as a case for my study. The other was their contact person who had coordinated and helped them with the sponsoring and contact. Both of them gave me good insight into the Children's home's characteristics, background, and the institution. This sponsor was interviewed with the same interview guide as the other sponsors. The gate keeper in Ghana was interviewed with a separate interview guide suitable for him (See appendix 2). They are mentioned in table 3.1 above as; Female sponsor (Age 24 years) and Middleman (Age 52 years). I only had one

interview with each of them, but they provided me with a lot of useful information before going to the field, thus enabling me to conduct the data collection both easily and fast.

4.5 Choice of Study Area

This study is conducted in Central Region, Ghana in a small village near Agona Swedru. Ghana was chosen because of the availability of network and friends, and its significance due to the OVCs situation and the availability of private children homes. There are many new initiatives on OVCs in Ghana, something which is valuable and interesting for my research (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). The fact that Ghana is a country where numerous children are affected by poverty and HIV/Aids, and where a lot of private children homes are initiated, made it suitable for my study (Ghana Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). The Ghanaian situation is interesting to my research, and highly relevant data was enabled to be extracted from the field. The context of OVCs and private children's homes in Ghana will be further discussed in chapter four.

4.6 Critical reflexivity: Power Relations and positionality

In order to ensure trustworthiness of the research, it is important to reflect upon positionality, power relations, the researcher's role, and the researcher's influence on the study (Dowling, 2010). This is called Critical reflexivity. In other words, it is the researcher's responsibility to be self-conscious in analyzing and recognizing his or hers contributions to the research and the knowledge produced during data collection (Dowling, 2010). As previously mentioned, it was for this reason I deliberated my role as a researcher and the occurring situations constantly throughout the study. I reflected upon it every day in the field, and noted my thoughts in a fieldwork diary. This also includes reflection upon my emotions and my behavior in the field. To be appreciated, and to make the relationship between me and the staff less formal, I chose to participate as a volunteer. This also served to reduce the distance between me as an outsider, and them.

I also needed to reflect upon the answers given to me. Due to the orphanage being dependent on funding, and the risk that my research might change the relationship between sponsors and the home, it was important to ask that whether this situation may have affected my results. However, by reflecting on the issue, I wish to strengthen the validity of this study.

4.6.1 Power Relations

When conducting qualitative research it is important to acknowledge the role of power relations in data collection - especially in cross-cultural research (Smith, 2010). As a researcher in Ghana, I am considered to be an outsider. This, to some extent will influence my research. Consequently, it is important to address these influences and reflect upon them throughout the data sampling and analysis (Smith, 2010). My relation to the informants might influence their willingness to participate, to tell the truth, and to open up, but also my interpretation of the data will be affected by the power relations present. The relations between informant and researcher are not always equal. Thus, it will also be some asymmetries in the dialogue between them. It also has an influence on who is in control of the conversation and on whether the questions or answers are interpreted correctly. Furthermore, the power relations between informant and researcher may also affect my positionality. Therefore, power relations and positionality is closely linked and equally important to reflect upon (Smith, 2010). The issue of positionality will be discussed below.

There are three types of power that may be significant to address in social science research; Reciprocal power, asymmetrical power relationship, and potentially exploitative relationships (England, 1994). Reciprocal relationship is when the researcher and informant both receive the same benefits and costs of participating in the research. Asymmetrical relations address the issue of the informant having more power than the researcher, whilst potentially exploitative relationships occur when the researcher is the person who has a large degree of control (England, 1994).

To ensure none of the relationships between me and the informants were too uneven, I made certain they all participated on a fully voluntary consent. The staff and the manager also got a small reward for participating. To further strengthen this, I reflected upon the relations throughout the interviews and analysis. I made sure the interviews were held in a separate room, and the questions were not leading. However, my status as an educated outsider from Europe, might influence the validity of the study (Crang & Cook, 2007; Kitchin & Tate, 2000).

In my research, I experienced that they were eager to talk to me because they believed I could help. Nevertheless, in some ways, some of the local informants seemed to be afraid to tell me "the wrong things" in case this could have consequences for them, as they knew my research

would be read by others. The perceived power and influence of my research may therefore affect the answers they gave me. As I, through my study, have the power to cause changes, their answers might mirror that. However, even though they may have left out some information about the children's home, I don't believe many of the answers were untrue, in the meaning of lies.

However, this also made them more eager to actually participate in my study, so it may have been to my advantage, not only as a challenge in my study. By participating in the work at the home and interacting with the people there, I was hoping to be able to reduce the distance between me and them. The validity of the results may be affected by the power relations (Smith, 2010). However, by addressing and acknowledging this issue, I hope to avoid this as much as possible.

4.6.2 Positionality: Being the Obroni

As mentioned above, in research, positionality is linked to power relations. The concept of positionality refers to the researcher's traits such as ethnicity, nationality, language, gender, and other factors, such as education (Crang & Cook, 2008; Dowling, 2010; Moser, 2008). By recognizing the positionality, one tries to understand the social positions of the researcher and the subjects and its influence on research and interpretation. There are many factors which may influence positionality; such factors influence my ability to make correct interpretations based on different understandings of reality, as well as the respondents' impression of me as being insignificant, powerful, threatening et cetera (Dowling, 2010; Smith, 2010).

In my research, my position was different to that of my respondents'. I visited a small, rural village in Ghana. To them, I was an outsider, an Obroni – a white person (Moser, 2008; Parkes, 2011). I tried my best, however, to follow dress codes and to respect their customs, to make sure I did not offend their rules for behavior or their beliefs. Also, during my time there, it was several occasions where I was asked for money or support. As people from Europe and America have been funding the home for years, and many volunteers donate money in some kind of way, I was also expected to do this. Instead, I gave them a gift in exchange for their time and their permission to do my study. I also helped in emergency cases, like when one of the babies was anemic because of malaria. I made sure however, to inform them several times that the reason for my stay was my research, and if I were to give money, I would do it through one of the sponsors. It was not possible to avoid the expectations of funding. This

was also because of other issues I learned about, which I will return to in my analysis. I also tried to be clear about my intentions in being there, to avoid them participating for the wrong reasons. Despite this, because the orphanage is so familiar with Europeans visiting, I was not viewed to be a complete stranger, but they seemed to be comfortable talking to me. This may have been a great help in my research.

I experienced a lot of positive attitude towards my research, which made the informants eager to participate. However, several times I had to inform them of the aim of my research. This because they expressed delight that my research would help them in the future. I also hope so, but it might not be in the way they hope. Their expectations of the result may not be the same as the result as I will provide. This is mainly because the knowledge I have received during my research will influence the final result and analysis. Excluding parts of the knowledge leads to a risk of creating bias, which I will discuss below, and may also reduce the quality of the study. I chose to include all the data I have found, but to give anonymity to the children's home- and the people connected, to prevent any unexpected effects. This allowed me to include all the knowledge I collected, and also to protect the children's home.

To evaluate my positionality influences on the interpretations and the findings, I have reflected on it and acknowledged this risk throughout my study. I was in a kind of in-between position with the volunteers and the sponsors. This affected my positionality, but I was also able to use it to my advantage. I also made sure to be humble in my dealings with the participants in order to make them feel more comfortable and to show respect for their willingness to participate in my research.

4.7 The Quality of the Research and the Ethics of the Study

A number of factors that might influence the quality of research in social sciences. To protect the quality of this research, I will therefore emphasize the importance of critical reflexivity. Biases are one of the factors, resulting from sampling errors, poor interviewing and, as mentioned above, the researcher's influence on the study. Biases are also influenced by language differences, interpretation of data and culture (Crang & Cook, 2007). However, as generalization is not the main goal in qualitative research, much of this based on acknowledging that biases most likely will occur. In my study, I encountered some challenges related to this. As I focus on one orphanage, other observations from other children's homes are intentionally left out. The interview with the director was done before the other ones. As I

learnt about the discussions and the discontent within the home and among the sponsors after the interview with the director, her views on the current situation could preferably be better represented. I came to the home in the middle of an ongoing conflict I did not know of beforehand, and therefore the fieldwork was different than expected. Nevertheless, I would have wished to conduct one or two more interviews with the major sponsors. Two of the sponsors send large amounts of money every month, and I would have wished to learn about their experiences. I had four interviews with smaller sponsors, and also with one of the major ones (Female sponsor, 25 years). The latter, however, was in the process of pulling out from funding, and she therefore might have different views than the two I did not get an opportunity to interview. Also, the views and experiences of the teachers at the children's home are unfortunately not included in this research. Due to the school starting late following the summer holidays, the teachers were hardly present during the time I stayed at the home.

As the teachers were the ones most affected by some of the sponsors withdrawing of funds, they should probably have been able to provide interesting data for my research and questions concerning the future of the children's home. For this reason, some views might be missing. The director may also have had different agendas for participating in the study, and may hope to increase funding by partaking. Furthermore, after I left the field, it came to my knowledge that the children's home had a board where they had meetings and made decisions. This board is comprised of sponsors and staff, but also of people from the local police, and the village chief. As I did not know about this board before I left Ghana, I did not get to receive information from them. This is unfortunate as they make the decisions and evaluations for the home. The interviews I was able to conduct, however, provided me with a lot of useful knowledge for my research. I was able to interview people important to the home; the director, sponsors, staff, and other contributors.

Due to the language barrier, I needed the assistance of a translator when interviewing the cooks. This influenced upon the interviews, as the translator interprets while listening, and therefore, there might have been some misunderstandings or things left out in the translation. I also noticed that a few words from the cooks, might sometimes were translated into several sentences, and sentences might become just a few words. This made me more cautious in my treatment of this material.

Reliability and validity is two ways of ensuring the quality of social science research. In qualitative research, this is also important to address. The two notions reflect how and if the

research be identified with reality. In general, *reliability* reflects the consistency of results when the process of research is repeated, whereas *validity* seeks to make sure that one is measuring the right concepts and phenomenon (Crang & Cook, 2007). In qualitative research the criteria used to ensure the quality of a research is the *credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.* The *credibility* refers to the *validity* of the study, this means its ability to represent the real-life experiences of the subjects that are studied (Crang & Cook, 2007). The *dependability* refers to the minimizing of personal ideas, perceptions, and beliefs when data material is interpreted. To do this, it is important to assess the critical reflexivity, which has been discussed above. This may be linked to *reliability,* as it reduces the subjective interpretations and increases the probability for the same results to be found when repeating the research. Linked to this is the concept of *confirmability*. This means that bias and personal interests should not influence the data collection and analysis. In other words, confirmability refers to the objectivity of the study (Crang & Cook, 2007).

In order for me to protect the quality of this research, I reflected upon the concepts of reliability and validity / credibility, confirmability and dependability. As I have interviewed people directly affected from- and working within a privately run children's home, I have made sure to include the reality of such homes. I also made sure not to ask leading questions, and I tried to ask clear questions to prevent misunderstandings. Nor have I excluded any important findings from my research, but this lead to me anonymizing the children's home and my informants related to the home. To avoid dependability and confirmability, I have made sure to spend time reflecting on positionality, power relations and bias in order to minimize its influences on my research.

Qualitative research is often criticized for its small sample sizes, as some may argue this affects the ability to make generalizations or trace the research back to the general population, and might make the research subjective (Crang & Cook, 2007). However, the goal of qualitative research is to not to generalize, but rather to ensure the *transferability*. As noted above, analytical generalizations can be made for case studies (Yin, 2012). In this case, the encounters at the interface and the different concepts of accountability works well as a tool to analyze other small, private NPOs. This suggests that the research findings may also be valid outside the specific situation which is studied. For example; in my research, I hope that my findings may be useful for other small privately run children's homes, and that the findings I retrieved from my case, may also be found in similar homes in Ghana. However, I acknowledge that the goal of my research is not to generalize, but to explain processes which

occur in this children's home – this home being an example on small private initiatives. As Crang and Cook (2007: 146) state, qualitative research "*seeks to speak to a unique group of people at a specific moment in time*".

Lastly, when doing research, it is important to assess the ethical considerations. This is because the findings represent human conditions and because of the necessity of avoiding causing harm in the field, which means "*to minimize physical, emotional, economic and environmental harms and discomfort*" (Hay, 2010: 38). Ethics in research concern the researcher's responsibilities and obligations to the parties that are involved in the research. These parties are primarily the informants, but also potential sponsors, and the general public (Hay, 2010). Because the research is based on people's private experiences of a certain phenomenon, it is important to acknowledge the ethical aspect.

In this regard, this study has taken multiple considerations in protecting moral issues. As stated above, the voluntary consent of the informants was important before conducting any interview (Hay, 2010). This also goes for the right to avoid answering certain questions or to withdraw from the study at any time (Longhurst, 2010). All of my respondents, with the exception of one, allowed me to take recordings of the interview. In the case of the one I did not record, I was permitted to take notes during the interview. After the interview, I immediately filled out the notes to remember as much as possible.

I also ensured them that all the data would be confidential. However, the anonymity of the home was something I had to evaluate myself. As none of my respondents had any objection to not being anonymous, I considered the consequences of this dilemma, and I decided that both the children's home and the informants be protected by making them anonymous. This is because of my obligations as a researcher and the principle of not doing harm in research (Hay, 2010).

4.8 Data Processing and Analysis

In order to give meaning to the data collected, it should be interpreted in relation to relevant theory. Such analysis will give valuable insights and create interesting knowledge (Crang and Cook, 2007). The analysis start when the research begins in order to relate data and interpretations to the objectives and research questions which have been formed, but also because it is shaped by the methods used (Crang & Cook, 2007). I have made sure to use the

ability to do critical reflexivity throughout the analysis. This includes questioning accusations that were made and considering alternative viewpoints.

During my study, I have transcribed all material from the interviews, in addition to rewriting my fieldwork notes to make interpretation possible. After transcribing, I coded the material into different categories and identified the different actors' reflections concerning each theme. Following this process, I related the data to my objectives, theories, and concepts, as well as to secondary data. The data was mainly regarded in relation to Norman Long's (1990; 2001) theory of the encounters at the interface, a description of how various actors meet and interact in the development field. Moreover, the notion of accountability was analyzed, also in relation to the encounters at the interface.

CHAPTER 5: THE ENCOUNTERS AT THE CHILDREN'S HOME

This chapter analyses the relationship between different actors involved with the children's home in Central Region, Ghana. It provides a good example of small NPOs founded by a few individuals and relying on the funding of foreign donors. First it will give an overview of the history of the children's home. This is to illustrate the way the different actors became involved. Furthermore it investigates the actors' relations to each other, their interests, and it also analyses where these interests differ, and where there have been disagreements and conflicting communication between the different actors. It will analyze where the actors have diverging interests and their perceptions of the other actors. Norman Longs (2001) theory about the encounters at the interface will provide the basis for this analysis. First, this chapter seeks to answer research question number 1 and 2:

1. What are the responsibilities and involvements of the different actors that are studied?
2. How do the different actors interact?

Moreover, the chapter aims to provide an answer how the home cooperate and negotiate with its contextual actors and stakeholders? The actors which will be analyzed are the staff and management of the orphanage, the foreign sponsors, and officials from DSW and children organizations in Ghana. The data that constructs the basis for this discussion is retrieved through interviews with all the actors mentioned above.

5.1 The History of the Project

As the structure of the home has been briefly described in chapter four, it will not be further explained here. When the children's home first started in the early 2000's, the conditions were not good, and there was only one person responsible for the work and caretaking in the home; the director of the home today. As volunteers were introduced to the home, it was able to start generating some significant income to improve the conditions:

> … So initially this orphanage was located up in town. They were located in a cocoa shed over here. So one day I was passing. Then I saw it [the children's home]… And I went in there. And the condition; it was very, very bad. Very, very bad. That place where they were was formerly a shed where they keep cocoa beans in sacks. So you can imagine how very basic… From then we [the NGO he is working for] started bringing the volunteers. And so, the first were two of today's sponsors. When they went back, they went to raise some money, and then came to start building the place as it is today. After that, we have had a series of volunteers here… (S, 52 years).

Two of the people working at the home today, have been there since the home was established. At that time they were orphans. One was working together with the director, Madam, before the home was founded. As more orphans were known to the home, it started growing. At first they were five children. Eventually, this increased to fifty. This was set as the limit. When new ones came, they sent them to other homes. However, due to the reputation of the home, many children kept coming back. Eventually they applied for permission to accept more children. After that, the number of children at the home increased to 85.

> I was with Madam… We went to the woods, to collect firewood for the markets in Accra. We went to the bush, and we could see people that were very poor… Some had no family. Maybe they have family. Maybe their mother or father died. Many had no one to take care for them. No school. So we started a mission to educate them, because when you have education, you have everything. So we started organizing the children. I was with Madam from the beginning – starting this orphanage (Male worker, 29 years).

As more volunteers from foreign countries were introduced to the home, the income started growing. Some of the volunteers became regular sponsors. The number of buildings increased, a play yard was build, new toilets were constructed, and structures improved. One of the sponsors described the previous condition of the home as chaotic:

> I came here for the first time in 2008 as a volunteer together with my friend. When we came, the home had just been moved to its current location, and we were here for six weeks at that time. Another sponsor had been here before us, and she had built the main building here. All the buildings that are here today did not exist at that time. It was much smaller, and much fewer children. They did not have many workers and organizing how it should be. Everything was still very chaotic and only Madam was working here. All the children were sick and malnourished… (Female sponsor, 25 years).

However, in 2013, the home faced a great challenge as one of the regular sponsors pulled out of the project following disputes with Madam, the director of the home. As this sponsor accounted for the teacher's wages and some of the consumption costs, such as food, it meant one of the major contributors to the home disappeared. This happened due to mistrust and arguments between the sponsor and the director. This will, however, be further analyzed below.

> We stopped [sending money] about one year ago. Or we sent money every month, but there have been some conflicts with them… We have had someone who is working for us who is going to the orphanage, and giving out payments to each staff member. And if we wanted to buy things, we always ask for the receipt and such. And it has been a … The problem is that Madam has had

conflict with this person that we have employed. Because she wants us to put the money into her account, but doing that, we know that the money would not be spent on the right things (Female sponsor, 25 years).

Today, the children's home is in relative good condition, having separate toilets and separate dormitories for boys and girls, area for bathing, roofed cooking area, dining hall, and five classrooms- three which are roofed, and two in a solid building. It also has a play area and water well. In addition to Madam, there are ten members of staff, and two teachers. There are 85 children registered with the home today, the youngest being one and a half years old and the older children are from 14 to 18 years. Some of them are fully orphaned, and some are in the children's home because of poverty or for other reasons. In order to understand the interaction between the three actors in this research, each of the actors will be presented and described below, before analyzing the modes of negotiation between actors later on.

5.1.1 The Sponsors

For the purpose of this research five sponsors were interviewed, where two were interviewed together: One female from Sweden, two females from Norway, working together, one male from Netherlands, and one male from California. The total number of sponsors contributing to the home is unknown. Furthermore, the sponsors get donations from their own sponsors. These mainly consist of small private donations from individuals as well as larger sums from companies in their respective countries. The network of sponsors contributing to the children's home's income is therefore quite intricate. Three of the sponsors are mainly funding projects, such as building infrastructures, hiring a dance and drumming teacher, or contributing with money on a non-regular basis. The Swedish sponsor has contributed with income to the home on a regular basis from 2008 until 2013. As told above, she pulled out some of the funding, which included the teachers' wages, due to arguments about how the money should be managed. As the sponsors are individuals dependent on income from various companies and other individuals in their respective home countries, funding becomes somewhat irregular and unstable.

> … We felt that during the six weeks of our first stay, we had been able to do a lot, so we continued collecting money because we knew we wanted to come back. After that we have visited the orphanage once or twice every year, and we have cooperated a lot with the other major sponsors. Always updating each other... In the beginning, we sent money in a pretty small scale. Some money every month so they had enough for food in addition to doing some projects such as drilling for water. We have also paid rent for the house every year. By the end,

we were also paying wages for twelve teachers and two workers. Another sponsor was paying wages for the rest. (Female sponsor, 25 years).

Some of the money we sent is spent on food- About six hundred cedis every month. And then we also pay for a dancing and drumming project that we started up. The children like it very much. Every time we are there, they have a performance. They have really done very well, and they enjoy it tremendously. Recently, we also started paying for three of the care takers because there were hardly any left to take care of the children. (Male sponsor, 68 years).

The main activity of the sponsors is financial assistance. The Norwegian sponsors were, in general, more optimistic about the home and the director, compared to the other three. They made little mention of any lack of trust or conflicts within the home. This may be due to the fact that their main contributions were purchases they made themselves while they were visiting the home, and because of this they had more control of the expenditures.

The sponsors were mainly motivated by the basic needs of the children. They all emphasized the needs of the children, and few addressed the organization itself when talking about their motivations. This suggest that they have a basic needs approach to development.

5.1.2 The Staff and the Management

The staff at the home consists of the director; Madam, two cooks, and eight persons with caretaking, administrative, and cleaning tasks. Throughout the analysis, the employees at the home will be referred to as workers, staff, or caretakers. All workers interviewed were working at the home. In addition, there are a number of volunteers from foreign countries helping out. The volunteers' stays varies from two weeks up to five months. Usually, the volunteers assist in bathing the children, cleaning the rooms and washing clothes. They also told that they are supposed to help out in the school, but none of them had been able to do that while the fieldwork was conducted Even though they have many of the same tasks as the care takers, they are more often viewed in relation to the sponsors, as they themselves are potential donors. During the day, the volunteers would also assist the children in play and other activities.

Formerly, we started with no workers [At this time this informant was an orphan himself]. We made food for them, washed their clothes. We did everything.... So in the beginning it was really hard for me and for the director also. Everything was very bad. I have been cleaning their rooms since they were babies, but most of them are growing up now so I can teach them to do things as well. I talk to them when there is a problem. Today I'm helping them. … I make sure all are ready by eight o'clock for school, that they have had their breakfast.

And help to prepare for lunch and supper. I also make sure that they are all there when they go to sleep. And I help them in their morning prayers (Male worker, 29 years).

I do a lot here. I assist the director in all activities. I'm helping the little ones. Bathing them, taking care of the babies, and I also do teaching as well. I think I do a lot of activities… I am a secretary to the board too. I work on how the home will progress. Because in Ghana, there are a lot of difficulties (Male worker, 54 years).

"Normally when the compound needs weeding and cleaning, I will be doing that. Sometimes, if there is no work for me, then I will help to cook the food and bathing the children, washing their clothes and give them tasks to do" (Male worker, 24 years).

The workers' responsibilities are primarily to take care of and to watch over the children. Also, they cook, clean, and look after the children's health. The director is assisted by one of the workers, and the two of them are mainly the ones accounting for expenses and receiving the income. There are also a few teachers there, but in contrast to the workers, they do not live at the children's home. Like the sponsors, the staff, volunteers, and the director also mentioned the children as their main motivation for doing the work. However, the volunteers might also be viewed as sponsors, because the director is generating a lot of income by having volunteers at the home – both from their fees for staying at the home and other contributions throughout their stay. Initially, many of the current sponsors were also volunteers at the home.

The director, Madam, is the founder of the home and the current manager of the home. Previously, she was doing a business in trading timber. After going to villages because of her work, she came to know the orphans and the street children. After some time, a decision was made to start the initiative to build the children's home. Her responsibilities are towards the sponsors. Communication is chiefly through her, and together with the sponsors, she manages the expenditures at the home. She, together with the remaining staff, also takes care of the children and assesses their needs.

5.1.3 Government and Officials

In this research, the Ghanaian government is represented by the national coordinator for OVCs, an official within the Department of Social Welfare, Mr. Boafo. Interviews were also conducted with two members of staff in two different organizations working with children's homes in Ghana and with improving the conditions of vulnerable children within these homes. These members of staff have also been in dialogue with the children's home which is

the center of this study. This meant they also had information about this particular home and its challenges.

The government's responsibilities towards OVCs and children's homes are executed through the Department of Social Welfare. As there are many initiatives aiming to move children out of children's homes and into family settings, the DSW's work towards the residential homes is primarily to follow up the conditions and the children's well-being in the homes. Assistance to homes mainly consists of training and advice. Follow-ups are made by having social worker officers visiting the homes to check up on the conditions and children's needs. They also have the power to close down homes. But, as noted in chapter two, this is not a common occurrence, because of lack of alternative care for the children (Frimpong-Manso, 2013: Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010; DSW, 2015a).

5.2 A day at the children's home

As a rule, a day at the children's home starts early for the care takers and the children. They wake up at 5 for morning prayers, before cleaning the dining hall, bathrooms, and bedrooms. Some of the children, together with the care takers, also help with the laundry. At 6.30, the volunteers start their day, where they assist the children in their morning bath as well as helping with other cleaning chores. The morning bath, however, is a long process, as one first has to collect the water from the river. Then the volunteers send some of the children to look for the few towels, which may be wet from the previous day, and also the soap bar and sponges. Some of the children are also reluctant to bath, while some is a bit too eager, as they gladly go for a second shower, and maybe a third. Finally, the children, volunteers, and staff get their breakfast from the chefs – usually omelet or porridge for the volunteers, and porridge or rice water for the children.

> I will wake up at five o'clock, sometimes at four o'clock. Because we have to wake up and prepare the food for them. To wash them and to go to school [located at the children's home compound]. And we have the Morning Prayer at six… The school starts at eight, so I have to make sure they are all ready by eight. That they have had their breakfast… And I have to prepare for lunchtime. And then in the evening time, I have to prepare for supper. So I am sleeping in the children's room, because I have to take care of them to sleep, then I have to count them to make sure all of them are here and that they are healthy… (Male worker, 29 years).

> I get up early. Around half past six. After I have taken my shower, I help to bath the children. Mostly. If not, then I help washing the clothes from the

children. Or from Madam. This depends. Also I sometime help to clean the dishes. Yeah. And also we play with the kids… I really like it (Female volunteer, 22 years).

In two of the weeks during my fieldwork, the children were on summer vacation, which meant they spent their days playing and doing chores. The care takers were watching the children, cooking, or running errands. The volunteers also sometimes invited some of the children to go to the beach, which was very popular. However, when school started, the children were in class after breakfast. Due to a lack of teachers, the teachers present were alternating between different classes. When the children were in school, the volunteers had some time off. The intention, however, was for the volunteers to help teaching, as they were informed, but for as long as the fieldwork lasted, none of the volunteers had been able to assist any teaching. There was not a clear reason for why they had not been teaching yet. At mid-day, both children and staff get their lunch which consists of pancakes, fruit or a hot meal, or rice water. The volunteers also look after the children when they are playing, as this often results in arguments between children about the activity or in toys being mistreated.

In the evenings, the children have their evening bath after eating. For supper, everyone gets a warm meal, like egg stew with yam, Waakye (Bean and rice stew), or Indomie (Noodles with vegetables). At this time it is dark, which means many go to bed. Some evenings, small parties will be held, were the children dance, or one of the volunteers might show a movie on their computer. However, it is difficult for everybody to see the screen.

The routines at the home were characterized by well-structured practices, which may contribute to the children's feeling of safety. At the time of the data collection, receiving data from deeper conversations and discussions which happened during an ordinary day, was difficult because of language and positionality, as discussed in chapter four. However, providing an insight into their daily lives at the home still gives useful insight into their needs and routines.

5.3 Encounters at the Children's Home

Studying the encounters at the interface includes analyzing the ways of interaction between the multiple partners in development, with a special attention to disagreements, negotiation, and influences in such dialogues (Long, 1990; Long, 2001).

Long (2001) includes several concepts within the encounters at the interface. The various actors which are studied together, meet in certain ways and experience various power

relations, negotiations, interests, expectations, and boundaries based on their knowledge, rationalities, interpretations, as well as where, when, and how they meet. Such social incoherencies create complex situations. To be able to analyze the interfaces, the various components will therefore be addressed. First, it is important to identify the different actors involved in the study. This analysis will look at the staff and local management of the children's home, the sponsors generating income for the home, and the officials, and the children, NGO workers giving advices, guidance, and regulations to improve conditions, structures, and management at the home.

Following, important concepts within the interfaces; power relations, negotiations and communication, conflicting interests and expectations, knowledge, and rationalities, will be investigated in this study. The analysis will see how these concepts present themselves in the everyday life of this particular children's home. For the sake of this analysis, I have chosen three situations at the home where the encounters at the interface are existent – the withdrawal of one sponsor, the assistance from the government and DSW, and the understanding of what the most important needs at the home are. The analysis will also go deeper into their ways of communication.

The power relations at the home manifest themselves through the allocation of resources, and the actors'- being the children's home's staff, sponsors and officials - ability to influence each other in negotiations to secure their interests (Ashman, 2001). Here, the study will analyze how the actors influence each other, what resources the various actors possess, what obstacles they encounter. The power relations also manifests themselves in the communication, and this study will also explore the negotiations, communication, and potential conflicts between the actors. This will be done by looking at how they communicate and stay in touch, and also by how they work to protect their interests. Furthermore, the study will analyze the specific negotiations and arguments ongoing while the data was collected, how these negotiations proceeded, how they were influenced by the power relations, and what their consequences were. Lastly, in order to understand the interfaces of this particular children's home, their rationalities will be discussed. How do the different actors see the others? How do see their expectations, interests and behavior?

By evaluating these areas of interaction at the home, this research hopes to analyze the encounters at the interface, and to understand the ongoing negotiations and processes.

5.4 The Actors' Relations to Each Other

When analyzing the interfaces of this particular orphanage, there are three different actors which will receive attention; the staff and management, the foreign sponsors, and the officials (DSW and people working with children organizations in Ghana). In some ways, all of them relate to each other, and they all both receive and have influence on the others.

Primarily, the staff and management are responsible for the daily management of the home, the care taking of the children, buying and cooking, teaching, cleaning, and such. The two volunteers interviewed have the same type of responsibilities, such as care taking and cleaning. If a child gets sick or other unexpected events occur, the staff is the ones to identify it and act upon it. The foreign sponsors fund the children's home and invest in projects and resources which make the managing of the home easier and help it endure. They also have some influence in the way the management of the home should be continued, what should be bought, et cetera, as they are the ones providing resources and income to the home. The government relates to the home in the sense that they provide the regulations and the standards that the home must adhere to, and from time to time government officials pay visit to the home to make sure the Ghana Standards for Residential Homes (GSRH) are met. They also evaluate whether the home will receive support from the Government of Ghana, and furthermore, implementation and information about laws and rights.

As mentioned above, actors in public positions or officials, also include staff from children's organizations. The two officials interviewed during the data collection were both familiar with the children's home. One worked for an organization providing assistance in form of advises and teaching to children's homes workers and assisting in administrative issues in Central Region, whilst the other worked for an organization sending volunteers from foreign countries to work in various children's homes in Ghana. The latter was the one introducing the current sponsors to the home, when they came to Ghana first time to do volunteer work. He has also coordinated much of the communication between the sponsors and the home, as well as helping out with the transfer of wages from the sponsors to the staff, and also bought food for the home with money from the sponsors. In many ways, some of the sponsors have seen him as a reliable way of making sure the money is going to its intended purposes.

The nature of the different encounters seems to be both indirect and direct. Often, the actors meet at the home to negotiate, other times it is done by phone conversations with each other.

The government communicate a lot through their regulations. The sponsors often also operate through a middle man. Some of the sponsors do not interact directly with each other, but coordinate through the director, or other people. Their negotiations usually concerns financial issues and the economy related welfare of the children at the home. Negotiations are also frequently made when having board meetings, where new agendas are raised, and are addressed. Many of the sponsors frequently travel to Ghana to visit the home and receive updates. For the Department and Social Welfare and the other organizations represented by two of the informants, they mostly interact when visiting the children's home and doing check-ups and meeting both the director, staff and the children.

The various actors were themselves aware of some of their differences in terms of interests and methods. However, negotiations were sometimes proving to be hard, some of which will be analyzed and discussed below.

5.5 When Elephants fight, it is the Grass that Suffers: The Negotiations at the Home

5.5.1: The Weaning off

> We have one situation which is bad… We have one sponsor who has been taking care of the school and the teachers. And she bought firewood every month, and light and water and medicines. And when she is no longer helping, it is really, really bad. Really, really bad… For the kids it is not good. You see, we have a saying that when two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers. It will go against the children (Male worker, 54 years).

When conducting the fieldwork, it became clear that there were conflicts and arguments on the management of money and the home. As one of the sponsors was in the process of weaning off, the income of the home was threatened and the children's educational services was already affected. The sponsor was pulling out because of problems with Madam and the workers. The sponsor reasoned that she had to pull out of the project because of dishonesty from the director and threats made towards her by the director and her companions. She explained how numerous events caused by the director, made her feel caught between helping the children and being unable to defend the project to her sponsors. Her story is retold in Box 5.1.

Box 5.1: Reasons for weaning off: Story told by one of the sponsors

We stopped paying about one year ago. We used to send money every month, but there have been some conflicts. We have never given the money directly to Madam. The first day we got here, our organization told us never to give money directly to this woman. She might be a really good mother for the children, but she has no education, she cannot count, she cannot write. She has no good sense of money. So we have had one person working for us, coming to the children's home and giving out wages to each employee. And if we want to buy things, we always ask for a receipt. The problem is that Madam has had a conflict with this person because she wants us to put the money on her account instead. But we don't trust that the money would go to the right purposes if we did that…

Sometimes, when we were paying the teachers, if we were paying them 150 cedis – Madam would claim that she should have ten cedis for each teacher… Of course we have different opinions on how different matters are being solved. Of course this is a whole different world than what we are used to, but we have never accepted it when it comes to the fact that she is not completely honest. And we have had a lot of problems with this…

We decided to pull out because of this conflict. Also, Madam hired a man. He expressed some dissatisfaction from Madam; that we have not sent the money directly to her…they started claiming that I am raising money at home for my own winning. He sent me mails where he writes that he is considering pressing charges against me to Interpol and international media… also, last time I was here, the same person blackmailed me for money because Madam had told him to. They said they would arrest us and call the migration service on us. It is a really long story. There have been so many things happening which have led to us making this decision, but it is about them not being honest about money… she is not honest about how much money she receives in total. We have told her that we want transparency if we are going to give her money every month. We want to know how much she is receiving from whom to see how much it actually costs to make this home go around. Every year we have been coming here, we meet new people we find out that are also sponsoring this home, which Madam have not informed us about after we have asked her…

We also found out that Madam has, next to this children's home, been having another one which she has been lying about. Many people have come to us and told us she is the owner and that the elder kids in our children's home are going there to work, and that the workers we have paid to work here, have been going there. A lot of the things we brought with the container, she has taken them to the other children's home or sold them to make money. There are many things where she has not been honest with us…

Last time we were here, we had enough… We found out more and more things, and she is hiding very much. Many of the kids have revealed things to us. They told us she is forcing them to go to another town and work, instead of going to school, when we have already paid their school fees. When we are

> asking Madam, she is denying it and then she fail the children's grades in school, because they talked to us about it. Last time we were here, we noticed the older kids were avoiding us, because Madam had told them to. We felt we cannot be supporting something which is not doing the right things. Where children are not treated right, or where one is trying to trick people for money. We might have paid the health insurances one year, and two weeks later a new volunteer will come, and she would ask them for money for the same insurances in order to spend money on other things…
>
> It is a really difficult matter, really. This has been the most difficult decision I have ever made, but I feel that I cannot go back to Sweden and raise money with a good conscience. Because you always get questions like "do you know that the money is going to its right purposes? Do you have anyone you can trust?" That is a condition for receiving money. And we cannot guarantee that (Female sponsor, 25 years).

This situation is a good example of how various actors have different interests, priorities, and understanding of the principle of sustainability. This was the one major conflict ongoing at the home during my fieldwork. This had generated mistrust. In the end, the home suffered, as the sponsor had the larger share of power *over,* in terms of resources, and the option to withdraw her resources from the project. Madam also plays her own power to her benefit however, as she has not been giving in for threats. Despite the risk of serious consequences, the director chose to stand by her interests. This may mainly be because she felt somewhat vulnerable when the sponsors got the main share of power, and that they did not use the same methods of transfer as she preferred them to. Here, the power relations and communication is closely linked together. The techniques that the director was using to get more power, seems to be through controlling communication, and information flow. This is a clear example of Long's (2001) idea of encounters at the interface, and also show the power sharing, where partners in the North manage the financial resources, leaving the partners in the south with the greater risk (Ashman, 2001). It was clear that this situation had had its consequences on the work. While some showed sympathy for the sponsor's decision, others stressed their difficulties, as she was one of the major donors and therefore it also put them in a difficult position. Some staff members addressed the need of Madam talking to the sponsor in order to solve the situation:

> Yes, Madam does communicate with them [the sponsors]. As for this sponsor, there is a small problem. There is some problem with Madam. That's why she stopped. If next, she knows how to talk to them, then I think it would be better. It affected the orphanage. Because she was the one who paid the teachers. And

did a lot of things here, and now she stopped. Some of the teachers have quit because there are no money for the teachers (Male worker, 24 years).

… So she [the sponsor] was paying almost all the workers and bringing more money every month. Every month it was coming to my account and then I brought it there [to the children's home]… every month. It was very, very constant… Later, there was a time Madam had problems with this sponsor, so the sponsor decided to leave the orphanage. But, in fact, later on I came back. I came to see Madam, to pray to her that whatever is going on between her and the sponsor, it should rest, because it is the kids who are suffering, because the teachers are not getting paid. And this teacher comes, and after two months when he is not getting paid, he will leave the class, and another one keeps coming. So the kids will not have a good education. So I came to see Madam to talk to her so that whatever is between the two of them, she should just talk to the sponsor and settle things so that she will come back… Because if, for instance, I was a sponsor, and you tell me "We need money for firewood". Then I bring money, and you use it to buy plastic chairs which will not benefit the children. And when I come I see that "oh, just last month I bought enough firewood for three months and now that I'm here, there is no firewood here". Definitely you will be angry (middleman, 52 years).

This shows that conflicts between the sponsors and the children's home may have serious consequences. It also proves the differences in power relations, as the donors' greatest leverage is to withdraw money, which have enormous consequences for the home, and unfortunately the children. As Madam continues to argue in favor of her priorities and decisions, these power relations as compromises are not reached and the communication does not lead to any agreement. The director therefor exercise power to resist their decisions. This story therefore reveals a clear example of the encounters at the interface which Norman Long (1990; 2001) described. The power relations are clearly unequal, as the sponsors hold most of the resources and are mostly restrained only by their commitment to the children. This also leads the children's home to carry a larger part of the risk, as suggested by Ashman (2001). This conflict is described by differences in interests, values, and priorities. What seems interesting, is that though the sponsors holds most of the resources, hence also the power, Madam chooses not to accept their demands, but continues to use funding for her priorities. Her practices and management techniques shows that the director has a high level of immanent power as she withholds a lot of knowledge of the total sources of income. And she chooses not to communicate the information of all sources of income to the people that are funding the home. Because Madam is also the manager of daily routines, this also give her more power *to* fulfil her priorities as the sponsors are usually not staying at the children's home (Allen, 1999; Allen, 2003). Still, it is not easy to know whether the director's intentions are bad. Probably, this is more likely to be a result of different rationalities. If the director

tried to put aside money to give to the other children's home, which the sponsors suspects that she does, her rationality may be that the children at the other home should also benefit from her incomes. Because of inequality in the power relations, this might also be Madam's way of ensuring her priorities. However, even though it seems the sponsors are having the larger share of power over the director, the director has quite a degree of power to resist.

From the fieldwork and data collection, it became quite clear that the organization had problems concerning communication. Instead of using negotiations and compromises as tools when conflicts of interest appear, there actions that counters the expectations of the sponsors which have led to conflicts. Some of the informants called this behavior short-sighted, as it might generate some money in the short run, but as the trust vanishes, future income is put at risk. This demonstrates the necessity of questioning the director's ambitions and ideas for development. She may think that her methods create a more efficient management, without her certainly having the intention of going against the sponsors wishes or conditions. However, this will be further discussed in the next chapter.

This situation also has other indirect impacts on the economy of the home. One of the informants explained that many communities are built on the values of helping because it their religion says this will give them blessings. Many will give food or other valuables to others in need, though it may not be a lot. In this way, private transfers – as well as larger transfers from NGOs, companies and others – are creating dependencies to outsiders because it is excluding the children's home from the local support network. Such dependency traps have been common in many development projects, as discussed in Chapter 2. He further explained how tensions between sponsors and the director is affected by new sponsors coming to the children's home and how the risk of sponsors weaning off may be even larger because of this:

> … But once people in the community see that some people are sponsoring this home, they are like "oh, they are OK". They say "Obroni [white person] is sponsoring them, so they don't have a problem", do you understand? And they walk around and they see all the play items that the children have, which they themselves have never seen in their lives before. Even some of the kids that stay with their parents don't have access to anything of that sort. Not even the government schools have such play items. So sometimes people come and think "Oh, these kids are privileged". Do you understand? The moment that they [the sponsors] withdraw, there is a big problem for whoever is running the orphanage. At a point in time, I think Madam sent some of the children to Social Welfare, because it was too much for her… So in fact the role that they

[the sponsors] are playing is very enormous. Very important. I always will, you know, take my heart for them. Yes, I always will (Middleman, 52 years).

This situation provides a clear example on how various rationalities, knowledge, interests, and positions may affect development programs in terms of interaction and negotiation. The relationships have different preconditions when entering the global relationships with each other. As shown, power relations, interests, motivations, and values may trigger obstacles when communicating.

5.5.2 The Government's Assistance to Residential Homes for Children

As mentioned above, the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) is the official governmental organ which deals with orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs). However, their ambitions are to protect the children living in such homes by promoting the standards for residential homes and support with training and advices, rather than by contributing with financial assistance. Staff I interviewed at the home would prefer more financial support from the government. There have also been comments and complaints on this issue among staff at residential homes, and also objections against the high registration fees for such homes. For children's homes to be registered within the government of Ghana, they have to apply after having approved their fulfillment of the national standards. However, when applying, the national coordinator of OVCs, Mr. Boafo, informed that they have to pay high fees:

> One problem that the orphanages are facing now is the high registration fee announced by the Ministry of Gender. The fee was, I think, 150 cedis. And now it was raised to 5000. And because of that, many of them are not coming forward. Even those we have recommended for registration, they are not coming forward because of the high fee… if it is not reduced, then it will prevent many from coming forward to license. It is 5000 for registration and 2000 for renewal every year. They are crying. They are saying it is too high. A lot of them have complained that it is too high and should be reduced. (Mr. Boafo, National coordinator of OVCs).

To private children's homes, which mostly have limited funding, the fees therefore become a hindrance to register with the Department of Social Welfare. The registration is usually completed after receiving approval of standards within the home and then applying for a legal license for the residential home. The DSW's tasks are first and foremost to provide training and technical assistance for homes:

> If you are not operating according to the standards, we actually advice you. Give you technical advice to what to do to bring your home to the level that is accepted. Those who are not able to do that with time, we close down. Because once you

> operate a home, you are doing that in the best interest of the children of Ghana…
> In fact, since 2007 there have been a series of training programs for managers of
> homes and the care givers in the homes. Managers are trained for child care and
> parenting. They are trained on management skills and so forth. They are trained
> on the laws. So managers of homes have been taking a lot of training programs…
> We have trained 300 care givers in the three last years. We are doing this to
> update their knowledge (Mr Boafo, National coordinator of OVCs).

The Ghanaian government's responsibility towards residential homes for children created some dissatisfaction for those working in homes, as their ideas on which kind of help should be provided are dissimilar. Their expectations towards the DSW's assistance are disagreeing, and therefore the children's home workers do not confirm to the governments will to assist such homes.

> You know, in Ghana, there are four orphanages which are funded by the
> government. They do help those four ones, but in the private homes, they do not
> help. But the volunteers from abroad, like you people, come and help us (Madam,
> director of the children's home).

Mr. Boafo had experienced similar complaints in other homes wishing for financial assistance, but he argued that the homes should not cater for more children than they could handle financially:

> In general, most of them talk about that they are finding it difficult to cater for the
> children… They are faced with financial challenges, so this is the problem we
> usually hear about. The advice we give them is that a home should not keep the
> children there forever... get a family where the child can be sent to a family
> setting, and then the burden will reduce. But if you have a home and you decide to
> keep all the children. You don't want any child to go and then the number
> increases from 50 to 80 and you start crying "I'm suffering!" Then you want the
> suffering for yourself (Mr Boafo, National coordinator of OVCs).

From the interviews, most of the informants at the children's home showed little knowledge or admiration of governmental regulations such as the country's standards for residential homes for children. When asked whether they had any rules or regulations set by the government, the director and other staff answered "*No*", and during the interviews they made little reference to the government's work. One of the informants, however, talked about regular visits form the DSW:

> Yes. We have social welfare officers. This area is in the Agona district. There are
> social welfare officers who come regularly. They come, and sometimes they come
> from Cape Coast. They come to ask, to find out how things are going, and then
> they go around the rooms, and all that. And most of the time when they come, they
> tell the home that they are coming. Other times they just walk in to see exactly
> what is on the ground (Middleman, 52 years).

In the context of encounters at the interface, this shows a conflict of interests and expectations as one part asks for financial assistance, while the other provides technical assistance. This situation shows how expectations and interests are affecting the satisfaction with other actors in the field and their perceptions of the other partners. As the government clearly holds the power, the children's homes have little impact, and they might therefore feel ignored as their wishes are not granted. However, even though the government holds the power *over* the children's home, the director still have power to do her practices, as the government do not have the sufficient resources to complete the national standards. Also, there is a power resistance in being outside the regulations and in some way, weak follow-ups from the government, and external funding from foreign sponsors (Allen 1999). This will be further explained in Chapter 6. This is also an example of conflicting rationalities and interest that creates tension because of weak communication between the two and their ability to address their knowledge and logics to each other. This especially goes for the children's home because they have little opportunity to speak to the DSW.

During the data collection, there was an evident dissatisfaction with the other party's role in helping OVCs, and little communication between the two actors. This illustrates that the presence of a supportive framework for regulation is an important condition for the relationships between state and civil society. Often, there may be accounting requirements and regulations which can be seen as a lack of trust towards NPOs (Brinkerhoff, 1999). This also seems to apply to the case for the children's home's perception of the Ghanaian government.

5.5.3 What Comes First - Money or Administration?

While the employees pay much attention to the financial challenges of the home, the sponsors and NGO officers also emphasize administrative issues as one of the major challenges. Some of the sponsors suggest that the lack of money is due to administrative issues as the money is incorrectly spent and used for other purposes than the intended. This, in the end, also caused financial problems, as it caused one of the sponsors to withdraw. The employees state that in order to pay for their needs and plans, it is important to collect more money and to get more sponsors. When asked what the main challenges the home faces are, the director answers:

> The sponsors, they do not help enough. We have had some problems with light bill and with the teachers, because we do not get enough money. It is only one volunteer who is helping us with food. We lost one sponsor who provided the

water and was paying the teachers… We need to get sponsors, good teachers and staff, so that we can provide the children with a good education (Madam, director of the children's home).

As the home has lost some of the major sponsors and is experiencing a decline in income, it is easy to understand the reasoning behind the stating of a need for more sponsors. The other workers and care takers also emphasize the financial issue, though their reasoning for why money is the most important challenge vary:

> The challenges are many, but there is one solution. There are many, but the answer is always one. Always financial, ok? The challenges are many, but the answer is money. Simply because as I'm saying we need farming lands. When we have money, we can just go and clear the lands and the food will be coming in. The building structures of the home needs to change. We need to put up a proper building. And the children; the uniform, dresses and the food… so we have difficulties, yes. (Male worker, 54 years).

> We would like to have taken the children to the beach, but we need to hire a car, so if there was a car for them, we could have taken them to go to places…We need something like mosquito nets… and even this orphanage, the bills are very high. And to pay for utilities, like water and electricity. The prices in Ghana have increased a lot, so we are finding it difficult. We are feeding them, but managing to get money, the sponsors that are helping us are not many (Male worker, 31 years).

On the other hand, according to many of the sponsors and NGO workers, the lack of sponsors and money is not the main issue. Even though they agree money is also important, a proper administration and transparency would allow them to create a realistic budget and keep the sponsors from discontinuing projects. This will be further discussed in the next chapter. Some of the sponsors, however, states that the greater concern of the home is not a lack of money, but rather, as discussed earlier, a lack of trust and honesty between them and Madam and also weak communication:

> One of the major things they need is human resources. People, you know, to do the work… Somebody should also be there to do the administrative work – fulltime. So that issues like we are going to buy things, keeping records, sending reports, you know… it is not there. This also affects the communication and reporting. Yeah, sure. Because I was telling them… at the end of the day, you should be able to monitor (Children's homes advisor, 50 years).

Though this matter might be solved if there were the money to hire an administrative worker, many of the sponsors want to feel that they can trust the director before sending her more money, and to know that she spends the money on the right things. By spending money for unintended purposes and by asking multiple sponsors to finance the same things, and then

using the money for something else, it becomes legitimate to question whether the money spent on the home would be sufficient if it was used for the intended purposes. Furthermore, because the sponsors exercise the larger share of their power, they are able to make decisions without communicating a lot with the people working at the home. The sponsors decisions are however, contested by the directors power to resist and her knowledge. Some of the sponsors stress the structural, communicative, and cooperating aspect between the director, workers volunteers and themselves:

> The main thing is communication. That's very weak. One sponsor wanted to stop sponsoring and give them something which would generate money. There was a trotro [mini bus]. And the sponsor only got reporting on the project for the first three months, and then it stopped… If you really want to continue sponsoring, you have to work a lot on the communication. And reporting. Another thing we should work on, but I don't think we can change it, is that they are not open in their… You know, they are using any source they can get, and they don't tell us about other sources. The first thing we did when we came was to pay for health insurances, but we did not know there were other sponsors who had already paid the same. If you work with the sponsors this way, they are not going to trust you, and you'll lose them (Male sponsor, 68 years).

> The challenge might be that the ones working and living there don't want to change anything. We, outsiders, can see that if we do this instead, it will become so much easier, and save money on it. But they… no, they want to do it their way, as they have learnt, and then continue doing it the same way (Female sponsors, 29 and 24 years).

This statement shows that a distinction is made between the insiders and the outsiders – in this case the development partners in the North, the sponsors, and in the south, the workers at the home. Because of their background and knowledge, their work methods are different from each other, and compromising between various values and knowledge systems may prove difficult. Because of the differences in rationalities, knowledge, and backgrounds, some of the sponsors perceive the staff as being rigid in their routines.

> They have had a lot of money put into the orphanage. It is much better than most of the orphanages I have seen. They are much better off… it did not seem to be a lot of structure in there as to who is doing what and why. Madam certainly runs it. There's no doubt about that. I just… I cannot think of anything in particular that… I mean, there are always stories about Madam having another orphanage somewhere else and is taking money out of this home to go to the other orphanage. There was never an overall budget… (Male sponsor, 72 years).

Despite the fact that the sponsors holds a majority of the financial resources coming into the home, this quote suggests that they still are under the impression that the director exercise

most of the power and influence. The *immanent* power is strong here, as the director knows how to use her knowledge to exercise power. It is interesting to see that this power is implemented despite the risk of losing the partners in the North.

To solve the economic difficulties seems to be problematic, as the communication between Madam and the sponsors is weak due to a lack of trust, and a conflict of interests that is further strengthened by the different power relations. Many of the sponsors are have difficulties with the director pursuing profit for herself, as they believe she sells some of the items she receives, and deceives the sponsors of money. Obviously, the withdrawing of one of the sponsors has led to more tensions, further discussions, and economic problems for the children's home.

The disagreement over the challenges of the home makes the dissimilarity of their interests and values evident. They also varied within the same group of actors. Their knowledge and rationalities also made it difficult to coordinate interests. Here, analyzing the encounters at the interface prove to reveal the main differences in global partnerships that makes it difficult to ensure development. The communication and negotiations will be further discussed below.

5.5.4 Communication and Negotiations

During the data collection, fieldwork, and preparations for this research, the actors' main problem seemed to be communication. Communication may be seen as a tool to exercise power within the home. Especially the director control a lot of communication by not informing about sponsors, but also because the sponsors are not at the home most of the time. This matter has been addressed earlier in the chapter. Still, the central aspect of this issue makes it interesting to examine further. Whilst some of the sponsors communicate between them, other sponsors work more independently, and stated that they did not have much communication with the others, or that they were not sure what the tasks of the other sponsors were. The director is able to use this to her advantage. Some were also less updated on the current conditions of the children's home, as they were not aware of recent events, existing staff, or the present situation of the home. In part, this seems to be a consequence of a lack of communication between the different sponsors. Though, as described above, the director's interests and methods result in poor communication and transparency. The sponsors are not kept informed about the other sponsors and donations to the home. This lack of communication creates an opportunity for the director to ask multiple sponsors for funding the

same cause. One may argue that this gives her the greater part of the power. Also, it results in weak trust and an inability to account for the actual costs of running a children's home of this size. Furthermore, it also led to some complications during the fieldwork, as the information from my gatekeepers about the staff and structure of the home was a bit vague.

Furthermore, lack of communication with other workers has also upset the sponsors. One of the informants described how he changed his routines without telling the sponsors which sent him money to buy necessities for the home. He defended himself by stating that he did volunteer work and did not get any financial benefits from these transactions:

> But I had a little problem with Madam. Aha, because the donors, they instructed me: "When the money comes, use this amount of money to buy rice, this amount for sugar, this amount for oil". And any time I came back here, Madam was not happy with it. She wants me to bring the money to her, and then do the shopping herself. So even though I did not inform the donors, that is what I started doing; When the money comes, I gave them to her and made her sign… so when the sponsors got to know this, they got angry, but I said "Well, I'm doing this free of charge. Nobody is paying me. I go to the bank and I use my own transport. I have to go to Accra because the bank in Swedru was closed. So every time I was getting money, I had to go to Accra and then here every month, do you understand? Aha… I would have taken it cool if maybe I would have taken part of the money. So they decided they would find someone else to send the money through… (Middleman, 52 years).

Coordinating the various actors is also difficult. Numerous volunteers visiting the home are often funds or assist the home in different ways. However, with little knowledge of the sponsors and what they do, funding may overlap as the volunteers do not know what already has been bought, and what is actually needed. As stated above, this seems to be the greatest advantage of the director in order to exercise her share of the power.

> The challenge is that some of the volunteers are working… they are a bit more, how should I say it? They are running their own ways. Without giving concern to those that have been working with this for a long time, like one of the sponsors who have been building this orphanage. No matter if they come from Australia or Sweden or wherever, I think it is important that we all talk together. That they do not do just as they feel like. This particular matter is a bit difficult (Female sponsors, 29 and 24 years).

Sponsors also express a lack of communication through reporting, and what the needs within the home are. The communication between sponsors is also affected by the director's behavior. Some of the quotes above illustrate this. The communication between the actors has had little structures to ensure inclusion of all rationalities, interests, and knowledge. Because these three features may be substantially different, this creates tensions. Their rationalities

may also be based in different development perspectives. Whereas the director may look at the basic needs of the children, without reflecting on the relationship to the sponsors, the sponsors addresses the need of reporting and transparency.

According to Long (2001) communication in encounters at the interface between various actors is influenced by interests, values, rationalities, power struggles, and culture. This is an evident feature at the encounters between the sponsors, the home, and the officials. As the sponsors hold much of the power, the director's behavior may be seen as a way of retaining some of this power. This is done by attempting to access more income by getting more donors and by asking for money for expenses which have already been covered by other sponsors. As the sponsors do not have knowledge of all the other sponsors, it is difficult for them to engage with each other and synchronize their work. Because of the poor communication between actors, the encounters at the interface are affected by this as negotiations become more difficult.

CHAPTER 6: ACCOUNTABILITY AND SUSTAINABILITY

This chapter gives an evaluation of the accountability of the various actors, and the children's home itself. It seeks to discover the challenges of the home/project and to investigate what mechanisms missing in order to ensure sustainability.

It will emphasize the goals, tasks, and expectations of the three actors involved with the project. It will also discuss what challenges they face, and then attempt to answer research question number 3 and 4:

3. How are the actors accountable to each other and to the children?

4. What are the development consequences of such small private partnerships?

The emphasis will be on the actor's perception of each other's accountability and how it affects the encounters at the interface. Moreover, this chapter will review the consequences of this children's home's private partnerships. What measures may be implemented to make this project less vulnerable?

As seen in chapter three, accountability means that actors which take upon them the responsibility for specific tasks (in this case, managing a children's home and taking care of OVCs well-being), are able to fulfill these tasks and execute this duty (Ebrahim, 2003). In order to understand the concepts of accountability in this children's home, it will be divided into the main components which define accountability. I will focus on motivations, goals, tasks, conditions, future sustainability, endurance, and potential changes that should be made in order to overcome challenges. Further clarification on the method for including these components in the analysis will be provided below.

As for motivations and interests, the analysis will investigate the actors' intentions and reasons to work with OVCs. This will give an understanding of whether the children's home is run because of altruistic motivations or because of self-interest. As altruism is an important part of philanthropy and accountability, this may provide a useful insight into their behavior and rationality. In addition, it may be a useful tool to see to what extent they claim responsibility for their own tasks and goals. Next, this chapter will present the different actors' goals and what they themselves and the others define as their tasks and responsibilities within the home. This is closely linked to their knowledge, understanding of development, and the power relations. This will enable an understanding of to what extent the actors may be held

accountable for the services provided to the OVCs in children's homes, and in this one in particular. It may also help to explain the next component, performance. When analyzing the responsibilities of the various actors, the study will explore what they do, and what is missing in order to ensure accountability. It will also address at the challenges the home faces. The latter research question will discuss the consequences of private partnerships, in order to explore the accountability of the home in the future, and hopefully to address some of the implementations that has to take place in order to ensure the sustainability of the home. This will also be based on the challenges and situations the home faces today.

6.1 The Motivations: Altruism or Self-interest

One of the aspects of accountability is the altruistic motivations "to do good" and to help others without any intention of benefitting from such aid. This makes assessing the motivations of the staff and sponsors of the home relevant. When they talk about their work, they emphasize their responsibilities towards helping children: *"When I went to the village, I saw some children that were very needy, like orphans and street children. They came to me for money for food and clothes. I started giving something to them when I was visiting… so later I decided to build something like this home. My mother advised me to take care for them and help them for the future. For them to have education"* (Madam, director of the children's home).

> Me and Madam went to the bush. Then we started seeing people that are very poor. Madam thought it is better to organize all of them. Because they had no family… or no one to take care of them. And they have no school. So our mission became to educate them… As for me, I did not go to school because I lived in a poor family and my father had died, and then my mother also died later. So I know how it feels when someone doesn't have parents. So we have to help children like this. I didn't go to school, and sometimes I feel sad that I did not get someone to help me through school… (Male worker, 29 years).

> I was visiting the orphanage because of my schooling. I knew one of the girls who started the orphanage [another sponsor]. I was talking to her and I went to Ghana. After that, I was hooked… Our motivation has been that we can travel there and visit the children and see them growing older, and we can see that they get their education… The effort you take is so small and you can achieve something bigger. You can see how little it takes… (Female sponsors, 24 and 29 years).

> "Well, I had a little extra money than I needed, and one of the other sponsors presented a good case that the kids could use a playground. And when we got there [the children's home], we could see that" (Male sponsor, 72 years).

Other members of the staff came to work there either because they got a job through their networks or by writing an application letter. The volunteers came after applying through other organizations sending out volunteers. However, most of them mentioned the children as a reason to work there. As discussed in Chapter 4, one may always question whether their main reason for working there is actually because of the children or if they are answering to that question based on what they believe this is the "proper" answer. Some of the staff, however, also mentioned that they also needed an income, and that they were struggling because at the present there were no wages. Furthermore, they explained that the main reason which kept them from leaving the home despite the lack of payment was their ties to the children. One of the children workers cooperating with the home and assisting them in transfers believed that there were also other motivations for starting the home. Based on the experience and knowledge he had from working with residential homes, he explained:

> If you go into the history of those who are establishing orphanages, usually they are women. It is usually women who have never had children, you see… I have had a chance of talking to a lot of them, especially in the South here. Most of them… if the person has a husband, then that's ok, but if it is a single person, they will tell you that they have never had a child. It is a very big thing. People will expect you to have children. That's one of our traditions. So they are like "oh, well I'm not a mother, but I can have all these children around me. They call me mother and I'm happy. I'm ok, just like I have kids". Aha, so that is what motivates them to set up a place like this. But usually when they start they don't want to exceed ten children, but before you realize, there are more. Also because social welfare asks them to keep children while they are looking for the family, that they may never find (Middleman, 52 years).

This quote shows a rather stereotypical view on women, and based on previous experience, the director's motives were doubted, without any actual reason. As discussed above, many of the sponsors questioned Madam's motives for taking care of the children. Many claimed that she was more interested in the business part of running the children's home. These accusations towards the director, running the children's home as a business, are also supported by Frimpong-Manso (2013: 2014), and are also confirmed in other studies which have seen the same tendencies in other homes in Ghana. Judged by the director's behavior, her motivations might therefore not be as altruistic as she claims. It may however, be a result of the director not feeling accountable to the sponsors, but only to the children at the home. Her downward and internal accountability may therefore be much stronger than her upward and external. As explained above, this led to a lack of trust and a weaning off, confirmed by her not accounting for the non-profit values they were promoting. Many of the workers were not being paid. Yet, they stayed to take care of the children. Some because they felt that they

did not have a choice, since they would not find work anywhere else, but they also said it was mainly because they did not know who would cater for the children if they left. The downward accountability at the home therefore seems strong.

6.2 Achieving their Goals, Tasks and Expectations

Evaluating accountability is easier when the goals are identified, their tasks are assessed, and the expectations they have towards each other are known. Below, this will be clarified before a further evaluation of the challenges and responsibilities is made.

The main goals of the children's home were to care for the children and to provide them with an education. This goal was stated by the director, the staff, and the sponsors who were interviewed. All of them had a shared idea of what they wanted to achieve. Their differences arose when looking at *how* to achieve the goals. For the home itself, and its staff, the job is to feed, bath, and care for the children, and to raise them to integrate into the community. The sponsors provide resources and discuss what money is spent on in the home. Lastly, they all have to adhere to the government's rules, regulations, and standards for residential homes for children.

Based on their expectations concerning each other's efforts, they have used numerous methods to ensure correct management and behavior. As for the government, the measures have been described in chapter two. In addition to the Children's Act and the Care reform and National plan of Action on OVCs, the Department of Social welfare has created the standards for residential homes. These legislatures give the home an idea of the expectations and the requirements they should meet. In order to ensure the application of these standards, the DSW have social welfare officers monitoring the homes. They have also decided to shut down homes which do not fulfil these requirements. However, as seen in chapter two, these measures have been hard to fulfill (DSW, 2015a; Frimpong-Menso, 2013; Frimpong-Menso, 2014; Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010).

As for the sponsors, most of the supervision is done through communication with the directors and members of the staff. As a means of controlling where the money is being spent some of the sponsors have hired a person to do the purchases. These sponsors, who are not donating regularly, have also made the purchases themselves in order to monitor the expenditures:

> We have bought many of the materials ourselves when we have been here. We have gone ourselves to buy the health insurances… the system we have used to ensure that the workers did their job were: We had the director, and we had someone who was paying their wages and we had the ones working for us. We sent the money to one person who gave the money to the workers. If they were not paid, they would have told us, and if they didn't do their job, the director would have told us… (Female sponsor, 25 years).

As discussed in the previous chapter however, the accountability of the director has been a problematic issue among the actors. It also affects the functional accountability because sponsors pull out because of lack of transparency and trust. Due of this, the project has lost some of its stability, and the future of the home has been put at risk. Initiating caretaking of children leads to many challenges; how to guarantee their future and how to ensure caretaking throughout their childhood. Such a program must therefore work to ensure stability and aid for as long as there still are children there who cannot find care with their families or other caretakers.

6.3 The Different Dimensions of Accountability at the Children's Home

I have chosen a couple of situations which have been affected by poor management and weaning off – lack of wages to teachers and care takers, and not spending the sponsors donations on the things that they have been told to spend them on. These situations illustrate the challenges of the home and the vulnerability of small, private children's homes.

As mentioned above, education is one of the major goals expressed by the staff at the home. Nevertheless, the staff and sponsors revealed that, in addition to the head master, only two out of nine teachers were present. The reason was there had been no wages. As explained in chapter five, the sponsor paying the wages withdrew from the project because of mistrust, dishonest behavior by the director, and lack of transparency. The situation caused problems with the quality of the children's education because the teachers were too few, and because they were often new teachers, since the old ones quit due to lack of payment: *"… The teachers are not getting paid. And this teacher comes, and after two months, when he is not paid, he will leave the class. And then another keeps coming. And the kids will not have a good education"* (Middleman, 52 years).

> According to one of the other sponsors, one of the requirements for registration is that they run a school. And, yeah, if that is true then it will be difficult. Because I think they are running the school now, but they cannot pay the teachers…the teachers are changing, changing, changing. After they have been

working for some months without getting paid, they leave and there will be a new teacher. I think it is terrible because the quality also goes down. It is worse than it used to be (Male sponsor, 68 years).

The children's home was at this time not able to ensure the children's education. As schooling is one of the standards presented by the DSW, this might also lead to the home getting closed down in the future (Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare, 2010). The accountability is also tried by the director's behavior, which has led to a series of reactions leading to instability as the responsibility towards the external and internal relationships has been contradicting the expectations of the actors.

The downward accountability from the sponsors and director to the care takers was, in this sense, also weak because of the absence of wages for the staff, and the inconsistency in the children's education. Although the staff slept and ate at the home, some of them expressed frustration as they were not able to save money for their own and their children's future.

> We also have to take care of us so that we can feel happy. Because when I want to buy coffee or something, I cannot go. If they are giving salary, we can get this money for ourselves. In the future, maybe I will have a baby and maybe my baby will also come and play with these children. You know every day I'm thinking about it. Formerly it was one girl who was paying the workers. And they bought a car to pay the workers. Like one hundred cedis for each. The car was broken, so now we cannot pay. I am thinking about my future too. I am 29 years. I cannot stay here when I have my baby also (Male worker, 29 years).

> Right now we are not receiving payments, so we are feeling bad. You see right now, we have to buy food and everything, but there is no money. Since last year up to now. So our energy is down. It is going down because there is no money. Unless we eat the children's food. If the children's food is not enough, then we have to sleep empty, so it is very bad (Male worker, 24 years).

As these quotes show, wages have been absent since their trotro, or car, broke down. The sponsors bought it to create some level of self-financing. However, they were disappointed to learn that it soon broke down, and frustrated because they felt the people working at the home did not take proper care of the belongings, as they had experienced many things quickly break down. Caused by absence of trust, one sponsor questioned whether they still had spent the money on something else. Others were suggesting they did not treat the car well, so it broke down: *"They used to have a trotro. One of the sponsors wants to buy another one, but there is certainly no indication of where the first one is – where the 13000 cedis went. It mostly was… like Madam sold it. Or somebody sold it and probably kept the money" (*Male sponsor, 71 years). This may be considered as being a classical development failure as there is little knowledge on how to handle objects, such as cars, and therefore its use becomes limited.

One of the sponsors bought a car for them, which was supposed to raise money for wages, but the car broke down. We have throughout the years experienced that they do not take care of their belongings. We can buy something, and then the next day it is broken. When we built this water well, they did not follow the instructions on how to build it, so it will break before time (Female sponsor, 25 years).

Compared to the public homes, where the wages are considerably higher, the level of accountability is weaker in private homes. When wages are low or non-existent, controlling the staff and improving their commitment to the work may be difficult, and the long-term accountability is affects as they might quit working or not have upward accountability to the employer. This is suggested by two of the informants:

Today, everything is for the children. Somebody had to think about the workers. Because these persons are also making sacrifices… So you have to pay the person well, so by the time money comes through, they will have some money to take care for themselves and their children, or you make sure to give their children some food also, because the children at home are also hungry. Do you understand? (Children's homes advisor, 50 years).

So if you compare the public homes to the private ones, the difference is there - By the quality of personnel. In the private homes you are not even able to pay 100 cedis a month to the workers. Some are paying fifteen. Some are paying 60 cedis. But if you are in a government employment, at least you will earn from 500 going up. So they are able to attract quality against the private homes. The government homes also actually follow processes in admitting children to homes. No one there goes around begging for children to have in the home (Mr. Boafo, National Coordinator of OVCs).

Despite showing sincere concern and affection for the children, at the time of the fieldwork, the sponsors did not take responsibility for the wages of staff and teachers. To the sponsors, the director's mismanagement of money also demonstrated a lack of transparency and upward and external accountability, which in turn led to these sanctions, being one of the sponsors withdrawing (Ebrahim, 2003). A major problem is the difficulty of implementing sanctions, as they prove to affect the children at the home. An example of this is how the lack of wages harms the children's education. One might argue that this makes the downward accountability to the children weak. This is despite that all the actors felt most accountable to the children than to each other.

6.4 External Accountability in the Different Encounters

Concluding this analysis, it is clear that accountability and the encounters at the interface are interlinked. The concepts of accountability prove to be useful in order to understand how the

encounters at the interface develop. By analyzing to whom the various actors are accountable, one might understand their rationalities and expectations. The encounters at the interface become important as the responsibility towards the different actors are experienced differently. This is particularly relevant to this study, as the NPO lies outside the formal system of development where reporting and conditions are integrated in the structures, and this NPO is therefore more exposed to vulnerability and lack of control. The encounters in this study may be more flexible as they do not have strict structures to and routines to follow. However, comparing them to other development organizations in the formal system, they are less regulated and therefore may be more susceptible to conflicts. Also, they do not have a formal system for making improvements (Ashman, 2001: Ebrahim, 2003).

In order to understand behavior and how the encounters at the interface are being formed, the relationships between the actors should be analyzed. How do the power relations, rationalities, and priorities, which were discussed in Chapter 5, challenge each other? By looking at this, one might be able to explain the director's misbehavior. It is important to acknowledge that the director's intentions may not necessarily be bad. Her actions, however, are shaped by a different rationality. As discussed above, the Northern development partner often holds the larger share of the power, as they have ownership to most financial resources. As a result, they are also able to impose conditions for donations. Despite that conditions could be expected when large sums of money are transferred, they might result in the disregard of the director's and the staff's prioritizations (Ashman, 2001). Viewing the rationality and behavior of the director, her actions might be the result of different priorities and a belief that aid without conditions will make the management of the home more efficient. In other words, the actors may have different development perspectives behind their rationalities. Therefore, her intentions might be to run a more efficient organization, which ought to be done without conditions, as they could obstruct the coordination and flexibility of the management. Also, the director might feel more accountability towards the children than towards the sponsors. As they expect a high degree of accountability from the director, this affects the encounters at the interface (Ebrahim, 2003; Long, 2001). Likewise, the sponsors do not seem to feel a high degree of accountability towards the director, but rather expecting her to be accountable to them. There is no doubt that communication need to improve no matter which of the actors is right or wrong. Nevertheless, conclusions should not be made before examining the rationalities and interests of each actor.

6.5 Mechanisms to Ensure Strategic Accountability

This chapter has tried to observe the factors which influence the accountability of the children's home and the sponsors. The research has shown the home to have many problem areas, two of the major ones being communication and consistent funding. It is evident, however, that the future of the home is not too bright. Poor wages, low staffing, lack of qualifications, and chiefly the self-centered interests of the director, have created reactions and difficult situations within the home. This, and also the lack of money for wages and schooling, threatens their ability to provide sufficient care and education. It is obvious that the education has been severely affected. As this was one of the foremost goals to the founders, it clearly demonstrates the difficulties in fulfilling their responsibilities. Despite taking responsibility for care and payments, the accountability seems to be weaker with the director, as she may focus on her own interests, and this made one of the sponsors withdraw from the funding of the home. By this, both external and internal accountability was weakened, as the obligations were not met, and the directors felt that responsibility and motivation was not seemingly led by good intentions (Ebrahim, 2003).

The upwards accountability, from the director to the sponsors, have been put at risk at numerous occasions. Because of this, the situation is characterized by mistrust and sanctions. The education of the children have also suffered, which suggests that also the downwards accountability is damaged (Ebrahim, 2003).

Ending up in the dependency trap may create challenges as the home needs the sponsors, and they become vulnerable, and will suffer consequences if sponsors leave. In order to ensure the future of the home and overcome some of the major challenges of the home, the informants suggested numerous measures and methods which might be developed to ensure a stable income, stable employment, and educational goals to be achieved. The children's home does not have a commonly formalized set of mechanisms to ensure accountability. It relies much on self-regulation, social auditing and to some degree, involvement of each actor. The different power relations make the involvement of actors somehow inconsistent.

As suggested above, secure wages measuring up to proper living standards might increase the commitment to the home and the satisfaction of the employees. Furthermore, some suggested that the home ought to have appropriate staffing. As discussed earlier, the school needs teachers. In order to reach their goal in the education of the children, this is an evident and essential method to increase their accountability. In addition, the home should have more care

takers. Some of the informants stressed the need for this. Also, during my fieldwork, the children were seeking attention and affection. Many were "competing" with each other to play with the volunteers and to get attention from the adults.

> One of the major things is human resources. I told them before that we have this number of children. If you give one care giver to take care of at most eight to ten children, it is a lot for them. But when you look at them now. The children here, it is 85. It means we would need at least nine care givers, and we don't have it. Why? Because we cannot pay them. They should have two to cook for them, and nine care givers. Also someone to clear the compound. Somebody should be there to do administrative work – fulltime… So there are not people to do the work. It creates some kind of friction. They also need someone to teach them the qualification they need (Children's homes advisor, 50 years).

Numerous informants expressed a wish for a more sustainable and independent project. They had many ideas on how this might be achieved. As explained above, also the sponsors have tried to implement measures to support this, such as buying a car to create income. One of the sponsors mentioned a few measures to increase the independency of the home. Many of the other informants mentioned the same measures, such as creating farming lands and including the community children in the school in order to generate income from this.

> One of the sponsors have been working a lot to make the home less dependent on us. Helping them so they can grow some crops. They have bought chickens so they can sell eggs, and to grow tomatoes and sell. Then they can receive some income from that. They bought a car. And we also want to build a school in the neighbourhood village, which will fit many children. Then the ones going to the school can pay a small amount of money which will go to the children's home. Then they can have some income… (Female sponsor, 29 years).

Acknowledging the home's need for more income also makes it important to acknowledge that the communication needs to be improved. Poor communication and trust have affected the income of the home by sponsors weaning off. The sponsor who withdraw from the project wondered whether the best way for the home to secure its future, was to let the director go, or to put someone else in charge of the project.

> It is sad to say so, but we have often felt that this would be a better place without the director. We have met so many good people throughout the years - People that would have made this orphanage to a really nice place. We have been prepared to put a lot of money into this project, but it feels like she has been stopping us from doing it. So if she had taken a step to the side, and maybe given the opportunity to somebody who have ideas on how to make this a really good place, it would have been better. And we would have kept on trying… (Female sponsor, 25 years).

The internal communication was also questioned by one informant, which shows that a set of formal structures within the home may increase their self-regulation and transparency:

> At the last meeting, one of the issues we were having with the director was; she was wondering why we were not sending money. Or, she got upset because we weren't sending money… but I said "No, we have been sending the money". And she said "what?" and I told her I had been sending them to him [a member of the staff]. The person I had sent them to, was there, and he was looking down, and he was very quiet. There just hadn't been any openness between them (Male sponsor, 72 years).

Another way of improving the self-regulation, upwards, external and internal accountability, is through consistent reporting, recordkeeping, and guideline for income and expenses. One of the informants, who work on training and providing advices to children's homes, stated that the person in charge of the home, should not be the same person who controls the money. He therefore suggested that the home should hire an administrator, which he had advised them to do for a long time:

> I realized they need a lot of administrative assistance. I have been helping them some with administrative issues, basically like record keeping. For example I'm trying to teach them how to keep records of donations, visitors, hospital visits and such. They should also have like a register. Although they might know all the children, you need to document. So you should register every child when they are admitted and include information about the child's family and such. I am not here fulltime, so when I came today, I realized some of the records are not kept, so there is a problem with that one… Somebody should be here to do the administrative work – fulltime. So that issues like we are going to buy things, keeping receipts, sending reports, you know; it is not there today…this affects the communication and reporting. I told them; at the end of the day, someone should be able to monitor (Children's homes advisor, 50 years).

> I think she [the director] is illiterate, because I gave her something to read once, and she was reading it upside down. So I don't think she can read. I think that might be part of the problem. She needs someone to interpret documents for her. We hired an administrator at another orphanage - A funding administrator. All our funds go through him, so now we know exactly where they go. That would make things clearer for the donors, and potential donors (Male sponsor 72 years).

Mr. Boafo, the National coordinator of OVCs, stated that an administrator keeping records et cetera is also one of the requirements for fulfilling the standards of the DSW. Hiring an administrator seems to be necessary in order to ensure proper accountability and structure within the home.

Despite the DSW working on training, the staff at the children's home is still in need of more training in order to maintain sufficient qualifications and organization of the home. This was also expressed my the children's homes advisor that was interviewed

Hiring an administrator will probably benefit the home as it divides the responsibility of the home between the director and the administrator, decreasing the likelihood of money being misused. Improved accounting and record keeping of receipts and expenditures may also increase the level of trust between the various actors. By formalizing recordkeeping and accounting by hiring an administrator, the self-regulation might improve, as well as transparency, external accountability, and therefore the level of trust between actors.

Likewise, better structures for communication will be an improvement for the children's home. Making a conduct on where and when they communicate, and making practices on how to include everyone's interests and priorities before making decisions, may improve the relationship between the actors as everyone is being heard. This might also increase understanding of behaviors. The director's actions might be understood if her rationality is explained.

Moreover, it is not only the donors and the staff of the children's home which should undertake actions for improvement. Ensuring successful partnerships, the government of Ghana should also adapt to the changing field of development. Despite the government having implemented measures to ensure success in development programs, many experience these measures as not being very supportive to the organizations (Brinkerhoff, 1999). Brinkerhoff (1999) suggest that improving dialogues between government and civil society, creating working groups and so forth, may benefit the partnerships. Monitoring the homes should be continued, in order to minimize potential clientelist dynamics at the homes. The government should preferably also continue and expand their training programs in policy implementation, administration, consultations, community relations and monitoring. Lastly, the Ghanaian government should work on informing the civil society on their plans, implementations, and communicate with them during such processes (Brinkerhoff, 1999).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Long (2009) addresses the gap between planning and policies and what actually is being practiced. This is also relevant to the Ghanaian government. Despite their measures to close down children's homes, ensuring fulfillment of the National Standards, and implementing a number of measures to do this, there have been little evidence of such actions in practice. Due to lack of resources, homes are not closed down regardless of

not fulfilling standards. This gap shows that the government is not able to perform their responsibilities and policies, and their efforts seem not to have led to any great improvements so far (Frimpong-Menso, 2013; Long, 2003)

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUDING DISCUSSIONS

7.1 Rethinking Informal Global Partnerships in Development

Small, private Non-Profit organizations are a new type of approach to development where individuals embark on services and charities for those in need. The partnerships in development are often between the donors in the Global North, and the organization in the Global South. The children's home for this case study has shown how complex such development initiatives may be and how flexibility on one side, might mean lack of regulation and communication on the other. The involvement of private donors contributing to charities, such as private children's homes, is becoming both valuable and important to development in the Global South. However, their informal conditions may lead to unstable structures and uncertain futures. This is a challenge, as such projects are relying on funding and stability because of the responsibility towards the children living there.

This thesis has looked at the challenges of small, private NPOs with a focus on their encounters at the interface, and accountability. Its aim was to identify how the partnerships are functioning and to understand how the actors' responsibilities are shared between them. In order to achieve its aims, I did a case study of a private children's home in Central Region, Ghana. By analyzing some of the stakeholders, the foreign donors, the staff and management at the home, and the DSW and other children NGO workers, this paper have examined their interaction and responsibilities towards each other, and the children. Before I went to the field, I expected a different reality than what I experienced at the home and a number of changes and deviations from my plans were made during fieldwork

By linking the collected data to theory and the research questions, some connections have been made. These will be summarized below. This section will reexamine and answer the research questions, grounded on the knowledge which was generated in this thesis.

1. **What are the responsibilities and involvements of the different actors that are studied?**

The children's home that was studied provided a good example of small private NPOS which are outside the formalized development system. It also shows how partnerships between donors in the Global North and the organization in the Global south are. Such organization has been performing services for poor and marginalized groups in society in different ways,

and are trying to reach out to those that are in need. This children's home was established to care for orphans and children that did not have any to cater for them because of poverty or other reasons. The three actors that was studied within this home was the foreign donors, the government organ - the DSW and other workers working in children's home NGOs, and the organization itself – being the director and the staff. What became clear was that there were no formal structures or definitions of the responsibilities of the sponsors and the home. They have however, some distinct tasks which are connected to each of them.

The government's role is mainly to implement a legislative framework to protect children in residential homes. They also assist in training of social workers and children's home's staff. With their national standards on operating residential homes for children, and their care reform initiative, the government's aim is to work as a regulatory office for such homes, ensuring the quality of care for the children. The sponsors are mainly the financial organ of the management of the home. Collecting money from agencies and individuals in their respective countries, they assist the home with financial resources. Having volunteers at the home have proved to be beneficial for its income as many volunteers contribute with finances, and some have become sponsors to the home. Because of putting money into the home, the sponsors usually decide what the money is being spent on. Lastly, the director and staff are responsible for the daily operation of the home and the caretaking of the children, administrating income and expenses, and work to get a continuous income from more sources.

2. How do the different actors interact?

The interaction between the actors seems to be problematic. The government is usually directly involved with the home by sending social welfare officers to the home from time to time. This is their main arena for communication, and it is usually done to ensure that the home is following the national standards for residential homes for children. The sponsors' communication with the home is usually concerning the purposes of the money transfers. Usually, this is done by phone, but many of the sponsors go to regular visits at the home as well.

After conducting fieldwork at this home, it was clear that they had some challenges in communication. There were tensions between some of the sponsors and the home. For some of the sponsors it had even led to the process of weaning off. By using the theory of encounters at the interface, the problems in communication was identified to be derived from

the unequal power relations, and the actors' lack of ability to communicate their rationalities, interests, and knowledge views. As the development perspective seems to be different between the actors, they had different interests and logics on how the home should be managed and the spending of money. As these rationalities were not communicated sufficiently, it ended in one of the sponsors pulling out, and lack of trust between the actors.

The Children's home which has been the focus of this research has experienced multiple challenges in terms of communication at the encounters at the interface. Caused by their difference in interests, rationalities, priorities, and expectations towards each other, the three actors; the sponsors, the staff, and the government have encountered various complications in their negotiations. The power relations also are unequal, which makes the communication even more challenging, mainly due to the more powerless actors'- the children's home's staff and director's - priorities are easy to neglect as the leverage belongs to the actor holding the financial resources, in other words being the sponsors. Madam still withholds some power due to her management techniques. Because of weak communication, different aspects of power are used rather that cooperation and proper dialogues.

3. How are the actors accountable to each other and to the children?

It is interesting to see that the actors feel accountable to the children, but not so much to each other. Yet, they hold each other responsible for the challenges within the home. The hierarchical relationships influence, and are likewise affected by the encounters at the interface. The upwards and downwards accountability between the sponsors and the director is weak. Mostly, this might be due to poor communication and inclusion of each other's interests. The external accountability from the children's home towards the sponsors is also creating tensions, because of poor transparency and the director's resistance to the decisions of the sponsors of the use of money.

In order to create income, or resources, to the home, the director works through volunteers and multiple sponsors. As a strategy to more income and efficiency, the director has not been open about the number of sponsors or sources of income, and also not about the use of the income. This strategy ensures a short-term accountability at the home as she is able to generate more income from multiple sponsors. However, the long-term, functional, accountability is weakened because the transparency is poor, and it affects the encounters at

the interface. In long-term the home will suffer because the partnerships end due to little external accountability.

Despite the home having many challenges, particularly concerning consistent and clear communication, the children are living under good conditions at the home, having more advanced play equipment than the other children in the village, and satisfactory meals. The staff in general was optimistic towards the future of the home, and did not believe that there was any danger of the home closing down. The costs of sponsors pulling out have mostly affected the school and the children's education. Nevertheless, in order to ensure a stable future for the home, there should be implemented some regulatory and structural measures in order to improve communication, as well as hiring an independent administrator to help out with the economical aspect. Many of the informants also mentioned methods for creating more independence and sustainability, like having minor school fees for the children in the village, creating farmland, or getting a new minibus to generate extra income.

4. What are the development consequences of such small private partnerships?

These small, private NPO partnerships are characterized by informal structures and less regulation. This creates flexible relationships where they are able to adapt to the needs of the communities and usually, such services are initiated by locals, which strengthens the participation of community members in development projects. However, less regulation may also contribute to more unstable conditions. As there are no common formal mechanisms for ensuring accountability, their responsibilities towards each other are not clear. Despite the government having many regulations on residential homes for children in Ghana, private funders may assist the homes in working around such regulations, making them ineffective. Most of these challenges are not there because the actors have bad intentions. Rather because they do not have sufficient knowledge about their development practices. The sponsors, staff and the director were concerned with the basic needs of the children, and the actors forgot about the methods for providing this and how one achieve the quality and sustainability of provision of the children's basic needs. Some structures should be formalized in order to increase transparency, such as hiring an administrator at the home, and organize inclusion of all actors in all decisions.

7.2 Final Considerations and Further Recommendations

The topic of this thesis is important for small, private NPOs because they are outside the formal development system and are characterized by less regulation. It therefore becomes interesting to see how the quality of their services is affected by their knowledge, rationalities, communication and expectations towards each other. This thesis has discussed the accountability of such project, and how the encounters at the interface are affected by the level of accountability and the power relations and communication between the actors. These relationships prove to be complex.

The children's home that was studied experienced tensions because of little trust. This had consequences for the future of the project. The home has experienced some challenges due to the withdrawal of one sponsor. In addition, the poor communication and weak transparency have made this a difficult conflict to solve. Their focus on the basic needs of the children has compromised their attention to the structure and sustainable development aspect of the children's home.

Non Profit Organizations have an advantage in that they are flexible because they can respond to communities' needs, and they are not necessarily restrained by heavy regulations, demands for reporting and bureaucracy. Because they are outside the formal development system, they are distinct from those organizations that have formalized such regulations. By avoiding many of the regulations and reports that larger NGOs are faced with, small, private NPO initiatives can operate more efficiently. They are also able to reach out to groups that have not received proper assistance from the governments. This is also the case for the children's home that was studied in this thesis. Despite the advantages of having such initiatives, they are seemingly more unstable than larger NGO- and government programs. This is mainly due to the funding relying on private individuals. Also, lack of knowledge creates difficulties in communication and the power relations are also challenging when they are not addressed by the partners. Philanthropy embraces the altruistic motivations of development and despite the actor in this study stated that they had good motivations, their lack of communication and conflicting priorities weakened the stability of the home. The director's misuse of donations from the sponsors made the sponsors doubt her intentions, which later led to the withdrawal of one sponsor, and therefore economic hardship for the children's home.

Some suggestions have been made on how such projects may overcome such challenges that have been experienced at the home. Yet, this may be further investigated. Their situation

might improve by having more information about their partners' rationalities and perspectives. When working towards solving their challenges in communication and dimensions of accountability, one should be careful not to affect the benefits of small, private NPOs – their efficiency and ability to respond to community needs.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Act 560, Section 18

Acts of Ghana

Forth Republic Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560)

Section18. *Meaning of care and protection.* (1) For purposes of this Act, a child is in need of care and protection if the child:

- (a) is an orphan or is deserted by his relatives;
- (b) has been neglected or ill-treated by the person who has the care and custody of the child;
- (c) has a parent or guardian who does not exercise proper guardianship;
- (d) is destitute;
- (e) is under the care of a parent or guardian who, by reason of criminal or drunken habits, is unfit to have the care of the child;
- (f) is wandering and has no home or settled place of abode or visible means of subsistence;
- (g) is begging or receiving alms, whether or not there is any presence or singing, playing, performing, offering anything for sale or otherwise, or is found in any street, premises or place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms;
- (h) accompanies any person when that person is begging or receiving alms whether or not there is any presence of singing, playing, performing offering anything for sale or otherwise;
- (i) frequents the company of any reputed thief or reputed prostitute;
- (j) is residing in a house or the part of a house used by any prostitute for the purpose of prostitution, or is otherwise living in circumstances calculated to cause, encourage or favor the seduction or prostitution of or affect the morality of the child;
- (k) is a person in relation to whom an offence has been committed or attempted under section 314 of the Criminal Code (Act No. 29 of 1960) on slave dealing;
- (l) is found acting in a manner from which it is reasonable to suspect that he is, or has been, soliciting or importuning for immoral purposes;
- (m) is below the age of criminal responsibility under the Criminal Code, (Act No. 29 of 1960) and is involved in an offence other than a minor criminal matter; or
- (n) Is otherwise exposed to moral or physical danger.

(2) A child shall not be considered to come within the scope of paragraphs (i) and (j) of subsection (1) if the only reputed prostitute that the child associates with is his mother and if it is proved that she exercises proper guardianship and care to protect the child from corrupt influences.

(Government of Ghana 1998)

APPENDIX II: Interview Guides

Interview guide for sponsors:

This research is for academic purposes. The information will be treated anonymously and it is confidential. All participation is voluntary.

Intro:

- Inform about confidentiality, voluntary consent, recording etc.

- What is your age?

- Where are you from?

Relationship to the children's home:

- Can you tell me about your relationship to the children's home?

- How long have you been working with this children's home?

- What is your motivation for working with this?

Standards for the children's home:

- What types of decisions are you involved in?

- How is the regulation of the children's home?

- What challenges do you see in the children's home?
        (Economic, reporting, communication, dependency, endurance, insecurity)

- What do you think will happen if you / other sponsors pull out?

- Do you have any measures to avoid this?

- How do you feel having the responsibility for many children's welfare and future?

- How do you see the future of the children's home?

- What conditions do you feel have to be present in the children's home to ensure its future endurance?

- What do you think is the major differences between private children's homes and those managed by bigger NGO's and government?

Concluding remarks:

- Do you have any questions or comments?

- Thank you!

Interview guide for children NGO workers

This research is for academic purposes. The information will be treated anonymously and it is confidential. All participation is voluntary.

Intro:

- What is your age?

- What is your occupation?

- Where are you from?

Relationship to the home:

- Can you tell me about your relationship to the children's home?

- Do you cooperate with other children's homes?

- How long have you been working with this children's home?

- What is your motivation for working with this?

- What are your main tasks concerning this children's home?

- What qualifications does your position require?

- What types of decisions are you involved in/ do you have any influence on managing it?

About the home:

- How is the regulation of the children's home?

- How do you see orphan care in children's homes compared to foster- and extended family?

- What challenges do you see in the children's home?
    (Economic, reporting, -communication, dependency, endurance, insecurity)

- What do you think will happen if any of the sponsors pull out?

- Do you have any measures to avoid this?

- What conditions do you feel have to be present in the children's home to ensure its future endurance?

- What do you think is the major differences between private children's homes and those managed by bigger NGO's and government?

Concluding remarks:

- Do you have any questions or comments?

- Thank you!

Interview guide for Department of Social Welfare:

This research is for academic purposes. The information will be treated anonymously and it is confidential. All participation is voluntary.

Intro:

- Age?

- Position within social welfare?

- Can you tell me about your job/position in terms of children's homes? What do you do?

- What is your motivation for working with this?

Orphanages in Ghana:

- How many registered children's homes are there in Ghana and where are they registered?

- Do you know if there are many children's homes that are not registered?

- Are there any different categories of children's homes? (Sizes, types, funders etc?)

Influences and policies:

- What is your influence on management on children's homes in Ghana?

- What national policies exist in this field?

- How do you execute them?

- How is the regulation of children's homes and how do you see that they abide to rules and regulations?

     - What do you check for?

     - What are the consequences if they don't approve of your demands?

- What happens to the children if the children's home closes down?

- Do you have any measures to prevent closing down?

DSW's CRI - Care Reform Initiative:

- How do you work to keep children out of children's homes? Can you tell me about this initiative?

- Do you have any follow up on family care programs?

- Are you able to reach these goals?

OVC care:

- Has the view on how to care for OVCs changed in Ghana?

- How do you feel about it?

- What are the major challenges on OVCs in Ghana today?

Benefits and challenges:

- What do you think is the benefits of having Children's Homes compared to foster- and extended family?

> - And the challenges?

- What are the main challenges private children's homes in Ghana are facing today?

- What conditions has to be present for enabling a stable children's home that secure endurance and safety of the orphanage and the children?

- How is private children's homes compared to Government's and NGO's?

- What could be done to improve the situations of children's homes in Ghana?

Concluding remarks:

- Questions or comments?

- Thank you!

Interview guide to employees/staff:

This research is for academic purposes. The information will be treated anonymously and it is confidential. All participation is voluntary.

Intro:

- Age?

- Where are you from?

- Can you tell me about your relationship to the children's home*?*

Relationship between informant and children's home:

- How long have you been working with this children's home?

- How did you get this job?

- Do you have any experience or qualifications that have benefitted your position?

- Can you tell me what a normal day at work look like for you?

- What is your main motivation for working with the children's home?

- What type of decisions are you involved with?

Structure and managing the children's home:

- How is the children's home organized and run?
        (Key words: structure, funding, cooperations, positions, evaluations)

- How do you influence funding, employment etc.?

- Are there other factors/regulatory measures that influence how the children's home is run?

- How do those policies influence your work?

The children:

- Where do the children come from?

- What do you consider a proper/good childhood?

- Is primary school important for the children at the children's home?

- Has the view on how to care for orphans changed in your district?

- How do you feel about it?

- What could be done to improve the situation for children in RHC?

- Do you have any follow-up on children that move out of the children's home?

Benefits and challenges:

- How is the children's home's relationship to the village residents?

- What do you think is the pros and cons of having your children's home (compared to extended family- or foster care programs etc.)?

- Can you tell me about the challenges/obstacles/issues/problems that you and the children's home been experiencing?
      (Key words: Economic, Communication, Reports, recruiting, Professionalism,
      Time, Endurance/ future plans, Policies, Distance, Dependency, Insecurity)

- How do you see the future of the children's home?

Concluding remarks:

-Do you have any questions for me?

- Thank you for participating.

Interview guide for the director of the children's home:

This research is for academic purposes. The information will be treated anonymously and it is confidential. All participation is voluntary.

About informant:

- Age?

- Can you tell me about your background?

Founding the orphanage:

- How long have you been working with this children's home?

- What was your main motivation for establishing the home?

- What rules and regulations did you have to conform to?

- How did you get the approval to start the children's home?

- Who were you in touch with during the process of establishing the children's home? (If any)

Managing the children's home:

- What are your main operational tasks at the home?

- How is the children's home structured?

- What qualifications does your position within the children's home require?

- How much contact do you have with other children's home? Is there a network that you are a part of?

- How is the children's home funded? Economic model of the children's home

- To what extent are outsiders, like funders, deciding how the children's home is run?

- Is there a board? / Who makes decisions?

- What national policies are you tied to?

- How do those policies influence your work?

About the children:

- What do you consider a proper childhood?

- Do you think the view on how to care for OVCs has changed?

- Is primary school important for the children in the children's home?

- How do the children like it here?

- How is your (and the kids') relationship with the children's relatives or family?

- What do you think is the benefits of having your children's home (compared to alternative care settings)?

Benefits and challenges:

- How has your relationship with the neighbors and villagers been?

- Can you tell me about the challenges/obstacles/issues/problems that you and the children's home have been experiencing?
    (Key words: Economic, Communication, Reports, recruiting, Professionalism,
    Time, Endurance/ future plans, Policies, Distance, Dependency, Insecurity)

- What could be done to improve the situation?

- How do you see the future of the children's home?

Concluding remarks:

- Do you have any questions for me?

- Thank you for participating.