I-Hsuan Cheng · Sheng-Ju Chan *Editors*

International Education Aid in Developing Asia

Policies and Practices

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Preface

During the processes of globalisation and regionalisation that constantly and rapidly increase challenges and complexities of developments in Asia, can Asian countries providing or receiving international education aid effectively make a difference to most individual learners who receive such aid? Accordingly, what are the roles (and corresponding responsibilities) that Asian donor and recipient governments should play? Why and how can the voice, participation, and resources of the public sector, private firms, and civil societies in Asia be further mainstreamed and integrated into the international aid landscape and relevant decision-making processes? Because education is essential for pursuing national, regional, and global developments for a sustainable future, what international education aid directives beyond 2015 can successfully resolve socioeconomic disparities and inequalities that both the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA), which end in 2015, have failed to overcome? Based on Asian authorship, this book draws on lessons learnt from a diverse range of country case studies in Asia (including donor states, recipient states, and those with the dual donor–recipient role), applying an in-depth and reflective analysis approach to examine the international education aid policies and practices. From the perspective of experiences in Asia, policy debates and issues, such as aid effectiveness, educational quality issues, rights-based topics, and alternative approaches to international education aid and development, are further elucidated and echoed in an attempt to clarify the implications and contribute to the post-2015 discussions.

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I-Hsuan Cheng

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Contents

Chapter 1
Introduction: Asian Perspectives on International Education Aid: From Donor Experience, to Transitional Experience and Recipient Experience

I-Hsuan Cheng

We should be as interested, as self-interested, as possible, but only as members of the highest unity with which we are capable of identifying ourselves. (Follett 1940: 218)

Abstract This book provides Asian perspectives on the timely, crucial question of what international education aid agenda should develop, particularly in the context of the finalisation of Education for All (EFA) and UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2015. In the field of international education aid, Asia, with its abundant aid-recipient and transitional experiences, is a unique arena where the Western and Eastern cultures encounter each other. How do mainstream aid concepts of rights-based approaches to education, which are claimed as universal values in the western-dominant international education aid policies and practices, contribute to or impinge on the conceptualisation of the quality of education in an Asian context? Furthermore, how does the West–East or North–South interaction redefine effectiveness of international education aid? To answer these questions, a historical and critical perspective of the above key education aid policy debates over EFA and education MDGs is laid as the conceptual and analytical foundation of this book. On the basis of Asian authorship, this book reflects a culturally and spatially self-identifying and self-interested process. It measures the extent that Asia's cultural and spatial variety and diversity impact external aid policies and practices by investigating different Asian country cases ranging from donor states, states transitioning from recipient to donor status, to recipient nations.

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1.1 International Education Aid in Asia: As Cross-Cultural and Cross-Border Activities

This book provides Asian perspectives on the timely, crucial question of what international education aid agenda should develop, particularly in the context of the finalisation of Education for All (EFA) and UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2015. On the basis of Asian authorship, this book reflects a culturally and spatially self-identifying and self-interested process. International education aid has a cross-cultural and cross-border nature. This book probes the degree to which mainstream aid ideas (such as quality education for all, rights-based approach to programming in education, and effective education cooperation) rooted in Western philosophies and notions can be evidenced as universal "one-size-fits-all" values and principles in Asia. This book measures the extent that Asia's cultural and spatial variety and diversity impact external aid policies and practices by considering both cross-cultural and cross-border dimensions of international education aid. On one hand, the analyses and critiques in the different chapters account for cultural similarities and conflicts driving the long-term encounter between Asian educational values and Western aid principles. These accounts are intended to cultivate a greater deal of mutual understanding and cultural compatibility towards future international cooperation in education. On the other hand, this book explores what as well as how external aid has impacted educational developments in the Asian region. Furthermore, it unveils specific Asian stakeholders and their aid models/modalities in various forms of North–South, South–South, and triangular cooperation across the region to identify the development roles (and corresponding responsibilities) that Asian stakeholders of educational developments can and should play in a regionalised and globalised world.

Education is an essential tool for a country in pursuit of development. But in seeking globalisation or regionalisation, what approach to development should Asian countries formulate and pursue? Should they follow in the footsteps of developed Western nations, embracing mainstream thinking and the economic realities of neoliberalism in the hopes that one day their GDP will surpass those of developed Western nations? Or should they use their unique innovations and cultural resources to create a singular competitiveness and uncover their own development approach to globalisation? Is the primary goal of a country's educational development the pursuit of economic growth or an inclusive society with shared goals and a sustainable environment?

The basis of the discourse on "development" is diversity. This implies that there must be more than one possibility for global development. The question is: Can Asian development provide alternatives in a global era? Although past literature has elaborated on the existence and constructs of the "Asian development model" (Wiarda 1998; Green et al. 2007), these same studies have acknowledged that "Asia" denotes high complexity and cultural diversity. Therefore, rather than trying to develop an Asian consensus or a single, united model, more meaningful questions or inquiries would be to consider the current status of Asian development

(particularly when foreign aid currently intervenes in the development of education in Asia) and examine how Asian countries have, during the process of economic regionalisation and globalisation, adjusted the direction of Asian development and in turn redefined educational aid directives. What conflicts, discourses, and reflections arise between traditional Asian educational philosophy and global mainstream educational thought? As Asia's emerging political and economic powers (i.e. India, China, and South Korea) rise, what is their current attitude towards giving education-related foreign aid, and what did they learn from their experiences of receiving such aid in the past? Can these experiences lead Asian countries, or even the entire world, into the new century in indicators such as economic growth, social diversity and tolerance, and sustainable environment? In other words, the definition and determination of Asia's role in the twenty-first century and the near future must be based on the intersection between space and time. First, can Asia use its interactive position in the international system to determine what it should or can do (definition and determination of Asia based on "others")? Second, can Asia simultaneously engage in reflexive, reflective, and critical thinking, based on its own history and experiences, particularly historical experiences of relations with those who provided educational aid, to find Asia's own developmental directions (definition and determination of Asia based on itself)? With this intersection between time and space as the premise, can education successfully empower Asia's new role in the new century?

1.2 Three Key Debates over International Education Aid

In the field of international education aid, Asia, with its abundant aid-recipient and transitional experiences, is a unique arena where the Western and Eastern cultures encounter each other. It is also a region where many questions remain unanswered, with conditions posed by Western discourse on educational aid policies, such as those associated with EFA and education MDGs, as well as how such policies are reflected in Asia's national and institutional systems of education. Power (2011) asserted that the goals, targets, indicators, and assessment of progress towards MDGs mirror the values and often hidden political/ideological agendas of the elites who define them, regardless of whether they are development banks or northern governments (primarily those located in the West). All MDG and EFA definitions, indicators, criteria, and tools for assessing progress and practices are limited for monitoring the education quality in the field, not to mention that specific (rather than universal) values determine what need be assessed as well as how such assessment should be conducted. For example, how are Western-rooted philosophies and values of international education aid regarding education as "human rights" and setting "one-size-fits-all" global targets and indicators of EFA and MDGs interpreted and reinterpreted in Asian education systems permeated by Confucianism or other specific cultures and traditions? As far as Confucianism is concerned, traditional Chinese teacher–pupil relationships are not equivalent to those between

duty-bearers and rights-holders. The education quality in traditional Chinese society is not enforced by legal validity, but by ethical force. Moreover, it is assessed by a high level of societal expectation, aspirations, demands, and respect for the teaching profession, and not by a detailed inventory of what teachers are obligated to do. How do mainstream aid concepts of rights-based approaches to education, which are claimed as universal values in the western-dominant international education aid policies and practices, contribute to or impinge on the conceptualisation of the quality of education in an Asian context? Furthermore, how does the West–East or North–South interaction redefine effectiveness of international education aid? To answer these questions, a historical and critical perspective of three key education aid policy debates over EFA and education MDGs is laid as the conceptual and analytical foundation of this book and is elaborated in Chaps. 2 and 3.

1.2.1 The First Debate: Education Quality

Currently, education quality has received much attention, after access to education (i.e. quantity) in the international education aid policies of EFA and education MDGs has undergone substantial progress in developing Asian countries. Recent EFA global monitoring reports by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO 2011, 2012, 2013) have shown that primary school enrolment rates and progression from primary to secondary education has increased in the Asian region. Additionally, the gender gap has narrowed at both primary and secondary schools. However, low learning achievement levels exist in many developing Asian countries that spend less than the world average national income on education. Mixed progress towards EFA in the Asian region has been observed in the past two decades, and promises to provide quality EFA remain unfulfilled. The quality of education relies on the relevance of teaching–learning activities for pupils, quality of teachers, and their professional relationship with pupils in various sociocultural contexts. Quality concerns rooted in modernised and Western-oriented approach to setting universal targets and standards at the international level, however, may be less relevant to nations with alternative governance systems and educational values.

1.2.2 The Second Debate: Rights-Based Approaches to Education

The 1990 Jomtien and 2000 Dakar World Conferences on EFA (led by UNESCO) and 2000 United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Declaration, respectively, signed by 155, 185, and 189 nations echo the UN rights-based normative view, as is the case in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1960 UNESCO

Convention against Discrimination in Education, 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1981 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, and 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. The rights-based rationale argues that education is an entitlement rather than a basic need. A human rights-based approach creates obligations for duty-bearers to ensure that rights-holders exercise and realise the rights that they are entitled to. The claim that education is a human right is therefore carried out by ethical force and legal validity (Sandkull 2005; United Nations Children's Fund 2007; UNICEF 2008). The narrower vision of education MDGs for universal primary education (MDG 1) and gender equality (MDG 3) was primarily driven by the rights-based agenda, and it was launched only few months after the EFA Dakar Framework for Action in 2000. Since then, the broader vision of EFA has been affected, then neglected, and eventually narrowed to universal access to primary education and gender parity. Accordingly, the rights-based dimension of EFA and the education MDGs is arguably insufficient for the inclusion of education in developing Asian countries, particularly when many countries (e.g. India and China) are pressured by their growing young populations and youth unemployment rates, and thus require a more efficient match between skills supply and labour market demands.

1.2.3 The Third Debate: Effectiveness in International Education Aid

After the first three High Level Forums on Aid Effectiveness were held in Rome (2003), Paris (2005), and Accra (2008), it was the first time that a forum was held in Asia (i.e. Busan 2011), and more consideration was given to aid effectiveness from the perspective of Asian stakeholders (other than being limited by traditional Northern donors in the West). Except for Japan, most Asian countries are categorised as aid recipients (or they were during the 1990s). Those Asian stakeholders, whether they are currently emerging donors (e.g. South Korea and Taiwan), transitioning from recipient to donor status (e.g. China and India), or ongoing recipients (e.g. Cambodia and Sri Lanka), have translated effectiveness of aid provision in diverse ways. For example, South Korea and Taiwan follow the rules agreed among Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC; e.g. the Paris declaration in 2005), while India and China do not bind themselves to the agreed rules. Even in recipient countries such as Cambodia and Sri Lanka, aid effectiveness is tailored to fit the governance cultures and systems within those specific national development contexts. There is little doubt that these nations have endorsed and adhered to the Rome Declaration on Harmonisation (2003), Paris Declaration (2005), Accra Agenda for Action (2008), and Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (2012). However, while education reforms and systems in the Asian recipient countries show their timely alignment and agreement with international mainstream aid

policies, concepts, and modalities (e.g. moving from a project approach to a sector-wide approach), in some country cases they fail the peoples' expectations on effective quality education reform. Few studies have explained why effective progress occurs in some Asian countries but not in others.

1.3 Interwoven Structure of the Edited Book: From Donor Experience to Transitional Experience and Recipient Experience of International Education Aid

Accordingly, four separate but interwoven parts (**Parts I–IV**) are addressed in this edited book to analyse and anchor international education aid policies and practices with reflective case studies of various Asian nations. **Part I** comprises three thematic pillars: aid effectiveness, quality, and rights-based approaches. Each case study in **Parts II–IV** is constructed in response to the key conceptual themes of **Part I**, such as how aid effectiveness is constructed and reflected in a specific national context of Asian donors (**Part II**), Asian states transitioning from recipient to donor status (**Part III**), and Asian recipients (**Part IV**). What are the philosophies, systems, and backgrounds of the aforementioned Asian stakeholders in implementing key international education aid policies EFA and education MDGs? How is the Western-rooted philosophy of international education aid (e.g. the rights-based dimension of EFA and educational MDGs) interpreted and reinterpreted by the Asian stakeholders discussed in **Parts II–IV**? How do those interpretations facilitate or impinge on the conceptualisation of the quality of education in various national development contexts discussed in **Parts II–IV**? Having embedded the main themes of **Part I** within each case study of **Parts II–IV**, the conjectures of what post-2015 international education aid agenda may look like are further discussed.

Part II is from an Asian donors' perspective on education MDGs and EFA policy formulation and implementation. Accordingly, a discussion on how Asian donors have pre-emptively acted or reacted to the aforementioned aid policy debates is offered, particularly based on their direct and indirect engagement in North–South, South–South, or triangular cooperation in Asia. **Part III** is presented from the perspective of states with a dual donor–recipient role. Their dual role and particular transitional experiences within North–South, South–South, and even triangular cooperation are probed, as well as the lessons that have been learnt. **Part IV** is from an Asian recipient countries' perspective. Specifically, the empirical evidence from selected countries is studied, and the extent to which EFA and education MDGs policies have been implemented, and the resulting impacts in the field, can be further gauged.

Parts III and **IV**, respectively, focus on exploring the transitional (i.e. from recipient to donor) and recipient experiences involving international education aid. Specifically, these parts examine countries that are less systematically identified and

addressed in research on international education aid in developing Asian countries. In addition, because international education aid policies and practices are dominated more by northern donors than by southern stakeholders, it is crucial that *southern views* (including those Asian countries with aid recipient and transitional experiences) are presented and clarified in **Parts III** and **IV**. Specifically, by comparing the similarities and differences of the case studies in **Parts III** and **IV**, there appear possible arguments over an Asian, southern perspective of (1) how aid effectiveness is constructed and manipulated in the developing Asian context, (2) how debates on quality and rights-based dimension of EFA and education MDGs are developed and challenged in developing Asian countries, and (3) how the insightful and analytic understandings of each case study elucidate the ideas and imagination regarding post-2015 international development and aid in education.

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Part I
Debates Over International Education Aid Policies and Practices in Developing Asia

Chapter 2
Trends and Challenges of Aid Effectiveness: The Rise of Asia

Sheng-Ju Chan and Yi-Hsing Chung

Abstract There has been an increased debate on how and to what extent international aid has contributed to the social and economic development of developing countries. This issue has become critical since the 1980s due to the obvious stagnation in the improvement of poverty eradication, health, and literacy. It is against this wider context that this chapter examines the mainstream policies and practices endorsed by international community to promote effective use of aid. Our analyses reveal that the current effectiveness principles attempt to balance the developmental accountability and ownership of aid recipient with respect to international aid. However, the rise of Asia has posed challenges to the Western-dominated discourses on aid effectiveness. The alternative paradigms implemented by Asian countries such as the China Model may challenge the mainstream consensus or hamper the aid effectiveness defined by OECD.

2.1 Introduction

During the past decades, international aid has become a main driver in inspiring developing countries to promote their economic and social development. Although it has met with some success, the aid effectiveness has been under serious criticism since the 1990s. The international aid community has reached a universal agreement on education for all (EFA) in 1990 and the millennium development goals (MDGs) in 2000. However, these aid policies and practices seem unable to achieve these targets by 2015. The immediate focus of both donor and recipient countries should be how to deploy foreign aid effectively and efficiently. Against such a context, the international aid community began to formulate some principles on aid

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effectiveness so as to facilitate effective development at the global scope since the late 1990s.

On the other hand, the total amount of development aid reached the highest level ever recorded in 2013, despite continued pressure on budgets due to the global economic crisis. Donors provided a total of USD 134.8 billion in net official development assistance (ODA) (OECD 2014). Apart from the obvious increase from Western donors, several countries in Asia are engaged in this aid business. A wide range of rationale points inspire Asian countries to undertake such ventures including political and national strategic objectives. However, in this chapter, we argue that the new discourse on aid effectiveness formulated by OECD faces a substantial threat due to the rise of emerging donors in the Asian region. The alternative paradigms implemented by these Asian countries may challenge the mainstream consensus and hamper the aid effectiveness in view of OECD aid architecture. This chapter aims to analyze the latest trends on aid effectiveness and address possible challenges posed by the rise of Asia.

2.2 International Aid: From Domination to Social Development

International aid has been one of the important pillars in sustaining world peace and human welfare. But it has taken more than three centuries to overcome several stereotypes and ideologies to exercise its positive impacts upon the development of human society. It has been a long journey, yet the destination is still far away. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, due to the constant expansion of imperialism, the world was in a power struggle with divided blocs, including dominating and dominated countries. The bloc of suzerain dictated the development of colonies by political, economic, and military forces. Even after the colonial countries received their independence, suzerain still achieved the goal of domination through cooperation and assistance projects. Therefore, the flow of financial aid has become an important pivot point to form and transform international relationships since the late nineteenth century. The aid from developed countries to developing countries symbolized the continuation of domination. Under financial assistance from the former suzerain, the manpower and natural resources of colonial countries continued to be exploited. Capital investment is still dominated by the previous power configuration, reinforcing the existing global division of labour and strengthening the growth of developing countries to meet the needs of the donor/dominating countries. Such an unbalanced international relationship between blocs has been operated until the middle of the twentieth century.

In 1961, the President of United States, John F. Kennedy, delivered a speech to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly and submitted a proposal for a Development Decade to reshape the relationship between developed and underde-

veloped countries. In response to Kennedy's proposal, the UN Secretariat issued the UN Development Decade Proposals for Action report, which emphasized, "Development is not just economic growth, it is growth plus change". According to the report, developed countries should take responsibility to assist developing countries in promoting world peace and well-being for all mankind. It is imperative to coordinate different UN agencies to reach the same goal. In order to improve the effectiveness of aid programmes of the UN, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was established in 1966 by combining the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and United Nations Special Fund (Owen 1959). Since then, UNDP has been functioning as a central regulator in the global development network in order to partner with people at all levels of society (United Nations Development Programme 2013).

Apart from the effort generated by the UN, the international community began to provide aid right after the Second World War, with a very good start of the American Marshall Plan. The main aim of this plan is to rebuild the war-devastated regions, remove trade barriers, and modernize industry set back due to the war destruction. It had been such a successful experience that most Western European countries gained rapid recovery over the course of several years. In preventing the spread of soviet communism, this plan did not cover Easter European bloc countries. Since the 1950s, these Western countries, based on their rebuilding experiences, began to offer their assistance to other developing countries, particularly in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Based on the Western development model, international aid, as a means of assisting less-developed countries, primarily aims to pursue the idea of modernization and economic prosperity. As learned from the European recovery, it has been widespread belief that the focus of international aid was on assisting economic development of recipient countries in the 1960s and 1970s. By effectively enhancing the economic growth of these developing countries, hardware facilities, transportation and roads, and industrial infrastructure became crucial investments. Education as a human capital does play a role in raising social and economic development. However, the focus during the 1970s and 1980s mainly concentrated on technical and vocational education. Other types of education (particularly basic education and literacy) were largely ignored until the 1990s.

Although with the large scale of bilateral and multilateral operations of international aid to developing countries, it seems that very limited countries or societies have generated sufficient capacity and have become fully developed countries for the past three or four decades across the globe. Notable exceptions so far come from East Asian countries, such as Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan. Apart from these cases, the obvious low achievement of international aid provokes worldwide debates on whether and how recipient countries can benefit from foreign aid so as to increase their own capacity and improve their degree of social prosperity. These disputes, however, touch upon the core issues of aid effectiveness, which are central to the current international aid community.

2.3 Aid Effectiveness: Importance and Debates

It was around the 1990s that the international community began to realize that their different approaches and requirements have brought rising costs to recipient countries and made aid much less effective (Klees 2010). In fact, aid effectiveness has been a long-debated issue without a wide consensus in many aspects. For example, there were hardly universal criteria for donors and receipts to examine the achievements and outcomes in education before the 1990s. In envisioning the direct benefits of industrial production, the main grant or loans were made to vocational education and training. This approach has been approved with limited impact on the long-term societal improvement. The international aid community found that it is a tough task to define "effective development" in the education sector due to a lack of overall criteria, reliable systematic measurements, and commonly agreed-upon objectives. Conceptually, international donors have agreed that the concept of effective development suggests that a country can improve its social and economic development by using valuable external financial and human assistance and knowledge sharing. In practice, it was very difficult to determine the exact effects of certain policies in the long term. In the case of structural adjustment policy imposed upon some Latin American countries in the 1980s, these borrowed measures, based on neoliberalism, were designed to raise the efficiency and effectiveness of local educational systems (Carnoy and Torres 1992). However, it turned out to be detrimental to disadvantaged students and might have contributed to further socioeconomic segregation in terms of race, gender, and geographic regions (Colclough 1996).

In fact, the issue of international aid effectiveness emerged in the 1970s. It became much more problematic when mainstream Western policies and measures, including cost recovery, decentralization, and self-management, were transferred to developing countries. The effectiveness of such policy transplant has been seriously challenged (Boone 1995; Sayanak and Lahiri 2009). One of the key points, as Paul Hurst has questioned, was the relationship between investment in education and economic development (Hurst 1981). If financial assistance cannot guarantee substantial improvement in social and economic life, foreign aid seems to be invalid in helping recipient countries. In securing stable funding for international aid, in 1970, wealthy countries agreed to devote 0.7 % of their Gross National Income (GNI) to official development assistance (ODA) annually. Although this target is not seriously observed by the main international bilateral entities, such as the United States, the total volume of international aid has increased steadily throughout the final quarter of the twentieth century.

With increased international aid, the ineffective performance of receiving nations has spurred a wide range of debates. Apart from the re-orientation of macro-policy directions, such as investment in universal primary education, the main reflections of aid effectiveness has centred on conditionality, cash or in-kind aid, better coordination, aid priority, logistics, and ways to improve the economic efficiency of aid. While providing loans or grants, donor groups tend to impose certain conditions on

recipient countries, such as using certain products or experts, and have been accused of lowering the effectiveness of foreign aid (Mosley et al. 2004). Traditional in-kind aid is said to cause more transaction costs to the local implementation system than cash assistance. In facilitating greater integration among fragmented sources of international donors, better coordination is needed to streamline the available resources and expertise in addressing similar areas in local contexts (Lawson 2013). In addition, both donor and receiving agencies' effectiveness also needs to include attention to the issue of aid priority, the essential part in determining whether aid will be successful or not. The final two dimensions are related to resource allocation and implementation mechanisms of aid programmes. The subject of how to make logistics reasonable and sustainable in connection with existing systems retains significant meaning to improve the efficient use of aid.

The reflections outlined above indicated some important lessons learned from the international aid experiences. However, the most challenging debate concentrated on the macro issue of whether foreign aid can contribute to the real social and economic improvement of developing countries, such as the alleviation of poverty or better education. There are two opposing approaches with respect to the effects of international aid. The positive approach asserts that aid can have a good impact. Through the econometric calculation of input and output (i.e. completion rate of basic education), Burnside and Dollar (2000) claimed that "aid might work, but only under favorable political and institutional conditions in recipient countries". The prerequisite condition for effective use of aid lies at the suitable arrangement of domestic operation regimes, illustrating the importance of logistics and coordination. While examining the effects of increasing aid to education, Michaelowa and Weber (2007) pointed out that "the estimated effects are rather low. According to the most optimistic estimation results, increasing aid to any level of education by 1 per cent of recipient country's GDP will improve completion rates by a maximum of 2.5 percentage points" (p. 12). They also confirmed that the critical factor in shaping considerable differences in aid effectiveness depends on political governance. In fact, this conclusion is close to the findings from Burnside and Dollar (2000).

Alternatively, another approach strongly indicates that foreign assistance produces less or no improvement to receiving nations. Boone (1995) insisted that "aid does not significantly increase investment and growth, nor benefit the poor as measured by improvements in human development indicators". He even argued that different political regimes such as those that are liberal democratic or highly repressive have no effect on the impact of aid. This finding is against the importance of political/institutional governance as discussed previously and casts serious doubt upon the general utility of foreign assistance. This view is echoed by Moyo (2009), who claims that "this easy money [international aid] offers governments an exit from the contract between them and their electorate: the contract that states that they must provide public goods in exchange for taxes". In short, it "allows the state to abdicate its responsibilities toward its people" (Moyo 2009). These fierce debates reflect the reality that the issue of aid effectiveness is increasingly critical and tough along with the progression and increased amount of international aid. The task of

determining how to critically reassess current aid practices and reformulate effective standards or norms has become urgent within the international aid community.

2.4 The Latest Trends of Aid Effectiveness: Pursuing Development Accountability in a Soft Manner?

In response to the cumulative ineffectiveness and complexity of international aid on both the donor and recipient sides, the aid effectiveness movement began to gather momentum in the late 1990s. In 2002, the international community reached the *Monterrey Consensus*, based on an international conference on financing for development held in Monterrey, Mexico, which agreed to increase its funding for development but also improve the use of aid to be as effective as possible. In fact, a worldwide consensus has been gradually achieved under the strong leadership of UN-affiliated agencies such as World Bank, UNESCO, and UNDP since the 1990s. In 1990, the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) Jomtien, Thailand, set up a comprehensive agenda for the education sector. This was followed by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000. Involving most countries' delegates and global governmental and non-governmental organizations, these two major events as an instrument of global governance began to coordinate the main targets for development onward (Kuroda 2014). Eight MDGs, including universal primary education, expected to be achieved by 2015, serve as the fundamental benchmarking for commonly agreed-upon indicators of social and educational development. According to the 2013 Global Monitoring Report (GMR), major gaps in these goals remain, and substantial effort is needed from bilateral and multilateral agencies (World Bank and IMF 2013). In actively catching up with these targets by 2015, some modifications to the traditional aid modality have been adopted and implemented since the 1990s. These new measures are expected to raise the effectiveness of international aid as a whole.

In general, the latest trends in international aid effectiveness are characterized by the following four features. First, in better coordinating international assistance, we have seen the increasing power of multilateralism (Mundy 1998). The diverse engagement of bilateral agencies, civil societies, and international organizations highlights the necessity of such networking in addressing common issues (such as gender equality) collectively. In relation to the first trend, the second is the enhanced cooperation between the public and private sectors. This new public–private partnership highlights the indispensable roles of private organizations (including civil societies, charities, social enterprises, private companies, etc.) in confronting the problem of poverty, illiteracy, health, or poor infrastructure across the globe (Srivastava and Oh 2010). Governmental organizations, either bilateral or multilateral, have more collaborators and partnerships to address similar problems. In addition, traditional aid tended to be project-based or programme-oriented and was confined to the same sector. The new aid trend transforms this pattern into a

sector-wide approach (SWAp) by engaging diverse elements within and between the sectors (Cassity 2010). Such a new approach is intended to overcome the over-fragmented and scattered focuses of aid replaced by sectoral-level assistance. Finally, a new shift towards equal partnership or cooperation has been emphasized in recent years. The traditional donor dominance model did not take into account the local context and knowledge to reduce the long-term effectiveness of foreign assistance. Therefore, the notion of equal footing becomes the key ingredient of new aid modality, hoping that mutual cooperation can improve the local involvement and commitment, in turn enhancing the overarching aid effectiveness.

The cumulative consensus facilitated an international agreement under the endorsement of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Based on the Rome Declaration on Harmonization (2003), the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and Accra Agenda for Action (2008) have subsequently been put forward to the international donor community. There are five major principles to make aid more effective. All OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) members are required to support the following:

- Ownership: Developing countries set their own strategies for poverty reduction, improve their institutions, and tackle corruption.
- Alignment: Donor countries align with these objectives and use local systems.
- Harmonisation: Donor countries coordinate, simplify procedures, and share information to avoid duplication.
- Results: Developing countries and donors shift focus to development results, and results get measured.
- Mutual accountability: Donors and partners are accountable for development results. (OECD, n.d.)

Examining the five principles carefully, we can find that they are inspired by the inappropriate and unsuccessful strategies and measures implemented previously. The fundamental spirit of these new principles, therefore, lies in the decentralization of operation and management to recipient countries and catering to the needs of local groups and organizations. This bottom-up approach tries to break the donor dominance tradition and requires more responsibility of southern countries. On the surface, nearly every country agrees to uphold this consensus, including emerging Asian donors such as China, India, Malaysia, and Taiwan. However, in fact, these new aid contributors are not so sincere due to the diverse political and diplomatic purposes. We will discuss this point in greater detail later.

Despite the continuous international support in such discourse, including the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation (OECD 2011), there might be conceptual contradictions among the principles. In pursuit of greater developmental accountability, the new aid modality shifts more power to developing countries, but most of them lack sufficient institutional capacity to manage reforms and implementation. Sharing decision-making power and taking mutual accountability with recipient nations is based on a simple assumption that they are willing and capable to make the right choices. However, these prerequisite conditions are often not met and require systematic capacity building. Therefore, such

new power distribution and responsibility bearing for international aid could be ideal in theory but invalid in practice, simply because this soft approach makes it very difficult to achieve certain developmental targets. Moreover, when recipient countries are empowered to mandate their national objectives (ownership principle), the feasibility of harmonization could be jeopardized. This is because, when inconsistent objectives exist (non-alignment), the receiving countries would dodge the harmonized process in order to prevent external inspection or invention. The situation may get worse as a result of an emergent donor in Asia with a non-interventional approach. If all foreign aid is utilized effectively, transparency with good governance and corruption control is a fundamental institutional capacity for every society.

In addition to the internal potential contradiction outlined above, these five principles have not been systematically endorsed and implemented as a mainstream discourse. After analyzing the foreign aid in Lao PDR, Vanuatu, Indonesia, and the Philippines from 2006 to 2009, Cassity (2010) believed that the reality in the field is that "while sector-wide approaches are outlined in policy discourse, practice indicates loosely harmonized arrangements with like-minded donors, and slow progress toward sector-wide involvement". Having taken a similar position, Kaufmann (2009) asserted that "the pace of progress has been extremely slow, such as on 'mutual accountability.' There is high variation across donors and partners in their commitment to this agenda. Further, partner countries often see conditionality as being reshaped rather than reduced, and their own coordination on capacity development is wanting". According to the empirical evidence in India and Kenya, it seems that "the Paris and Accra accords have so far had limited impact upon the aid process, and where they have influenced aid practice, the burden of change has fallen much more heavily on recipients than donors" (Colclough et al. 2012: 152). These hesitations and limitations have seriously hampered the progression of new aid modality and the possible enhancement of aid effectiveness. However, this is complicated further by another main factor in recent years: the rising Asia.

2.5 The Growing Role of Emerging Donors in Asia

Due to continuous economic growth and technology advancement, several Asian countries began to transform themselves from purely aid recipients to donors (Yong 2010). Apart from Japan, all other Asian countries are regarded as emerging donors, including China, Malaysia, Thailand, India, Taiwan, and Korea (Tilak 2014; Niu 2014; Chung 2014). As we have shown, there is a strong international consensus with respect to the new principles and actions on aid effectiveness. However, all of these Asian countries, except for Japan and Korea, are not included in the OECD/DAC membership, where global assistance discourses are formulated, endorsed, and implemented accordingly. However, without reliable and accurate statistical figures of foreign aid from these countries, it is undeniable that they must amplify their expenditure and influences to other developing countries, particularly their diplomatic and neighbouring counterparts. Adopting a South–South cooperation

approach, these new Asian donors play a crucial role in providing an alternative pattern in foreign aid. Free from the criticisms of the colonial past and the North–South divide, their success stories in national development have become a main attraction to other developing societies in other parts of the world. Their recent developmental experiences even claim to have higher value compared to traditional Western countries, who began their modernizations in very different global and regional settings.

In a general sense, the aid behaviours of these emerging donors in Asia are different from the global aid discourse outlined above. Ideologically, they are not entirely bound by the Paris Declaration (2005) and Accra Agenda for Action (2008), such as Japan. They have different strategies on focuses, areas, aid modality, and relationship with recipient countries. According to Chung (2014), the characteristics and problems of Korean ODA include priority given to the economy sector, emphasis on knowledge sharing, self-centeredness, and small scale. Although following the discourse of OECD DAC, Taiwan has its unique diplomatic agenda and concentrates its aid to Central America, Africa, and the Pacific Ocean (Cheng, Chan and Lee, Chap. 7). India prefers its neighbouring Asian counterparts, emphasizes South–South cooperation with strong regional integration, and intends to become a regional hub (Tilak 2014; Khare, Chap. 10). As to Singapore, the majority of its ODA, based on Singaporean Cooperation Program (SCP), goes to ASEAN countries in the form of technical assistance (Yong 2010). Why behave differently for these Asian countries? Their various choices in ODA vary by geopolitics, economic interests, diplomatic competition, and the pursuit of soft power. Some of them even develop new types of aid modality for developing countries, such as the China Model (King 2010).

In contrast to the Washington Consensus, the China model is also referred to as the Beijing Consensus (Yao 2011). The Beijing Consensus distinguishes itself from the traditional Western model by providing a new way for developing countries to achieve national development. The Beijing Consensus insists that a more strong state leadership on the levers of capitalism is better than full trust in the free market for economic growth. In driving this macro incentive, the nation should have a powerful ruling party to manoeuvre the national direction. Political liberalization is not necessary in reshaping the society, while gradual reform rather than neoliberal economic shock therapy is desirable. These features are against the main assumption of the Western discourse on aid policy but welcome in some developing nations with dictating authoritative regimes. Moreover, the Chinese approach to foreign aid is based on a non-interventional approach with equal footing (Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2013). “Making friends” is the main slogan to convince African partners to accept their aid. As a matter of fact, this ODA is more politically driven through alliances with different countries. Educational cooperation has become one of the main channels to convey such friendship. A notable case from China is the Confucian Institute, which could be regarded as a form of cultural aid or the extension of soft power (Pan 2013). King (2010) even argued that “the increasing interest by Kenyans in learning Chinese cannot be separated from the wider involvement of China in Kenya’s infrastructure development, the growth of Chinese business and foreign direct invest-

ment, and Chinese migration to East Africa". In other words, even educational aid can link to physical facilities, commercial trade, and even population flow.

Along with the growth of these emerging donors, their influences on international aid community are rising and have caused some chain reactions. For example, deeper Chinese involvement in Africa has inspired Japan to reshuffle its deployment. To counteract Chinese expansion in Africa, the Tokyo International Conference on African Development was held, and Prime Minister Shinzō Abe announced a 5-year $32 billion package to support infrastructure development and boost economic growth in Africa. One the other hand, China also put forward the Beijing Action Plan 2013–2015 after the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation in 2013. The intensified competition in the alliance with Africa between Japan and China indicates the complicated natures of international aid. However, such changing geopolitical landscapes could seriously challenge aid effectiveness in general.

2.6 Challenges to Aid Effectiveness

As we have shown, new aid paradigms have been formed along with the rise of Asia. Their core concepts, strategies, and motivations vary substantially but differ from the mainstream discourse and the practices endorsed by UN agencies and OECD architecture. As far as aid effectiveness is concerned, these paradigms have posed real challenges to the current Western-dominated model in two ways.

First, the Asian approach including the China Model is said to be more effective in promoting national and societal development. After examining the Chinese aid given to Africa, Babaci-Wilhite et al. (2013) asserted that the "Beijing Consensus has been more generous and more attractive for sustainable development". The Washington Consensus (or Western model) is more "economistic and exclusively instrumentalist", while the Beijing Consensus is "multidimensional and encompasses the intrinsic and non-economic roles of development aid" by appreciating "the unique and complex development problems which occur as a consequence of donor deafness on limited rights and conditionalities". Their findings seem to confirm that Asian aid practices are more considerate and receptive to the local needs in terms of multiple aspects. In fact, one of the strengths of the Asian approach is knowledge sharing and capacity building, which can effectively develop the required capacity and skills at the local level (Yong 2010). If the Asian approach does have such an impact upon the recipient countries, the aid modality formulated since the late 1990s by mainstream international community is facing strong competition as a consequence of the rising Asia. There is even a paradigm shift in terms of how aid should be provided and implemented. This chapter is not able to determine whether the Asian model is more effective than the Western one, but it points to the undeniable fact that the Paris Declaration (2005) and Accra Agenda (2008) are not perfect.

Second, if the Asian models are not so useful or internationally effective, their current focuses, priorities, and strategies also undermine the validity of the two

reports and agreement. According to OECD DAC, all varieties of bilateral, multilateral donors and Western civil societies are bound by the fundamental objectives of EFA and MDGs through Paris Declaration (2005). However, these emerging donors in Asia, though supportive of the international consensus spiritually, have their own target areas or fields. For example, universal primary education is deemed as one of the top priorities for MDGs, but some Asian donors, such as Taiwan and Singapore, still prefer technical and vocational education. These uncoordinated developmental objectives, breaking the international common ground, could distract the pursuit of EFA, MDGs, or even the Post-2015 Development Agenda.

Not constrained by these international treaties, the growing Asian economies, including China and India, play increasingly key roles and can constitute other types of foreign aid for developing countries. For example, India "refuses to sign the Paris Declaration (2005), to be part of OECD's DAC, and/or to align with major traditional donors and to be seen as reproducing traditional donor recipient hierarchies" (Tilak 2014: 70). "Free from colonial influence, Indian foreign assistance has great legitimacy in the eyes of other emerging countries" and it can mobilize its "soft power" (Mullen and Ganguly 2012). This demarcation produces two different effects on both donor and recipient countries. For traditional donors, India is independent and outside the mainstream aid policy; for recipients, India can be a true friend without colonial path or hierarchy. Several emerging Asian nations do the same thing. This approach, creating a more diversified ODA discourse, actually might become a threat to multilateralism on aid effectiveness. As we have indicated, harmonization among donors is the cornerstone for more effective use of international aid. A fragmented and growing Asia creates a breach and provides alternatives to recipient countries, making the monitoring of mutual accountability and developmental results more difficult.

In the case of Cambodia, Cheng (Chap. 12) has shown that central government and key multilateral and bilateral donors usually join the dialogue mechanisms and follow the Paris Declaration on harmonization, alignment, and mutual accountability with Royal Government of Cambodia policy priorities. However, China is free from this established multilateral framework and "directly channels aid resources to the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) and other line ministries rather than the Council for Development of Cambodia (CDC) in the name of efficiency and effectiveness". Such a move made by the Cambodian government indicates that emerging donors can bypass OECD principles and procedures and might undermine the management architecture of aid effectiveness.

Apart from the previous challenges, Asian donors (except Japan) lack public debate/transparency on international aid policy and its purposes. Internal policy making also tends to be driven by political or diplomatic needs in choosing the intended aid scope and content. This is accompanied by weak accountability management and measures, making aid effectiveness more uncertain. In fact, most emerging donors in Asia heavily rely on ODA with the limited role of NGOs and civil societies for aid policy. This reinforces the importance of the political dimension while providing foreign aid rather than humanitarian action (Novelli 2010). Therefore, we even witnessed the intensified competition for aid provision to the

similar geographic regions, mainly Asia and Africa. The main goals of international aid are increasingly masked by the needs of political recognition, geopolitical engagement, and donors' economic or even military benefits rather than the greater social and economic development of developing countries.

2.7 Conclusions and Prospects

As we can see from the previous discussion, aid effectiveness is becoming a tough issue both for donor and recipient countries. Not just because developing nations worry about their slow progress in social improvement but also because donors are deeply concerned with how strategies can be successfully implemented. Due to the approach of developmental targets (i.e. EFA and MDGs) by 2015, the international community has formulated new aid modalities which have been deemed to be effective since the 1990s. The new principles and standards indeed represent critical reflections of the unethical and invalid approach in the past. However, as Booth (2011) commented:

> the effectiveness of aid depends critically on whether or not a country's leadership is really committed to development…. The assumption is tacitly made that most countries already have development-oriented political leaderships. This paper considers that assumption untenable and agrees with those arguing that ownership should be treated as a desirable outcome, not an achieved state of affairs. (p. iv)

In other words, the five formulated principles on aid effectiveness are guiding procedures rather than final results. Therefore, major differences remain in terms of implementation. These differences might worsen due to the rise of emerging donors in Asia. According to recent observations, new effective development models based on the latest successful experiences in Taiwan, Korea, Singapore, China, and India are quite prevailing and convincing. Their aid policies are highly acceptable to recipient countries without hierarchical and colonial connotation like Western societies. However, these diverse paradigms have not approved their effectiveness in enhancing social and economic development entirely. More empirical evidence is needed to examine their validity. In addition, the fight for dominant or correct aid modality could be magnified if the two giant economies, China and India, amplify their influence on international aid community. Not included in the OECD's DAC, these Asian emerging donors can exercise their free will independently but also are confined to the individual scope without collective action. Determining a way to bring these emerging donors into the international community and to incorporate their effective experiences into developmental principles will be tough issue for all donor and recipient countries. If potential confrontation or inconsistency lasts longer, aid effectiveness could become a field for "political combat" between traditional Western countries and Asian ones, and in such a case, there will be no substantial improvement at all.

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Chapter 3
Promise Unfulfilled: Perspectives on Current Trends and Issues in Education and Skills in Asia

I-Hsuan Cheng

Abstract As the result of the implementation of EFA and education MDGs in Asia has shown, many of the promises of these policies cannot be realised before 2015. Deducing its causes, international education aid policies cannot catalyse effectively the interplay between two realities: the educational reality as understood by the few who decide knowledge content and broadcast their methods and the educational reality as understood by the majority in Asian societies. The lack of the interplay also results in disconnection or inconsistencies among diverse interests and actions of multiple stakeholders of international education aid, which lead to the spontaneous emergence of aid ineffectiveness and "shadow play" between the nation providing aid and the nation accepting aid. These reflections and criticisms of policies and practices of education and skills development once again reflect the development problems encountered during the regionalisation and globalisation of Asia, once again allow for re-examination of the future interplay between the supply side and demand side of education aid, and imply the future direction of international education aid policies beyond 2015.

3.1 Introduction: Why Do Education and Skills Matter to Asian Development?

Since the start of the twenty-first century, constructs and concepts of international development and education aid have been continuously challenged by shifting trends in the international and knowledge hegemonies. These shifts include: from hegemonies led by the USA and other countries of the North to the increased influence of the emerging and developing nations of the South; from viewing that the reality of international society is determined by the macrostructure to the viewpoint that it is determined by social interactions; from determinism to interpretivism;

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from pursuing homogeneity to respecting differences and diversity; from Eurocentrism to cultural multipolarisation; from a description of stages and a theory of economic growth that apply to all developed and developing nations to a description that views all developing nations and their economic developments as special cases; and from joining the global capitalist economy and respecting only market mechanisms to reflecting on the sustainable development of the global economy and respecting the importance of cooperation and communication between nation, market, and society. The shifting trends allow for a gradual challenging of the previous self-limiting thoughts of a single path of development or a single modern reality when discussing policies related to education or skills. It becomes critical to question who is serviced by the rethinking of knowledge and from whose viewpoint the rethinking of knowledge should occur, for development theory and knowledge always stem from specific historical contexts and political concerns. Entering the twenty-first century, the issues regarding development (e.g. human rights, decent work, gender equality, environmental sustainability, and disability) faced by the global society are far more complex than ever. No century in the past welcomed (or was unable to stop) the production of alternative or out-of-the-box theories about development (or ways to resolve development problems) more than this century. Furthermore, what was considered alternative in the past, with the transformation of international and knowledge hegemonies, has largely become mainstream today. For example, even the unchallenged mainstream idea of respect for recipient countries' *ownership* in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) used to be a marginal notion that drew attention of only few donors (such as Japan) before. After all, there is more than one path to development just as there is more than one modern reality. Regardless of which path to development one supports, no one denies the importance of education to development. In face of the more complicated and challenging development issues in a globalised and regionalised world, what is certain is that future international development and education aid policies must serve development partners with more diverse social and political backgrounds and beliefs to garner support.

However, were the above shifting trends and awareness of development thinking reflected in the past 15 years of Asia's education aid policies and practices? If not, which issues arose? These issues allow a deeper look into what roles and functions education can or should play and fulfil in the definition, future planning, agenda setting, or policy conception of Asian development. Given the trend of transformations in development thinking, an examination of the concepts and designs of Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) often shows the difficulties in fulfilling the policy promises. The current education dilemma is undermined by the fact that EFA and education MDGs were international aid policies determined at the end of the twentieth century or the beginning of the twenty-first century. They are still filled with one-size-fits-all universalism and structuralist perspectives, as if one could design one "good" mechanism for education and skills development that would undeniably allow all nations, societies, and cultures, regardless of their context, to become victors in the neoliberal globalisation. But education and skills development policies are never politically neutral; they

imperceptibly carry and broadcast the specific economic growth and ideologies advocated by international hegemony. In addition, the implementation of policies is often influenced by the historical and cultural contexts of the strong and powerful. As the result of the implementation of EFA and education MDGs in Asia has shown, many of the promises of these policies cannot be realised before 2015. Deducing its causes, international education aid policies cannot catalyse effectively the interplay between two realities: the educational reality as understood by the few who decide knowledge content and broadcast their methods and the educational reality as understood by the majority in Asian societies. The lack of the interplay also results in disconnection or inconsistencies among diverse interests and actions of multiple stakeholders of international education aid, which lead to the spontaneous emergence of aid ineffectiveness and "shadow play" between the nation providing aid and the nation accepting aid. Poor nations pursuing national or regional development are neither able to fully utilise their abundant cultural resources for alternative developments nor able to catch up to the modernisation and industrial development of Western nations. Even the nurturing of fashionable personal skills (e.g. cross-cultural communication) has been questioned at the crossroads recently. Are these so-called abilities and skills for global competitiveness supposed to increase competitiveness of the new generation in neoliberal global trade regimes, or are they supposed to allow the new generation to have the awareness and capacity to explore the possibility of a more diverse and pluralistic future development? These reflections and criticisms of policies and practices of education and skills development once again reflect the development problems encountered during the regionalisation and globalisation of Asia and once again allow for re-examination of the future interplay between the supply side and demand side of education aid and reconsideration of the meaning and content of education quality in Asia (and for Asia).

3.2 Quality Education and Its Universal Rights-Based Rationale

After a historic farewell to the Cold War in 1991, the political, economic, and ideological shift has moved from a confrontation between capitalism and communism to a globalised, capitalist-dominant, neoliberal, and laissez-faire world. A dichotomy between the two camps of communism and capitalism is being substituted by the widening division between the global North and global South. International aid in general and educational aid in particular have also transitioned from the concepts and practices of *aid provided in parallel with trade* to *aid provided for trade*. The United Nations (UN) acknowledges the importance of trade to overall world development, but stresses that human development (empowering and equipping human beings with education, health, and other social infrastructures) is a necessary precondition of economic growth. Stemming from the human rights rationale, UN-system agencies have launched global-scale programmes of human

development such as EFA in 1990 and MDGs in 2000. Accordingly, Official Development Assistance (ODA) from the global North is expected to channel in a right direction; aid complements trade, rather than competing with trade. In a dichotomous world where the gap between the global rich and global poor is deepened by neoliberal aid policies and approaches of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the human rights approach of the United Nations (UN) complements a neoliberal globalising process rather than confronting it. According to the human rights rationale, the global poor are considered rights holders, and the global social structures and root causes of deprivation and exclusion keep them poor. People must be empowered to exchange discriminatory social structures with non-discrimination, meaningful participation, accountability, transparency, and other underpinning values and norms of UN human rights declarations and treaties. Both northern and southern governments are duty bearers and are expected to meet their obligations to respect, protect, facilitate, and fulfil all people's rights, including the rights of poor people to quality education.

A human rights-based approach to international education aid has its roots in numerous international declarations, conventions, and treaties concerning education issues, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1981), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989), and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006). The CRC, ratified by 192 countries, particularly states its insistence on the universal access of children to education and the right to a quality education (Sandkull 2005). When both northern and southern governments tend to shift from welfare ideas and approaches to privatising and marketising education, this move inevitably makes quality education untouchable to people who cannot afford it. Based on the notion that education is a fundamental human right, EFA goals and education MDGs claim that governments who have signed these human rights-relevant treaties, declarations, and conventions have legal and moral obligations to provide and protect people's rights to quality education. Accordingly, international education aid policies, EFA and education MDGs (particularly, Goals 2 and 3), have been translated into regional- and national-level goals, policies, and action plans, for which governments should be accountable (Sandkull 2005; Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency 2012).

Quality education assists children in reaching their full potential and prepares them for work and life (United Nations Children's Fund 2008). Quality education involves schooling and learning, as well as overcoming barriers to schooling and learning. By applying a rights-based approach to education, children should be viewed as holders of the right to have access *to* education, the right to be applied *in* education, and the right to be promoted *through* education. In other words, education should be made available, accessible, acceptable, and adaptable to rights holders (Sandkull 2005). The aforementioned universal standards of quality education explain why quality concerns in Asian recipient countries have received numerous criticisms. Universal standards and norms challenge educational philosophies and

sociocultural barriers rooted in Asian traditions, and testify to their governance cultures and political wills. Ahmed and Govinda (2010) suggested that the right to education in South Asia remains elusive and a failure risk because sociocultural and political causes of educational exclusion do not receive sufficient attention in educational policies and practices at sub-regional and national levels, but are viewed as irrelevant to, and beyond the domain of, education. Ahmed and Govinda (2010) raised two quality concerns in education to reveal the cross-cutting factors of quality. One quality concern regards the teacher. Although educational design and strategies address teachers' professional preparation and support, supervision, incentives, and motivation for optimal performance, they neglect common social phenomena in numerous Asian societies, such as private tuition required by teachers, and confirm student social classes of "haves" and "have-nots." The other quality concern regards learning assessment. Although the recent assessment and examination design in numerous Asian countries has been rationalised by proposing to discourage rote learning and promoting the ideal balance between students' cognitive, affective, aesthetic, and reasoning attainments, examining and assessing students' cognitive domain continues to play a dominant role in judging whether a school performs well or not. A school thus becomes an active arena where novel educational ideas confront long existing and testified social values.

3.3 Issues: Can EFA Serve People's Work and Life?

According to the recent UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Reports (UNESCO 2011, 2012, 2013), developing Asia has made advances towards EFA goals, and numerous countries have increased high initial enrolment figures at both primary and secondary levels, despite several remaining challenges. For example, East Asia and the Pacific spend a much lower share of national income on education than the world average. South Asia is the home for more than one quarter of the world's out-of-school children, where gender disparities remain robust. Levels of learning achievement are low in many Asian countries, where numerous adolescents and adults suffer from illiteracy, poor skills, and wider political and social neglect. All these lead to the question of how the human rights-underpinned EFA is relevant to most people's work and life.

The following historical expression elicits a feeling of uneasiness:

> The greatest innovation in the world is the demand for education as a right of man; it is a disguised demand for comfort. (Jakob Burckhardt, *Reflections on History,* English translation in 1979:65)

Witnessing nineteenth century developments, this Swiss historian worried that mankind's mental activities had laid claim to compulsive authority and lost the variable and free realm. The uneasiness deepens upon viewing a copy of the *UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report*, with the two bold words "Human Rights" at the beginning of Chapter One, which is entitled "Education For All is Development."

The document draws upon Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). As another normative framework, the 1989 UN Convention on Child Rights has been popularised in recent educational policy documents of UN agencies, including UNICEF and ILO. A rights-based approach to educating poor children is broadly adopted in the EFA discourse.

What troubles cosmopolitan minds is not "human rights," but what type of "education" comes in the name of a fundamental right. Whether learners have the right to determine what they ought to learn and know how to learn is questionable. EFA, which is viewed as a good intent, was promised and repromised by 155 and 185 governments, respectively, in Jomtien (Thailand, 1990) and Dakar (Senegal, 2000). However, "education" in the policy agenda of EFA means less "learning" than "schooling." Subsequently, the diverse components of education aid in the 1970s, such as a negotiated curriculum, participatory and bottom-up approaches, and job-oriented activities, seem less important than putting children into schools (Roger 2003). In the wake of "schooling" for all in Asia, could EFA potentially serve as the transformation of relationships to being on more equal terms?

3.4 An Indian Case: Nonformal Education (NFE) for Compulsory Education or Economic Compulsion?

Under EFA, the interplay between conceptions of nonformal education (NEF) as "schooling" and a "human right" is being revisited in the Indian context. The emphasis on "schooling" could be reflected in the tenth 5-year development plan promoted by the Government of India (GOI). In the plan, a national programme, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), otherwise called the Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE), has been launched since 2000 with the following objectives: (a) all children to be in formal schools, education guarantee centres (Education Guarantee Scheme, EGS), and alternative and innovative schools (Alternative and Innovative Education, AIE); (b) all children to complete 5-year primary schooling (by 2007); (c) all children to complete 8-year schooling (by 2010); and (d) bridge all gender and social category gaps at the primary education level (by 2007) and at the elementary education level (by 2010). Energised by SSA, NFE has been utilised in India's educational reform to achieve its EFA goals. Under SSA, the NFE curriculum is defined centrally by the GOI and the textbooks are no different from those in formal primary schools. Such nonformality tends to compromise or perpetuate the economic "duty" of poor working children, rather than prioritising their right to education. The children are regarded as "being mainstreamed" if they attend either the EGS models or formal school through the AIE models. Innovative diversity, curricular flexibility, contextualised advantages, and the characteristics of NFE are giving way to a mass scale of "nonformal schooling" with a top-down bureaucracy, and packaging and rules for implementation.

At first glance, a government taking the view that education is a fundamental human right must undoubtedly accept the necessity of making education compulsory. India is party to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966). Both declare that all have a right to education (Articles 26 and 13, respectively). However, a review of the history and ongoing debate about providing NFE in India reveals that underpinning domestic politics have swung between compulsory education and economic compulsion of poor children, and have interacted with relevant international normative frameworks over time. Table 3.1 might not be exhaustive, but helps to explain how the intersectional relationship has developed.

Table 3.1 Underpinning politics of NFE between compulsory education and economic compulsion of children in India

Underpinning politics of NFE			
Year	International treaties	Year	Indian policies
1948	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 26)		
		1950	Constitution of India (Article 45): "Children below the age of 14 years should get free and compulsory primary education."
1959	The Declaration of Rights of the Child		
1966	The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Culture (Article 13)		
1973	ILO Convention 138 on Minimum Age for Employment		
		1974	National Policy for Children: declared the free and compulsory education for all children up to age of 14 years by providing "alternate education."
1979	The International Year of the Child	NFE in 1979	NFE was first introduced into India.
			The goal of compulsory education for all children was reconfirmed by the GOI.
		1985	Indian Ministry of Labour, Annual Report 1983–84: The GOI acknowledged the "economic compulsion" of children and accepted child labour as a "harsh reality."
		NFE in 1986	National policy on Education (NPE)
			"NFE Scheme" in NPE: To reach working children up to age 14.

(continued)

Table 3.1 (continued)

Underpinning politics of NFE			
Year	International treaties	Year	Indian policies
1989	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)		
1990	World Conference on Education for All		
	World Summit for Children		
		1992	To ratify CRC
			To amend the National Policy on Education
		1994	District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) implementation
1997	International Conference on Child Labour in Oslo	1997	The 83rd Constitution Amendment Bill proposes to place education for children up to 14 under Part III of the Fundamental Rights of the Constitution.
1999	ILO Convention 182 on Worst Forms of Child Labour		
		NFE in 2000	To launch SSA (i.e. UEE)
			EGS and AIE models in SSA. Both models are modified from NFE Scheme (1986).

Sources adapted from Chatterjee (1992:29–33), D'Souza and Thomas (1994:4–6), Jagannathan (2000:7–8), Mehendale (2002:601–614), Smolin (2000:943–950), and Weiner (1990:7–15)

In 1950, the Constitution of India (Article 45) clearly declared that "children below the age of 14 years should get free and compulsory primary education." The governmental view that education is the fundamental right of a child was further confirmed by India's participation in international platforms in 1948, 1959, and 1966. However, India has never ratified the 1973 ILO 138 Convention, which requires a connection (other than overlap) between compulsory education standards and minimal age standards for employment. C138 permits nations to take 14 as the minimum age for employment, and "light work" that does not interfere with school is allowed for children aged 13–14 years (Smolin 2000:945). Whether meant as rhetoric or practice, free and compulsory education was re-announced in the following year's National Policy for Children, and accordingly, for the first time NFE was implemented in India in 1979, the same year as the International Year of the Child. With the passage of time to the middle 1980s, Indian politics turned to explicitly acknowledge child labour as a "harsh reality" and "necessary evil," and also recognised the "economic compulsion" of a child to his or her family. This is reflected in the Ministry of Labour Annual Report for 1983–1984, and "the practice (of child labour) continues unabated because exploitation of children is of financial advantage to employers and an economic compulsion to parents" (cited from Weiner 1990:12). Correspondingly, the Indian National Policy on Education in 1986 neither proposed compulsory formal education nor spoke the language of rights. Instead, an

NFE expansion scheme was set to suit working and out-of-school children up to 14 years of age in a voluntary, part-time, and nonformal manner (Weiner 1990; Chatterjee 1992; Mehendale 2002).

Energised by the EFA conference, 1990 was described as a watershed for India's development of primary schooling (Rao et al. 2003). Although the National Policy on Education, amended in 1992, does not contribute to any implementation strategy to universalise primary education, India's ratification of the CRC in the same year signalled that a rights-based education provision for children was apparently returning to political discourse. The CRC was adopted on 20 November 1989, and its Articles 28, 29, and 32 particularly stated the rights of a child to education and to be protected against economic exploitation. Subsequently, the 83rd Indian Constitutional Amendment Bill (1997), proposing to bring education for children under Part III of the Fundamental Rights of the Constitution, could be regarded as the normative anchor to shape the national programme SSA. However, political reluctance remained in implementing the SSA programme, revealed by the fact that the onset of teacher training and Bridge Course Centres in the Shikshalaya Prakalpa of Kolkata were delayed. This was because expected funds from the Central Government, under the AIE scheme of SSA, did not arrive in time. After 4 months of waiting, the AIE scheme was eventually implemented using funds from UNICEF instead (Nambissan 2002). Resource scarcity is frequently cited in government explanations, but as has been estimated by Wazir (2002), less than 1 % of India's GDP would be sufficient to universalise elementary education. In the age of EFA in general and SSA in particular, NFE in India is simplified as large-scale, nonformal schooling, and this simplification has initially been less questioned because it is labelled as human rights. Quality and relevance of education and skills development remain far beyond the reach of NFE students or if provided, most learning objectives do not match the needs of the emerging market. The compartmentalised and decontextualised curriculum and rote-based learning process are dominant in schools. Consequently, this process hardly serves the transformation of consciousness and equal relationships and the links to work and life. More discussion, debates, arguments, and consents are necessary to stir up and catalyse more political will, social awareness, and educational philosophies in favour of enhanced quality and relevance of future education and skills development.

3.5 The Way Forward: Genuine Collaborative Partnerships for Education and Skills Development in Asia

In an era of globalisation and regionalisation, how do the constructs, concepts, and challenges of quality education and its universal rights-based rationale previously described relate to the current rise of Asia? Can education and skills provide financial and socially upward mobility in more equal terms, or do they weave an unrealistic link among education, economic growth, and sustainable development? To what extent can they reflect the gap between the rhetoric and practices of

international educational aid policies? Have these questions been absorbed into the ODA policy-making process, or debated in wider circles? If yes, can the states and their institutions of education function differently in promoting social and economic innovation and in reshaping Asian development? The Indian case study explored substantial and conflicting demands on education, and methods to implement universal standards and goals. A trade-off is observable between a rights-based approach to education and the actual educational needs of people. A top-down bureaucracy and decisions made by the powerful minority are no longer appropriate to meet people's reality and interests. To foster the region's social and economic development in equal and sustainable terms, this chapter echoing to the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development 2012), the outcome document of the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness first held in Asia in 2011, suggests an Asian perspective on genuine collaborative education planning, governance, and administration within and between civil society organisations (CSOs), nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), multilateral and bilateral organisations, northern and southern governments, and the private sector. The discourse surrounding quality and equality may be based upon the principles of human rights, but by contrast, society is largely structured on property rights. A genuine education partnership must be formed to continue supporting and embedding the "human rights" debate into Asia's dominant discourse and evoking support from dominant groups. In this respect, most Asian countries seem to be moving slowly in the right direction. The success of education and skills development must be measured according to a meaningful, relevant criterion, rather than physical accessibility, according to qualitative improvement rather than quantitative expansion.

Lessons learnt from Asia imply the future direction of international education aid policies beyond 2015. Tactical success concerning "quantity" will be less meaningful if it does not contribute to a wholesome, strategic victory (i.e. fostering social and economic equality and sustainability). The quality of education also relies on the collaboration of development partners and stakeholders in generating, circulating, and democratising the knowledge necessary for promoting people's economic competitiveness and social justice. These enable clarifying how to cooperate with various privileged sections within and outside Asia, or to further evoke the political will to invest in the poor and vulnerable. To achieve social equality and sustainability, education is not merely a one-way ticket for the educated towards the privileged strata of a global society. Instead, they may take responsibility and lend a hand in creating more opportunities for the large population behind them. The right to quality education can be better secured, protected, and fulfilled by not only obligations and responsibilities of educational suppliers, but also active participation and commitments of learners and their communities. Various chapters in this book will further exemplify the contents, constructs, and challenges of international cooperation and intervention in Asia's educational development and its effect on Asian development as a whole. The corresponding relationships among various development players and stakeholders within Asia and the relationships of Asia to the rest of the world require additional examination and debate.

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Part II
Lessons Learnt from Asian Donors' Engagement in Education MDGs and EFA

Chapter 4
Japan's Educational Cooperation Policies and Its Implications for a Post-2015 World

Kazuo Kuroda and Makiko Hayashi

Abstract Japan's policies on educational cooperation have gone through various developments and transitions after the 1990s. Such policy movements and trends in the education sector of Japan's international cooperation are observed in Japan's International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the Ministry of Education (MEXT) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA). Prior to 1990, its priorities were placed on higher and vocational education for several reasons, such as the shared belief among Japanese professionals in the education area that because basic education is such an essential foundation for a nation's development, it is not appropriate for foreign assistance to engage in. Furthermore, Japan's history before and during World War II of forcing Japanese language education in its occupied territories associated these mistakes with foreign assistance in primary and secondary education. However, the Jomtien Conference held in 1990 became a timely conference for the country's overall shift to join the world's trends for assistance in basic education. This chapter analytically reviews policy documents of JICA, MEXT and MoFA to further emphasize the importance of utilizing the "integrated approach", which includes independent approaches but also indispensable in one another. This particular approach includes elements of human rights, sustainable development and world peace in educational cooperation which also serves as important pillars of the concept of "human security", highly advocated by Japan. The element of "peace" is very clearly incorporated in the most recently published policy papers of the government of Japan in comparison to previous policy proposals to promote stronger collaboration with international organizations and post-conflict nation-building. Moreover, there is reinforced commitment by the government of Japan to address world peace in linkage with international discourses and literature, using its comparative advantage as peace-loving and non-Western nation, experiencing a unique path of development. Lastly, this chapter also looks in depth, capturing concrete implications for a post-2015 world from the context of Japan's education cooperation policies by highlighting issues on peace, self-help efforts and quality and equity of education.

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4.1 Introduction

Japan's international cooperation in education by itself covers a wide spectrum of connotations. Generally speaking, this term refers to Japan's official development assistance provided to developing countries in the education sector, yet it also encompasses Japan's policy targeting Japanese NGOs and international organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank undertaking projects and activities in the field of education. Furthermore, it may also target developed countries whereby educational activities range from Japan's policy on foreign students, international youth exchange programs to the Japan Foundation's cultural exchange programs. The term "international cooperation in education" may also refer to international programs undertaken by individual Japanese universities and other educational institutions with their foreign counterparts.

Hence, in this particular chapter, we will mainly focus on the different developments of Japan's policy for Official Development Assistance (ODA), specifically within the education sector before and after the 1990s. Thorough review and analysis of these policy movements will allow room for comprehensive and critical discussions on certain issues of Japan's international cooperation policy in the education sector. It will then make several implications and recommendations by addressing the role of Japan in the post-2015 agenda in linkage with ongoing international discourses and literature within the education sector.

4.2 Japan's International Cooperation Policy in the Education Sector

4.2.1 Prior to 1990: Trends of Japan's ODA

As for trends observed with the policy of Japan's international cooperation in the education sector, the Jomtien Conference held in 1990 became a timely conference for the country's transition in the overall shift and change in priorities from higher and vocational education to primary and basic education. Most of Japan's educational development assistance before 1990 took form of accepting foreign students and trainees, sending experts to universities and vocational training schools. Assistance through the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) such as long-term partnerships with King Mongkut's Institute of Technology in Thailand and Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya were known as Japanese exemplary educational cooperation projects of that time until the Jomtien Conference. There are several reasons why Japan's educational assistance before the Jomtien Conference was mainly in higher and vocational training within the education sector which are noteworthy to be mentioned here. First of all, basic education did not fit well with the overall tendency of Japanese international cooperation policy, putting more emphasis on economic infrastructure projects such as

building schools and introducing new equipment, as the so-called hardware type of assistance due to language barriers and little experience with basic education or the so-called software type of assistance. Secondly, many Japanese professionals in this area had a shared belief that basic education is such an essential foundation for a nation's development that is not appropriate for foreign assistance. And thirdly, Japan's history of forcing Japanese system and language education in its colonies and occupied territories before and during World War II associated these mistakes with foreign assistance in primary and secondary education (for further reference see Kuroda and Yokozeki 2005).

However, it also must be noted that there were some exceptions of soft-type assistance showing a certain level of success even before the time EFA started. Those examples include dispatch of secondary school science and math teachers through Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) and the Ministry of Education's assistance in primary and literacy education through UNESCO. Precisely speaking, activities of the Asia/Pacific Cultural Centre for UNESCO (ACCU) represent a pinnacle of Japan's official cooperation in basic education.

4.2.2 After 1990: JICA

When the 1990 Jomtien Conference defined the achievement of EFA as a common goal of the international community, it pushed Japan to join the world's trends for basic education. Japanese officials began discussions to expand assistance in basic education and immediately following the Jomtien Conference, JICA established the Investigative Commission on Educational Assistance with cooperation from the Foreign and Education ministries. In 1992, the Aid Study Committee on Development and Education was established in JICA, and its report was published in 1994. Since then, JICA has continued its research aimed at expanding Japan's international cooperation in the education sector, publishing *Report of the Task Force for Expansion of Educational Assistance* in 1994, *Development Studies Implementation Guidelines in the Education Sector and Study on Educational Assistance* in 1997 and *Approaches for Systematic Planning of Development Projects – Basic Education* in 2001. The recommended policy proposals as outlined in Box 4.1 for the years 1994 and 1997 proposed a distinctive direction for Japan's cooperation in the basic education sector and have had a large impact on JICA's operations since then. The major changeover in priority of policy is featured in these two documents as giving "basic education the highest priority" or "shifts from higher education and vocational training towards basic education and from hardware to software".

In the more recent years, JICA published *JICA's Operation in Education Sector – Present and Future* as its position paper 2010 in the field of educational cooperation (see Box 4.1). The outlined policy here aligns itself with the paper titled as *Japan's Education Cooperation Policy 2011–2015* presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and clearly defines the purpose of educational cooperation guided by three significant pillars: human rights, sustainable development and peace by fostering

Box 4.1: Summary of JICA's Outcome Policy Documents in 1994, 1997 and 2010

Proposals by JICA's Aid Study Committee on Development and Education

1. Increase educational assistance including vocational training to 15 % of overall ODA
2. Give *basic education the highest priority* as the essential foundation for development
3. Provide assistance to areas where it is most needed after assessing the balance of educational development stages

Source: JICA (1994)

JICA's Study on Educational Assistance

1. Shift from higher education and vocational training *towards basic education*
2. Shift from *"hardware" to "software"*
3. Shift from Asia to Africa

Source: JICA (1997)

Outline of JICA's Operation in Education Sector: Present and Future

(1) Objectives and significance of JICA's cooperation in the education sector

- Education as a basic *human right*
- Contribution to *social and economic development*
- Promotion of *mutual understanding for a symbiotic multicultural society*

(2) JICA's guiding principles in its education programs

- Supporting policy making reflecting on-the-ground knowledge
- Longer-term engagement in alignment with partner countries' development plans
- Promotion of network-type cooperation and exchange
- Results-oriented project design, implementation and evaluation

Source: JICA (2010)

mutual understanding and a culture of cooperation. For example, the principle of human rights or named the "human rights approach" (Kuroda 2009) is evident from the policy document, "education as a basic human right". Moreover, the "development approach" is defined as the "contribution to social and economic develop-

ment", whereas the "peace approach" is referred to as the "promotion of mutual understanding for a symbiotic multicultural society". These three approaches, namely, human rights, development and peace, can be distinguished as separate and independent approaches in the historical context of international educational cooperation, yet at the same time, these three pillars are all indispensable as one, formulating what can be called as the "integrated approach" to educational cooperation. In comparison to the previous policy proposals, the position of JICA is very clear and evident through its movements in incorporating new elements such as "peace" as its objective in educational operations.

It similarly places emphasis on JICA's traditional standpoint in educational cooperation, placing value out in the field and initiatives taken by aid-recipient countries. With due consideration to such an approach, JICA has so far initiated various projects ranging from support provided for collaboration of higher education in Southeast Asia such as the Southeast Asia Engineering Education Development Network (SEED-Net) Project and developing human resources especially teacher training on science and mathematics education in Africa, such as the Strengthening of Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education Project in Western, Eastern, Central & Southern Africa (SMASSE-WECSA). In such a way, JICA continues to further promote its unique network-type cooperation and exchange and make efforts to design and implement result-oriented projects in line with the international trend which make this policy paper well-balanced in terms of its context.

4.2.3 After 1990: MEXT

The Ministry of Education (which since been renamed as the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology or MEXT) organized conferences on international educational cooperation in 1995, 2000, 2002, 2006, 2009 and 2011 to build its support system in this area. Based on the recommendations from the first Committee for International Cooperation in Education in 1995, the Ministry established Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE) in Hiroshima University in 1997 and Research Centers for International Cooperation in Education in Nagoya University, University of Tokyo, Toyohashi University of Technology and Tsukuba University to promote international cooperation in higher education in agriculture and law (Nagoya), medicine (Tokyo), engineering (Toyohashi) and education (Tsukuba).

In order to respond to the Dakar Framework for Action, the effort of MEXT to use its distinguished expertise for international cooperation is very commendable and such policy recommendations are reflected in the Final Report of the Second Committee for International Cooperation in Education published in 2002 (see Box 4.2). This is a policy document written mainly as a proposal for building domestic support systems based on thorough research of Japan's resources for international education assistance. The report distinguishes areas in which Japan has a wealth of experience and achievements and recommends building "cooperation

Box 4.2: Summary of the Second Committee for International Cooperation in Education, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (2002)

1. *Japan's Response to the Dakar Framework for Action*
   (1) Emphasize cooperation in primary and secondary education
   (2) Promote international educational cooperation using Japan's experience
      - Share and communicate knowledge in areas in which Japan has more cooperation experience
      - More provision of information and dialogue in areas in which Japan has less cooperation experience
   (3) Use Japan's experience in education through *collaboration with international organizations*
   (4) Promote cooperation that shows the "heart of the Japanese" by using in-service teachers
   (5) *Cooperation bases for stronger cooperation in primary and secondary education*
      - Share cooperation experience to expand Japan's main education cooperation areas
      - Support in-service teachers (communication of shared cooperation experience)
      - Support to promote the use of areas with less cooperation experience
   (6) *Expand international educational cooperation in post-conflict nation-building*
   (7) *Expand international educational cooperation* with an emphasis on community involvement
2. *Promote International Development Cooperation in Universities*
   (1) Shift from cooperation by individual faculty members to cooperation by universities
   (2) Respond to restraining factors and issues of international educational cooperation by Japanese universities
   (3) Establish support centres to promote international development cooperation in universities
   (4) Establish an international development strategy research centre

bases" to promote stronger cooperation in both primary and secondary education. The report also considers international trends such as collaboration with international organizations and post-conflict nation-building, but the overall recommenda-

tions are related to domestic resource mobilization such as use of in-service teachers, community involvement, and promotion of international development cooperation in universities. Thus, preparation of this policy document involved not only ODA implementing agencies such as JICA and Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) but also prefectural boards of education, universities, consulting companies, and numerous surveys and hearings. In bilateral donor countries, it is rare to see a ministry in charge of domestic education play a significant role in forming ODA policies in the education sector.

Also, a unique aspect of this committee was that it had specific discussions on how to use universities under the authority of MEXT for international cooperation. These discussions were not limited to the education sector but encompassed international cooperation in general. Considering the program to reorganize national universities into independent administrative institutions, the committee's discussions centred on shifting Japanese international cooperation systems of universities from "no pay, no accountability" to "with pay, with accountability". Such awareness towards challenges in how to utilize national universities within the international education cooperation framework has continued to be on the table for discussion in the Third Committee for International Cooperation in Education in 2006 as well as at the Committee for the Promotion of International Cooperation in 2011.

Having said that this policy document shows strong awareness of the Dakar Framework for Action, it also must be clarified that this document itself is quite different compared to policy documents presented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In other terms, different positions of the two ministries are clearly illustrated. This second committee report is designed for a domestic audience and is intended to build domestic support for international cooperation in the education sector. This characteristic will be further discussed in the next section as well.

4.2.4 After 1990: MoFA

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed an increasing emphasis on human resource development, especially basic education, through preparation of the ODA Charter (1992), the Fifth Medium-Term Target of Official Development Assistance (1993) and the Medium-Term Policy on Official Development Assistance (1999). It was against such a backdrop that the Ministry led the Basic Education for Growth Initiative (BEGIN) announced in 2002. Later on in 2010, *Japan's Educational Cooperation Policy 2011–2015* was announced at the United Nations MDGs Summit held in New York in that same year.

The BEGIN (see Box 4.3) together with the Final Report of the Second Committee for International Cooperation in Education led by MEXT both show a strong awareness of the Dakar Framework for Action. As the first guideline addressed to the international community by Japan and presented by then Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi at the Kananaskis G8 Summit held in Canada in 2001, it indicates Japan's policy direction in basic education in international cooperation.

The BEGIN led by MoFA is well balanced between domestic resources and discussions and international demands and trends. Building on Prime Minister Koizumi's "spirit of 100 bales of rice" as a basic philosophy, it offers unique aid principles, including self-help efforts and recognition of cultural diversity.

The BEGIN was also designed to balance access with quality in priority areas, alternatively incorporating international priorities such as girls' education and information and communication technologies, and areas where Japan has comparative advantages such as school construction and math/science education. The BEGIN is a policy document that aimed to strike a balance between adapting to changes in international aid trends and stressing Japan's unique approaches to educational assistance. It highlights the use of in-service teachers through a community involvement approach in addition to other trends receiving international attention such as consideration for the World Bank's Fast Track Initiative (presently, Global Campaign for Education, GCE) and support for education for post-conflict nation-building.

As mentioned in the previous section, the BEGIN led by MoFA also shows the position of the ministry and it is designed to appeal to the international community and is focused on the accommodation of international trends in aid and Japan's ODA philosophies. Although the contents of policy documents by MEXT and MoFA do not contradict each other, it is worth capturing that the two documents are quite different, expressing different positions of the two ministries. Nevertheless, both education and foreign ministries share the position of its educational cooperation being financed by taxpayer money, and obviously, from this position, both policies share the tendency to emphasize "the heart of the Japanese" and "Japan's experience in education". It suggests a merger of cultural policy and educational cooperation through the context of providing ODA in its national interests, thereby helping to ensure Japan's own security and prosperity which Japan has traditionally avoided.

Box 4.3: Summary of the Basic Education for Growth Initiative (BEGIN) (2002)

Along with this initiative, the Japanese government announced its plan to provide more than 250 billion yen in ODA for the education sector over the next 5 years in order to support lower income countries that were having difficulty achieving the goals of the Dakar Framework for Action.

1. *Basic Philosophy*

   (1) Emphasize commitments made by the government of developing countries and support of ownership
   (2) *Recognize cultural diversity and promotion of mutual understanding*
   (3) Assistance based on collaboration and cooperation with the international community (partnerships)
   (4) Promote community involvement and use of local resources

(continued)

Box 4.3 (continued)

(5) Links with other development sectors
(6) *Use of Japan's experience in education*

2. *Priority Areas*

(1) Assistance to ensure access to education

- *Construction of school buildings and related facilities*
- Assistance to eliminate gender disparities (girls' education)
- Assistance for non-formal education (promotion of literacy education)
- Active use of information and communication technology (ICT)

(2) Assistance to improve quality of education

- *Science and mathematics education*
- Teacher training
- Improve school administration and operation

(3) Improved education management

- Support to create education policies and education development plans
- Help improve educational administration system

3. *New Efforts by Japan*

(1) *Use of in-service teachers and establishment of "cooperation bases"*
(2) Promotion of wide-ranging collaboration within international frameworks

- Support to UNESCO
- Support to UNICEF
- Consideration for *World Bank's Fast Track Initiative*
- Participation in the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA)

(3) Support for education in *post-conflict nation-building*

Source: Created from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2002)

The most recent policy document which is currently in progress, *Japan's Education Cooperation Policy 2011–2015 Education for Human Security: Building Human Capacity, Nations and World Peace through Educational Development (hereinafter, Education Cooperation Policy, see Box 4.4)* was presented at the UN MDGs Summit held in New York in 2012 by then Prime Minister Naoto Kan. As indicated in the subtitle, this policy document places high importance in advocating the concept of human security as one of the important pillars of Japan's foreign

policy for wider acceptance in the international community. This concept serves as an important notion that integrates three approaches in education: realizing human rights, sustainable development and world peace.

In addition, it together puts forward the "School for All" model as an idealistic approach to holistically improve the learning environment of basic education, also referring to inclusive education by addressing the issue of equity in education. On the other hand, in comparison to the BEGIN, overall roles are stressed more strongly in this current policy, attempting to maximize assistance to education in other sub-sectors other than basic education such as vocational training and higher education. It presents its original approach through strengthening centres for technical and vocational education and training as well as promoting global and regional networks in higher education.

4.2.5 A Post-2015 World: Japan's Policies and Issues on Governance and Aid Modalities

Lastly, it is also significant to raise the issue of the need to develop a common international framework which can be shared and agreed upon by the international community with regard to the approach of integrating peace, human rights and development. Having said that and as briefly mentioned previously, the concept of "human security" led by the Japanese government is providing a certain level of guidance to combine the three approaches together. Peace plays a pivotal and fundamental role in forming a society of assuring human rights for human beings as well as for establishing an environment to promote development. The importance of multi-cultural understanding and withholding a spirit of tolerance and attaining peace are all elements which have been formulated as human rights after many wars and conflicts. It is critical to seek ways on how to systemize such elements within the policy framework of international educational cooperation.

Having mentioned about agreed, common policy frameworks, there is a need to discuss and examine the overall policy of the Japanese approach to ODA in relation to the Paris Declaration and OECD DAC in terms of donor aid modalities and institution building. There is a need for institution building so that Japan can be actively involved in the trend of international aid in the education sector. Firstly, in the BEGIN, it says that the government will accommodate the sector-wide approach for collaboration and coordination with the international community, but in reality, there are many instances where Japan is clearly unable to respond to donor modalities in sector programs that are rapidly becoming popular in Sub-Saharan Africa and other regions. There is a concern that this kind of policy statement may turn out to be "pie in the sky". Secondly, there is a need for Japan to build a system that allows the government to respond to the standardization of aid modalities.

As stated in the policy documents, Japan needs to try to conform to the donor coordination framework. Two institution-building measures are proposed: first, to

create a system to collect and share comprehensive country information in a timely manner, and second, build a capacity for individual research that responds to the domestic and international environment of each ODA priority country so as to prepare country-specific educational assistance plans and link them with implementation and follow-up systems. At the same time, Japan should fully make use of potential areas having comparative advantage as peace-loving, non-Western nation that has travelled a unique path of development such as girls' education, educational policy, and educational assistance in post-conflict nation-building. Systematizing and using Japan's experience in educational development based on these premises will have significant meaning in proposing non-singular, multi-track, and diverse ways of educational development to the international community.

Box 4.4: Summary of *Japan's Education Cooperation Policy 2011–2015* Presented at the UN MDGs Summit in 2010

1. *Basic Principles*
   Education for Human Security – An Integrated Approach for Ensuring Human Rights, Achieving Sustainable Development and Fostering World Peace
   (1) Supporting self-help efforts and sustainable development *(development)*
   (2) Answering the needs of the marginalized populations *(human right)*
   (3) Respecting cultural diversity and promoting mutual understanding *(peace)*
2. *Focus Areas*
   (1) *Quality education for all*
   - Improving the comprehensive learning environment (School For All)
   - Strengthening the support to the FTI

   (2) *Education for knowledge-based society*
   - *Strengthen centres for technical and vocational education training*
   - *Promote global and regional networks in higher education*
   - *Promote receiving international students and international exchanges*

   (3) *Education for peace and security*
   - Education in conflict- and disaster-affected countries
3. *School for All*
   (1) *Quality education* (teacher training, lesson studies, provision of textbooks and others)
   (2) *Safe learning environment* (improving school facilities, school health, provision of access to safe water)

(continued)

Box 4.4 (continued)

(3) Improvement of school-based management (encourage participation of parents and community members to reinforce school-based management system)
(4) Openness to the community (adult literacy and schools in response to the educational needs of the community)
(5) *Inclusive education* (poverty, conflict, disability and other diverse needs of vulnerable children)

4. *Approaches to Maximizing Effectiveness of our Assistance*

(1) Maximizing Japan's comparative advantage on the ground
(2) Participating in the policy-making process and providing medium- to long-term support
(3) Ensuring strategic application of aid resources in response to countries' needs
(4) Strengthening partnership with the international community
(5) *Linking education with other development sectors*
(6) Promoting a South–South cooperation and triangular cooperation approach
(7) Strengthening a result-oriented approach
(8) Forging partnership with actors in Japan (Japan International Education Cooperation Group)

Source: Created from MoFA (2010)

4.3 Implications for a Post-2015 World from the Context of Japan's Policies on Cooperation in the Education Sector

As heretofore described, Japan's policies on cooperation in education have shown numerous and diverse developments involving ministries, in particular the MoFA, MEXT as well as JICA. This final section intends to withdraw implications on discussions concerning beyond 2015 from the perspective of Japan's policies on cooperation in education.

4.3.1 Educational Cooperation Through Self-help Efforts

The other important keyword within Japan's cooperation in education is "self-help efforts". In the BEGIN, it is stated that "for the attainment of Dakar goals, nothing is more essential than a strong political commitment by the governments of

developing countries themselves, and their self-help efforts led by this keen purposefulness are requisite for the expansion of access to basic education and the improvement of quality of education. The objective of Japan's support lies in respect for, as well as the fostering of, this kind of ownership by developing countries. To this end, Japan will provide assistance for the building of essential educational and other systems as well as for human resources development. In extending this support, Japan will carefully consider the unique circumstances of each region, country, and district; particularly at the actual site of implementation, Japan's cooperation will be guided by a willingness to stand in the counterpart's position and see things from that same perspective".

Moreover, in *Japan's Education Cooperation Policy 2011–2015,* it states that "the basic policy of Japan's ODA lies in respecting partner countries' ownership, relying on their own development strategies to support self-help efforts and promoting sustaining development. The same applies to the education sector in which a strong political commitment from the governments of partner countries is essential and our support must respect and foster their ownership". Such perspective incorporates the worldwide trend in international cooperation after the 1990s which was to emphasize "ownership" and "partnership" and Japan's original philosophy concerning assistance on "self-help efforts of partner countries". Thus, this fundamental principle of international cooperation has also been incorporated into education cooperation policy documents. The reason why Japan did not simply move forward with the international trend on funding assistance but placed more significance on capacity development of partner developing countries finds its reason and principle here.

If international cooperation is trying to support national development of developing countries, the starting point must be a reflection of their needs and support for their ownership. Facing a period where new developing countries have been emerging and progress of horizontal division of labour is taking place in the global economy, it can be said that discussions on a post-2015 world must carefully consider two aspects on "self-help efforts" and "ownership" as two important keywords within the framework of international cooperation in education.

4.3.2 Educational Cooperation on Quality and Equity of Education

In BEGIN, three priority target areas have been named as part of "assistance to improve the quality of education"; firstly, "development of curricula, textbooks, teaching materials", secondly, "fostering of teachers at teacher training schools and training to improve capabilities of in-service teachers through training in Japan" and thirdly, "improvement of school administrative and operational capabilities through, among others, the active participation of community residents therein". Such target areas already imply Japan's vision on educational cooperation for improving the quality of education.

In JICA's 2010 policy document, it states that "low-quality education is caused by a shortage of textbooks and other educational materials, a shortage and/or poor quality of teachers, and inadequate curriculum design" and in order to cope with such problems, it presents four types of solutions including, "strengthening of teachers' capacities through teacher training, establishment of a community-participatory school management system, construction of school facilities by local contractors as well as capacity development of educational administrators in central and local governments which are all essential for sustaining the effect produced by these efforts".

In *Japan's Education Cooperation Policy 2010–2015,* Japan specifically lays out the model of "School for All", a holistic approach that ensures effective service delivery with mutually related initiatives in the areas of educational facilities, teaching, community participation, administration, health and nutrition. In this model, it particularly considers the importance of "improving teachers' competencies is the key to ensuring quality education and improved learning outcomes. Besides the provision of textbook and other learning materials, it aims to make classroom teaching more interesting and easy to understand for children by improving the teaching and learning process through teacher training and lesson studies". Moreover, the "School for All" model also focuses on other interrelated components including "safe learning environment", "school-based management", "openness to the community" and "inclusive education" which are all significant components to establish educational environment of high quality. This policy document calls for "a holistic vision of education where Japan will respond to the diverse needs of partner countries comprehensively to aim for high-quality assistance in the field of basic education covering educational facilities, teachers, community participation, administration, health and nutrition" and "a holistic approach that ensures effective service delivery with mutually related initiatives in the areas of educational facilities, teaching, community participation, administration, health and nutrition". Such visions will play a pivotal role within the framework of a post-2015 world. In other words, it is highly meaningful and significant to note that in the current policy of MoFA, the issue of "equity" is reflected as a significant agenda element. For instance, the issue of equity is addressed as part of "inclusive education" to accommodate diverse needs of vulnerable children. Furthermore, the question of including "all" for access and quality is clearly highlighted in the policy document as "Quality education for all" and "School for All". We must not leave behind the agenda of accelerating access to educational opportunities and improving educational quality (Educational Development). These fundamental priorities are also clearly highlighted in the recent policy documents of Japan after the 2000s.

4.3.3 Educational Cooperation for Peace

Japan's education cooperation policies have been consistent in principle with cultural diversity and mutual understanding. In BEGIN, it states that "basic education is also vital for cultivating understanding and acceptance of other peoples and

cultures and for building a foundation for international cooperation" and presents "recognition of cultural diversity and promotion of mutual understanding" as one of its basic philosophies. In *Japan's Education Cooperation Policy 2011–2015*, it states that "fostering respect for cultural diversity and mutual understanding through education would contribute to promoting solidarity and reconciliation in post-conflict situations, preventing the recurrence of violence and conflicts and building peace" and similarly implies promoting respect for cultural diversity and mutual understanding as one of its core principles. Furthermore, in JICA's policy document, it states that "education is the cornerstone of any kind of development. The acquisition of knowledge and skills through education enables people to open up and improve their prospects in life. People's enhancement of their capabilities as a whole promotes poverty reduction, economic growth, and scientific and technological development. In addition, the attainment of stability and peace in the world requires the promotion of mutual understanding beyond religious and racial boundaries. Education plays an important role in this context". In other words, Japan's education cooperation policy consistently emphasizes "respect for cultural diversity" and "promotion of mutual understanding" as the fundamental basis to build a peaceful society.

UNESCO stresses the significant role of education in the preamble of its UNESCO Constitution adopted in 1945, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed", and considers that education is indispensable to build "dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern". Such principle has been and should be considered as the most fundamental principle in the policy of international educational development. Moreover, such philosophy in education has taken the lead in the field of higher education where activities concerning student exchange programs and international partnerships of universities have formed part of international education cooperation. Together with the World Declaration on Human Rights adopted in 1945, the 1974 Recommendations concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms adopted by UNESCO has also clarified the significant role that education will play, in order to realize international peace and resolve challenges faced by the international community. This recommendation is still considered to be sufficiently in effect worldwide and thus its content has not been modified since then. Right after the war, the international student exchange scholarship program proposed and initiated by U.S. Senator Fulbright known as the "Fulbright Program" takes its strong belief from Senator Fulbright's own words, "educational exchange can turn nations into people, contributing as no other form of communication can to the humanizing of international relations" (Fulbright 1983). Furthermore, the US international education association, which has strong presence for the promotion of international study abroad programs, formulated the study abroad policy in 1955. This places importance on international exchange for the promotion of international understanding and peace. (I.I.E. 1955)

On the contrary, the movements seen during the 1990s to achieve EFA have rather placed more importance on the role of education as a "fundamental human right" and "education for social, economic development and poverty reduction" and

aspects on mutual understanding and contribution to peace have not received much attention. The same point can be featured within the framework of MDGs and the Dakar framework for Action throughout the 2000s. However, after the terrorist attacks in 2001, followed by continuing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, cultural and economic factors which are the causes of many of these conflicts (factors which were non-existent during the Cold War) have eventually led the international community to view the need of education in assisting post-conflict nations and constructing peace. We must moreover mention that we are observing another shift in the development approach trend, from the above-mentioned traditional features on the role of education to include more global perspectives of education for development of world peace and very importantly, education for "sustainable" development (Education for Development).

Not only is education viewed as a bridging tool in response to legislative and governance reforms, it also includes reforms of curriculum and textbooks discussing peace and multi-cultural understanding. Studies and practices of such reforms have shown progress in this regard. It remains a difficult challenge to critically analyze the traditional education system in post-conflict nations intended to prevent more conflicts and to rebuild an educational system with due consideration to various situations of all stakeholders involved in this process. Such a task is extremely challenging even for the local public. However, it has been recognized that it becomes crucial for the international community to intervene during such a process and again in particular, UNESCO since the 1990s have introduced the philosophy of "culture of peace" as its basis and have undertaken educational activities in conflict-affected and post-conflict nations and regions in order to promote reconciliation and understanding (Nelles 2003; World Bank 2005; Davies 2004; Harley and Tawil 2004).

Not only UNESCO, but in recent discussions related to the agenda on post-2015, the element of "peace" is gaining significant momentum in many international frameworks such as the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) launched by United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon himself in 2012. In his initiative, three elements are raised as key factors in the education sector, including educational access, quality and fostering global citizenship. The third element, fostering global citizenship is very closely related to the peace approach as presented by Japan since the early 2000s. As clearly elaborated in GEFI's global citizenship education, "education must fully assume its central role in helping people to forge more just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies. It must give people the understanding, skills and values they need to cooperate in resolving the interconnected challenges of the 21st century". In other words, global citizenship education goes beyond acquiring cognitive skills of being able to read, write and count. It provides each and every individual to compliment cognitive skills such as soft skills (critical thinking), social skills (communication) and life skills (vocational training) as well as competencies to make use of those non-cognitive skills and thus, providing common values, attitudes as global citizens of the international community through peace education, human rights education, equity and accepting diversity. It can be said that the approach of peace education or fostering global citizenship education both interrelate and establish a fixed advantage when considering Education for Sustainable

Development (ESD) or Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (DESD) launched since 2005 by the United Nations as a 10 year UN program and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) presented in June 2012 at the United Nations Sustainable Development Conference (Rio+20). Recent and active international frameworks including SDGs and GEFI are all playing significant roles in the ongoing discussions of the post-2015 development goals as well as ways in which the post-MDGs and SDGs can be integrated together in a comprehensive and mutual binding way. From such perspective, Japan's policy movements in terms of world peace (peace approach), together with realizing human rights (human rights approach) and sustainable development (development approach), functionally capture recent and future international discourses like GEFI (in particular, global citizenship education or GCE), ESD and SDGs. In the most recent international discussions directly linked to the post-2015 agenda, The Muscat Agreement was adopted in May 2014, which highlights actual keywords within the scope and the global targets of the post-2015 education agenda including "peace", "sustainable development", "responsible global citizenship" and "equity and inclusion" (UNESCO 2014).

Lastly, it is noteworthy to reiterate that the position of Japan is quite clear and vivid in the sense that we see a reinforced commitment of the government to address issues in alignment with international frameworks. As previously discussed, the "integrated approach", such as the peace approach, human rights approach and development approach, forms the fundamental basis of Japan's position in the education sector. From this particular angle, it can be said that in the process of building the framework of a post-2015 world within the field of educational cooperation, Japan can play a pivotal role in addressing the potential of education for the contribution of establishing peace and mutual understanding within the international community.

4.4 Conclusion

The primary purpose of this chapter was to present an overview of the historical developments of Japan's international cooperation in education by mainly highlighting its policy developments. Following brief review and analysis of this dimension of Japanese educational cooperation, this chapter discussed some implications towards international discussions on educational cooperation with respect to a post-2015 world, highlighting how the policies perceive peace, self-help effort, quality and equity of education.

Japan is a traditional donor with a unique, non-Western standpoint. Japan should cherish its cultural sensitivity for peace, commitment for self-help efforts and quality of education as it always has while advancing international cooperation for educational development that is inspired by developing countries. Systematizing and using Japan's experience in educational development based on these premises will have significant meaning in proposing non-singular, multi-track and diverse ways of educational development to the international community.

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Chapter 5
Japan's International Cooperation in Education: Pursuing Synergetic Results

Kazuhiro Yoshida

Abstract Japan has persistently emphasized human resources development and self-help, based on its own experiences of economic and social development. This philosophy has been captured in the ODA charter, the fundamental policy on Japan' Official Development Assistance, as well as in its policies on international cooperation in the education sector. This chapter illustrates main focuses of Japan's ODA policies, the trend, tools, and characteristics of its assistance for the education sector, typical cases of technical cooperation projects, and the way it contributes to the formulation of the global development framework. After analyzing strengths and challenges of Japan's education assistance, the chapter concludes by stressing that Japan has a room to further build on its bottom-up approach, strengthen its capacity to translate the rich stock of knowledge and experiences of field-level improvement for policy processes, thereby realizing its potential toward the post-2015 era of leveraging the international practices of education aid effectiveness in terms of education quality improvements on the ground.

5.1 Introduction

International cooperation in education is shifting its focus from the quantitative expansion to qualitative improvement, especially learning outcomes, in basic education, as most recently emphasized in the Muscat Agreement that presents a global goal and targets for the post-2015 education agenda (UNESCO 2014). This movement coincides with a changing aid architecture that stresses on harmonizing cooperation for implementing a holistic sector-wide education program. This chapter presents an overview of Japan's policies and practices for education cooperation. By analyzing comparative strengths and weaknesses, it offers implications on the way to improve the effectiveness of Japan's contribution to educational development in

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developing countries, which will catalyze improved effectiveness of international education cooperation in general.

5.1.1 Brief History of Japan's ODA

Japan marks 60th year in 2014 since it joined the Colombo Plan[1] and began implementing the Official Development Assistance (ODA) in 1954. Initially, the government provided economic cooperation first to Burma (today's Myanmar), then to other South-East Asian and the Pacific countries, in tandem with postwar reparations. Meanwhile, the first concessional yen loan was extended to India in 1958 for economic infrastructure projects. These were two streams of origin for today's technical cooperation and financial cooperation, respectively, and specialized agencies to execute ODA were instituted in these years.[2] A good neighbor diplomatic policy through strengthened economic cooperation with Asian countries was at the basis of this early stage of ODA, combined with expectation for promoting export.

As an accelerated economic growth gained momentum since the 1960s and brought Japan up to one of the leading economies in the world, the volume of aid also expanded, and aid was no longer used as a tool to boost exports. By the end of 1970s, loan aid which was originally tied to goods and services from Japan was almost totally untied, and the assistance for basic human needs increased in response to the increasing international awareness on the improvement of human welfare (MOFA 2004a). This trend continued during the 1980s, and learning lessons from joining structural adjustment lending together with the World Bank, Japan reaffirmed the importance of addressing human aspects of development and the need to address institutional issues in development.

The first ODA Charter was formulated in 1992, facing changing international geopolitics after the end of the Cold War and following the outbreak of the Gulf War. The Charter stipulates the four-point philosophy of Japan's ODA: a humanitarian perspective in tackling hunger and poverty, interdependence between developing countries and the rest of the world, environmental preservation and promotion of peace. It says Japan will implement ODA for developing human resources, socioeconomic infrastructure, institutions, and by meeting basic human needs, by attaching "central importance to the support for self-help efforts of developing countries" (MOFA 2004b).

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[1] An international organization established in 1950 in Colombo, Sri Lanka, to provide development assistance to countries in South and South-East Asia and in the Pacific.

[2] The Society for Economic Cooperation in Asia was established in 1954 for technical cooperation, which later absorbed other organizations with similar functions and became the main body of today's Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), while Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) was established in 1961 to implement ODA yen loans. OECF merged with Japan Export–Import Bank forming Japan Bank for International Cooperation in 1999, and merged with JICA in 2008.

5.2 Japan's Aid Policy Framework

Japan has consistently emphasized the importance of human resources and education development in the main documents concerning its ODA policies. This reflects the views of Japan that education plays fundamental roles for nation-building and human development, a strong belief constructed based on its own experience. While development of education tends to be discussed in the context of poverty reduction, human resources development is more comprehensively understood and its overall roles are stressed more strongly in the policy documents.

5.2.1 ODA Charter

Japan's Official Development Assistance is guided by the ODA Charter approved by the Cabinet in August 2003. This is the second charter, fully revising the first charter of 1992. The present Charter comprises four parts: Part I on its philosophy that specifies objectives, policies and priorities, Part II on principles of implementation, Part III on formulation and implementation of ODA policy, and Part IV on reporting the status of implementing the Charter.

The Charter sets out the objectives of Japan's ODA as "to contribute to the peace and development of the international community, and thereby to help ensure Japan's own security and prosperity." It goes on to say that Japan has actively supported "economic and social infrastructure development, human resource development, and institution building" "taking advantage of Japan's experience as the first nation in Asia to become a developed country" (GoJ 2003).

Following this, five points of basic policies are provided. The first point on "Supporting self-help efforts of developing countries" states:

> The most important philosophy of Japan's ODA is to support the self-help efforts of developing countries based on good governance, by extending cooperation for their human resource development, institution building including development of legal systems, and economic and social infrastructure building, which constitute the basis for these countries' development.

Other points of basic policies are: perspective of human security, assurance of fairness, utilization of Japan's experience and expertise, and partnership and collaboration with the international community.

The Charter then presents four priority issues of poverty reduction, sustainable growth, addressing global issues, and peace-building. It recognizes poverty reduction as "a key development goal shared by the international community" and indicates Japan's intention to "give high priorities to providing assistance to education, health care, and welfare" among others and to "support human and social development in the developing countries." It states that Asia is a priority region with which Japan has close relationship and as a region that has a major impact on Japan's stability and prosperity.

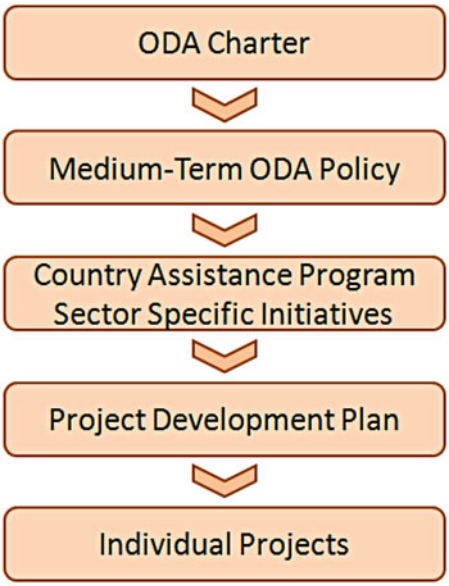

Fig. 5.1 Japan's ODA policy framework (Source: MOFA website)

Based on the ODA Charter, the government formulates the Medium-Term ODA Policy, which provides a basis for producing Country Assistance Programs and Sector Specific Initiatives. Individual projects are designed and implemented under this framework (Fig. 5.1).

5.2.2 Medium-Term ODA Policy

The present Medium-Term ODA Policy was prepared in 2005, to concretize priority policies in response to the 2003 Charter. While in the past the Medium-Term Target provided the basis for quantitative expansion,[3] the present Medium-Term Policy emphasizes Japan's role in addressing efforts toward achieving Millennium Development Goals and other global issues as priority international challenges. It spells out the position of the government that emphasizes human security, poverty reduction, sustainable development, global issues, peace-building, and efficient and effective implementation of ODA (GoJ 2005).

To achieve human security and to address poverty reduction, the Policy emphasizes empowering of people to be self-reliant: education including vocational education is stressed in this context. Water and sanitation facilities in rural schools, a school meal program, provision of instructional materials and training, support for

[3] The first Medium-Term Target covered the period of 1978–1980, marking the shift from the phase of war reparations to expanding economic cooperation. The volume of Japan's ODA in fact increased since from 1.4 billion dollars in 1977 to 7.4 billion dollars in 1987. During the decade of 1990s, the amount of Japan's ODA was the biggest among bilateral aid (MOFA 2004a).

empowering women and the poor people are cited as targeted interventions. The Policy recognizes the importance of education at all levels for human resources development and thus for advancing sustainable development. The support for education is also mentioned for countries in the process of peace-building and in need of emergency humanitarian support, post-conflict reconstruction, by paying particular attention to women and children in conflict-affected areas.

People are regarded not just as a target of assistance but also as "promoters of development" in their societies. Empowering people to become self-reliant is emphasized, and this will be realized by providing vocational training and necessary services such as health and educational services, and improving institutions and policies conducive to realizing the potential of people's ability.

Although the Medium-Term Policy looks toward the time span of 3–5 years, no newer medium-term policy has been formulated till today. This is much related to the fact that ODA Charter itself is now over 10 years old and the new version reflecting the changing international and domestic environment has yet to be formulated.[4]

5.2.3 Education Sector Initiative

5.2.3.1 Basic Education for Growth Initiative

The government of Japan launched Basic Education for Growth Initiative (BEGIN) at G8 Summit in Kananaskis in 2002. This was in response to gathering momentum to advance international efforts for achieving Education for All objectives set forth in the Dakar Framework for Action of 2000. The Initiative underscores the importance of basic education from the viewpoint of human development in empowering individuals with necessary knowledge and capabilities to choose their future and for raising human resources that are essential for nation-building of developing countries, to understand the others and different cultures, and for the foundation of international cooperation. It capitalizes on six basic principles: (1) the emphasis on the commitment by the governments of developing countries and support of their self-help; (2) recognition of cultural diversity and promotion of mutual understanding; (3) assistance based on collaboration and cooperation with international community; (4) promotion of community involvement and the utilization of local resources; (5) linkages with other development sectors; and (6) the utilization of Japan's

[4] Recently, some important initiatives have been made. A committee under MOFA produced an ODA review report. It advocated for more strategic and effective aid, strengthening the program approach and the field-level functions, with a focus on outcomes (MOFA 2010). In June, 2014, a group of intellectuals submitted a report to Minister for Foreign Affairs. It proposes to expand the scope of ODA to a wider development cooperation while maintaining the key philosophy of pursuing peace without recourse to military means, support for the self-help, human-centered approach and sharing Japan's experiences and knowledge. It prioritizes quality growth and poverty reduction, good governance, and sustainable and resilient international community (MOFA 2014). A new charter is set to be developed based on the latter.

experience in education (MOFA 2002). This reflects how Japan interprets the principles of aid effectiveness captured in the Paris Declaration, as will be discussed later. In the initiative, assistance for basic education focuses on access, quality, and governance and management. With regard to access, it illustrates how Japan will provide assistance for building schools and facilities serving various needs, girls' education, and literacy education. In quality-related areas, science and mathematics education, teacher education, and school management are highlighted. As for governance and management, BEGIN indicates Japan's position to support formulating education policies and plans. It also makes reference to supporting UNESCO and UNICEF, as well as EFA Fast Track Initiative (now reformulated as Global Partnership for Education) and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) conducted the evaluation on BEGIN in 2007, after five years of its implementation, and drew the following findings.

(i) BEGIN is consistent with higher level of policy documents and by itself is a breakthrough in that it shows Japan's position of emphasizing basic education. But it is not adequately incorporated into Country Assistance Programs or the documents of JICA as the policy implementing agency.
(ii) Support for education quality improvement has been promoted through technical cooperation projects with expected results. However, support for access, though pursued through technical cooperation and grant assistance, has fallen short of ensuring spatial coverage, for which the use of loan assistance could be considered. For improving the management, more systematic approach needs to be established.
(iii) BEGIN did not set clear outcome goals nor did it have commensurate budget allocation, and the follow-up actions from the government were not adequate (MOFA 2008).

5.2.3.2 Education Cooperation Policy 2011–2015

The first comprehensive statement of Japan's policy on education cooperation covering the entire education sector was announced at the UN MDGs Summit in September 2010. As one of the focus areas, the new policy puts forward a School for All model that supports holistic improvement of learning environment by joining hands of schools, community, and administration to provide quality education for all. The model combines the measures for quality improvement (teacher education, lesson studies, and textbook provision), safe and conducive learning environment, school-based management, schooling for community, and inclusive education. The policy gives the second focus on vocational and higher education to cope with the needs of knowledge-based society and the third focus on education for peace and security by providing support for post-conflict and post-disaster peace-building. In order to improve the aid effectiveness, the policy says that Japan will leverage its comparative advantage in its expertise on the field-based assistance, building on which it will actively participate in policy-making process, strengthens partnerships

with various international players, linking education with other development sectors, promoting South–South cooperation, giving emphasis on a result-oriented approach, and forging partnership with various actors in Japan (GoJ 2010).

Over the 5 years, the policy commits Japan to provide 3.5 billion dollars of assistance in education sector, thereby enabling 7 million children to receive quality education. Overall, the policy sets the priority issues and approaches, but the tone of regional emphasis being given to Asia is weakened. Whether Japan has taken lessons learned from the practice of BEGIN and implemented this policy more effectively is a subject for the future evaluation.

5.3 Implementation of Education Cooperation

Within these policy settings, Japan's ODA is implemented through various channels. Japan does not have a single ministry that is responsible for ODA, and 12 ministries and agencies are involved each of which has some allocation of ODA budget. Among them, MOFA manages approximately two-thirds of the total ODA and is taking the role of overall coordination. Aforementioned education sector initiatives were also both drafted by MOFA, in consultation with Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology (MEXT), JICA, civil society organizations and academia. As for the implementation, MOFA, MEXT, and JICA, respectively, perform their respective scope of Japan's education ODA.

5.3.1 The Trend of Japan's Education Aid

Japan took a leading position among all the bilateral countries during the 1990s in providing ODA to developing countries. However, after reaching the peak in 1997, the ODA budget has consistently declined in the face of economic and fiscal constraints. The budget allocation in 2013, standing at 557 billion yen, is less than a half of 1,169 billion yen of 1997 (fiscal year, general budget),[5] although this decline is partly masked when denominated in US dollars, thanks to the appreciation of Japanese yen.[6] Also, the actual size of ODA operations can be significantly larger than the budget allocation, because of the yen loan scheme which can use the repayment for new lendings. Still, this places Japan at the 5th place in the international comparison in 2012, after US, UK, Germany and France. Japan is spending 0.17 % of GNI, only comparable to financially stricken countries such as Spain (0.15 %), Greece, and Italy (each 0.13 %).[7]

[5] http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/shiryo/yosan.html

[6] Japanese yen appreciated by 15 % during this period against the US dollar (by the mid-year exchange rate).

[7] OECD Aid Statistics website.

Table 5.1 Japan's education aid by type CY2001-2011 (commitment, calendar year, current US$ million)

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Grant aid	134	160	134	228	142	119	129	145	198	228	297
Tech coop	625	605	694	823	597	603	551	560	585	643	542
Loan aid	115	245	242	318	165	236	91	141	61	0	86
Total bilateral	874	1,010	1,069	1,369	904	958	771	846	844	871	926
Ed/total bilateral	7.3 %	10.6 %	7.0 %	10.4 %	5.1 %	7.0 %	5.9 %	4.6 %	5.7 %	4.8 %	5.8 %

Source: MOFA various years

Within this limited scope of maneuvering, Japan has been spending around 5–7 % of annual new commitment to education sector (Table 5.1). This proportion of education share seems low and is explained by the fact that a large part of Japan's ODA is provided via loan assistance which traditionally finances large-scale infrastructure projects such as in transport and power sectors.

Japan uses three main instruments of aid: loan, grant, and technical cooperation (Table 5.1). Historically, technical cooperation has been a dominant tool which includes Monkasho (MEXT) scholarship for foreign students studying in Japan, spending some 300 million dollars annually, and other forms of technical assistance provided by JICA. Yen loan assistance has traditionally been provided by a separate entity, Japan Bank for International Cooperation,[8] until its ODA functions have merged with JICA in 2008. Since then, the third instrument, grant assistance which used to be managed by MOFA including small-scale school construction projects and human resources development support, has now been for the most part shifted to JICA for the implementation. This enables new JICA to devise and implement a suitable package of support combining these three instruments.

Due to the consistency in the scale and a considerable proportion of education aid being provided through the Monkasho scholarship which is classified as support for higher education, there has been a critical view presented by UNESCO in their argument for meeting the financial needs for achieving EFA goals (UNESCO 2010, for instance).

5.3.2 Education Projects by JICA

However, as for JICA, basic education has been the most important subsector over the past decade (Fig. 5.2). This is significant, considering that JICA has embarked on scaling up its basic education support only since the beginning of 1990s. In 1992,

[8] Originally, OECF. See footnote 2.

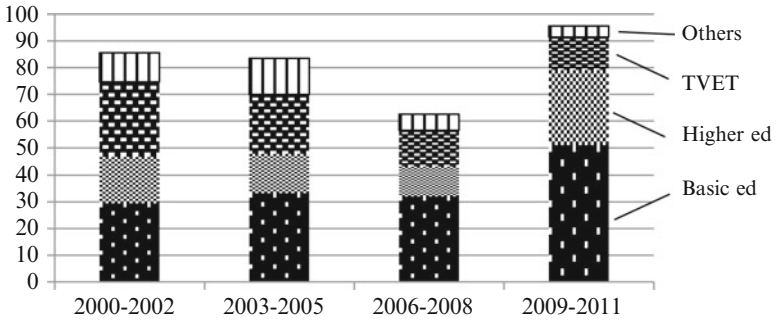

Fig. 5.2 Education sector assistance by JICA by subsector (commitment, calendar year, current billion Japanese yen) (Source: By author based on JICA 2011 and 2013)

JICA set up a sector-wise aid study group on Education and Development in response to the 1990 World Conference on Education for All. The report of the study group clearly indicated the direction of expansion of Japan's assistance for education overall and to place a priority in basic education, though its aid for this subsector had been very limited until then (Kayashima 1999). Since then, JICA's support for basic education continued to increase. During the 3-year period of 2009–2011, 51 billion yen, or over a half of JICA's overall aid for education, has been targeted to basic education.[9] JICA assists in strengthening teachers' capacity through improved in-service teacher training (INSET), participatory school-based management, and improving access and learning environment by building classrooms for basic education. In the same period, 39.4 billion yen, or 41.2 % of its education assistance is dedicated to Africa, almost the same amount provided to Asia (39.7 billion yen, 41.6 %). Support for Africa is dominantly for basic education, for which they spent 18.8 billion yen through grant aid, 5.1 billion yen through technical cooperation, and the other portion through volunteer and NGO activities. This corresponds to the magnitude of challenges Africa faces in achieving EFA goals and MDGs. Similarly, a significant proportion is taken by basic education in their aid to Asia where JICA provided 8.2 billion yen through grant aid and 5.9 billion yen through technical cooperation (JICA 2013).

Today, JICA has numerous aid instruments for education assistance, called "schemes." These include technical cooperation projects, dispatching experts, development planning study, provision of equipment, receiving trainees in Japan, sending volunteers, as well as grant aid and ODA yen loans. Of these, the most typical scheme of recent years has been technical cooperation projects which combine sending experts, training local officials, and providing equipment or financial assistance. A technical cooperation project usually begins with addressing a specific

[9] JICA defines basic education to include early childhood development, primary education, lower secondary education, nonformal education, and education administration, for the purpose of an internal statistical reporting. This is somewhat different from the information provided to DAC/OECD for the Creditor Reporting System.

educational issue on site, designs a package of model that addresses the issue by bringing in the knowledge building on experiences in Japan and adjusting it into the local context and in subsequent phases extends the model at a larger scale helping build necessary capacity. The following is an example of a technical cooperation project by JICA.

5.3.2.1 Mathematics and Science Education Support in Kenya and in Africa

The project began in late 1990s aiming at strengthening quality of secondary education science and mathematics in Kenya by establishing an INSET system that did not exist in Kenya before. During the first phase (1998–2003), by targeting 9 out of 71 districts, key INSET trainers were centrally trained at Kenya Science Teachers College (KSTC) who subsequently implemented INSET at their respective pilot districts by a cascading model. Thus, the INSET system at both central and district levels were to be established. In parallel, a grant aid provided KSTC with teaching equipment. In the second phase (2003–2008), the project covered the entire districts in the country. A noteworthy feature in the second phase is that a regional "community of practice" was put in place among African countries where JICA was implementing similar projects. The community evolved from an informal network that exchanges experiences among those countries to a formal network in Africa jointly working toward institutionalizing INSET for improving lessons, while Kenya serving as a hub for South–South Cooperation (Ishihara 2011). The project in Kenya is now in a new phase where a scope is expanded to cover both primary and secondary education. The regional network project[10] conducts training programs, technical assistance, and experience-sharing workshops. It has developed a model to improve the science and mathematics lessons by introducing an ASEI-PDSI approach. The lesson is expected to include Activity-based, Student-centered learning, using Experiments rather than relying only on lectures, and including Improvisation using locally available teaching materials. This is coupled with the "Plan-Do-See-Improve" process of continuous lesson improvement.

5.4 Rights-Based Approach to Development and Education

5.4.1 Contribution to Setting the Global Development Framework

At a strategic level, Japan has made important contributions in setting the global agenda for international development. Today, the development aid is largely guided by two overarching platforms: the one encapsulates the global development agenda

[10] The project is called SMASE-WECSA: Strengthening of Mathematics and Science Education in Western, Eastern, and Southern Africa.

within the framework of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The international community has committed itself to exert collective efforts to achieve MDGs. The other is the Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness which contains key principles governing ways in which aid is provided for achieving development objectives of developing countries. The orientation and the modality of international aid for educational development have been fundamentally influenced by the principles agreed on in the Paris Declaration.

In 1996, DAC adopted a new long-term development strategy, "Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation" (The New Development Strategy). This document spelled out grave concerns of the international community over the deepening poverty and worsening global issues and advocates for a global partnership for tackling these challenges. It presented the framework of development assistance in the new post-Cold War era. Since the inception of this document, Japan took a leading role in drafting, negotiating, and coordination until it was finally agreed on. Based on the Japanese experience, it emphasized the ownership of developing countries, moving from the inputs (the volume of ODA) to outcomes, and put forward six development goals: (i) poverty reduction by at least one-half by 2015, (ii) universalizing primary education by 2015, (iii) gender equality and empowering women, (iv) reducing the infant/child and maternal mortality, (v) the expansion of primary health care system for reproductive health, and (vi) environmental sustainability (OECD 1996; Hattori 2003). These goals were compiled from existing goals that were internationally agreed on, and clear and result-oriented indicators were selected. Needless to say, these goals served as a foundation for the international development framework adopted in the MDGs.[11] According to Utsumi, the 1990s marked an important milestone, first by shifting universalization of primary education from philosophy to policy agenda after the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All, second by bringing children at the central focus when the primary attention of international cooperation moved from quantitative expansion to quality of learning, and third by emphasizing social equity triggered while roles of women in the development process and socially disadvantaged people are spotlighted. He argues that these have been precisely embodied by the DAC's New Development Strategy (Utsumi 1998).

The New Strategy further reiterates that aid should support locally owned strategies instead of burdening the country with donor strategy, that coordination of aid should be strengthened both at the international fora and on the ground, and that aid should focus on outcomes more than on the volume of inputs. The continued discussion on aid effectiveness spelled out in this document culminated in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, as is discussed in the next section in more detail.

[11] MDGs comprise eight goals which are: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger (Goal 1), Achieve universal primary education (Goal 2), Promote gender equality and empower women (Goal 3), Reduce child mortality (Goal 4), Improve maternal health (Goal 5), Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases (Goal 6), Ensure environmental sustainability (Goal 7), and Develop a global partnership for development (Goal 8).

5.4.2 Contribution at the Bilateral Implementation Level

Education development as the international agenda after World War II was first enshrined as one of fundamental human rights. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 states: "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory." (United Nations, 1948) While this course of argument for primary and basic education has been pursued through the international leadership by UNESCO (established in 1946) and regional conferences were held to ensure achievement of this commitment,[12] the period also saw the influence of the theoretical backup, such as by Becker and Schultz,[13] for education to produce productive human resources that are taken as an important factor to promote economic growth. Indeed in this early time when most of the developing countries gained independence from their colonial power, they aspired to consolidate their nation-building efforts and invested heavily in education. The trend of the education sector lending by the World Bank, the leading development agency that has injected the largest amount of resources to developing countries' education, indicates that a dominant portion of their investment in the 1960s and 1970s went to vocational and technical education and secondary education subsectors since they were considered as key subsectors for human capital accumulation. It was only in the 1990s when its lending for the primary education became the leading target for investment (Yoshida 2009). This coincides with the year when the World Bank published the annual World Development Report featuring the theme of poverty for the first time and when UNDP published its first Human Development Report.

The evolution of the discourse and the strategy on development has been intertwined with that of the focus on education investment over the past decades. Japan's emphasis on promoting rights-based education is best explained by the overarching commitment to realizing the human security as specified in the ODA Charter of 2003 and the current Education Cooperation Policy. At the implementation level, Japan's support for education through technical cooperation of JICA has until around 2000 focused on three pillars of higher education, technical and vocational education and training (TVET), and basic education. Of these, TVET has taken a leading position, reflecting the government policy that emphasized promoting human resources development. This trend changed after the World Education Conference in Dakar (2000) and the Millennium Development Goals adopted by UN (2001) both stressed the importance of primary/basic education (Yoshida 2009). The government of Japan reacted to the new international development agenda by announcing BEGIN in 2002. The initiative recognizes the importance of basic education from the perspective of human development that empowers each individual

[12] Regional conferences were held in Karachi (1960) and in Addis Ababa (1961) in which education leaders in the respective region of Asia and Africa abided themselves to achieve universal primary education by 1980 in these regions.

[13] See Schultz (1961) and Becker (1964).

with the necessary knowledge and capabilities, as well as from the viewpoint of fostering human resources for nation-building (MOFA 2002). The current Japan's Education Cooperation Policy further underscores roles of education cooperation in advancing the human security approach in the international cooperation by integrating human rights, sustainable development, and world peace (GoJ 2010). Since then, while the loan assistance and Monkasho scholarship have both continued to be directed to higher education, JICA's attention to supporting rights-based education is evidenced especially after around 2000 in their project assistance for girls' education, non-formal education, post-conflict education, and inclusive education.

To illustrate some examples,[14] in Afghanistan, the Project for the Strengthening of Teacher Education on Special Needs Education Phase 2 (2013–2015) assists the government's education strategy that promotes inclusive education in the war-stricken country with some 200,000 children with disabilities. JICA has assisted in opening the special needs education program in Kabul Education University, and with them this project helps strengthen the functions of teacher training colleges for the special needs education. To provide an overall cross-sectoral operational guidance, JICA has produced "Thematic Guidelines on Disability" for empowering and mainstreaming people with disability (JICA 2009a).

In Yemen, the project for Broadening Regional Initiative for Developing Girls' Education Phase 2 (2009–2013) is building and rolling out a school management model in which the local community and school cooperate in redressing barriers for girls in participating in school education. JICA also has prepared "Thematic Guidelines on Gender and Development" (JICA 2009b) that provides the institution's approach to empowering women and mainstreaming gender perspectives in development as crosscutting issues.

Support for socially disadvantaged groups of people is also provided in a form of training. The Project for Improvement of Basic Skills and Vocational Training has over the two phases been assisting in Southern Sudan in equipping internally displaced persons with job skills, including disarming and retraining ex-soldiers. The Strengthening of the Occupational Training for the Vulnerable Sector project in Ecuador targets indigenous people, women, people with disability, and other vulnerable peoples and provides vocational training.

Although Japan's ODA in general places priority in Asia, it has paid a particular attention to development of Africa. The government of Japan since 1993 has held Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD). At each TICAD round, specific commitments have been made concerning the education sector and have been followed through stringently. For instance, Yokohama Plan of Action adopted at TICAD IV (2008) lists up specific actions for improving access and quality of basic education, post-basic and higher education, and a multi-sectoral approach for educational development. TICAD V continues to commit the government of Japan in providing quality education to 20 million children (TICAD website).

[14] Project information is based on JICA Knowledge Site.

Though the volume of assistance in these areas remains relatively small, a systematic commitment at the governmental and institutional (JICA) levels is strongly backing up the activities along with the support of nongovernmental organizations. Japan's assistance for rights-based education, especially by targeting the disadvantaged persons, is clearly set to be continued and strengthened.

5.5 Analysis of Aid Effectiveness

5.5.1 Paris Declaration and Changing Aid Modality

By the end of 1990s, the volume of aid inflow from DAC member countries into developing countries markedly declined by more than 10 % from the peak in 1992 (OECD Aid Statistics website). A sentiment of aid fatigue had spread among developed nations in the face of economic stagnation and deteriorating financial positions, coupled with a concern about the absence of visible aid effects. On the other hand, at the country level, the fragmented and uncoordinated parallel running of multiple projects in the same sector was conceived to be burdensome with limited results. DAC member countries responded to such a situation by organizing a high-level forum on aid effectiveness in 2003 in Rome. This first high-level forum adopted the Rome Declaration on Harmonization. The Declaration stressed the importance of an international effort "to harmonize the operational policies, procedures, and practices of our institutions with those of partner country systems to improve the effectiveness of development assistance" and to meet the MDGs (OECD 2003).

Two years later, in 2005, in Paris, the high-level forum reached a milestone agreement, commonly known as Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. Agreed five key principles are: (1) ownership of aid recipient countries, (2) alignment of aid with the country systems, (3) harmonization of aid, (4) managing for results, and (5) mutual accountability. For each area, a set of target indicators were set to be achieved by 2010 (OECD 2009).[15] Corresponding to the emergence of this internationally agreed framework of aid, a new modality of aid, Sector-Wide Approaches (SWAps), was increasingly practiced capitalizing on the principles of Paris Declaration. The features under SWAPs include the pooling of donor funds in support of implementing a comprehensive sector-wide development plan. All active donors in the country participate forming a local education group (LEG) including civil society organizations, jointly endorse the sector plan, and promote aid harmonization under the leadership of the government. On the same flow of current, a yet new mechanism of aid flow, budget support, began to be used and several donors joined the new scheme.

These developments of new mode of aid practice generally emphasize the upstream efforts toward formulating a comprehensive, consistent, and feasible

[15] The international dialogue for further improving aid effectiveness has continued to be held in Accra, Ghana, in 2008, and most recently in Busan, South Korea, in 2011 to monitor the progress of the commitments and to formulate new modes of operation for aid effectiveness.

sector development plan in which members of LEG were involved more actively than before. Pooled funding and budget support mechanisms were more preferred than assisting implementation of conventional stand-alone projects that address specific set of sector issues.

This new aid architecture represented by the principles of Paris Declaration and changing aid modalities calls for a program-based approach, "a way of engaging in development cooperation based on coordinated support for a locally owned development program" (OECD 2006). It has been requiring Japan to fundamentally revisit its ways of providing education aid, and efforts to meet the challenges are still ongoing. According to the OECD data, 58 % of Japan's ODA money was transferred in 2010 to the developing countries using the program-based approaches, improving from 34 % in 2005 (OECD 2011). In the ODA front line, however, contributions by Japan to the process of policy dialogue and education sector policy formulation have been felt to be at best limited, despite its rich stock of experiences gained from aid operations that have targeted at the field-level improvement. Also, at this time, Japan was trying to fit its conventional project-type assistance to be harmonized with the program-based approach without changing its conventional aid modality and did not have an organizational base for using the mix of aid instruments we have (i.e., loan, grant, and technical cooperation) to be fully responsive to the programmatic approach of sector support.

JICA's position paper for education cooperation prepared in 2010 states that for education improvement, upstream support for policy formulation and securing budgetary resources needs to be complemented by measures for human resources development and institutional building that corresponds to the situations on the ground. It states that JICA will "continue to extend support at schools and institutions where the learning actually takes place" so that a visible difference is made in teacher training, school-based management, and so on. Furthermore, building on its strength of focusing on the field-level improvement, "JICA will more actively engage in the planning and implementation process of the educational development plans of partner countries at the policy level" "reflecting on-the-ground knowledge in the policies" (JICA 2010).

The implications of the changing aid modality and the possible ways of more significant contribution by Japan for aid effectiveness will be discussed in the next section.

5.5.2 A Comparative Analysis of Education Aid Practices

The approach that Japan takes toward education aid effectiveness has a marked contrast particularly with that of the World Bank. When the World Bank formulates a project, they typically conduct a fairly robust education sector study that identifies major education issues, analyzes causes of the issues, and examines systemic and institutional bottlenecks. At this stage, causal relationships are identified so that the field-level issues are linked with systemic and institutional issues and further up

with policy concerns at the national level. For instance, access and quality issues at the school level are examined both from supply side and demand side, education costs and financing as well as administrative roles are investigated. To address these issues, the World Bank employs its expertise and global operational experiences, identifies areas of policy reforms, and comes up with solutions, such as advancing decentralization. It then designs intervention tools that achieve policy reform objectives, such as an introduction of capitation grant that is designed to strengthen the capacity of school management and participatory decision-making process. Thus, the project will be driven by policy reform objectives that facilitate the system-wide changes (the way to channel resources, in this example), aiming at producing improvements on the ground. We may call this a top-down approach.

On the other hand, in the case of JICA, they also identify education issues on the ground by engaging themselves with dialogue with policy makers, administrators, and key stakeholders on the ground. They do them by sending an expert and using the information collected from volunteers and by conducting education sector studies. JICA then delineates and shortlists the issues and selects areas of assistance for which Japan has known expertise and comparative advantage building on their experiences at home and in international cooperation. A concept of assistance is further refined through consultation with local stakeholders, and necessary adjustments are made. This will become the basis of a model that will serve as a tool for solving the identified sector issues, around which a technical cooperation project is designed. Many projects set the project goal such as improving math and science teaching through INSET as illustrated by the aforementioned example of technical cooperation project in Kenya, capacity development for school-based management with participation of local community, or improving access, gender equity, and learning environment. For achieving these objectives, the project introduces a new method for INSET or a new culture of school management and builds classrooms and related facilities. Once the new model for INSET or school-based management is solidly established and is proven to be effective, the model-based project will be extended at a wider geographical coverage in the next phase. In this phase, areas for institutional and systemic bottlenecks that have been found during the earlier phase will be included in the project scope. The model so developed may be applied to other countries that face similar problems, implemented with adjustments, and collective lessons will be shared among countries. In this way, both models for INSET for math and science as well as school-based management are practiced in numerous countries in Asia, Africa, and other developing countries. We may call it a bottom-up approach.

The difference between the two approaches may be explained by examining the tendency of education issues addressed by each organization.[16] Figure 5.3 summarizes the results of author's analysis on main areas of educational issues that are assisted by different types of international cooperation. It classifies project objectives and outcomes according to the level of issues, where an arrow represents one operation. The first type, budget support involving multiple donors and Development Policy Loans of the World Bank, usually helps implement a package of major sector reforms and sets the project objectives for upstream policy reform and systemic and

[16] Discussions on this section draw on Yoshida (2012) and (2013).

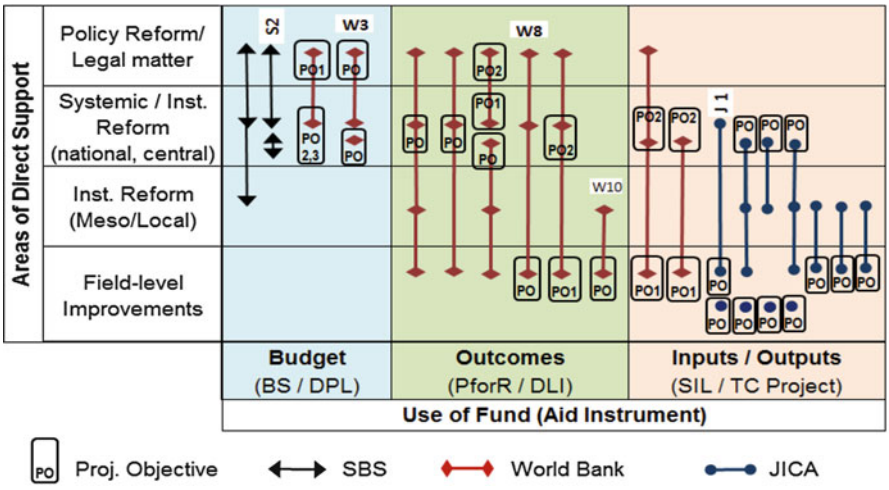

Fig. 5.3 Outcome indicators and disbursement conditions by areas of support and use of fund (Source: Yoshida 2013)

institutional reforms at the national level. The aid instruments for this type of assistance rarely use field-level improvement as conditions for releasing funds. This is because the World Bank does not use a process indicator as conditionality in principle (World Bank 2007). Results on the ground in this type of operations are taken as a benchmark leading to the higher level of reform objectives.

The second type of sector support takes a results-based financing approach that has a feature to disburse donor funds in response to accomplishing the agreed set of outcomes. In the case of the World Bank, this type of operation is called a Program for Results that sets project objectives for policy reforms, systemic and institutional reforms, or field-level improvements. It uses disbursement-linked indicators that present evidence of policy actions, systemic and institutional changes, or improvements at the field level, often encompassing different levels of issues simultaneously.

Both the sector budget support and Program-for-Results operations are favored by the program-based approach in the international aid community in which efforts are rigorously made toward aid harmonization and alignment in accordance with the principles of Paris Declaration. However, in recent years, a results-based financing seem to be acquiring stronger momentum. This trend is fueled by findings by evaluation of general and sector budget support. The report on the Joint Evaluation of General Budget Support commissioned by most of major bilateral and multilateral donors found that "the expansion of basic services has often been accompanied by a deterioration in quality" (IDD and Associates 2006). Another report on DFID's budget support programs for education sector has found that they have helped improve access and equity, but has not produced quality improvements on the ground, especially learning achievement (ICAI 2012). European Union is also taking a more cautious position on the use of budget support in selecting the recipient country, the amount, and the design (EC 2010).

The third category is a conventional project that addresses relatively a limited set of education issues. Japan's education assistance mostly belongs to this category and is typically geared toward addressing specific issues at educational sites for examples cited above. This point is confirmed by the analysis. Many JICA-assisted projects set their objectives for field-level improvements, and in some cases (and in increasing cases), institutional and systemic issues at higher levels of administration are addressed. Quality improvement and capacity development are preferred words used in setting the project objectives.

This makes a clear contrast with the cases of projects assisted by the World Bank. Although the World Bank projects under this category also appear to address similar issues on the ground (such as improving the quality of teachers and availability of teaching and learning materials), they are usually implemented at a much larger scale from the beginning and pay more attention up front from the time of designing the project to institutional and systemic reforms which are supposed to be effective for realizing reform objectives at a wider scale in a top-down approach.

In addition to the experiences of technical cooperation projects, JICA in fact do have experiences of co-financing major education reform projects using the yen loan, as it did in the Philippines for primary and secondary education during the 1990s and 2000s, and recently in Morocco, using the yen loan. In the case of the Philippines projects, JICA (then JBIC) co-financed together with the World Bank for primary education and the Asian Development Bank for secondary education. These projects worked on major education sector reform processes and took a form of policy-based lending operations using policy actions as a set of conditionalities for releasing its fund. More recently, JICA is now working together with the World Bank in a similar modality in Morocco in advancing education sector reform.

JICA, including OECF/JBIC as its preceding lending arm before merger, in fact has extensive experiences in using the loan scheme for education sector development. During the 1990s and 2000s, it has provided on average three new loans for education projects annually, largely for higher education, although this scheme is being used less frequently for education in recent years, especially after the merger. They seem to take a position that loans are to be used for growth-oriented infrastructure and technical cooperation and grants are for field-level projects, and such a notion is seemingly sitting deeply in the organizational culture. This notion needs to be revised so as to enable a more strategic and dynamic use of existing aid instruments to meeting the country's sector development objectives in a more holistic manner, especially in the context where harmonization and program-based approach are more emphasized.

5.6 Lessons for the Post-2015 Agenda for International Education Cooperation

Both the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach have strengths and weaknesses. A reform-oriented education sector support, including the sector budget support and Development Policy Loans, has an advantage in that it pushes for major

policy changes and system-wide reforms which are otherwise difficult to advance by the conventional projects. However, unless it successfully exhibits the pathways through which the reforms will garner qualitative improvements on the educational sites, it is difficult to identify how the additional resources contribute to the results, most critically to learning outcomes. Also, under the program-based approach, there is a trend that education support requires a sector plan that encompasses the entire education sector activities. While this is logical, it gives huge burden on the education administration system and schools to perform multiple new tasks to be tackled with simultaneously. Monitoring and evaluation of the "process" of achieving results is an additional challenge for both the country and development partners.

JICA's bottom-up approach has a strong potential for improving the sector support that has said weaknesses resulting from the top-down approach, especially in devising an effective monitoring mechanism and capacity development at the mezzo and local levels. This is mainly because Japan focuses on the process with which improvements on the ground are garnered, and details with which local participation at the field-level means local ownership. However, the approach taken by JICA up to now typically begins by addressing the educational issues on the ground by constructing a model that addresses the issues. But as the preceding analysis has revealed, it often fails, at least in the initial phase, to address institutional reforms and systemic issues that are critical to ensure effectiveness of the field-based operations in anticipation of wider rolling-out in the subsequent phase. Those institutional and systemic matters are also essential to assure the sustainability of the project outcomes. For JICA to be able to more actively participate in the policy process, it needs to develop capacity for translating knowledge obtained from the field-focused operations into policy messages. Developing insight into identifying the needed institutional and systemic changes at an early stage of designing interventions would provide a key to this pathway.

For this, JICA, and for that matter, Japan at large, needs to strengthen its capacity to translate the knowledge acquired through these experiences into messages that will inform the policy-making process and the designing of an intervention tool for achieving the policy objectives. In the course of such work, locating the needs for institutional and systemic change will probably be the key to ensuring the effectiveness and sustainability of the intervention. It would be even more effective if such insight can be exercised in voicing in the process of discussing and formulating the education sector plan of the country, rather than waiting for several years until their model-based experiments produces sufficient results. Such efforts will require stronger collaboration between the government, JICA, the research community and the civil society organization to combine knowledge and experiences at home, while strengthening the collaboration and dialogue with other development partners at the upstream policy processes.

If Japan develops such capacity of translating the field-based knowledge into policy messages, it should be able to use the knowledge to translate the policy objectives at the macro level into designing the concrete plan of actions and identifying the outcome indicators that may be used to trigger disbursements. This will enable the country's education sector plan to clearly see results chains, and in turn this will make monitoring and evaluation more effective by following through a series of con-

nected activities under the results chain. Japan has potential and critical roles to play to strengthen collaboration and complementarity between the top-down and bottom-up approaches toward gaining the synergy for the development of quality education.

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Chapter 6
Exploring Alternative Educational ODA Paradigm based on Global Challenges and South Korean Experience

Young Hwan Kim

Abstract It is well known in the international community that South Korea is one of the rare examples of a nation that has changed its ODA status from a receiver to a donor. As a result, questions have often been raised as to South Korea's method of success in hopes that it can be used as a model for other developing nations, who have received similar assistance but have not met with the same success. This chapter serves as a starting point for answering a number of those questions, simply categorized as the following: First, what was the actual effect of ODA with South Korean's rapid economic development? Second, what was the role of education for South Korea's economic development? Third, what kind of advice can South Korea provide for the future of ODA? Finally, this chapter outlines an alternative educational ODA paradigm to the existing one, focusing on the need for a holistic systemic change.

6.1 Introduction

The Republic of Korea (i.e., South Korea, hereinafter referred to as Korea) has been referenced for a long time as one of the most prominent achievers to have changed its status from an official development assistance (ODA) recipient to an ODA donor within the history of ODA provision. Recently, there has been an influx of meaningful requests from developing countries to learn from Korea's experience and know-how.

As a full-time professor and a volunteer president of an international educational institution (IACE[1]), I had a chance to work for educational ODA activities during the past 14 years, especially working with APEC Education Network (EDNET), APEC HRD Working Group (HRDWG), and APEC Learning Community Builders

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(ALCoB[2]). While working with these groups, I had countless opportunities to meet numerous divergent educational leaders and stakeholders such as teachers, parents, supervisors, educational administrators, businessmen, and high-ranking government officers, including ministers of various APEC economies and other countries as well. Also, it was my definite benefit to have a chance to visit such a large number of schools and villages with divergent economic situations as well as to meet such a great number of people connected by education and various other areas.

Recently, there have been unlimited questions related to the Korean ODA experience and the future of Korean ODA. These questions can be classified into three types: First, what was the actual effect of ODA with Korean's rapid economic development? Second, what was the role of education for Korea's economic development? Third, what kind of advice can Korea provide for the future development of ODA?

I have to confess that my original major was not ODA, since I received my master's and doctoral degrees in Educational Technology and Instructional Systems Technology. However, after having a chance to work with educational technology, my fortune naturally led me to Organization of Economic Cooperative Development (OECD) and APEC-related education activities, 16 years ago. From 2001, I had the chance to perform international educational charity activities under the APEC umbrella, and this led to the creation of an international educational community called ALCoB with sustainable support from Korean public–private partnership (PPP)-based consortium[3] led by the Korean Ministry of Education (MoE) and also supported by 21 APEC economies and 6,000 ALCoB leaders.

I hope this chapter is a starting point for answering the three types of questions as well as addressing the attention and expectation.

6.2 Korean Economic and Social Development with ODA

6.2.1 Korean History of ODA: From Recipient to Donor

Korea received ODA totaling USD12 billion and ranging from emergency relief to structural readjustment programs. ODA is one of key factors that contributed to Korean economic and social development. After the devastating Korean War (1950–1953), ODA was almost the only source of foreign capital, since the Korean economy was completely devastated by the war. In the 1950s, ODA focused on military support and humanitarian relief such as food aid and provision of daily necessities. In the 1960s, "growth" and "foreign investment" replaced "humanitarian relief" and

[2] http://alcob.org

[3] This consortium is composed with Korean Ministry of Education (MoE), Busan Metropolitan City Hall, Pusan National University (PNU), Busan Department of Education, IACE and Korean ALCoB-EC (Entrepreneur Committee) since 2005.

"reconstruction" of war-torn nations such as Korea, dramatically transforming its economic structure. In the 1970s and 1980s, stand-alone project financing introduced by heavy and chemical industries increasingly gave way to sector-wide loans or readjustment program loans aiming to reform the country's overall economic and industrial structure. In the 1990s, the proportion of aid grants declined significantly and the sources of foreign assistance in Korea continued to diversify. Eventually, Korea ended its dependence on the World Bank's assistance in 1995 and was excluded from the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) list of ODA recipients in 2000 (Table 6.1).

As an emerging donor, in 1963, Korea hosted the first training program for public officials of developing countries and Korea gradually funded more assistance projects. In 1977, for the first time ever, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducted equipment provisions of approximately USD 2 million. The amount of ODA provided by the Korean government reached a new peak in the late 1980s. Korea consolidated this significant shift by launching the Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF) in 1987 and establishing the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) in 1991. Korea became the 24th member of the DAC in 2010 and has continuously expanded its ODA system by enacting the Framework Act on International Development Cooperation (Framework Act) and devising the Strategic Plan for International Development Cooperation (Strategic Plan) as well as the Mid-term ODA Policy for 2011–2015.

Recently, in bilateral ODA by sector, the portion of Korean educational ODA is increasing rapidly. In order to echo the increasing needs of educational ODA, Pusan National University (PNU) opened a graduate program of "International Educational Development Assistance" from the 2014, after the first educational ODA graduate program in Korea was opened in Seoul National University (SNU). Every year, the MoE offers about 0.4 million US dollars to encourage Korean universities' participation for education ODA. Besides the support from MoE, the portion of education ODA (especially with Information and Communication Technology (ICT) utilization) is increasing steeply with KOICA and Korean EDCF activities. Korea commenced its first education ODA project in 1963 with training programs for developing countries, and the total amount of education ODA of Korea is about USD 127 million in 2012. The percentages of education ODA compared with total ODA in Korea ranged from 7 to 20 % between 2005 and 2012. Education thus becomes the fourth biggest sector of the Korean ODA after transportation, logistics, and agriculture.

With regard to status of education ODA in Korea by sub-sector in the year of 2012, the biggest sub-sector is higher education (USD 49.44 million), followed by education general including educational facilities and special training (USD 39.73 million), and secondary education mainly related to vocational education and training (USD 24.76 million). More details can be shown in Table 6.2.

The main ministries and agencies responsible for education ODA are KOICA, Exim Bank for EDCF, and MoE. KOICA holds 43 % of the budget in total education ODA and distributes its budget to various sub-sectors in education. EDCF

Table 6.1 History of Korea's ODA – changing nature of assistance

Year	Purposes/needs	Forms and modalities	Sectors and compositions	Reliance on assistance	Major donors
1945–1952	Short-run relief	Grant (100 %)	Education	Only foreign savings	USA
Korean war		Relief goods	Land reform		
			Consumer goods		
1953–1961	Defense	Grants (98.5 %)	Agriculture	Heavily dependent on aid	USA
Seung-man Rhee Administration	Stability	Commodities	Non-project aid		UN
	Rehabilitation	Technical cooperation	Military aid		
			Consumer and intermediate goods		
1962–1975	Transition	Concession-al loans (70 %)	SOC	Diminution of the absolute and the relative importance of assistance	USA
Chung hee Park Administration	Long term growth	Technical cooperation	Import substituting and export-oriented large industry		Japan
		Volunteers	Project assistance		
			Intermediate and capital goods		
1976–1996	Balance b/w stability and growth	Non-concessional financing	Sector loans	Removal from the IDA lending list	Japan
Doo-wan Chun, Tae woo Roh Administrations					Germany
					IFIs
1997–2000	Financial crisis	Bailout packages from the IMF	Structural readjustment programs	Graduation from the ODA recipients	IMF
Young-sam Kim, Dae-jung Kim Administration					IBRD

Source: U-jin Jeong, "Successful Asian Recipient Countries: Case Studies of Korea and Vietnam," *International Development Cooperation, KOICA* (March 2010)

Table 6.2 Bilateral education ODA performance (Unit: USD million)

Year		2009	2010	2011	2012
Total ODA		1,450.14	1,809.52	1,623.63	1,752.99
Education ODA		139.02	320.85	199.17	127.28
Education ODA/Total ODA		9.5 %	17.73 %	12.27 %	7.26 %
Sectors	Primary education	5.71	13.49	19.12	13.34
In Edu.	Secondary education	65.47	103.88	74.45	24.76
	Higher education	24.80	149.23	74.95	49.44
	Education general	43.04	54.25	30.64	39.73

Source: EDCF, Statistics of ODA in Korea

mostly focuses on secondary education (including vocational training) and MoE in higher education.

Regarding education ODA implemented by KOICA, recently in 2011 and 2012, the proportion and importance of the education sector is growing rapidly. The two largest recipient regions are Asia and Africa, which took 43 and 22 % of KOICA's educational disbursement, respectively. The biggest recipient beneficiary countries are ranked as Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Cambodia in order. By sub-sectors in education, KOICA has concentrated on secondary education (including vocational training), education general, primary education, and higher education in order. By types of implementation, project-based programs (the Project hereafter) took the biggest part of the budget (61 %, USD 180 million) followed by World Friends Korea (WFK, a gateway of Korea volunteering opportunities) (27%, USD 81 million), nongovernmental organizations (NGO)-supported programs (5%, USD 14 million), and invitational training programs (3.8 %, USD 11 million.).

The following describes, in more detail, the status of education ODA implemented by KOICA during 2009–2012 by sub-sectors.

First, in education general, the amount of USD 58 million was disbursed in the Projects targeted to 18 countries. The main objectives of those projects were building school facilities, teacher training, vocational training, and ICT-related activities. In particular, the Projects related to ICT for education have grown since 2011.

Second, in primary education, the Projects implemented in 8 countries with USD 16 million mainly had supported infrastructure, such as building schools in Nigeria, Afghanistan, and the Philippines. In addition, some invitational training programs were implemented in 36 countries with USD 2 million.

Third, in secondary education, the Projects were performed with USD 93 million to 24 countries. The Projects are mainly related to vocational education/training including capacity building and construction of vocational training centers and technical high schools. There were also several projects with ICT education training centers related to educational informatization, invitational training programs (26 countries, USD 2 million), and overseas volunteering programs (36 countries, USD 12 million)

Last, in higher education, there were the Projects with around USD 11 million to 7 countries including the establishment of an ICT Innovation Center at the National University of Rwanda and a USD 1 million project called "Strengthening CLMV (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam) capacity for ASEAN Cyber University in Cambodia."

Korea achieved OECD membership in 1996 and became the 24th member of OECD DAC (Development Assistance Committee) in 2009. Therefore, Korea is being recognized as a benchmark in development and impetus by many developing countries. To meet this expectation, according to 2012 EDCF figures, Korea is investing 7.26 % of its ODA in education, which is higher than the average rate of investment in education among DAC members (7.24 %) and is above that of other major developed DAC members such as the USA, Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland. This phenomenon can be seen as a result of Korean experience where education played an important role in the country's economic development

(Kim 2009; Park et al. 2014). As Kim and Lee (2014) further analyzed a total of 85 Korean research papers – 38 dissertation papers (from 1999 to November 2014) printed in the academic journals of Korea Citation Index (KCI, set up by the National Research Foundation of Korea) and 47 Master's thesis and Doctoral dissertations – the educational ODA research tendency in Korea can be observed as follows.

First, academic researches and dissertations have increased steadily since Korea became a member of OECD DAC in 2009, with a clear figure showing that 50 % (43 papers) of total analysis dissertations in 2013 to November 2014 period were research-based. Second, among four different education sub-sectors set by OECD DAC (primary, secondary, higher and general education), dissertations in primary education and general education took 30 % (30 papers) each. This is different from the analysis of ODA practices, which shows that Korea's educational assistance concentrates on secondary and higher education (Park et al. 2014). Third, research regions are given much emphasis on Asia (33.0 %, 37 papers), including Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. This shows a big difference compared to other ODA donors that are distributed among Africa and South America. Fourth, results of analyzing research purposes of dissertations show that much of them are theoretical research projects (57.0 %, 49 papers) that introduce education ODA or compare other donors' educational ODA with Korea's education ODA. Fifth, results of analyzing research topics show that 45.7 % (48 papers) are dealing with educational training for improving capacity of developing countries, and such topics take higher proportion than those related to building infrastructures, schools, and IT facilities.

6.2.2 Answers for the Role of Education in Korean Economic Development

It is well known that Korean education has played a key role in its economic growth. What specific roles has it played? Yoo (2006) has provided the answers: First, within the short term, Korea was possible to achieve compulsory primary education and this fact made a significant contribution to its secondary education system. Secondly, a quantitative, sequential, bottom-up approach from primary to secondary and higher education played a significant role. Third, a low-cost approach focused on massive education for all. Fourth, the Korean government provided greater educational opportunities, opening the gate for the establishment of private schools. Fifth, the government facilitated the equal education approach while reducing the difficulties for entering high schools. Sixth, the government secured the budget for primary and secondary education by the creation of new regulations and laws. Seventh, the government utilized and relied on parents' high motivation for education. Eighth, the rapid development of the Korean economy in turn supported education in terms of both financing and job creation. Based on the above answers, there was a set of educational recommendations provided by the Korean scholars Lee, Yoo, Kim, and Yoo (2008) for developing countries, including: (1) setting up a

sequential approach from primary to higher education, (2) emphasizing a quantitative approach rather than qualitative, (3) proactively creating private schools, (4) developing policies aimed at reducing the difficulty for entering high schools, and (5) encouraging central government-oriented education policies. As Hubbard and Duggan (2009) also recommended, the relationship between human resource development (HRD) and its instant utilization for the economic involvement is the most important key condition of a successful ODA. Tarp (2000) too emphasized the importance of having human resources that have proper and sufficient skills and technology as a key ingredient in the success of ODA. Accordingly, education ODA provided for the economic development of developing countries should pay more attention to the necessity of holistic educational perspectives.

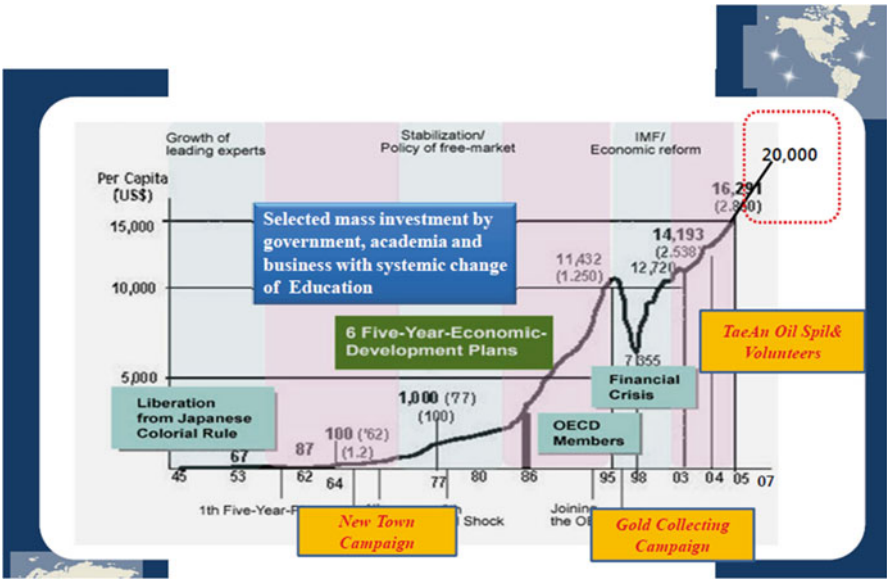
Cho and Eckert (2005) further explained the relationship between Korean economic development and the human resources as follows: (1) Korea has already invested a significant amount for the development of human resources from around 1960, and as a result, it provided sufficient HRD for the economic development during the 1970s and 1980s. (2) Different from other developing countries, Korea's success in primary and secondary education made it possible to imitate and utilize science and technology from more advanced countries. (3) The Korean government's export-oriented policy facilitated the research competency of Korean industries and it also contributed to the improvement of international competitiveness in Korean industries. (4) Korea developed the technology and skills for production first since its qualified human resources were possible to imitate advanced nations' technology. (5) Korea focused on the advancement of pure science and technology fields. The description from Cho and Eckert also clearly elaborates the very close contribution of Korea's primary and secondary education systems to the country's economic development. From the political perspective, Kim (2006) analyzed the major components of the Korean economic success as follows: (1) strong government-centered direction, (2) proactive advancement of exports, (3) facilitating industrialization and heavy chemical industries, (4) development of agriculture and the New Town Campaign, (5) forest conservancy, (6) the establishment of Posco, one of the world's biggest steel-making companies, (7) an exceptional loan freeze, and (8) the leadership of the president Park Jung-Hee. Amongst all, the New Town Campaign especially strengthened primary and secondary education in the country since it included an innovative change in knowledge and attitude for the whole nation. Also, for implementing the New Town Campaign, primary and secondary schools were efficiently and effectively utilized by the central government as the foundation of a holistic change in the Korean society. The schools were a kind of training center for the entire community for spreading an attitude of diligence, self-help, and cooperation, that is, the three main elements of the New Town Campaign.

During the 1960s and 1970s, The Korean education system received relatively good investment by government, academia, and business sectors with the focus on a systemic change of education, especially regarding primary and secondary education. This condensed investment in education was implemented through the New Town Campaign (as displayed in Picture 6.1), and the effect of the investment pro-

duced a very important achievement. During this time, while achieving economic development, education was also possible for the average Korean to have confidence – "Yes! We can make a change!" was a slogan often heard being chanted by local citizens at that time. It became possible to acknowledge the massive power of community and cooperation.

Under the central government's leadership, school was a kind of community center that provided lifelong educational training programs for parents, especially mothers. There was a parental meeting hosted by teachers almost once a week. Accordingly, Korean women already had the experience of making a female community with the New Town Campaign and the parents' meeting was another excellent chance to empower Korean women through social activities. The government was able to diffuse their policies by utilizing school and the mothers' meetings. This is an excellent example of community cooperation among government, mass media, and local leaders through the optimal use of schools.

To simply sum up, collaboration amongst divergent Korean peoples led Korea to join the ranks of advanced nations. With a very strong leadership in support of education, the government wisely and effectively provided academic education as well as practical education. While implementing the New Town Campaign, it was possible to change the mentality of the Korean people so that we could escape from learned-helplessness. Also, with a proper education and a generational indoctrination system, it was possible to transfer the confidence that we have gained from the process of overcoming the problems in each generation.



Picture 6.1 Korea growth with education

6.3 Advances and Challenges for Exploring Alternative Educational Paradigm

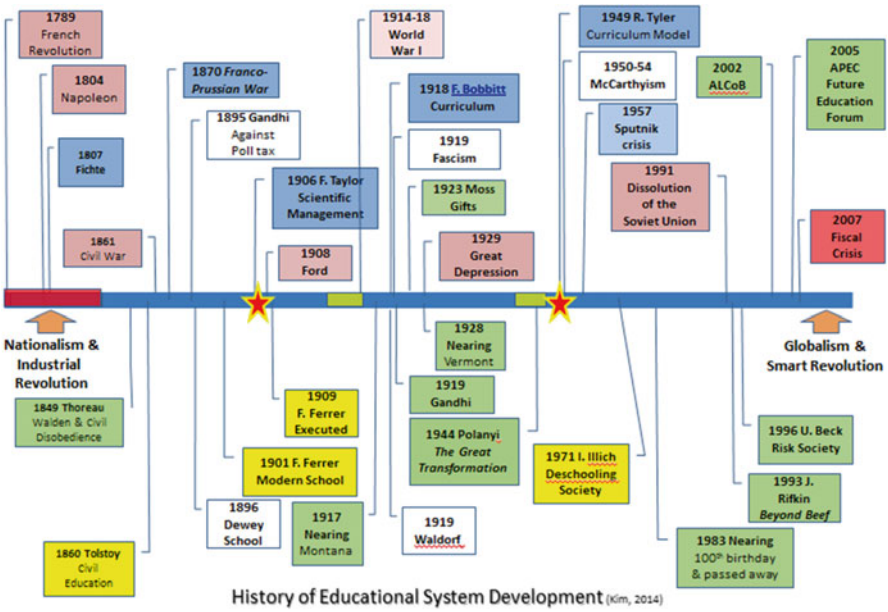
6.3.1 From "Schooling for Economic Development" to "Deschooling Society"

It is very interesting to analyze the history of education with that of economics and other major worldwide incidents. In the following picture, I try to show the directions of changes in history from Nationalism with the Industrial Revolution to Globalism with the Smart Revolution. In the middle of the two points, there are two stars that strengthened the trends of nationalism and industrial economy. The first star points to the periods of Fredrick Taylor's scientific management theory (1906) and Ford's car mass production system (1908) in USA. Ironically, in the very next year, 1909, Francisco Ferre, who was a pioneer of the modern school, was arrested and executed without any proof by firing squad in Spain (Picture 6.2).

The next star points to the periods of R. Tyler's Curriculum model (1949), which exactly elaborated Taylor's management theory into curriculum. Accidently, at that time in the USA, McCarthyism (1950–1954) was a leading motto in politics and soon there was the Sputnik crisis (1957) in education and politics.

The sputnik crisis focused American education more on the effectiveness and efficiency of learning and it automatically introduced prescriptive educational theories. After the Sputnik crisis, education became more and more servant to economic and political development and to work with the ideology between two leaders. Interestingly, in 1944, Karl Polanyi published a book *The Great Transformation* which can easily be considered a revolutionary idea compared to those of old. Polanyi actually predicted the collapse of economic systems, such as the "Fiscal Crisis in 2007," as the result of marketing of labor, nature, and money. In order to escape this possible disaster, he claimed that people have to control the economic activities under a humanistic vision of economics and society. Recently, his idea is gaining attention again as an alternative economic paradigm.

In 1971, Ivan Illich published the famous *Deschooling Society*. The key idea of this book is to regard schools as the advertising agencies that make people believe that they need the society as it is, and he suggested replacing schools with an opportunity web-based learning community. To support the model, he suggested four principles: (1) association with community resources, (2) utilizing good examples for learning, (3) peer-matching, and (4) partnership with elder persons. In 1973, he published a second book entitled *Tool for Conviviality* to proclaim the dissolution of the hospital system. Though there were many pros and cons to his theory, recently, there are many people who are paying a lot of attention to his theory with the arrival of smart technology. I believe his opportunity web model will be one of the major guidelines for utilizing smart technology for improving the whole education system.



Picture 6.2 History of Educational System Development (Source: Kim, Y. H. (2014). Exploring alternative educational ODA paradigm based on global challenges and Korean experience: Focusing on ALCoB. The keynote speech was presented at the 2014 International Conference on International Cooperation and Education Aid, at National Chi Nan University, Taiwan. 27 April 2014)

6.3.2 APEC Future Education Forum and Edutainment Park

In 2005, I suggested to the Korean Ministry of Education to initiate the idea of an APEC Future Education Forum to make a sustainable discourse to find a unique paradigm for Asia-Pacific oriented educational paradigm. After having several days of discussion, it was accepted. In 2004, in the APEC Education Ministers Meeting (AEMM), the Korean minister initiated this idea and it was welcomed by the other ministers. This agenda was officially accepted by the 2005 APEC HRDWG meeting.

From 2005, I had co-conducted research to find any futuristic model in APEC-wide education. In 2001, as a Korean delegate, I had a chance to join the OECD Future Education Roundtable Forum for 5 days entitled "School for Tomorrow" led by CERI (Center for Educational Research and Innovation), OECD. It gave me a shock because of the attitude of CERI. In the CERI perspective, education is a means of developing economics. I actively joined the session and gave diligent feedback as much as I could. However, I had a feeling that an Asian-style future education research forum is needed. That was the reason I initiated this idea to the Korean MoE. Finally, it was possible to conduct 3 years of cooperative research

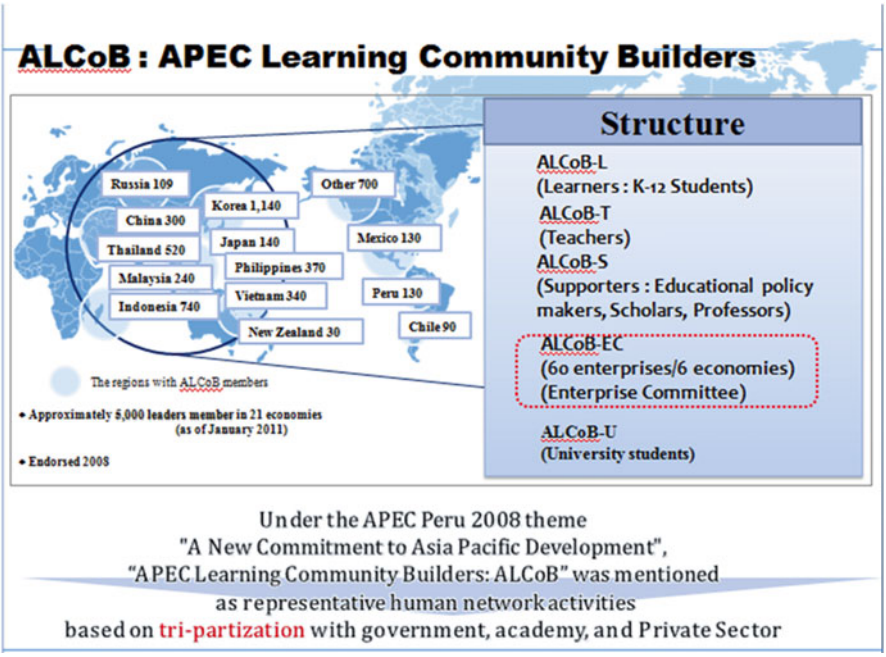
with 27 co-researchers from 11 APEC economies and we were able to conclude with the APEC Edutainment Park System. As quoted from Kim's research (2006):

> EduPark (Edutainment Park) is a place for e-Learning and physical exercise in a harmonized high technology environment consisting of exciting play and learning. It is a community of student, parent, and teacher. Therefore, EduPark is defined as: 1) A system to exchange learners and teachers internationally, 2) Nature-friendly learning and experience occurs, 3) Schools are linked to other schools in other cities, 4) The latest technology meets Nature, 5) Domestic learning experience can combine with international learning in cyberspace as well as in reality, 6) This blended environment leads people to reflect on experiences through learning, play, and adventure.
>
> EduPark can be a turning point for a value centered society. Given this point of view, there is a need to identify principles or important factors for EduPark and such factors as:
>
> What to teach: Learning for "Value": 1) Volunteering: for a meaningful and healthy life, 2) Having multiple philosophical perspectives to overcome the economic-oriented paradigm, 3) Understanding different cultures and communications with foreign people with joy, 4) Empowering self-esteem to choose appropriate goods and knowledge, 5) Protecting and cultivating the natural environment, 6) Sharing and caring makes us happy, 7) Studying not only for a job but also for true meaning of life.
>
> How to teach: 1) Learning with on-line, off-line, and hands-on activities (caution to the "only e-Learning"-ism), 2) Experiencing is good; self-reflecting on that experience is better; sharing the reflection is best, 3) Using adaptive technologies (e.g. intelligent LMS) for individualized learning, 3) Gaining help from divergent resources (such as international ALCoB), 4) Encouraging group work on- and offline, 5) Using different language, culture, location, and background of each participating economy (Kim 2006, pp. 77–78).

6.3.3 ALCoB: APEC Learning Community Builders, Legend of APEC

Having supported the APEC Edutainment Park System, the Korean Ministry of Education (MoE) has invested in one distinguished APEC project, named ALCoB (APEC Learning Community Builders) since 2003. From the 3rd APEC Education Ministerial Meeting (AEMM), in 2008, the ALCoB project was nominated as one of the two best projects by the APEC Knowledge Bank. From 2001, with the coordination of the Institute of APEC Collaborative Education (IACE), MoE dispatched Youth Internet Volunteers (YIV) to APEC developing economies such as Indonesia and Thailand. From 2003, after endorsing the ALCoB project from APEC, the YIV was changed into AIV (ALCoB Internet Volunteers) and AIV has expanded to more economies including Chile, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, Peru, the Philippines, Russia (Republic of Shaka), Thailand, and Vietnam (Picture 6.3).

Basically, the participants of AIV pay for their own international air tickets. MoE and IACE have provided the necessary training, donations, and local expenses in the foreign countries. The funding amount from the MoE for the ALCoB activities has been nearly the same for the past 10 years. However, the participants for AIV and ALCoB have increased rapidly. In 2011, ALCoB was composed of ALCoB-L (learners from K12), ALCoB-T (teachers), ALCoB-S (supporters: government offi-



Picture 6.3 The structure of APEC learning community builders (Note: Institute of APEC Collaborative Education (IACE) (2012). Progress Report of ALCoB (APEC Learning Community Builders) Project for EDNET Meeting in 34th APEC HRDWG Meeting on 9 February 2012 in Moscow, Russia)

cers, academia, and other supporters), ALCoB-EC (entrepreneur committee), and ALCoB-U (university students). The leaders of ALCoB are about 6,000 from 17 APEC economies, and the number of ALCoBs (including learners and general teachers) easily exceeds 500,000.

Now, ALCoB is definitely one of the topmost projects in APEC. There are many factors that made this project so successful. First, there has been sustainable support from the Korean MoE. Second, from 2005, independent of the MoE, IACE successfully invited divergent stakeholders such as Pusan Metropolitan City Hall, ALCoB-EC, Pusan National University, and Pusan Department of Education for ALCoB-related projects. The Korean MoE and IACE have dispatched AIV to Indonesia since 2001 and have gained two main outstanding achievements. The first one was in 2003. From 2001 to 2003, the Korean team dispatched AIVs to Indonesia annually. AIV teams provided Internet-related training for Indonesian teachers. During the last 3 year activities, there have been nearly 700 Indonesian trainees that have become members of the ALCoB. In 2003, just after the annual volunteer training, Indonesian ALCoB members had a meeting and decided to propose a very serious action to the Indonesian Ministry of Education (MoE).

They have asked the Indonesian MoE to raise the funds for ICT in education. However, the Indonesian MoE could not accept their request since they failed to convince the Indonesian Ministry of Finance (MoF) of the necessity of more funds

for the improvement of ICT infrastructure. Miraculously, it was possible to convince the MoF because the Indonesian ALCoB members sent almost 700 e-mails to the Indonesian MoE. The director general of the MoE forwarded the e-mails to the MoF director general to persuade him. It worked. The director general of MoF was impressed by the passion of the 700 Indonesian ALCoB members and it was possible to allocate much more funds for improving the speed of the Internet in Indonesian schools. This case clearly shows that Indonesian ALCoB members have the community power to cooperatively influence the Indonesian MoE.

While having Internet-related training from Korean AIV, Indonesian ALCoB members learned not only Internet skills, but also the meaning and potential of community power. Fortunately, they used the power very positively and cooperatively with the MoE. Since then, the Indonesian MoE understood the necessity of ALCoB thoroughly and started to make local branches, one by one. Now, in 2011, there are 37 local ALCoB branches in Indonesia (Picture 6.4) and the ALCoBs are working very actively as a group vanguard for ICT education.

During the last 14 years, the total funds that the Korean MoE and IACE provided to Indonesian ALCoB-related activities were not substantial. Compared to any ODA-related activity performed in the whole world, it is probably the smallest amount. However, the output of the ALCoB activities is rather influential in Indonesia, highlighting the beautiful cooperation of ICT in education. In 2011, the Indonesian MoE and ALCoB hosted the 9th ALCoB International Conference (AIC) and 7th APEC Future Education Forum (AFEF) in Bali successfully. In

No	Place & Year	No	Place & Year	No	Place & Year	No	Place & Year	No	Place & Year
1	Jakarta, 2001	8	Balikpapan, 2004	15	Nganjuk, 2006	22	Tangerang, 2008	30	Banjarmasin, 2010
2	Semarang, 2001	9	Mataram, 2004	16	Purwokerto, 2007	23	Ternate, 2008	31	Manado, 2010
3	DI Yogyakarta, 2001	10	Denpasar, 2004	17	Samarinda, 2007	24	Tidore, 2008	32	Surabaya (Cluster I), 2010
4	Bandung, 2002	11	Jambi, 2005	18	Biak, 2007	25	Palembang, 2009	33	Batam, 2011
5	Padang, 2003	12	Bengkulu, 2005	19	Makassar, 2007	26	Medan 2009	34	Pontianak, 2011
6	Solok, 2003	13	Pangkalpinang, 2006	20	Bogor, 2008	27	Bukittinggi, 2009	35	Pekanbaru, 2011
7	Kotabaru, 2003	14	Malang, 2006	21	Subang, 2008	28	Serang, 2010	36	Mamuju , 2011
						29	Banda Aceh	37	Lampung, 2011

Picture 6.4 Development of ALCoB Indonesia (Note: Institute of APEC Collaborative Education (IACE) (2012). Progress Report of ALCoB (APEC Learning Community Builders) Project for EDNET Meeting in 34th APEC HRDWG Meeting on 9 February 2012 in Moscow, Russia)

APEC, Indonesia became the fourth economy hosted by the AIC and AFEF with Korea (2011–2007, 2010, 2012), Peru (2008), Thailand (2009), Indonesia (2011), and the Philippines (2013).

What are the major elements of this success? Is it big funding? Certainly not! With the AIV activities, Korean AIVs show a good example of cooperation with different stakeholders such as governments, non-profit organizations, university experts, business members, teachers, and students. Indonesian members observed how to cooperate with others voluntarily from AIV members and put their new found knowledge to positive use. From 2006, the Korean MoE and IACE made a consortium to provide e-Learning training programs for the education leaders of APEC developing economies. In the consortium, there are four new members: Pusan Metropolitan City Hall, Pusan National University, Pusan Local Department of Education, and Korean ALCoB-EC. With the support from the consortium, IACE was able to invite about 15 educational leaders to the e-Learning leadership training program from Indonesia and these trainees accelerated the building of the local ALCoB branches in Indonesia. This can be one of the best examples of harmonizing development partners (or harmonizing donor-recipient relationship) in ODA.

6.4 Conclusion and Suggestion: Smart Systemic Change Model for Community-Based Educational ODA

Based on the aforementioned discussions and successful experiences, this study concludes and suggests an alternative community-based approach to educational ODA. In this case, community building should focus on enhancing the socioeconomic cohesion for inclusive economic growth with HRD, especially with a focus on primary and secondary education. In order to start this process, the first step is "Resource Hunting," which finds available people and resources in the partnering or recipient economy from the primary and secondary education sectors, especially teachers. The second step is "Vision Alignment" of the resources, especially those who can support teachers. In this stage, the motivations of the participants need to be evaluated carefully. The third step is "Resource Management" amongst the available human volunteers, vision, technology, and the reality of environment. While constructing the community, it would be better to start with pure volunteerism rather than the possibility of receiving any large ODA fund. The key notion of this stage is gathering the volunteer partners who have a very strong motivation to improve their socioeconomic situation.

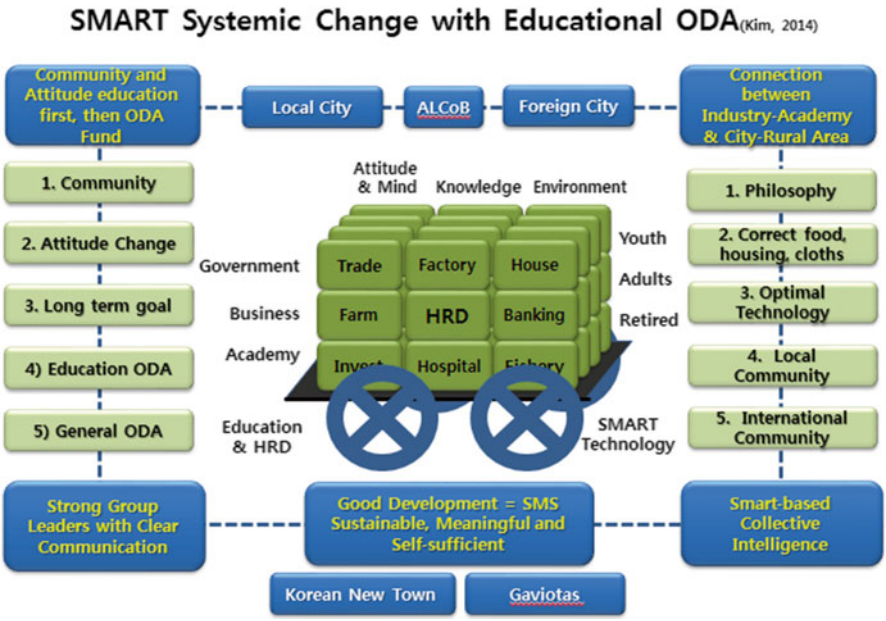
Community building has the power to bring about positive change. When the community members understand the benefits of change, their power is enormous, regardless of inadequate resources and funds at the outset. This kind of power is the key. With fragmentation comes weakness, so we need to focus on vision alignment. With strong and clear leadership, it is possible to make vision alignment, and it makes everybody work together and maintain an honest transparency within com-

munities. Having learned from the Korean New Town project where the government worked with schools, the government must ask schools what they need and prepare schools to work together in the decision-making process. In the same vein, the schools must invite the families of students to become involved in the education process. The schools must ask families what they want and motivate families to work together. This kind of partnership shares the feeling of decision-making and respects the views and opinions of all involved. It is open, accountable, and accessible to all from the government to the community members. This kind of transparent cooperation is what defines "smart learning community."

Finally, as a smart learning community builder, I see that educational ODA is to make people happy and live dignified and sustainable lives. In order to achieve this goal, any community builder should know what people really want to have before he or she initiates any construction. In order to fully hear and understand what people actually need, he or she must have an open, honest, and ongoing communication with people. He or she must be able to clearly define people's needs, difficulties, and life goals and be prepared to clearly deliver these messages to the appropriate government officials. The governments must be prepared to listen to and involve the community in the decision-making process and allow each community member to feel what has happened and changed. Now it is the time for welcoming a new educational ODA paradigm. A new paradigm that supports open and smart learning is not only supported by the community and partnered with the private businesses, but also recognized and supported by the government. A new paradigm supports a grassroots up system of smart learning where partnership, cooperation, and communication drive education into the future.

As shown in Picture 6.5, Smart Systemic Change must begin within the community where people are educated with attitudes, beliefs, and clear motivating examples of successful cases. Long-term visions that will in turn support sustainable growth and ultimately benefit the entire community must be shared and worked on cooperatively. Every community member from governments, businesses, academies, schools, families, and others must work together to streamline common goals and work together for the common good of a sustainable future where all people's needs are met. These needs include adequate housing, nutritious food, clean water, suitable clothing, and importantly, an education system that prepares learners for the future.

Having lessons learnt from Korean and ALCoB experience, I have seen how public–private partnerships can achieve amazing results. This movement toward Smart Systemic Change can be started with something as simple as a volunteer group, that is, a group of vision-aligned individuals working together to recognize the current problems and with the courage to try new solutions. I have seen it accomplished in some of the harshest and most unlikely of places with what appeared to be totally inadequate resources. Therefore, it is time to explore an alternative educational ODA paradigm and to lay down the foundation for a smart, healthy, sustainable future. Educational ODA in the post-2015 era should not be misunderstood as the business of a handful of experts, or considered as a drive to constructing a short-term tangible outcome. Rather, educational ODA should be



Picture 6.5 Smart systemic change model with educational ODA (Source: Kim, Y. H. (2014). Exploring alternative educational ODA paradigm based on global challenges and Korean experience: Focusing on ALCoB. The keynote speech was presented at the 2014 International Conference on International Cooperation and Education Aid, at National Chi Nan University, Taiwan. 27 April 2014)

decided and implemented in a process of innovation with a learning community of divergent development partners, and its process and outcomes are always openly shared with all.

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Chapter 7
The Evolving Patterns and History of Taiwan's Official Educational Aid

I-Hsuan Cheng, Sheng-Ju Chan, and Pai-Bo Lee

Abstract Since the 1960s, Taiwan had transformed from an aid recipient into a donor status. Due to its unique political tension with Mainland China, Taiwan's official education aid has concentrated on diplomatic allies and countries mainly located in Central America, the Pacific Island states, and Africa. Although geographically focused, the behaviors and patterns of Taiwan's official development assistance (ODA) have undergone a dramatic change since the 1960s. This chapter particularly aims to analyze the historical development of Taiwan's official aid in education with emphases on its evolving patterns and the wider political and socio-economic factors behind the aid behaviors.

7.1 Introduction

Along with the rise of Asian societies in recent decades, educational aid in this region has undergone dramatic changes. Asian countries received aid after the end of the Second World War due to the devastating destruction caused by military operations in this region (Tilak 1998). Japan, as a defeated country, also received American aid so as to rebuild its society and economy. Taiwan (Republic of China), once the only legitimate representative in the United Nations General Assembly, became a recipient country in the 1950s. Other countries in Asia, such as South Korea, China, Malaysia, and Thailand, were also under the financial and economic support of Western institutions such as World Bank and the International Monetary

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Fund, established on the basis of the Bretton Woods Agreement. It is clear that most Asian countries, including Taiwan, mobilized these foreign funds and resources to develop their societies.

However, the continuous developments regarding the economy and technology over the decades have transformed these societies including South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore into donor states, which are able to repay the international community by providing a variety of assistance. South Korea even became a Development Assistance Committee (DAC) member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation Development (OECD) in 2010, representing its important role in international development at the global level (Kang et al. 2011). Taiwan launched its aid projects since the late 1950s and early 1960s through the provision of agriculture expertise to its diplomatic ally countries. Nevertheless, international aid is not just about helping other countries to develop; it has been widely deemed as an effective instrument to strengthen diplomatic relationships (Lancaster 2007). This was particularly evident between the USA and the Soviet Union during the Cold War in the 1980s. Both sides provided abundant foreign aid to developing countries in order to consolidate military alliances and form political blocs. Nowadays, with the rise of China and India, international aid in Asia has become a new arena for emerging powers to compete with each other in order to gain more global political influence. China's large-scale aid projects in Africa even confront the mainstream international development discourse endorsed by leading Western countries (Haan 2011).

Some traditional recipient countries in Asia have become donors or played a dual role in international development (i.e., providing and accepting assistance simultaneously). The specific policies of these emerging donors and how they prioritize their international aid have become critical issues to a wider international development community (Carbonnier 2012). Their aid policies and behaviors are highly related to the traditional donors and well-established principles and standards of educational aid. Taiwan provides a good example of how an emerging donor redefines its role in international aid within its dynamic relationship with wider economic and political contexts at the global level. Furthermore, Taiwan's unique political tension with Mainland China also constitutes a main drive in defining the nature of its international aid. This diplomacy-driven aid has had great impact upon its policy-making and assistance practices. It is against this wider context that this chapter mainly aims to explore the changing features of educational aid and see the various patterns represented by different periods in line with domestic socioeconomic developments and international geopolitical changes. The structure of this chapter is as follows: It begins with a conceptual discussion about how Taiwan involves educational aid in a wider academic discourse. This is followed by a detailed analysis of how Taiwanese educational aid has evolved over the decades by dividing its history into two major periods, i.e., before the mid-1990s and after the mid-1990s. Based on the previous investigation, the authors propose that educational aid in Taiwan is moving toward partnership for progress and sustainable development in the chapter's reflective discussion and conclusion.

7.2 Concepts and Conceptualization of Taiwanese Educational Aid

In terms of theory, educational aid is a reflection of people's willingness and humanitarian intent to meet effectively and respond immediately to others' educational needs in every walk of life (Henderson 1997; Wheeler 2000). In practice, international aid generally and educational aid particularly have come to be seen as supply driven and Western rooted by most aid donor and recipient countries and so have been conceptualized in the Taiwanese context. The 1990s mark a time especially regarded as an important watershed of conceptualizing official development assistance (ODA) policies and practices of Taiwan. When the Cold War ended in 1991, with a historical farewell to a world that was previously divided into the two camps of communism and capitalism, the presupposition of a need to pour such a magnitude of grants and loans in order to maintain that dichotomous world order seemed to exist no longer. Instead, the division experienced during this decade in fact unveiled several important shifts within the international development context.

Firstly, a fundamental change in ODA policies urged a move from short-term and urgent humanitarian relief to long-term structural, economic, and social development. Secondly, both industrial and poorer countries were overwhelmed by the political, economic, and ideological shift from the confrontation between capitalism and communism to a capitalist-dominant world, from the government-led Keynesian economy to a globalized, neoliberal, laissez-faire market. An equivalent term, New World Order (NWO) or New Policy Agenda (NPA), was created. Under the NWO or NPA, development is equal to a modernizing process, and more precisely, prone to economic development. Going hand in hand with the promotion of the political right for a market-oriented and integrationist economy is an appeal to neoliberal democratization and civil society, as the latter are regarded as essential to the success of economic development. Thirdly, the concepts and contents of international aid in general and educational aid in particular experience a transition from ad hoc intervention and one-off base served for donors' national interests to international institutionalization and coordination for globally sustainable development.

Educational aid is therefore conceptualized and conceived as a social construct that is situation specific and dynamic and that changes over time (Fowler and Pratt 1997; Herman and Renz 1999). Moreover, derived from the arguments regarding aid effectiveness in the four High Level Forums in Rome (2003), Paris (2005), Accra (2008), and the latest Busan (2011), more attention is drawn to different aid systems, behaviors, and backgrounds of previous and present southern nations in Asia. Those Asian stakeholders, whether they are now emerging donors (like Taiwan) or are in transition from recipients to donors (like India) or still remain as recipients (like Cambodia), have followed international educational aid policies and practices (such as UN MDGs and EFA) but translated the effectiveness of aiding education in rather diverse ways. Taiwanese educational aid is also tailor-made to fit the nation's governance cultures, institutional behaviors and its even wider socio-economic contexts. With abundant experience as an aid recipient, transitional

country, and donor, Taiwan appears to be a unique and reflective case in which the universalization and standardization of international educational aid policies and practices have been observed, while simultaneously being conditioned by Taiwanese-specific discourses. In other words, the educational aid of Taiwan has been shaped and reshaped by its specific political and diplomatic situations over time and will be further detailed and analyzed in Sects. 7.3 and 7.4.

7.3 Taiwanese Educational Aid Before the Mid-1990s

Before the Taiwanese government established its bilateral overarching organization International Cooperation and Development Fund (Taiwan ICDF), responsible for the official development assistance (ODA) of Taiwan in 1996, the patterns of Taiwan's official aid in education varied depending on the Taiwanese government's top-down and supply-driven decisions during different periods between 1959 and 1996. To be precise, Taiwanese educational aid had evolved and revolved around the nation's diplomatic interests. On the down side, the aid provision during late 1959 and the early 1990s fell short of motivation and anticipation to coordinate with other official donors because of its ad hoc, project-based, and top-down decision making and its resource-unpredictable nature. On the bright side, the groundwork for the so-called Taiwan experience and its special reputation for vocational training and technical cooperation in the Third World were firmly laid.

Accordingly, Taiwanese educational aid before the mid-1990s can be better discussed chronologically and categorized into three different periods: the late 1950s to 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s to mid-1990s. By comparing the different and similar aid patterns and time-space backgrounds of these three periods, what constitutes Taiwan experience can be traced, as shown in 7.3.1, 7.3.2, and 7.3.3 below.

7.3.1 In the Late 1950s to 1960s: Leverage for the International Legitimacy and the Sole Representative of China

During this period, international relations were basically featured in the political tensions stemming from the Cold War and were also characterized by the overwhelming de-colonizing trend, whereby the Third World emerged and many colonies gained independence from their colonial rulers in the 1960s. For example, within the entire year of 1960, as many as 17 African countries were successfully independent. In the aftermath of becoming sovereign states, these African countries were internationally recognized and given with the United Nations (UN) membership.

By then, Taiwan had struggled to maintain and secure its Chinese representation and legitimacy within the UN system, where China was specially entailed with the

permanent membership of the UN Security Council. Before the year 1960, the dispute over Taiwan's UN membership had been technically settled by using 'Moratorium' (緩議案) in the UN General Assembly (Wang 2004). Given the UN principle of universality, each UN member country equally has one vote. Nevertheless, during the era of the Cold War, the emergence of the newly born African countries which joined the Non-Aligned Movement blossoming within the Third World very much led to increasing unpredictability and uncertainty in maintaining Taiwan's seat at the UN. Taiwan's government realized that the key to securing its UN membership was to lobby these newborn African countries, and as a result, the famous big-scale official aid project Operation Vanguard aiding African countries was launched in 1961, in return for African countries' support for Taiwan's Chinese representation in the UN General Assembly.

In fact, Taiwan's first official educational aid project was dispatched to Vietnam in the name of the Agricultural Technical Mission in 1959. Since then, Taiwan had shifted its position from an aid recipient to a dual role of being an aid donor as well as a recipient (and later became purely an aid donor in 1988). With confidence in the earlier pilot experience of aiding Vietnam, Taiwan's first bilateral technical cooperation agreement was signed in 1960 with Liberia. In 1961, Operation Vanguard Executing Group was set up in charge of the Operation Vanguard project. The Agricultural Technical Mission was soon sent to Liberia and then successfully operated there, with particular focus on cultivating local elites and experts in the agricultural sector, including aquaculture, farming, fisheries, farmers' organizations, hygiene, community development, handicraft, and processing food.

Operation Vanguard can be regarded as the starting point at which Taiwan began to make an effective effort to evoke international recognition and support. Before Operation Vanguard, only two out of eight diplomatic African countries voted for Taiwan's seat at the UN in 1960. However, resulting from the success in implementing Operation Vanguard, 17 African countries voted for Taiwan's seat at UN in 1962, while Taiwan only had official diplomatic relations with 15 African nations at that time. Compared with the agricultural technical aid provided by European ex-colonist countries and the World Bank in the 1960s, Taiwan's Operation Vanguard was even more attractive and feasible to those African partner countries. It is because the Taiwanese experience is mainly based on the principles of localization and self-reliance that , accordingly, some on-hand, transferrable, and adaptable techniques, skills, and tools like local irrigation and hoes (as opposed to complex, sophisticated, and expansive machines and engineering) were introduced in Africa. The principles of localization and self-reliance sustained the aid effectiveness even after the Taiwanese aid workers, trainers, and advisors of the Agricultural Technical Mission left.

In 1962, a permanent agency called Sino-African Technical Cooperation Committee (SATCC) replaced Operation Vanguard Executing Group. Later in 1963, Taiwan's successful aid patterns in Africa were scaled up and even duplicated in other continents like America. In the same year, Taiwan provided technical assistance to the Dominican Republic first and then to other Latin American countries. A responsive agency called the Committee of International Technical

Cooperation (CITC) was set up in 1968 under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to charge and supervise Taiwan's international aid outside Africa.

7.3.2 During the 1970s: Diplomatic Struggles for Friendships with Nondiplomatic Allies

In 1971, the UN General Assembly ultimately passed Resolution 2758, discarding the recognition of Taiwan but turning to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC) as the sole legitimate government of China. The 1970s marked the Era of Struggle in Taiwan's diplomatic history (Keh 2003). The passing of Resolution 2758 immediately resulted in the sharp decrease of the number of Taiwan's diplomatic allies in Africa and in the rest of the world. As a consequence of the diplomatic crisis since 1971, a new global layout of foreign aid and an accorded, more comprehensive and efficient agency was called for, in order to chart more strategic aid policies, mobilize necessary resources, expand the scale of technical assistance, and consolidate friendships with nondiplomatic countries. To do so, the Sino-African Technical Cooperation Committee (SATCC) merged with the Committee of International Technical Cooperation (CITC). At least two rationales behind the CITC's foreign aid provision were firmly anchored and found in this era of diplomatic struggle.

First, it was aid rather than trade that effectively responded to and helped rescue the fragile diplomatic relationships between Taiwan and other nations during the 1970s. Although trade seemed like a much-reciprocal, mutually beneficial, and sustainable way to consolidate the relationships between Taiwan and its nondiplomatic nations, the import and export values between Taiwan and those nations unfortunately remained low in the 1970s.

Second, it was the so-called Taiwan experience and its special reputation for vocational training that made Taiwan's educational aid attractive to partner countries and fit for their economic development contexts. Taiwan had successfully coordinated its educational policies with each stage of economic development. For example, this island state had set up its education policies to achieve the right balance between normal and vocational education in order to meet its changing labor demand. This had enabled it to nurture a sufficiently skillful workforce to support its industrialization and modernization and ultimately reinforced economic growth (Chen 2007). Since Taiwan had been experiencing different stages in its economic transition from agriculture to industry, its responsive approaches to developing human resources at different stages had proved the Taiwan experience to be an effective and better answer to the economic development of other developing countries, which were experiencing a similar transition process. In 1974, the first aquaculture assistance project was provided in Honduras. In 1978, the Taiwan Agriculture Technical Mission was sent to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Taiwan experience of developing human resources in the sectors of agriculture, fishery, aquaculture, and so forth were shared widely, and the interactive relationships with these nondiplomatic allies were accordingly strengthened.

7.3.3 During the 1980s to Mid-1990s: Progression and Institutionalization of Fighting for Sovereignty

To satisfy Taiwan's national interest to maintain sovereignty and political independence from the People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwanese educational aid in the 1980s had been inclined toward steady expansion but in a rather quasi-governmental operational mode. The latter consisted of a loan and technical assistance (TA). Technical assistance could be seen as a two-tiered approach to cultivating the human resources of partner countries: One was to send a technical mission overseas (an outbound approach), and the other was to invite elites from partner countries to get trained in Taiwan by conducting an international human resource training program (an inbound approach). In a stable progress, Taiwan had expanded and diversified its aid targets, including African countries in the 1960s, Latin American states in the 1970s and island nations in the 1980s. For instance, Taiwan provided technical assistance to the Marshall Islands in 1980 by sending a technical mission and establishing a training center there. In 1982, technical specialists and vocational trainers from Taiwan extended their vocational training projects from Honduras to St. Vincent. In 1983, Taiwan's technical mission arrived in the Solomon Islands. In 1985, a vocational and technical training mission from Taiwan entered the Palau Islands.

In 1988, the Overseas Economic Cooperation and Development Foundation (OECDF), under the Ministry of Economics, inclined Taiwanese educational aid toward institutionalization. The establishment of OECDF indicated that Taiwan's status in the international aid chain had changed from an aid recipient to an aid donor. The organizational objectives of OECDF were fourfold: to assist the economic development of partner developing countries, to improve the trade relationship between developing countries and Taiwan, to promote Taiwan's return to the international society, and to evoke international organizations' recognition and break through Taiwan's diplomatic difficulties. Since then, OECDF had been in charge of most of the Taiwanese educational aid programs, mainly in the form of loan and technical assistance. The latter further reflected the changing contents of the Taiwan experience and Taiwan's specialization in cultivating manpower from agriculture in the early 1960s to small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in the early 1990s.

7.4 The Institutionalization and Professionalization of Educational Aid Since the Mid-1990s

In order to coordinate and strengthen the functions of foreign aid, the Taiwanese government began to establish a new quasi-government body called the International Cooperation and Development Fund (ICDF) by merging OTCC and the IECDF in 1996. This specialized agency is entrusted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) with such aid operations as technical and medical missions and international human resource development. In addition to making related investments and

providing loans, it offers technical assistance, hosts overseas volunteer programs, offers humanitarian aid, organizes international workshops, and sponsors scholarships (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009). The emergence of the ICDF, on the one hand, represents the operational institutionalization of ODA and, on the other, reflects the need to professionalize the works of ODA. Previously, however, Taiwan had launched a range of related foreign aid initiatives that were operated by different governmental departments such as the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Council of Agriculture, the Department of Health and even the Ministry of Education. ICDF assumes the responsibility of coordinating all relevant matters under the supervision of MOFA so as to increase the effectiveness of ODA. Moreover, along with the increasing complexity and difficulties of effective aid at the international stage, the installation of a specialized and professional body for policy making, initiative implementation and outcome monitoring in ODA have been a common approach, as we can see with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in Japan and the Department for International Development (DFID) in the UK.

Due to the unique political relationship with Mainland China and the exclusion from international official organizations such as the United Nations and World Bank, almost all of the Taiwanese ODA has been confined to bilateralism, lacking substantial multilateral cooperation (Chan 1997). In securing its international recognition and diplomatic allies, Taiwan has utilized foreign aid as an effective instrument for promoting diplomatic relationships, particularly with countries in Central America, the Pacific Islands, and Africa. It is imperative that Taiwan prioritize the allocation of its limited resources based mainly on the need to maintain and strengthen relations with its diplomatic allies (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 9). This also explains why Taiwanese ODA is mainly concentrated in these areas. In meeting the needs of these countries, most are low-/middle-income countries, and these bilateral aids focus on certain areas or projects. For example, the total ODA provided by the Taiwanese government in 2008 was approximately US$430 million, or 0.11 % of the nation's gross national income (GNI), which falls far short of the UN standard of 0.7 %. Among the bulk of this bilateral aid, 66 % went into the infrastructure project, 11 % was technical assistance, humanitarian assistance took 6 % and education and training 4 %, with the remaining 5 % accounted for by budgetary support. This means that the annual budget for the education sector in 2008 only accounted for US$17.2 million. This is a relatively small total of expenditures as compared to other major donor agencies such as JICA or DFID.

Due to the characteristics of recipient countries and the limited experiences and expertise in running educational aid in Taiwan, the main aim of the ODA in education and training is to assist in creating employment opportunities and enhancing the overall capabilities of their people. The mode of the educational aid can be categorized as loans, grants, technical assistance, and training programs. According to official documents, educational aid mainly falls under three categories: vocational training, on-the-job training, and higher education (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2012). In terms of technical and vocational training, it is designed to assist partner countries to better prepare students for the job market and improve local vocational

training programs. For example, in 2008, Taiwan provided financial support to vocational training programs in Burkina Faso and to centers at which sewing and cosmetology are taught in Haiti. Other vocational training programs were also supported in the form of loans in Central American countries such as Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. In an attempt to reduce the digital divide in developing countries, Taiwan, in collaboration with Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 2004, proposed to establish the APEC Digital Opportunity Center (ADOC). In this initiative, seven APEC members collaborate with Taiwan to create these centers, and vocational training programs were provided in the field of information communication technologies (ICT).

Another main focus of educational aid in Taiwan is on-site training. This type of aid aims to offer immediate and field training courses for those who are already on the posts in the developing countries. Using its developmental experiences over the past four decades, Taiwan hosts a wide range of international workshops each year by focusing on the "Taiwan experience" as the primary theme and current major international development issues as secondary topics. These workshops cover environmental protection, ICT, economic and trade affairs, medical care and public health, and agriculture and fisheries. It is noted that the participants of these events, mostly government officials and staff members of international organizations, not only come from diplomatic allies or friendly countries but also originate from other developing countries. This widespread coverage indicates that educational aid in Taiwan aims to stretch a little bit by involving diverse country constituents. Higher education is another concern of educational aid since the 1990s. There are two types of scholarships provided for higher learning associated with international development and cooperation: the Taiwan Scholarship and the Taiwan ICDF's Higher Education Scholarship. These scholarships are used to attract diplomatic allies or friendly countries' students to obtain advanced learning at universities and colleges in Taiwan. Under the collaboration of foreign aid agencies and universities, these international students received better education and composed a skillful workforce beneficial to their mother countries as a result of human resource development. Therefore, higher education as a means of foreign aid can be helpful in raising the recipient countries' high-end talent and human resources while Taiwan can exercise greater and continuous influence upon these ally countries through the network of these returnees. In other words, this educational aid is also concerned with the political and diplomatic relations enshrined by the mainstream discourse of international cooperation and development in Taiwan.

In addition to considering the unique needs and positions that Taiwan faces at the international community, global trends in international development aid has been seen as the main benchmarking standards to be followed when undertaking foreign aid. According to the 2011 International Cooperation and Development Report released by MOFA, five of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), endorsed by a variety of bilateral, multilateral, and nongovernmental organizations, have been chosen to be the key goals for international cooperation, including eradicating extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary education; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensuring environmental sustainability; and

developing a global partnership for development (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2012: 24). Of these five goals, achieving universal primary education is directly related to educational aid. Interestingly, this developmental goal is not covered by the previous statements and discussions in official documents. Therefore, we may regard this as an omission from the public policy discourse. The concrete example of achieving universal primary education include a collaborative scholarship project for poor students in Burkina Faso between ICDF and International Federation Terre des Hommes since 2011. This initiative aims to provide scholarship to children who lack adequate family caring to receive primary education. In addition, ICDF also helped to build satellite elementary schools, improve school housing in Kiribati and launch a Free Basic Education Project in Gambia. All this indicates that Taiwan's foreign aid policy to some degree is consistent with the progression of the international development community though it is not a signatory country.

Although substantial progress has been made since the 1990s, further institutionalization and development of foreign aid have been established in 2009 and 2010, respectively. With the advent of President Ma Ying-jeou coming into power, "flexible diplomacy" (活路外交) and "diplomatic truce" (外交休兵) are proposed to replace the traditional discourse and practice; i.e., "money diplomacy," through which donor countries arbitrarily use financial aid in order to secure their diplomatic allies or relations without paying serious attention to the outcomes/results of aid work. Based on the new diplomacy discourse, for the first time, *White Paper on Foreign Aid Policy: Partnerships for Progress and Sustainable Development* was published by MOFA Taiwan in 2009. The new White Paper clearly defines the goals of aid provision, reviews the global trends in international development aid (mainly focusing on MDGs and Paris Declaration), examines the Taiwanese transformation from aid recipient to donor, analyzes the current foreign aid work, and finally sets up new approaches to foreign aid under flexible diplomacy. It emphasizes the multifaceted purposes of aid work including promoting ties with diplomatic allies and other friendly countries, fulfilling global responsibilities, safeguarding the security of fellow men, repaying the international community, and giving full play to the humanitarian spirit (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009: 2). At almost the same time, in response to the UN's Monterrey Consensus, which calls for donors to establish foreign aid policy and law, the *International Cooperation and Development Act* was enacted in 2010 and served as the fundamental principles and cornerstone of foreign aid in Taiwan. The emergence of the White Paper and the Law indicates a new era of aid work and professional development of international cooperation.

The White Paper sets up a new vision for educational aid. It has pointed out that "strengthening the development of human resources" is the key thought. Under this mainstream discourse, three targets are proposed, including the advancement of universal primary education, assistance in the cultivation of highly skilled manpower, and reinforcement of the links between occupational training and industrial development. In complying with the international development consensus, the new strategy of international aid in Taiwan is directed toward promoting broader access to basic education by providing greater funds for scholarships to poor families or children living in remote areas. Extra volunteers from Taiwan will also be introduced to

help improve the caliber of school facilities. With an eye to further preparing young students or civil servants for social and economic growth, Taiwan intends to cultivate high-end skillful manpower or human resources for diplomatic allies and friendly countries by offering scholarships to attend universities and graduate schools in Taiwan. These professionals or elites will become the knowledge leaders of national development in these developing countries. Finally, among the new strategic objectives, linking the occupational training and industrial development is essential to the effective utilization of the workforce on site so as to improve the national economic development as a whole. Better use of occupational skills can substantially upgrade the productivity of factory workers. To sum up, the main focuses of new educational aid in Taiwan are three dimensions ranging from widening the participation in basic education, cultivating a highly skilled workforce through higher education to smoothing the transition between on-site vocational training and industrial application. Basic education, higher education and vocational education/occupational training are the three chosen areas of emphasis in the future.

7.5 Reflective Discussion and Conclusion: Toward Partnerships for Progress and Sustainable Development in the UN Post-2015 Development Discourse

The purposes, patterns, and contents of Taiwan's ODA in education have gone through dramatic transformation since its first attempt in the late 1960s. The changing concepts of Taiwan's educational aid have taken root in this island state's political and diplomatic responses to its varying relations with communist Mainland China (also called the People's Republic of China [PRC]) and with wider international politics over time. Thus, the rationales that have changed over the years have conceptually underpinned Taiwan's ODA provision in education and can be clearly differentiated into the following three: Firstly, Taiwan's ODA provision in response to international relations seems to have followed an anti-communist and realistic position (in the Cold War era) to a neoliberal and even realistic idealist stance (in the post-Cold War years). Then, parallel with the shifting relations with Mainland China from competition to cooperation throughout the past 60 years, diverse purposes for Taiwan's aid in partner countries' education are observed, not only to build up political and diplomatic friendships with partner countries, but also to foster reciprocity in trade and mutual economic benefits between Taiwan and partner countries. In short, Taiwan's ODA has already moved from short-sighted "money diplomacy" to sustainable partnership building. Finally, in terms of concepts and constructs of aid effectiveness, Taiwan's ODA is first activated by self-centered ideas (primarily served for national diplomatic interests) and later embraces the mainstream concepts (mainly following Paris's principles) and now is gradually moving from an emphasis on aid effectiveness to a stress on development effectiveness in the international ODA architecture.

The establishment of Taiwan ICDF in 1996 signaled a new era when Taiwan welcomed the rapidly growing force of its civil society, its ambitious engagement in economic globalization and regionalization, and the ice-breaking and reconciliatory political climate shared with communist Mainland China. Since then, a direction toward professionalization and institutionalization of Taiwan's ODA has been guided, and such a direction in turn has triggered the obvious change in Taiwan's ODA forms and content in education. Comparison between what constitutes educational aid before and after the establishment of Taiwan ICDF in 1996 can be unveiled. Before 1996, Taiwan's educational aid was delivered in the form of loans and technical assistance, prominently for vocational and technical training in agriculture, primary industry, and SMEs' human resources. After 1996, many diverse approaches to delivering Taiwan's educational aid have been charted, including loan, grant, and technical assistance, for various sub-sectors of education: primary education, higher education, and vocational education and training. By comparison, Taiwan's aid intervention in vocational and occupational training after 1996 has developed in a wider range, from agriculture, fisheries, aquaculture, and SMEs to public health, medical care, ICT, economic and trade services, etc. In other words, the contents of Taiwan's aid to cultivate human resources of partner nations has significantly evolved in the trajectory with Taiwan's experience in different stages of the island state's socioeconomic development.

In conclusion, Taiwan's educational aid during the last century had been criticized as demonstrating a lack of transparency and coordination with other ODA agencies, deviation from the mainstream consensus, standards, and principles of ODA provision (such like the limit of up to 25 % of tied loans), and thus entrenching few aid recipient countries' rogue politics along with bargain over international aid. While Taiwan's ODA was pressured by the international community into rethinking the concepts of Taiwan's ODA intervention in international development, an interior and reflective sigh had been heard from Taiwan's growing civil voices and tax payers in questioning the legitimate and transparent usage of aid money, the overlap of aiding and resourcing, and Taiwan's relatively high transaction cost to deliver ODA, owing to Taiwan's diplomatic crisis and isolation in the past. Taking both international and national calls for ODA changes into account, the Taiwanese government launched its first White Paper on Foreign Aid Policy in 2009 and anchored its ODA with the concepts of "partnerships for progress and sustainable development" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2009). Taiwan's very proximity to international aid consensus is directed and, as a result, greater coordinative, cooperative, constructive, and mutually complementary relationships with other international aid donors become dominant in Taiwan's ODA in education. As the current eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are finalized in 2015, 17 new goals proposed for the Post-2015 Development Agenda highlight the importance of sustainable development and its institutional, enabling environment. To take greater responsibility for the post-2015 UN discourse on sustainable development, it is important for Taiwan to participate in the international community through its civil society organizations, private platforms, and NGO networks. Hence, a comprehensive institutionalizing process in Taiwan to engage a variety of public, private, and third-sector agencies in

effective dialogue and to develop a public consensus needs to be well established. To take greater responsibility for international development in the post-2015 era, the behaviors and patterns of Taiwan's educational aid are expected to evolve in line with Taiwan's reputational experience of socioeconomic development, which includes not only the successful experience of vocational education and occupational training delivery in the past, but also ongoing and progressive educational intervention in promoting human rights and democracy, assisting young generation's transition from learning to work, cultivating human resources fit for a globalized and flattened world, fostering nongovernmental organizations and civil involvement, and encouraging a multicultural immigrant society. All the abovementioned Taiwan experiences shared with partner countries and international ODA agencies are transforming what Taiwanese educational aid is about today and in turn contributes to a globally sustainable future.

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Part III
Lessons Learnt from Asian States' Transitions from Aid Recipients to Donors

Chapter 8
China's International Aid in Education: Development, Determinants, and Discord

Rui Yang and Jinyuan Ma

Abstract As a public good, international aid has contributed much to the educational development in developing countries since the end of World War II. As a continuity of a country's domestic and foreign policies, it complements foreign, military, and economic policies. China's has been an active provider of international aid. With a distinctive legacy inherited from ancient times, China's unique mentality has exercised great impact on its policy and practice in international aid in education. China's policy and practice have become increasingly significant as the Chinese power is fast rising globally. Research on this, however, has been much lacking, especially in the English literature. After analyzing China's lingering legacy of its ancient tributary system, this chapter depicts a general picture of China's international aid in education both historically and in the contemporary world. It then interrogates China's current practice and provides some policy options for future developments.

8.1 Introduction

International aid to education has been widely practiced since the end of World War II, especially the 1960s and 1970s. As a public good, it has helped less developed countries to improve their education conditions and promoted collaboration across national, regional, and sectorial boundaries around the globe. Recently, international aid to education has shifted its prioritized goal from economic growth to social justice, from its policy focus on vocational and higher education to basic education, and from an approach oriented to program hardware to one that pays more attention to software of the aided sector and/or program. Usually positive and transparent to assist the recipient countries to achieve strategic goals, international aid to education is often seen as a kind of smart power. It is generally categorized into three types: maintaining national security, projecting international influence, and gaining economic benefits. As a continuity of a country's domestic and foreign

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policies, it complements foreign, military, and economic policies. Motives for it therefore include political, security, economic, ideological, and moral aspects.

China's international aid is a tool for Chinese foreign relations. During ancient times, China had little contact with other sophisticated civilizations, and its aid to other countries worked within the ancient Chinese imperial tributary system.[1] The legacy of such a tributary system lingers on. During the initial days of the People's Republic of China (PRC), international aid went largely to the tributary states such as Cambodia, Korea, the Laos, Mongolia, and Vietnam. Previously China's foreign aid was much related to the worldviews of Chinese top leaders who often viewed China as a representative of world progressive force. Foreign aid was a significant complement to China's foreign policy and international influence. More recently, however, China has adopted reform and opening-up policies, and China's aid is increasingly separate from imposing political conditions on recipient countries.

While China enjoys great popularity especially in the developing world, largely due to its generous aid programs, studies of China's foreign aid, especially those to education, are much lacking. Despite some recent encouraging work, research on foreign aid to education lags much behind practice. So far, most theoretical achievements have been confined to a few selected fields such as economics, thoughts of Chinese national leaders and international relations (Liu and Xu 2010). Studies of China's foreign aid to education are much lacking, especially in the English literature. The limited literature on China's international aid to education focuses overwhelmingly on the studies of China's educational aid to Africa, while the work on China's educational aid elsewhere is virtually non-existent.[2] This chapter offers an overview of China's international aid. It portrays a general scenario of China's international aid to education, interrogates China's current practice, and provides some policy options for future developments.

8.2 China's International Aid: An Overview

China is one of the world's most experienced providers of foreign assistance, with an aid program dating back to 1950 (Reilly 2013). When the Republic was just established, China was indeed a poor country by any definition. Yet, the then China

[1] The Chinese international structure preceded and greatly differed from other systems that developed in other parts of the world. It was premised on the belief that China was the cultural center of the universe and that all non-Chinese were uncivilized "barbarians." The Chinese ruler, "the Son of Heaven," was considered the ruler of all humankind. All other "barbarian" rulers were mere local chieftains owing allegiance to the Middle Kingdom. Entering into the tribute system was a requirement for foreign countries wishing to enter into trading relations with China. Countries wanting to trade with China had to send "tribute" missions that legitimized China's superiority. The tributary system showed cultural inferiority on part of the tributary state, and a show of reverence for the recipient of the tribute. The tributary system served as the manner in which imperial dynasties ruling China conducted all of their foreign affairs.

[2] In the literature we have reviewed both in Chinese and in English, there has been no work specifically on China's educational aid in non-African countries. Bjørn H. Nordtveit's (2009) study on Western and Chinese development discourses has a three-paragraph session on Chinese education aid, which focuses almost exclusively on Africa.

was extraordinarily generous. Chinese leaders were committed to assisting other countries, even when the living standards in recipient countries were often higher than that in China. Oftentimes, China stretched itself too much to help others. For instance, from October 1949 to late 1957, China's aid totaled 2.1 billion RMB, of which 95 % was donations. China's aid expanded since the 1960s, reached its peak of a total of 5.798 billion RMB in 1973, which was 7.2 % of China's fiscal budget in that year. The absolute amount was even more than the foreign aid provided by the United States in the same year. China spent 5.88 % of its fiscal income on foreign aids in the 1970s, and its recipient countries increased to 66 (Liu and Xu 2010). During 1971–1975 when China was suffering from political turmoil and great economic difficulty, its foreign aid kept growing, reaching over 23 billion RMB. Meanwhile, China also completed 320 large-scale construction projects in 27 countries (Yang and Chen 2010).

A generally similar yet slight different calculation was done by Bräutigam (2009). According to her, China was providing aid by 1973 to 7 countries in Asia, 6 in the Middle East, 3 in Latin America, and 29 in Africa. From 1955 through 1979, China's official development assistance expenditures averaged 0.87 % of GDP and 2.98 % of total government expenditures. By 1973, the official development assistance spending reached 2.052 % of China's GDP, taking up an astonishing 6.9 % of total government expenditures – more than 25 % larger than the educational budget in that year. China had aid projects in more countries in Africa than even the USA (p. 41).

In the twenty-first century, especially since 2004, on the basis of sustained and rapid economic growth and enhanced overall national strength, China's financial resource for foreign aid has increased rapidly, averaging 29.4 % from 2004 to 2009. In August 2010, the Chinese government held the National Conference on Foreign Aid to summarize its experience of foreign aid work and define the major tasks for strengthening and improving foreign aid in new circumstances. China's foreign aid thus entered a new stage. In April 2011, the Information Office of China's State Council released the country's first White Paper on China's Foreign Aid which seeks to outline China's official aid policies, principles, and practices. According to the White Paper, China has been providing aid to the best of its ability to other developing countries with economic difficulties and fulfilling its due international obligations (Information Office of the State Council 2011).

8.2.1 Principles

The stated principles for China's international aid were formulated in 1964 when the Chinese government declared the Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to Other Countries. The core content of the principles featured equality, mutual benefit, and no strings attached. According to the White Paper in 2011, basic features of China's foreign aid policy are as follows:

1. Unremittingly helping recipient countries build up their self-development capacity
   China believes that a country's development depends mainly on its own strength. In providing international aid, China hopes to help recipient countries to foster their personnel and technical forces, build infrastructure, and develop and use their domestic resources, in order to lay a foundation for future development and embarkation on the road of self-reliance and independent development.
2. Imposing no political conditions
   China insists that it upholds the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, respects recipient countries' right to independently select their own path and model of development, and believes that every country should explore a development path suitable to its actual conditions. Therefore, China promises it would never use international aid as a means to interfere in recipient countries' internal affairs or seek political privileges for itself.
3. Adhering to equality, mutual benefit, and common development
   China maintains that international aid is mutual help between developing countries, focuses on practical effects, accommodates recipient countries' interests, and strives to promote friendly bilateral relations and mutual benefit through economic and technical cooperation with other developing countries.
4. Remaining realistic while striving for the best
   China provides foreign aid within the reach of its abilities in accordance with its national conditions. Giving full play to its comparative advantages, China does its utmost to tailor its aid to the actual needs of recipient countries.
5. Keeping pace with the times and paying attention to reform and innovation
   China adapts its foreign aid to the development of both domestic and international situations, pays attention to summarizing experiences, makes innovations in the field of foreign aid, and promptly adjusts and reforms the management mechanism, so as to constantly improve its foreign aid work.

8.2.2 Stages

China's foreign aid began officially in 1953, although real action started even earlier. By the 1970s, 55 countries in five continents had received aid from China (Liu and Xu 2010). Since 1950, China has provided aids to over 160 countries ranging from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America to the South Pacific, helping the people in these countries to establish over 2,000 programs that are closely related to their local daily life. Over a 100,000 officials and technical personnel have received training in China. Debts to China have been substantially relieved. Since 2000, China has announced four times to remit debts. By 2007, China had remitted 374 debts owned by 49 countries in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and the South Pacific.

China has been providing humanitarian assistance to countries hit by natural disasters. Since 1963, China has sent medical teams for over 20,000 times to 65 countries.

The past 50 years of China's foreign aid have shown various motives, foci, and priorities, with South–South cooperation as the longstanding underlying concept. Scholars divide China's history of foreign aid into different periods emphasizing the various features of China's foreign aids during the Republic's initial days, the open-door policy era, and the new stage since the mid-1990s. The first stage ranged from the 1950s to the 1970s with its central focus on geopolitics. China used its aids to establish close links with a large number of developing countries to build up its sphere of influence which differed from the Soviet bloc on one hand and the newly emerged Non-Aligned movement on the other. The second stage started with China's reduction of its foreign aid in 1976 which marked the beginning of China's realism foreign policy. During this period, although China's national strength increased, foreign aid did not grow substantially. The third stage began from 1995 when China adjusted its foreign aid policy to increase the focus on business exchange in addition to governmental aids and to utilize foreign aids to export Chinese equipment, raw material, and technology and proportionally increase loans with special interests.

8.2.3 Management and Approaches

The decision-making power in China regarding international aid lies with the central government. The Ministry of Commerce is the administrative department authorized by the State Council to oversee international aid. It is responsible for the formulation of aid policies, regulations, overall and annual plans, examination and approval of aid projects, and management of the project execution. The Executive Bureau of International Economic Cooperation, China International Center for Economic and Technical Exchanges, and Academy of International Business Officials affiliated to the Ministry of Commerce are entrusted with tasks of managing the implementation of complete projects and technical cooperation projects, material aid projects, and training programs connected with China's foreign aid. The Export–Import Bank of China is responsible for the assessment of projects with concessional loans and the allocation and recovery of loans. Chinese embassies or consulates abroad are in charge of the direct coordination and management of aid projects in the relevant countries. The local commercial administration departments are required to cooperate with the Ministry of Commerce to deal with affairs related to aid within its jurisdiction.

In providing international aid, the related departments of the Chinese government keep in close contact and cooperate with each other. In drafting aid programs and aid funds plans for each country, the Ministry of Commerce communicates regularly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and the Export–Import Bank of China to seek their suggestions. Some other departments of the State Council are responsible for or participate in the management of aid programs that require better professional expertise. In order to strengthen the coordination of the departments concerned, the ministries of commerce, foreign affairs, and finance

officially established the country's international aid inter-agency liaison mechanism in 2008. In February 2011, this liaison mechanism was upgraded into an inter-agency coordination mechanism (Information Office of the State Council 2011).

China's successful experience of development is highly unique and attracts wide interest especially from the developing world. Differing from other countries' experiences, it could be a potential pattern in post-colonial era. China's practice embodies the strength of traditional Chinese politics and culture, and crystallizes market forces activated by China's reform and opening-up policies in recent decades. The combination of such forces has greatly promoted China's development and formed the basic characteristics of China's international aids. Starting from the late 1970s, while South–South cooperation remained the fundamental concept, ideology became less emphasized. From the mid-1990s on, the role of ideology has become evidently less significant while both economic and humanitarian initiatives have been gaining prominence (Wu 2013).

China's international aid falls into three types: grants (aid gratis), interest-free loans, and concessional loans. Grants are mainly used to help recipient countries to build hospitals, schools, and low-cost houses and support well-digging or water-supply projects and other medium and small projects for social welfare. In addition, grants are used in projects in the fields of human resources development cooperation, technical cooperation, assistance in kind, and emergency humanitarian aid. Interest-free loans are mainly used to help recipient countries to construct public facilities and launch projects to improve people's livelihood. The tenure of such loans is usually 20 years, including 5 years of use, 5 years of grace, and 10 years of repayment. Currently, interest-free loans are mainly provided to developing countries with relatively good economic conditions. Concessional loans are mainly used to help recipient countries to undertake productive projects generating both economic and social benefits and large and medium-sized infrastructure projects, or to provide complete plant, mechanical, and electrical products, technical services, and other materials.

China began to provide concessional loans since 1995. Concessional loans are raised by the Export–Import Bank of China on the market, and since the loan interest is lower than the benchmark interest of the People's Bank of China, the difference is made up by the State as financial subsidies. At present, the annual interest rate of China's concessional loans is between 2 and 3 %, and the period of repayment is usually 15–20 years (including 5–7 years of grace). By 2008, such loans had supported 257 development programs in 74 countries. By 2009, China had provided concessional loans to 76 countries, supporting 325 projects, of which 142 had been completed. Of China's concessional loans, 61 % are used to help developing countries to construct transportation, communications, and electricity infrastructure, and 8.9 % are used to support the development of energy and resources such as oil and minerals.

Forms of China's international aid include complete projects, goods, and materials, technical cooperation, human resource development cooperation, medical teams sent abroad, emergency humanitarian aid, volunteer programs in foreign countries, and debt relief. Most recently, China's international aid has been taking an increasingly diversified approach. More attention has been paid to the role of

multilateral agencies. China has donated to the UN and ADB to help with development, participates in aid programs on university development organized by the UN and other international organizations. In 2005, China donated 20 million US dollars to ADB to establish a fund committed to regional poverty reduction, which was the first set by a developing country built within an international organization. In 2012, China signed an agreement with UNESCO establishing an USD 8 million funds-in-trust to support educational development in Africa over 4 years, with a special focus on teachers. By the end of 2009, China had provided a total of 256.29 billion RMB in aid to foreign countries, including 106.2 billion RMB in grants, 76.54 billion RMB in interest-free loans and 73.55 billion RMB in concessional loans (Information Office of the State Council 2011).

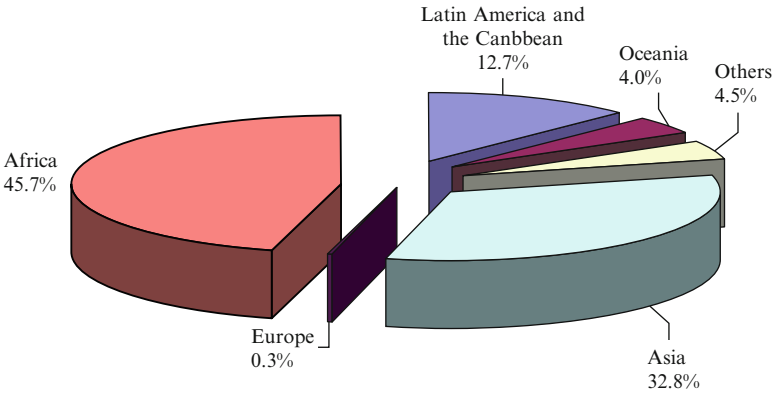
8.2.4 Distributions

A major purpose of China's foreign aid until the late 1970s was to break through US diplomatic encirclement. After the Cold War, China adjusted its diplomatic policy to focus on its relations with both major and neighboring countries. Since 1978, China's aid turned to serve domestic social and economic development by creating a peaceful international environment. By 1996, China had provided financial and technical aid to 102 countries including 26 in Asia, 49 in Africa, 15 in Latin America, 7 in South Pacific, and 5 in Europe.

The recipients of China's international aid are mainly low-income developing countries. China pays much attention to improving people's living conditions and economic development of recipient countries and makes great efforts to ensure its aid benefits as many needy people as possible. Geographically, China's international aid shows a reasonably even coverage. The recipients cover most developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Caribbean, Oceania, and Eastern Europe, as shown in Fig. 8.1. About two-thirds of China's aid goes to the least developed countries and other low-income countries, as illustrated by Fig. 8.2.

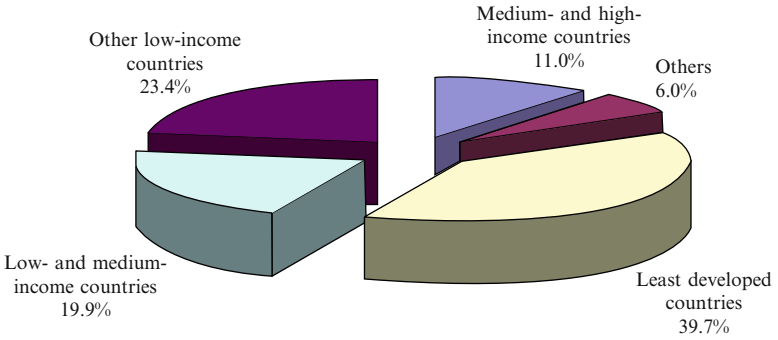
By 2009, China had aided 161 countries and more than 30 international and regional organizations, including 123 developing countries that receive aid from China regularly. Of them, 51 were in Africa, 30 in Asia, 18 in Latin America and the Caribbean, 12 in Oceania, and 12 in Eastern Europe. Asia and Africa, home to the largest poor population, have received about 80 % of China's international aid.

As exemplified by Fig. 8.3, China's international aid projects are heavily oriented to economic infrastructure, followed by industry, energy and resources development, agriculture, and public facilities. Education and health care are usually categorized in public facilities, as shown by Table 8.1. With the focus on improving recipient countries' industrial and agricultural productivity, China's international aid lays a solid foundation for the economic and social development in recipient countries and improves their basic education and health care.



Source: Information Office of the State Council (2011)

Fig. 8.1 Geographical distribution of China's International Aid Funds in 2009 (Source: Information Office of the State Council 2011)

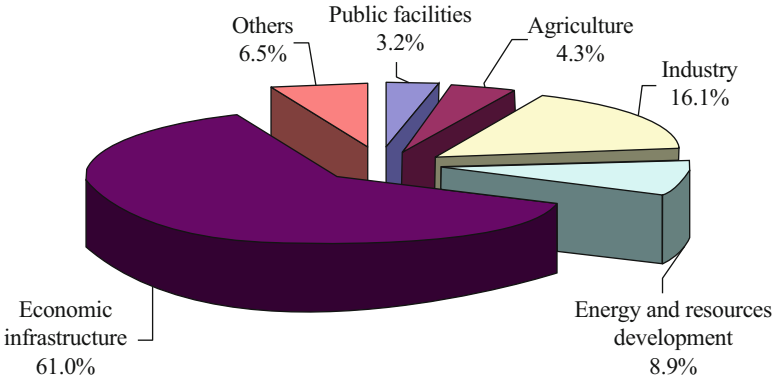


Source: Information Office of the State Council (2011)

Fig. 8.2 Distribution of China's International Aid according to the income level of recipient countries in 2009 (Source: Information Office of the State Council 2011)

8.2.5 Lessons

To some extent, China's history of international aid could be simply divided into two periods with 1976 as the dividing line. While the previous period was politically focused, the latter has been economically oriented. After years of readjustments, there have been some changes to the role of the central government in China's foreign aids. Financial institutions and business play their increasingly independent roles in the making and implementation of aid policy. Furthermore, China's foreign aids are no longer simply aiming at political support. They also serve for economic purposes. Another major change is a shift from the overwhelming material and



Source: Information Office of the State Council (2011)

Fig. 8.3 Sectorial distribution of concessional loans from China by 2009 (Source: Information Office of the State Council 2011)

financial assistance to a more balanced aid between them and the educational, technical, and medical.

However, China does not always gain what it intends. For instance, by 1978, China's aid to Albania reached 10 billion US dollars, which meant 4,000 US dollars from each Chinese citizen. One unintended effect of the aid was that it led the recipient countries to overreliance on external assistance. China's aid to Vietnam was the largest in amount and the longest in length, reaching 20 billon US dollars by 1978. The Vietnamese government, however, did not appreciate the kindness. Instead, Chinese aid became the bargaining counters of the Vietnamese government in its coercion with China. As a result, Vietnam profited much from China's conflict with the Soviet Union. There are also some countries trying to use the Taiwan issue to put pressure on the PRC government for more help (Yang 2009).

Meanwhile, Chinese people sacrificed hugely for their government's generosity in international aid, which was often far ahead of China's real economic capacity. China's foreign policy was often randomly made by their national leaders, without careful planning. For nearly three decades when China was suffering from extreme economic difficulty, international aid affected Chinese people's basic living standard, when there was great food shortage within China. Chinese people therefore paid dear price. Many Chinese people even sacrificed themselves in helping the recipient countries (Yang and Chen 2010).

8.3 China's Educational Aid

Traditionally, an important part of China's aid has been in the domain of education. China's increasing role as a donor has been reflected in its international education discourse (Nordtveit 2009). As part of China's international aid, China's foreign aid

Table 8.1 Sectorial distribution of completed projects with the help of China by 2009

Sector	Number of projects
Agriculture	**215**
Farming, animal husbandry, and fisheries	168
Water conservancy	47
Public facilities	**670**
Conference buildings	85
Sports facilities	85
Theaters and cinemas	12
Civil buildings	143
Municipal facilities	37
Wells and water supply	72
Science, education, and health care	236
Economic infrastructure	**390**
Transport	201
Power supply	97
Broadcasting and telecommunications	92
Industry	**635**
Light industry	320
Textiles	74
Radio and electronics	15
Machinery industry	66
Chemical industry	48
Timber processing	10
Building materials processing	42
Metallurgical industry	22
Coal industry	7
Oil industry	19
Geological protecting and mineral exploration	12
Others	**115**
Total	**2,025**

Source: Information Office of the State Council (2011)

to education shares largely all the aforementioned characteristics. The Chinese government has attached much importance to aid to education in other developing countries. For example, two of the eight cooperation measures put forwarded by China's then Premier Wen Jiabao at the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation in November 2009 were educational aid (Xinhua News Agency 2009). China's experience is quite unique. As a developing country itself, China has been active in providing educational aid to other developing countries for decades. China started to receive international educational aid in the 1970s,

yet it has a longer history as a provider of educational aid to other countries, right since the earliest days of the PRC. It is now highly necessary to review what and how China has been doing and prospect its future development.

8.3.1 The Development

In the 1950s, China began to provide financial support to students from other developing countries coming to China to study and aid Asian and African countries to build their own colleges and technical schools, providing them with teaching instruments and laboratory equipment. Since the 1960s, China has dispatched Chinese teachers to other developing countries. In the 1970s and 1980s, China began to train middle- and high-level technicians and managerial personnel from developing countries, who would work for the projects undertaken with Chinese aid. Recently, China has strengthened its aid to education in other developing countries, helping them build around 100 rural primary schools, increasing government scholarships and the number of teachers who come to receive training in China, dispatching more Chinese teachers abroad to help build up academic disciplines, and enhancing cooperation with other developing countries in vocational, technical education and distance education.

According to China's Foreign Aid White Paper (Information Office of the State Council 2011), educational aid from China has helped recipient countries train a large number of qualified personnel in the fields of education, management, and science and technology, and rendered intellectual support for their social and economic development. By 2009, China had helped other developing countries build more than 130 schools and funded 70,627 students from 119 developing countries to study in China. In 2009 alone, China extended scholarships to 11,185 foreign students who studied in China. China has dispatched nearly 10,000 Chinese teachers to other developing countries and trained more than 10,000 principals and teachers for them.

8.3.2 The Concept

International aid is usually provided by developed countries to developing countries. Aid providers have more say in the entire exercise. International aid is therefore necessarily political. China was once a recipient of educational aid. It is also a close partner of the South–South cooperation among the developing countries. China's such unique role has been most evidently demonstrated in its educational aid programs in Africa. Conceptually, China's educational aid to Africa has always been based on its principle of nonintervention into the domestic politics of the recipient countries. On the other hand, China's own success in basic education has offered China's aid strong discursive support for African countries to borrow the

Chinese experience of development. This has been especially the case since China adopted reform and opening-up policies three decades ago. Political factors have then become less significant. China's educational aid to other countries is increasingly delinked with political conditions. Meanwhile, China promises to gradually increase the absolute amount of its financial aid to education in the developing world, provide more personnel training for such countries, focus further on basic education, and steadily improve the overall effectiveness of its international education aid programs. It appears that China's educational aid without political conditions has been well perceived. The fact that China's educational aid is based on its successful educational development suits many developing countries very well, especially in comparison with those based mainly on commercial and/or political interests (Wu 2013).

8.3.3 The Practice

Overall, international educational aid has been a positive force to promote educational development in developing countries, such as those in Africa. A closer scrutiny, however, reveals the aids received by various countries are highly unequal, depending to a great extent on the relations between donors and recipients. It is fair to say that there has been no educational aid that is completely politically neutral. All nations and educational aid agencies have their own sets of criteria, and therefore their aid practices differ drastically. Most China's international aid to education is spent on building schools, providing teaching equipment and materials, dispatching Chinese teachers abroad, training teachers and interns from other developing countries, and offering government scholarships to students from other developing countries to study in China.

For instance, education ministers from China and 17 African countries signed "The Beijing Declaration" in November 2005, offering a joint vision and commitment to educational development and considering free and compulsory basic education as a human right. Key facets of Chinese educational aid to Africa can be found in the Action Plan deriving from the Third Forum of Sino-African Cooperation (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006). The aid covers five main areas: (1) provision of scholarships to African students; (2) setting up of rural schools in Africa; (3) training of African educational officials; (4) establishing Confucius Institutes in African countries to teach the Chinese language; and (5) encouraging the teaching of African languages in relevant Chinese universities and colleges. China also has a large program of capacity building for African officials in various fields, has dispatched teachers to various African countries, established research cooperation with a number of African universities, and has established research centers on Africa in a number of Chinese universities (Nordtveit 2009).

8.3.4 The Effectiveness

In the 1970s, many scholars reflected on why the large-amount education aid had made little difference to the basic education in recipient countries. Today, the educational situation in the recipient countries remains gloomy. This urges us to reflect further on the effectiveness of international educational aid. The USA, for instance, has long realized this, and has tried to empower the local agents to respond more effectively to their social and economic needs. In a similar vein, China is trying to base its aid programs more on its remarkably successful experience of educational development as a developing nation. At the same time, China is aware of the bottleneck issues in basic education in the poorest countries including scarcity of financial resources and problems with the institutionalization of educational systems.

For example, China's aid to African education pays close attention to fostering the local community's capacity to recover and further develop education. Programs have clearly targeted at indigenization of African education, stress the local needs, and train local professionals. The central purpose is to find a path to independent development of African education that suits local social and economic demands. Specific measures include shifting from providing to training teachers, from comprehensive to functional elimination of illiteracy, and from simply increasing school enrolment rate to avoiding dropouts and school repeats. Many informal educational programs have been set up to better meet local needs (Wu 2013).

There have been some new trends in China's international aid to education. As a rising global power, China tries to play down the influence of political differences in its foreign aid to education and attempts to treat all recipient nations on an equal footing. China stresses mutual benefits and close collaboration with recipients. China's education aid has been expanding in its scale, become more systematically planned, and further integrated with its overall international aid programs. The effectiveness of aid programs has now placed highly on the agenda. In line with Chinese policy making more generally, China's educational aid is featured by top-down agenda setting, careful planning, efficient implementation, and strict supervision. In general, the programs have achieved their intended goals. China tends to be selective in choosing its targets to provide aid, with particular focus on the least developed nations. However, in comparison with the US educational aid programs for example, those aided by the Chinese serve China's global positioning much less strategically (Wu 2013).

In recent years, there has been gradual yet increasing acknowledgment that leaders of developing nations have embraced China's sales pitch of easy credit, without Western-style demands for political or economic reform, for a host of unmet needs. The results can be clearly seen in new roads, power plants, and telecommunications networks across the African continent – more than 200 projects since 2001, many financed with preferential loans from the Chinese government (LaFraniere and Grobler 2009), as well as an increasing number of returning students who obtained degrees in China now work at good jobs in many developing countries.

8.3.5 The Weakness

China's educational aid has its unique problems and weaknesses, often related to its quick expansion of the aid and development sector. Nordtveit (2011) listed absence of a professional aid and coordination structure, ad hoc replies to demands, unstructured aid that does not always correspond to the needs of the recipient. He even notes that a puzzled professor based at the University of Yaoundé told him that his department had received a shipment of umbrellas from the Chinese. Similar issues had also been raised earlier, for instance by Kenneth King (2010) in his study of China's educational aid to Kenya.

China faces a number of challenges against a changed context of both domestic and international situation. For a long time, China's foreign aid to education has focused too much on higher and vocational education, with certain neglect of basic education. This is mainly because the effects of aid to vocational and higher education are far more direct and obvious. As for approaches, China's aid has been mainly via educational training, construction of educational basic infrastructure, provision of government scholarships, donations of teaching and learning equipment, dispatching teachers, and establishment of research programs in universities to help the recipients with local human development. However, for least developed countries, higher and vocational education indeed only covers a small proportion of the population. In some African countries, for instance, less than 1 % of the age cohort could receive higher education. The pragmatic mindset demonstrated in China's foreign aid to education together with its corresponding knowledge shortage of the human deprivation of local communities have affected China's more integrated policy making and implementation.

At present, international aid to education grows in a comprehensive way. Recent changes include shifts to sector-wide approach and program aid and from bilateral aid to multilateral aid. Based on the Millennium Development Goals set by the United Nations, China has now included basic education and medical and health work into its list of aid priorities. The central focus has also been shifted to human development and strengthening the self-development capacity of local communities. However, overall, the major work of China's foreign aid to education remains confined to hardware such as the construction of school buildings, only taking consideration of some software such as teacher training. Such strategies have shown their inappropriateness for systematic and integrated planning of China's foreign aid to education.

8.3.6 The Controversy

Although foreign aid has generally been used to serve donor countries' strategic, economic, and diplomatic objectives, as well as domestic interests (Lancaster 2006, pp. 5–8), China has been widely criticized for using foreign aid to secure access to strategic natural resources. Western observers view China's practice from their own

perspective. LaFraniere and Grobler (2009) reported that from Pakistan to Angola to Kyrgyzstan, China is using its enormous pool of foreign currency savings to cement diplomatic alliances, secure access to natural resources, and drum up business for its flagship companies. Foreign aid – typically cut-rate loans, sometimes bundled with more commercial lines of credit – is central to this effort. More recently, Reilly (2013) points out that China has repeatedly used its foreign aid programs to advance broader strategic and economic objectives internationally including securing access to strategic natural resources. In their eye, China is hardly unique in using foreign aid to advance its strategic interests, although the fact is the bulk of China's aid program is not directed to resource extraction.

China is hardly unique in using foreign aid to advance its strategic interests, although the fact is the bulk of China's aid program is not directed to resource extraction.

Even some well-known China watchers have expressed their strong prejudices and misunderstandings. David Shambaugh, for example, is reported to remark that "Foreign aid really is a glaring contradiction to the broader trend of China's adherence to international norms. It is so strikingly opaque it really makes one wonder what they are trying to hide" (LaFraniere and Grobler 2009). Some even claim that China's aid has interrupted the due economic development and social stability in the recipient countries. For instance, Sephanie Giry (2004), a senior editor of *Foreign Affairs*, insists that China's activities in Africa has complicated the process of democratization in Africa, and China will eventually destroy America's global anti-terrorism strategy and lead to the nuclear-weapon proliferation.

Others have different observations. According to Nordtveit (2009), China's overseas development model is largely similar to the West: being growth-oriented, with a different discourse from that of the West. China's aid to African education does not seem to mirror China's investment priorities in Africa and can therefore not be reduced to solely being an economic tool. Some of the aid can be seen as having an indirect economic benefit for Chinese investments. For example, the teaching of Chinese to Africans (through scholarships in China and through the Confucius Institutes in Africa), in addition to being a cultural and diplomatic strategy, can also be seen as a part of the economic development strategy of China. Many of the students graduating from these studies will be employed as translators in Chinese companies in Africa. Seen from a development perspective, the education aid is in itself not very different from the aid offered by many Western states, which also promotes their own political and economic concerns through educational development packages for the recipient country. In many ways, it can be argued that China is following a very traditional path, although using a different vocabulary.

8.4 Concluding Issues

While international aid has made some progress during its history of six decades, sometimes quite extraordinary, it is fair to point out that it has always been difficult for international aid to achieve what it intends to achieve. There has even been an

aid fatigue recently (Xiong 2013). For a long period, international aid was criticized for the old development relationships: that the donors drove top-down agendas which often did not fit with recipient country conditions; that recipient countries were insufficiently committed to international aid agendas; and that donors imposed excessive transaction costs and undermined state capacity by setting up multiple parallel systems to agree, implement, and monitor international aid funding activities, rather than working through existing recipient country systems (Mawdsley et al. 2014).

Recent discussions tend to focus on the reasons for the inefficacy of aid programs. Over the late 1990s and new millennium, a remarkable degree of consensus appeared to consolidate around a set of principles and targets that became known as the "aid effectiveness paradigm" or "Paris Agenda". Recipient countries take greater ownership and responsibility for their own poverty reduction and development strategies. Meanwhile, there is a global commitment to tangible target-led development results. Donors were asked to align with the goals and agendas of recipient countries and to work within existing administrative and accounting systems. Nowadays, there have been increasing calls for more attention to the much-needed active role of the recipient societies and to the cooperation between donors and recipients, with a wide range from ownership, adjustment of aid programs to coordination and quality control (Zheng 2011).

Recipients of educational aid are usually disadvantaged economically and politically. How to effectively meet their local needs has been a central focus of aid providers and international organizations. Basic education, as part of educational aid, is the basis for education at other levels. It is also closely related to the comprehensive development of local communities. This is why many aid providers and international organizations now place basic education highly on their agendas, especially in the programs in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Major issues include whether or not aid to basic education covers various needs of the people at different stages of development; whether or not aid programs benefit recipients directly; and whether or not educational aid can help the recipients to become more able to develop their communities in a sustainable manner. These issues determine if aid programs can succeed and continue.

William Easterly (1997) calls international aid "The White Man's Burden". He claims that the West's efforts to aid the rest have done much ill and little good. This is not only incorrect, but also culturally arrogant. Donors of international aid to education are not only limited to Western societies. China and India, for instance, have been major forces in international aid to education. China has indeed gained an international reputation in this arena. At a conference organized by UNESCO in Beijing in 2005, a high official from USAID spoke highly of China's contribution to international aid to education as a great emerging force (Wu 2005). As China's global role rises, it is safe to expect even bigger increases of China's international aid to education.

Some argue that China is creating its own approach to international aid to education, with distinct logics, practices, and foci. The Chinese media likes to use a proverb from Lao-Tzu to describe China's logic of educational assistance for Africa: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach him how to fish and you feed

him for a lifetime" (Yuan 2011). However, the difference of China's aid modality from the Western is on the basis of an assumption of the "normality" of the Western framework or logic of aid. This is often inappropriate as Chinese aid is not about doing stand-alone projects or directly financing in order to reduce transaction costs, nor about giving more or less ownership to recipient countries, or whether they should intervene into the recipient countries' governance issues. China's aim is pragmatic to create a win-win situation. Unlike Western "aid" from the beginning, the Chinese approach is a blended model of aid, investment, trade, and technology as levers for development and embeds education into the wider and more complex political economic context.

China has distinguished herself by a discourse based on notions of "win-win" friendship and noninterference. Therefore, a major feature of China's role is a member from the South working as a partner of South–South cooperation. This distinguishes China's educational aid approaches from those of the traditional donors. However, as both China's domestic and international situation change, China will run the risk of being perceived as an aid donor rather than in its preferred role of being seen as a large developing country involved, to the best of its ability, in South–South cooperation with other developing countries (King 2009). The challenge for China is to work out ways to maintain its distinction from the discourse and practices of the traditional donors.

China's international aid policy has resulted from a variety of factors. Culturally, China has a tradition to "support the weak neighbors to resist their powerful enemies." As noted above, such a "great-nation" attitude is partly due to the historical "center-periphery" geo-political and economic ecology in the region which was considered as the Majesty of China situated in the center and surrounded by the relatively smaller neighbor countries. The attitude, together with nationalism and communism ideology brought in with the victory of China's revolution, had eventually evolved into the theme motivation in China's international aid policy during the 1950s–1970s. China's convictions in its ideological choice and the value-laden anticipation to extend this model to the other areas are another major factor. A further factor is China's own economic and political needs within the current global system. These factors have played different roles in different periods of time, but have always been interweaved with each other and have a combined effect on China's unique international aid scheme in parallel with that of the West.

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Chapter 9
Quest for Asian World City Status and Promotion of Global Citizenship: Hong Kong's Responses to Development and Aid Projects in the Region

Ka Ho Mok and Kar Ming Yu

Abstract Aspiring to become a world city in Asia, Hong Kong has made serious attempts to promote global citizenship by partnering with international and local organizations to support international humanitarian projects. Well aware of its affluent conditions, the city government has made series of attempts to contribute in cash or in kind in terms of development and aid projects in recent years. This chapter critically examines how the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) has approached international development and aid projects by partnering with international NGOs for reaching out to the areas that require special attention, care, and financial support. This chapter will focus on the way that government and nongovernment organizations coordinate and work together in promoting humanity-related projects, especially examining the uniqueness of the governance structures and models of these development and aid projects adopted by the HKSAR Government. This chapter also reflects upon a new mode of governance in promoting humanitarian projects through strengthening both governmental and nongovernmental cooperation.

9.1 Introduction

Global cities or world cities are the places where the forces of globalization are most intense: where multinational businesses, international banks, and transnational social and political organizations are most likely to have international and regional

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headquarters. As key wealth generators, they feature a high concentration of high-income workers but they also typically have higher-than-normal levels of poverty, and inequality not least because of the increased housing and living costs present in global economic hotspots. In addition, global cities typically feature significantly higher-than-average levels of immigration, have fewer-than-average children, and have more highly skilled workers than average. They are typically growing population centers, attracting workers/talents from inside and outside of their national boundaries. In short, they are sites of heightened significance in the globalized economy, but also sites of heightened social inequality and where acute policy challenges exist. In both economic and social terms, the challenges they face often have more in common with those in other global cities in foreign territories than they do with geographically neighboring localities of lesser significance to the global economy (Mok and Yu 2011).

Geographers, economists, and sociologists have reflected at length on the nature and meaning of global cities. Castells' (2000) wide-ranging notion of a "network society" has been extensively cited by those exploring the new global economy. He claims that, fuelled by new ICTs that annihilate barriers of time and place, the modern economy is centered around global informational networks in which the territorial boundaries of nation-states have much less relevance than in the past. More specifically, he suggests that the "space of flows" has superseded the "space of place": Where once industry relied on spatially concentrated co-location of complimentary production processes, now there is an "international spatial division of labour" (2000, p. 418) with "a new industrial space [that] is organized around flows of information that bring together and separate at the same time – depending upon cycles or firms – their territorial components" (2000, p. 424).

Aspiring to become an international city in Asia, Hong Kong shares the features of a global city, as we briefly outlined above. Positioning as a world city, the HKSAR Government has made attempts to bear the global responsibility to support development and aid projects across different parts of the globe on humanitarian ground. Believing that people who have bigger abilities should bear more responsibilities, the HKSAR Government has tried to engage with international organizations to support international humanitarian projects worldwide.

9.2 Hong Kong's Mode of Humanitarian Work

Hong Kong, being a city-state and as part of China, has not directly involved in development and aid projects as compared to other nation-states or national governments. The way that the HKSAR Government has adopted is to partner with major international/regional organizations in support of development and aid-related projects. While engaged as a partner, the HKSAR Government plays a coordinative role in terms of allocating financial resources and the occasional deployment of special task forces or salvation squads to areas affected by natural disasters reinforced with development and aid projects. The following part discusses how partnerships are

formed between the HKSAR and major international/regional NGOs in support of humanitarian projects worldwide.

Instead of taking up a role as service provider, the major role of the HKSAR Government is to facilitate and coordinate development and aid-related projects by partnering with major international NGOs. One major contribution that the HKSAR Government has made to worldwide development and humanitarian work is to offer financial support. The Hong Kong Government Disaster Relief Fund provides financial support to local and international organizations for undertaking a diversity of development and aid projects for humanitarian purposes. The fund welcomes applications from any organization from any country which is committed to humanitarian work.

9.3 Hong Kong Providing Funding Support for Humanitarian Projects

The Disaster Relief Fund was established on 1 December 1993, following the introduction of a resolution under section 29 of the Public Finance Ordinance (PFO) into the Legislative Council (Leg Co.). It is to provide a ready mechanism for Hong Kong to respond swiftly to international appeals for humanitarian aid in relief of disasters that occur outside Hong Kong. With an initial appropriation of $50 million from the General Revenue, the Fund is topped up at the start of each financial year and as necessary during the financial year, depending on calls for relief and the size of the fund balance and commitments then.

As with all other funds covered by the Public Finance Ordinance, the Financial Secretary has been designated as the administrator of the fund. The Legislative Council Finance Committee's approval is required for each disbursement exceeding the limit of the delegated power, which at present is $8 million. The fund is audited by the Audit Commission annually and the audited accounts are submitted to the Legislative Council for information.

9.3.1 Operation of the Disaster Relief Fund

The HKSAR Government has set up an advisory committee to guide the relief fund. Members of the Disaster Relief Fund Advisory Committee are appointed by the Chief Executive, and the Chairman is the Chief Secretary for Administration (ex-officio). The Disaster Relief Fund Advisory Committee is responsible for advising on (1) the policy and practices regarding the disbursements from the Disaster Relief Fund for disaster relief outside the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, (2) the award of grants of specified amounts from the Disaster Relief Fund to specified recipients, and (3) monitor the use of grants by the recipients of the disbursements from the Disaster Relief Fund.

Grants are only to be made in case of a specific disaster of such nature and scale that stimulate a response by the international community; ongoing problems will not be granted. The relief organization reports to the Committee the critical project milestones, including the commencement date and completion date of a project, within 1 month from the respective scheduled date. Should there be signs of deviation from the approved targets, inclusive of the schedule, relief area, number of victims benefited, etc., the relief organization is required to obtain prior approval from the Committee.

Then, the relief organization should submit an evaluation report and an audited account on the use of the grant within 6 months upon completion of the relief program. The evaluation report submitted should comprise an overall assessment of the program in terms of the number of victims benefited and the total time used to provide emergency relief to them. Other information such as a statement of need, project goal, relief items, timeliness of relief actions, coordination with other relief organizations, monitoring effort and project finance, etc. should also be provided, where applicable. The evaluation report and audited accounts are reviewed by the Secretariat of the Committee and the Audit Commission during the annual audit of the fund to ensure that the grant conditions are complied with.

By 31 March 2012, the Committee had received a total of 374 applications for grants from the fund, 306 applications involving $1,478.16 million in total were approved, representing a success rate of 81.82 %.

- 77.47 % (amounting to $1,145.11 million) of the total approved grants were used for carrying out relief programs in Mainland China.
- 4.30 % ($63.62 million) used in Taiwan.
- 12.97 % ($191.67 million) used in the rest of Asian countries.
- 3.38 % ($49.95 million) used in Africa.
- 1.47 % ($21.66 million) used in Latin America.
- 0.41 % ($6.15 million) used in Oceania.[1]

Around 34.31 % (105 cases) of all programs approved by the Committee were used for the relief of flood victims.

- 32.03 % (98 cases) for earthquake/tsunami victims
- 12.09 % (37 cases) for drought/famine victims
- 9.80 % (30 cases) for typhoon/cyclone victims
- 7.52 % (23 cases) for snowstorm victims
- 4.25 % (13 cases) for other disasters[2]

[1] Disaster Relief Fund Advisory Committee (2012). Report on the Disaster Relief Fund 2011–2012. Retrieved June 2012, from http://www.admwing.gov.hk/pdf/DRF%20annual%20report%202011-12_eng.pdf

[2] Disaster Relief Fund Advisory Committee (2012). Report on the Disaster Relief Fund 2011–2012. Retrieved June 2012, from http://www.admwing.gov.hk/pdf/DRF%20annual%20report%202011-12_eng.pdf

The Disaster Relief Fund's grant should be given to the government concerned or to a reputable relief organization in the field. Up to 5 % of the grant may be used to cover overheads or other administrative costs. The rest should be spent entirely on disaster relief services and activities. The government/relief organization concerned should be required to submit an evaluation report and an audited account, respectively, to the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region on the use of the grant within a specified period.

A total of 15 relief agencies and 8 governments had received grants from the fund:

- World Vision Hong Kong received $241.67 million (16.30 %).
- Hong Kong Red Cross received $ 102.03 million (6.90 %).
- The Salvation Army Hong Kong and Macau Command received $83.35 million (5.60 %).
- Oxfam Hong Kong received $75.07 million (5.10 %).
- Medecins Sans Frontieres received $37.97 million (2.60 %).
- Mainland China Governments and Authorities received $785.10 million (53.10 %).
- Chung Hwa Travel Service received $50.00 million (3.40 %).
- Governments of Indonesia, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Pakistan, and Japan totally received $9.73 million (0.70 %).
- Other relief organizations such as ADRA China, The Amity Foundation, The Association of Chinese Evangelical Ministry, Cedar Fund, Hong Kong Committee for United Nations Children's Fund, Jian Hua Foundation, Mercy Corps, Operation Blessing Hong Kong, Save the Children, and Social Workers Across Borders totally received $93.24 million (6.30 %).[3]

Table 9.1 shows different types of grants being approved by the Disaster Relief Fund in 2011–2012, supporting international organizations to honor the mission of the HKSAR Government for promoting global responsibilities.

9.4 Promoting Global Citizenship: Partnering with International Organizations for Development/Aid Projects

As we highlighted above, the approach that the HKSAR Government has adopted is to partner with major international/local organizations in reaching out to the region or other parts of the world in supporting humanitarian work. The following section critically examines how the HKSAR Government has worked with some major international/regional organizations in realizing the global responsibilities of Hong Kong in development and aid-related projects.

[3] Disaster Relief Fund Advisory Committee (2012). Report on the Disaster Relief Fund 2011–2012. Retrieved June 2012, from http://www.admwing.gov.hk/pdf/DRF%20annual%20report%202011-12_eng.pdf

Table 9.1 Disaster relief fund approved in 2011–2012

	Applicant	Date of approval	Beneficiaries	Contents of program	Relief areas	Grant approved ($ million)
1	Japanese Government	4 April 2011	Earthquake victims	Canned food and socks	Japan	5.00
2	World Vision Hong Kong	20 April 2011	Earthquake victims	Zinc roofing sheets as shelter materials	Myanmar	2.00
3	World Vision Hong Kong	28 June 2011	Flood Victims	Rice and quilt	Hunan and Jiangxi, China	4.00
4	The Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited	28 June 2011	Flood Victims	Rice, cooking oil, quilt and tents	Guizhou and Hunan, China	3.41
5	The Association of Chinese Evangelical Ministry Limited	26 July 2011	Flood victims	Rice	Sichuan, China	1.40
6	World Vision Hong Kong	2 August 2011	Drought victims	Cereals and vegetable oil	Ethiopia	3.00
7	World Vision Hong Kong	2 August 2011	Drought victims	Cereals and vegetable oil	Kenya	3.00
8	Oxfam Hong Kong	25 August 2011	Drought victims	Water storage containers, water treatment tablets (chlorine) and soaps	Ethiopia	3.00
9	The Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited	6 September 2011	Drought victims	Rice and cooking oil	Guangxi, China	1.38
10	World Vision Hong Kong	4 October 2011	Drought victims	Rice	Guizhou, China	3.00
11	Oxfam Hong Kong	4 October 2011	Drought victims	Rice	Guizhou, China	1.34
12	Oxfam Hong Kong	4 October 2011	Drought victims	Rice	Yunnan, China	2.00
13	World Vision Hong Kong	28 October 2011	Typhoon victims	Food	The Philippines	1.50
14	ADRA Limited	4 November 2011	Flood victims	Food	Cambodia	0.50
15	World Vision Hong Kong	4 November 2011	Flood victims	Food	Thailand	3.00

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

	Applicant	Date of approval	Beneficiaries	Contents of program	Relief areas	Grant approved ($ million)
16	Save the Children Hong Kong Limited	21 November 2011	Flood victims	Hygiene kits	Thailand	1.00
17	World Vision Hong Kong	30 December 2011	Typhoon victims	Food, blanket, mat and hygiene kits	The Philippines	2.00
18	Save the Children Hong Kong Limited	5 January 2012	Typhoon victims	Household kits	The Philippines	1.00
19	The Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited	17 April 2012	Drought victims	–	Yunnan, China	3.28
20	World Vision Hong Kong	15 May 2012	Drought victims	–	Mali and Niger	6.00
21	World Vision Hong Kong	1 June 2012	Drought victims	–	Yunnan, China	2.00
22	Save the Children Hong Kong	27 June 2012	Flood and hailstorm victims	–	Gansu, China	0.50
23	World Vision Hong Kong	21 August 2012	Flood	–	Hunan and Jiangxi, China	5.00
24	The Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited	21 August 2012	Flood	–	Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Hunan, China	5.04
25	World Vision Hong Kong	20 September 2012	Typhoon victims	–	The Philippines	1.50
26	Save the Children Hong Kong	20 September 2012	Typhoon victims	–	The Philippines	1.00
27	Adventist Development and Relief Agency China	20 September 2012	Typhoon victims	–	The Philippines	1.00
28	Save the Children Hong Kong	28 September 2012	Earthquake victims	–	Yunnan and Guizhou, China	1.24
29	The Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited	28 September 2012	Earthquake victims	–	Yunnan and Guizhou, China	5.13

(continued)

Table 9.1 (continued)

	Applicant	Date of approval	Beneficiaries	Contents of program	Relief areas	Grant approved ($ million)
30	Salvation Army	28 September 2012	Earthquake victims	–	Yunnan and Guizhou, China	4.20
31	Association of Chinese Evangelical Ministry Limited	28 September 2012	Earthquake victims	–	Yunnan and Guizhou, China	1.13
32	CEDAR Fund	4 October 2012	Earthquake victims	–	Yunnan, China	2.41
33	Social Workers Across Borders	4 October 2012	Earthquake victims	–	Yunan, China	0.42

Source: Disaster Relief Fund Advisory Committee, "Report on the Disaster Relief Fund 2011-2012," http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201204/17/P201204170518.htm, http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201210/04/P201210040497.htm

P.S.: The grants are further to a disbursement of $11.717 million made earlier for Save the Children Hong Kong, the Amity Foundation Hong Kong, the Salvation Army, and the Association of Chinese Evangelical Ministry Limited to provide emergency relief to victims of the earthquake in Yunnan and Guizhou. It takes the total value of grants for earthquake victims in Yunnan and Guizhou to $14.555 million (Disaster Relief Fund Advisory Committee (2012). Grants approved for earthquake victims in the Mainland. Retrieved 4 October 2012, from http://www.info.gov.hk/gia/general/201210/04/P201210040497.htm)

9.4.1 World Vision and World Vision Hong Kong

World Vision is a Christian humanitarian organization dedicated to working with children, families, and their communities worldwide to reach their full potential by tackling the causes of poverty and injustice. They serve close to 100 million people in nearly 100 countries around the world, regardless of religion, race, ethnicity, or gender. Motivated by their faith in Jesus Christ, they serve alongside the poor and oppressed as a demonstration of God's unconditional love for all people. The millions of people they serve include earthquake and hurricane survivors, abandoned and exploited children, survivors of famine and civil war, refugees, and children and families in communities devastated by AIDS in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

World Vision works around the world, including Asia, Europe, Middle East, and Africa, helps the local people to improve their lives and enact sustainable solutions for the future of their children, families, and communities. For example, in Afghanistan, World Vision:

- Provides healthcare and agricultural assistance to vulnerable households
- Offers cash-for-work and other programs to help people living in urban areas improve their lives
- Improves education and infrastructure

- Distributes food to schoolchildren to increase enrollment and education success
- Educates midwives to help reduce infant mortalities and protect maternal health
- Provides adult literacy training in vulnerable communities[4]

In Albania, World Vision's child sponsorship program plays an important role, with donors from the USA sponsoring more than 12,200 girls and boys. In addition to sponsorship, World Vision operates other programs that benefit communities in Albania:

- Meeting the psychosocial and economic needs of children living and working on the streets through literacy programs, vocational training for parents, and increasing resources for children and their parents
- Improving health in communities throughout Albania by repairing land drainage and increasing access to clean water and sanitation
- Helping families increase their incomes through small loans and business skills training[5]

In Angola, World Vision works to:

- Improve the health of children and mothers in rural communities through healthcare, nutrition education, and HIV and AIDS awareness
- Help fishermen and farmers to increase their harvests and food security through training, establishing cooperatives, and offering microfinance opportunities[6]

In Armenia, World Vision's children sponsorship program plays an important role, with donors from the USA sponsoring more than 7,300 girls and boys. In addition to children sponsorship, World Vision also:

- Assists communities to develop disaster preparedness programs
- Distributes medical supplies and winter clothing to encourage school attendance
- Provides thousands of people in villages with primary healthcare services
- Supports community centers to provide professional assistance to more than a thousand children and their families[7]

The excellence of World Vision's work in areas such as disaster relief, poverty reduction, and hunger alleviation has earned the trust of more than three million donors, supporters, and volunteers; more than half a million child sponsors; thousands of churches; hundreds of corporations; and government agencies in the USA and around the world.

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[4] World Vision (2012). Our Work, International Work, Asia, Afghanistan. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.worldvision.org/our-work/international-work/afghanistan

[5] World Vision (2012). Our Work, International Work, Europe/Middle East, Albania. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.worldvision.org/our-work/international-work/albania

[6] World Vision (2012). Our Work, International Work, Africa, Angola. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.worldvision.org/our-work/international-work/angola

[7] World Vision (2012). Our Work, International Work, Europe/Middle East, Armenia. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.worldvision.org/our-work/international-work/armenia

World Vision's involvement in Hong Kong began in 1960 when donor support allowed World Vision to launch its "Oriental Boat Mission" – a floating ministry that assisted families that resided on boats within Hong Kong's harbor. In 1962, two major typhoons hit Hong Kong, claiming numerous lives and ravaging much of the city. After assessing the damage and initiating relief and reconstruction efforts, World Vision officially opened an office in Hong Kong, and the first child from the area was sponsored soon after. World Vision's Hong Kong's work in the 1960s focused primarily on supporting church and mission-run schools and shelters. The organization also provided assistance to those living in impoverished circumstances in Hong Kong. By the end of the decade, around 1,950 children had been sponsored through various relief and education programs. During the 1970s, Hong Kong grew in prosperity. As the government began playing a stronger role in social welfare, World Vision slowly started phasing out its relief and development projects. In the early 1980s, the national Hong Kong office started raising funds to support World Vision's global ministry through child sponsorship and other programs. World Vision's Hong Kong office also organized project visits, educational talks, and famine activities (similar to the 30 Hour Famine in the USA) to raise public awareness on the issues surrounding hunger and poverty.

By 31 March 2012, World Vision Hong Kong had received $241.67 million from the Hong Kong Disaster Relief Fund. Today, the people of Hong Kong sponsor about 136,000 children and provide life-changing assistance to children and families across 45 countries.[8] The above review of World Vision Hong Kong's funding sources and operation clearly shows the role of the HKSAR is to provide funding support to facilitate the organization to undertake major development and aid projects rather than providing direct services to people in need.

9.4.2 The Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited

The Amity Foundation was founded in 1985, headquartered in Nanjing, with office in Hong Kong. It committed to promote China's environmental protection, health care, poverty alleviation, education, disaster relief and reconstruction, social welfare, urbanization, and various types of rural development work. It has serviced 31 provinces and cities, with a population of over 100 million. The Amity Foundation aims to contribute to the social development of China, encourage Chinese Christians to involve actively in social development work and promote international friendship and resource sharing. Similar to World Vision, the Amity Foundation (Hong Kong office) also receives some funding support from the HKSAR Government in reaching out to China for launching various forms of development projects.

The office in Hong Kong was first built for overseas liaison service; the staffs were stationed by overseas partners. With the increasingly close relationship

[8] World Vision (2012). Our Work, International Work, Asia & Pacific, Hong Kong. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.worldvision.org/content.nsf/6d1210430917461d8825735a007e2f2b/8c57f002c2f8face882574670064e152!OpenDocument

between Hong Kong and the Mainland, the role of the Hong Kong office has changed, and more Hong Kong staffs have been employed. After 2005, the Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited has laid a working tone of relief works promotion, fund raising, and public education.[9] The main duties of Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited are to promote Amity's programs, to raise funds, to promote the development of national education in Hong Kong, and to culture the sense of commitment of the Hong Kong new generation. In recent years, the key projects of Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited are "CGI Guizhou village clinics construction project" and "Water project."

In China's rural areas, many villages do not have a village doctor. Even if there is a village doctor, the villagers do not have money to pay for the doctor. As a result, the doctor has no income and has no money to rent a place to open a clinic. Even if there is a selfless doctor to provide free service to the patients, he/she has to work in his/her own house, in unhygienic conditions, and without any medical equipment. So, many village doctors are forced to give up, leave their villages, and go to the city to find jobs; thus, there are no doctors to work in the villages. This is a vicious circle. Therefore, the Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited helps Guizhou villages to build clinics, guarantee the doctor's income, keep the doctors working in the villages, provide medical equipment, improve the hygienic condition of the clinics, and build up health workforces in the villages.[10]

Presently in China, water crisis is a major problem. Although China has the biggest freshwater resources in the world, with the highest population of 1.3 billion, China's per capita possession of water resources is worldwide penultimate. In 600 cities, over 400 have water shortage problem, and 23 million people in the rural areas suffer from water shortage. There is no adequate and clean water supply in many villages; all the villagers share almost dried water; women and children have to walk kilometers to collect water and carry it back to the village. The water is of poor quality, does not meet health standards, and has high bacterial content; drinking it is harmful to health. The main reasons of water shortage include the following: the lands have low water retention ability, the sources of water are contaminated, and the local governments have not built a water supply system. The water shortage problem has spread to various regions of China; the period 1999–2001 saw a big drought, which affected 23 provinces, and most uneducated and uncivilized Chinese people were unable to cope with the crisis. Therefore, the Amity Foundation Hong Kong Limited carried out the diversion project, motor-pumped wells engineering, rainwater harvesting projects, and lift irrigation projects in remote villages; a total of 2,006 villagers were benefited.[11]

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[9] The Amity Foundation (2012) The Amity Foundation Hong Kong Office. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.amityfoundation.org/hk/?q=content/%E9%A6%99%E6%B8%AF%E6%84%9B%E5%BE%B7%E8%BE%A6%E5%85%AC%E5%AE%A4

[10] The Amity Foundation (2012). Project description, Guizhou village clinic construction plan. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.amityfoundation.org/hk/?q=%E9%A0%85%E7%9B%AE%E4%BB%8B%E7%B4%B9

[11] The Amity Foundation (2012). Project description, water plan, progress report. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.amityfoundation.org/hk/?q=content/reports%20on%20

9.4.3 Oxfam Hong Kong

Oxfam Hong Kong was founded in 1976 when volunteers collaborated to open a second-hand shop for raising funds for anti-poverty projects around the world. Their initial work in the 1970s and 1980s comprised of advocating justice for the Vietnamese Boat People/Refugees crisis in Hong Kong and helping save lives in the 1984 Ethiopian famine. Up to now, Oxfam Hong Kong has helped those in poverty in over 70 countries/states around the world. Similar to the previous two organizations, Oxfam Hong Kong had received $75.07 million by 31 March 2012, from the Hong Kong Disaster Relief Fund in promoting development and aid projects.

Oxfam Hong Kong is an independent international development and humanitarian organization fighting against poverty and similar injustices. They perceive injustice as the causation of poverty and that poverty alleviation demands economic, social, and structural change. They work with poverty-stricken people and with partner organizations on development, humanitarianism, policy advocacy, and public education programs. Oxfam Hong Kong's work builds upon their local understanding and identity, in addition focusing on Southeast Asia and China, including Hong Kong. They also back poverty alleviation and humanitarian activities in other parts of Asia and Africa, and wherever they feel they can make the most difference. Moreover, Oxfam Hong Kong works with other members of Oxfam International on international campaigns and programs supporting people's right to development.

Oxfam Hong Kong envisions a world free of poverty, where both genders enjoy well-being and basic rights. They implement development programs in impoverished areas, such as China's rural areas, South Asia, Southern Africa, Bangladesh, DPR Korea, Lao PDR, Malawi, Myanmar, Nepal, The Philippines, Timor-Leste, Vietnam, and Zambia, where their support can knowingly improve well-being, especially through the strengthening of livelihoods and the increase in resilience to disasters. They adopt an integrated approach, working with local organizations and groups, especially women, empowering and encouraging them to work for positive changes for their communities.

The well-being of those poor and vulnerable is the foundation of Oxfam Hong Kong's humanitarian and disaster risk management program. It integrates risk reduction strategies in its development work towards threats that risk the well-being of the people living in poverty. When external help is needed to respond to a disaster, Oxfam Hong Kong works with local organizations and supports communal actions in saving lives and reducing suffering. It delivers appropriate emergency relief items to the affected communities and assists both families and communities towards rapid recuperation from the disaster. They provide emergency aid, including food, shelter, water and hygiene kits, in addition to rehabilitation assistance to help the poorest rebuild and improve their lives.

L i v i n g % 2 0 W a t e r % 20Project

Among the causes of poverty are unjust and unfair policies within the levels of governments, institutions, corporations, and society in general. Oxfam therefore conducts public campaigns and development education programs to increase awareness regarding poverty and its causes and solutions. Oxfam also develops and proposes fair policies while changing mindsets as well as behaviors. Oxfam Hong Kong actively promotes corporate responsibility, because they firmly believe that corporations play a central role in poverty reduction and sustainable development. Besides, under unfair international trade policies, the returns of farmers' production are so severely squeezed that not only are they unable to make ends meet, their income could not cover production costs. Unfair trade places farmers at disadvantage in developing countries; it exacerbates their poverty. So, the Fair Trade Campaign is meant to provide an alternative to conventional trade. Oxfam believes that Fair Trade is one way for farmers in developing countries escape poverty.

Nowadays, in the trend of globalization, people are no longer interdependent. Young people are inspired and encouraged to think about their roles and responsibilities as global citizens. Hence, Oxfam Hong Kong facilitates Global Citizenship Education in both Hong Kong and Mainland China to help young people observe carefully, think critically, reflect conscientiously, and act responsibly about local and global poverty issues.[12]

9.4.4 The International Red Cross and Hong Kong Red Cross

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, born of a desire to bring assistance without discrimination to the wounded on the battlefield, endeavors, in its international and national capacity, to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found. Its purpose is to protect lives and health and to ensure respect for the human being. It promotes mutual understanding, friendship, cooperation, and lasting peace among all people. The Movement may not take sides in hostilities or engage at any time in controversies of a political, racial, religious, or ideological nature. The Movement is independent. The National societies, while auxiliaries in the humanitarian services of their governments and subject to the laws of their respective countries, must always maintain their autonomy so that they may be able at all times to act in accordance with the principles of the Movement. The movement is a voluntary relief movement, not prompted in any manner by desire for gain. In order to unify the work, there must be only one Red Cross or one Red Crescent Society in any one country. It must be open to all. It must carry on its humanitarian work throughout its territory. The International Red Cross and Red Crescent

[12] Oxfam Hong Kong (2012). About us. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.oxfam.org.hk/en/aboutoxfam.aspx

Movement, in which all societies have equal status and share equal responsibilities and duties in helping each other, is worldwide.[13]

The International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement aims at alleviating the sufferings of the most vulnerable people after disasters, by both short-term and long-term means, regardless of their race, belief, or affiliation. As a member of this world's biggest humanitarian movement, the Hong Kong Red Cross provides emergency relief, rehabilitation and recovery, and disaster preparedness and development. Disasters cause death, injuries, shocked and homeless population, property loss, leaving people in desperate need of help from others. The Hong Kong Red Cross has been offering emergency relief assistance, locally and abroad, to victims of natural and man-made disasters since 1950. Assistance usually includes food, water, warm clothing, and medication as well as psychological support. Their objective is to protect human lives and health of the affected population, and to help them survive through this critical time. The work is often done in collaboration with the International Red Cross and Red Crescent network, local authorities, and other humanitarian organizations. The effects of a disaster on human lives are usually long-lasting and diversified, holding the affected people back from returning to a normal life. Thus, the Hong Kong Red Cross actively helps them to rebuild their communities after emergency phase by reconstructing homes, health facilities, water supply facilities, as well as restoring livelihoods, in order to assist them back to normal living as soon as possible. Many regions are at risk from disasters and some simply fail to recover before another catastrophe strikes. Shattered families, homes, schools, roads, and livelihoods take years to repair, let alone rebuild and recover in a way more resilient to the next disaster. To address this problem, the Hong Kong Red Cross commits itself to disaster preparedness and development programs which aim to tackle the root causes of disasters. Programs such as advocacy on risk awareness and training on disaster response and preparedness skills are carried out to ensure people have adequate knowledge on disasters and life-saving skills. Development programs in disaster risk reduction and community capacity building are also being explored.[14]

- *International projects*

In cooperation with the global Red Cross network covering 186 countries, the Hong Kong Red Cross provides emergency disaster relief and rehabilitation assistance to victims of natural or manmade disasters regardless of their nationality, race, religious beliefs, or political opinion. Besides, they are constantly developing disaster risk reduction programs. These efforts include building disaster preparedness warehouses and medical facilities, providing health training and community-based hygiene promotion programs, to allow the disaster-affected areas be better equipped

[13] The International Red Cross (2012). The fundamental principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.redcross.org.hk/sec_comm_files/Annual%20Reports/AR2011/p2.pdf

[14] Hong Kong Red Cross (2009). Disaster relief and preparedness. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.redcross.org.hk/en/disasterrelief_prepard/introduction.html

to cope with future disaster and thereby minimize suffering. The HKRC commenced its South Asia Tsunami Recovery and Reconstruction work in mid-2005. Until late December 2008, approximately HKD582 million has been mobilized for the work in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, India, the Maldives, and Myanmar.[15]

- *China projects*

The Hong Kong Red Cross is a highly autonomous branch of the Red Cross Society of China. They work closely with all levels of Red Cross across the Mainland to provide timely and proper emergency relief to victims, to help disaster-struck communities rebuild their lives, and to implement disaster preparedness programs in disaster-prone provinces. They believe that the integration of disaster relief, rehabilitation, and disaster preparedness work can enhance the capacity and the development of vulnerable communities in the long run and will eventually alleviate the sufferings of the affected populations.[16]

- *Local projects*

The Hong Kong Red Cross Local Disaster Relief Service was established in 1951. They offer assistance to local people affected by natural disasters or other emergency incidents by providing clothing and daily necessities to meet their emergency needs. They also provide the relief materials for people in need referred by government departments and other social service organizations. Apart from disaster relief service, they are constantly developing promotional and educational works for disaster preparedness.[17]

The Hong Kong Red Cross also provides blood transfusion service, community health and care, first aid and health training, hematopoietic stem cell service, psychological support service, special education and rehabilitation service, tracing service, and youth development. Similar to other major NGOs discussed above, Hong Kong Red Cross has received $102.03 million from the Hong Kong Disaster Relief Fund by 31 March 2012.

9.4.5 The Salvation Army and the Salvation Army Hong Kong and Macau Command

The Salvation Army is an international Christian church and charity working in 125 countries. With the commitment to transforming lives, caring for people, and making disciples, they are currently operating 84 social services units, 32 schools and

[15] Hong Kong Red Cross (2009). Introduction. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.redcross.org.hk/en/disasterrelief_prepard/international_projects/ipintroduction.html

[16] Hong Kong Red Cross (2009). Introduction. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.redcross.org.hk/en/disasterrelief_prepard/china_projects/cpintroduction.html

[17] Hong Kong Red Cross (2009). Introduction. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.redcross.org.hk/en/disasterrelief_prepard/local_projects/lpintroduction.html

nurseries, 17 corps, 2 outposts, and 15 family stores in Hong Kong and Macau. There are offices in Hong Kong, Beijing, and Yunnan for poverty alleviation development in China. Their works span a diverse range of areas including but not limited to people with spiritual needs, families facing crisis, disadvantaged elders, children and youth, people with disabilities, the marginalized minorities, and disasters survivors.[18]

In March 1930, at a meeting held at Government House, Hong Kong, it was requested that The Salvation Army should undertake women's work in the crown colony, a work pioneered by Majors Dorothy Brazier and Doris Lemon. This was directed from Peking until, in 1935, the South China Command was established in Canton to promote wide evangelistic and welfare operations. In 1939, Hong Kong became the Army's administrative center. Later, the inclusion of the New Territories determined the Command Headquarters move to Kowloon. Since 1951, the General of The Salvation Army has been recognized as a Corporation Sole. From 1993, disaster relief and community development projects have been carried out in Mainland China. In 1999, a pioneer officer was appointed to Macau.[19] By 31 March 2012, The Salvation Army Hong Kong and Macau Command have received $83.35 million from the Hong Kong Disaster Relief Fund.

Apart from the community care services in Hong Kong and Macau, The Salvation Army supports emergency relief in the Mainland and over the world.

- *Yunnan earthquake relief*

On 7 September 2012, an earthquake of 5.7 magnitudes struck Yiliang County, Zhaotong Municipal City, Yunnan Province. At least 80 were killed, almost 800 were injured, and about 750,000 people were left homeless. Unfortunately, pouring rain hit the quake-affected area since midnight 11 September. The rain-triggered landslides increased the difficulty of rescue work and the death toll is expected to climb. On 13 September, The Salvation Army relief team arrived at Panhe Township, Zhaoyang District, a community nearby the worst hit Yiliang County. The team conducted an assessment and delivered emergency food supplies. The continuous heavy rain made the relief extra difficult – rocks and mud sliding from the mountains blocked the roads and forced many other relief teams and their vehicles retraced. Major Tony Ma King-tung and his relief team packed a vehicle with emergency supplies for the affected area. Their vehicle was at one time trapped on the muddy road. Villagers who were also affected by the earthquake came to help push the lorry, so that the Army's relief supplies could be sent to Fang Ma Ba Village, Panhe Township on time. Food supplies including rice were delivered to over 900 survivors in Fang Ma Ba Village. The villagers said that they only received 30 bags of rice after the quake, and they worried that their needs were overlooked. They had

[18] The Salvation Army (2012). About us. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.salvationarmy.org.hk/en/about_us

[19] The Salvation Army (2012). History of the Salvation Army. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www1.salvationarmy.org/heritage.nsf/36c107e27b0ba7a98025692e0032abaa/4bea90.4b708aa8fa802569bb003ee7d0!OpenDocument

been trying to find food in the ruins of their village but fears of further collapse from aftershocks caused them to cease searching. Following the rain, the temperature in the affected areas dropped to 10 °C and below. The blankets of the survivors in tents were totally wet and the thin clothes they wore could not keep them warm. So, The Salvation Army delivered blankets and folding beds to the survivors to protect them from the chilly weather.[20]

- *512 Sichuan earthquake recovery*

On 12 May 2008, an 8.0 magnitude earthquake hit Wenchuan, Sichuan Province, and took away the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. The Salvation Army worked with the survivors in Shifang City, Mianzhu City, and Luoji. After reconstructions, 286 village clinics with basic medical equipment were built in Shifang City, Mianzhu City, and Luojiang County. Ambulances and medical equipment were provided to six village clinics and hospitals in Luojiang County benefiting 120,000 people. Furniture and teaching equipment were provided to four newly constructed schools in Zitong County enabling 5,100 students and teachers to study in a safe environment. The post-earthquake economy forced many parents to find employment in urban areas causing many children to be left behind in rural villages. So, The Salvation Army worked with primary and secondary schools of Zitong County to conduct a counseling program for the "left-behind children." Workshops on addressing the children's psychological needs are organized for teachers and parents. Moreover, the construction of four irrigation ditches, three irrigation stations, and one pond in Yanjia Township, Luojiang County, were completed in February 2010. Together with the projects in Zhongxin Village, Guangji Township, Mianzhu City, the irrigation and drinking water rehabilitation program benefits nearly 6,000 people. Fruit tree saplings and agricultural training were provided to 1,500 farmers in Wujialing Village, Jinshan Township, and Luojiang County to improve their agricultural income.[21]

- *Japan earthquake relief*

On 11 March 2011, the massive 9.0 magnitude earthquake and powerful tsunami wrecked the northeast coast of Japan, and the nuclear leak crisis followed. The devastating disaster destroyed hundreds of thousands of homes and left many people with no place to live. The Salvation Army has been at work in Japan since 1895. There are more than 80 Salvation Army service units across Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, and Shikoku, including two hospitals and four children's homes, 47 Salvation Army corps (churches), and 12 outposts, with nearly 200 officers (full-time clergy) and 3,000 members.

[20] The Salvation Army (2012). Fundraising programs, The Salvation Army Yunnan earthquake relief update. Retrieved 13 September 2012, from http://www.salvationarmy.org.hk/en/services/relief_detail/9

[21] The Salvation Army (2012). Fundraising programs, rehabilitation highlights in the third year. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.salvationarmy.org.hk/en/services/relief_detail/7

Soon after the earthquake, more than 8,000 relief packs of food and daily necessities were distributed to survivors in the worst hit areas, that is, Sendai, Fukushima, Kesennuma, Koriyama, Yabuki-cho, Shirakawa, Mito, Rikuzentakata, and Minamisouma. Each pack included food, personal hygiene products, and clothes. Last summer, 1,664 electrical fans and some huge room thermometers were delivered to sports centers in Ishinomagi, Minamisanriku, Higashimatsushima, Tome, and Tagajo of Miyagi Prefecture. The centers were shelters for the homeless who are waiting for relocation. Mosquito window screens were installed in four nursery and primary schools to prevent disease outbreak.

To help keep the survivors nourished, more than 20,000 hot meals were distributed to the elderly and children living in the shelters in Miyagi and Iwate Prefectures. To help those living in the temporary houses survive in the freezing weather of Miyagi and Fukushima Prefectures, 12,500 home heaters and small electric appliances and 50,000 sets of beddings were distributed. The woolen scarves knitted by Hong Kong people were also presented to the fishermen in Onagawa. In May, 550 sets of fishing equipment were provided to fishermen of Onagawa, Miyagi Prefecture, assisting them to restore their fish farms. In addition, 30 fishing vessels and lift trucks were provided to the Fishing Association to help resume the local fishing industry.

To assist with daily life in the coastal areas of Sendai, bicycles have been provided, particularly to students, who reside very far from the location of their schools. The Salvation Army developed shopping streets to help boost the economy in Ofunato, Iwate Prefecture and Minamisanriku, Miyagi Prefecture. It also helps restore livelihood in Rikuzentakata of Iwate Prefecture.[22]

In short, Hong Kong's nongovernmental organizations, for example, World Vision, The Amity Foundation, Oxfam, Red Cross, and The Salvation Army established both regional and international branches for development and aid projects. Hong Kong government gives financial support, while the nongovernmental humanity organizations give action support to humanity work. In order to gain a status as "world city" and to gain an identification of "global citizenship," Hong Kong acts as a goodwill ambassador in global development and aid work.

9.5 Difficulties and Challenges of International Aid

9.5.1 Insufficient Funding Support

Although huge efforts have been put into development and humanitarian-related projects, Oxfam warned that the international aid system will be overloaded; more resources should be devoted in the disaster area. In the latest report "The crisis in the New World Order," Oxfam asked for devoting more resources into the affected

[22] The Salvation Army (2012). Fundraising programs, Japan Earthquake Relief One Year Report. Retrieved December 2012, http://www.salvationarmy.org.hk/en/services/relief_detail/6

areas, inject more funds for the prevention and reduction of disasters. Oxfam also pointed that, in 2009, aid funds that were put into disaster mitigation projects only possessed 0.5 % of the overall aid spending. Oxfam humanitarian director Jane Cocking said that it is more reasonable to put funds in the prevention and mitigation of disaster risk management but not by sacrificing the resources for the emergency relief work. Disaster prevention and rescue are equally important; we need funds to respond immediately to the terrible disasters.

To solve a crisis earlier, not only can save lives, but also can save money. According to United Nations estimates, in 2005, to save a malnourished Niger child costs only US$ 1, but during the outbreak of the food crisis in 2008, it jumped to US$ 80 to save a malnourished child. In 1991, Bangladesh was ravaged by typhoon, resulting in 14 million deaths. In 2007, Bangladesh was ravaged by typhoon again, resulting in 3,406 deaths. As the local government announced warning timely, and assist residents to evacuate to a safe place, the number of deaths significantly reduced comparing to earlier years. Victims of disasters need a safe place to stay; their life safety and human right should be guaranteed. "The crisis in the New World Order" lists five main principles on the future development of the humanitarian relief works:

1. To establish the ability of government and civil society
2. To help the affected region to recover from disasters, climate change, violence, and political and economic impact
3. To encourage governments and relief organizations to defend the humanitarian principles
4. To encourage emerging economies and private enterprises to participate in rescue works
5. To strengthen the quality and accountability of the work of international aid agencies, including the establishment of an effective certification mechanism for humanitarian relief work[23]

9.5.2 Political/Ideological Barriers

In addition to funding issues, relief actions are sometimes hindered by subjective factors. Following are some examples that the victims' benefits were sacrificed due to political and ideological considerations. The following part highlights a few examples to illustrate this point.

- *Taiwan government refusing China's assistances*

Typhoon Morakot attacked Taiwan on 6 August 2009; 681 people were killed and 18 people went missing, 20 bridges were destroyed by the flood, Alishan Forest

[23] Oxfam Hong Kong (2012). Press Release. Retrieved 7 February 2012, from http://www.oxfam.org.hk/tc/news_1758.aspx

Railway had 290 collapses, blackouts lasted for 2 days, 1,273 schools were destroyed, and the total amount of damage done is estimated to be over $187 million. China offered assistance, but was refused by President Ma Ying-jeou the first time, because he did not want to be considered "pro-mainland." The Taiwanese government was accused of inefficiency in its rescue missions. The government's popularity diminished. Liu Chao-hsuan finally announced the resignation of the cabinet in early September.[24]

- *Taliban forcing the Pakistan government to refuse international assistances*

On November 8 2010, Pakistan was attacked by a flood, which was the worst in 80 years. The Taliban offered relief funds, on the condition that the Pakistani government must refuse international assistance. Taliban spokesman Azam Tariq stated: "accepting international assistance will be detrimental to the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan. If the (Pakistan) government refuses international assistance, the Taliban will provide relief funds." The Pakistani government was blamed for slow relief operations. Meanwhile, the Taliban took advantage of this to win the people's support by providing relief funds in the affected areas; the worst hit areas became a safe refuge for the Taliban. The Taliban also assaulted international aid organizations, accusing them of subservient to that of the Western powers.[25]

- *Turkey government refusing Israel's assistances*

The Eastern Turkey 7.2 magnitude earthquake on 5 November 2011 caused 272 deaths and over 1,100 were injured; many were buried in the rubble and cried for help. A victim said: "There was no one to help us, and no medical assistance, authorities only sent canvas tents to us, we are going to die in cold." In the 72 golden hours, dozens of countries, including Israel, who conflicted with Turkey over the Gaza high sea, initiated support to Turkey, but it was rejected by the Turkish government.[26]

- *Iran refusing USA's assistances*

On 11 August 2012, Iran was ravaged by 6.4 and 6.3 magnitude earthquakes; 306 people were confirmed dead, and 3,037 people were injured. Iran initially refused help from all countries, but came to accept assistance from neutral Switzerland as well as from nations whom Iran had established friendly relations with: Qatar, Pakistan, and Azerbaijan. However, the Iranian Red Crescent organization refused help from Germany, Russia, and Taiwan. Though USA prepared to help, Iran's gov-

[24] China Review News (2006). Ma Ying- jeou refused international assistance: Green camp factors. Retrieved December 2012, from http://www.chinareviewnews.com/crn-webapp/search/siteDetail.jsp?id=101055709&sw=%E4%BD%9C%E8%80%85%EF%BC%9A%E6%B1%AA%E6%96%8C

[25] CRI (2010). Taliban forced the Pakistani government to refuse accepting international relief assistance. Retrieved 11 August 2010, from http://big5.cri.cn/gate/big5/gb.cri.cn/27824/2010/08/11/5105s2952133.htm

[26] On.cc (2011). Turkey refused international's assistance. Retrieved October 25, 2011, from http://the-sun.on.cc/cnt/china_world/20111025/00423_001.html

ernment Deputy Minister Hassan Hada Mi declared: "Iran refuses to accept assistance from USA, we do not believe that the United States is sincere in their offer."

- *North Korea refusing South Korea assistances*

North Korea was attacked by Typhoon Bolaven on 28 August 2012; 48 people died, 50 people were injured and missing, 6,700 houses were destroyed, and 21,180 people were rendered homeless, more than 50,000 ha of farmland were unsuitable for use and 800 buildings were damaged.[27] On 12 September, North Korea suddenly halted South Korea's relief supply. North Korea gave a speech, "If we are to receive assistance, we should first have a closer look at the aid list." The North Korean Dictator Kim Jong-un rejected necessities that the victims required, but instead asked for rice and cement to supplement his army.

9.6 Discussion: Searching New Governance in International Development Projects

The above paragraphs show how some Asian countries which were affected by natural disaster or other forms of disasters had refused assistances from their neighbors. It is clear that international humanitarian work is never immune from political and ideological barriers. The relationship between Asian countries is rather complicated and sometimes even hostile to each other, for example, China and Japan, North Korea and South Korea, Israel and Turkey, Israel and Iran, Israel and Palestine had been enemies for a long time. But in the context of globalization, more regional and international cooperation is emerging through various kinds of bilateral and multilateral collaborations among Asian and international states. Disparity between the rich and the poor is a serious problem among Asian states. "Poverty" is the primary problem that developing countries have to solve. As knowledge can eliminate poverty, educational aid and cooperation is becoming increasingly popular among Asian countries – China, Japan, and Korea being the leaders.

Countries no longer work alone; their identities have changed from "independent donors" to "collaborators." Hence, they begin to share experience and learn from each other, from bilateral to multiple partners, they talk about "mutual benefits" rather than "benevolence." Moreover, south–south cooperation is becoming popular, and developing countries in the global south exchange resources, technology, and knowledge. Although many political scientists and political economists are still skeptical of the regional cooperation in Asia, Ellen Frost (2008, p, 251) remarks that, "Asian governments cannot afford not to pursue the integration because the consequences of not doing so are too risky." Without engaging in regional cooperation, the region would be destabilizing, which would leave smaller countries in

[27] Huaxia (2012). Typhoon Bolaven caused 48 deaths, 50 injured and missing. Retrieved 4 September 2012, from http://big5.huaxia.com/xw/gjxw/2012/09/2984866.html

rivalry with their neighbors, particularly in the context of the rise of China and the potential rift between the rim democracies and nondemocratic forces.

China, Japan, South Korea, India, and Malaysia have emerged to become donors to help the developing world, which cause more cooperation among these Asian economies. Despite the fact that the global regionalization is only at a relatively inception phase in Asia, the importance of the growing prominence of these regional collaboration should not be underestimated.

9.6.1 Synergy Between Official and Unofficial Regional Cooperation

Official aids are directed by the government which embody "hard power"; unofficial aids are directed by civil societies which embody "soft power." Generally, unofficial responses are more conductive for regional cooperation because they can trust each other regardless of political, historical, and racial background, so there is more flexibility in their cooperation, and that is easier to reach a consensus and achieve goals. And because unofficial humanitarian organizations are spontaneous, they have a bigger driving force to dedicate themselves in humanitarian work, for example, we can see how admirable the Médecins Sans Frontières doctors are. Although unofficial cooperations are easier to accomplish goals, offical cooperations should not be ignored. Just like what Yin/Yang, one of the traditional Chinese thinking that "Yin" and "Yang" are not necessarily opposing to each other but could combine complementary. Analyzing the cooperation between official and unofficial (civil society-led), we can see strong connection and synergy emerging from both forms of cooperation. By strengthening cooperation from civil society could be the government's arms length in achieving the national agenda and objectives. Unofficial form of cooperation could be adopted as a testing ground for new initiatives for cooperation, strategizing for long-term developments. Nations can enjoy mutual benefits rather than understanding it as a "zero-sum game."

9.6.2 A New Governance in the Making: Hong Kong's Way in Humanitarian Work

Hong Kong, being a city-state in Asia, has tried to branch out not only to the region but also to other parts of the world for supporting development and aid projects through strong partnerships with major international organizations. As we highlighted in the above discussion, the role of the HKSAR Government is more a facilitator or enabler by providing financial support to its partnering international organizations to realize its strategic missions in promoting global citizenship. Despite the fact that HKSAR has not acted a major direct service provider to the

development and aid projects which it has involved, partnering with the civil society (in this case the collaboration with major international NGOs) has clearly shown a new governance mode in honoring global citizens' responsibilities for humanitarian and development purposes.

As the author argued elsewhere (Mok 2012), one point which deserves particular attention is when analyzing regional cooperation or competition among Asian universities in general and governmental cooperation in particular, we must not treat such processes as mutually exclusive but the regional platforms that Asian governments have involved like ASEAN and other regional cooperative frameworks closely interact with the regional cooperation venues spontaneously emerging from academic and research organizations such as different forms of academic and research associations, societies, or consortium. Mok (2012) argued that we could conceptualize the government-driven regional cooperation like ASEAN and APEC as a "hard approach," while the regional collaborations initiating from individuals and universities or other kinds of research/academic organizations as "soft approach" of regional cooperation. The central features of the "hard approach" are top down, normally driven by the nation-state and the governance style is much more "centralized." Unlike the "hard approach," the "soft approach" is far more bottom up, normally driven by local forces and organic in nature, with emphasis on network governance. We may argue the hard approach would shape national policy directly; however, the soft approach would also influence national strategy and policy since the governmentally driven cooperation and the nongovernmentally driven one are not entirely exclusive but complementary to each other.

Analyzing the HKSAR and its partnership with major international NGOs in discharging their global responsibilities in development and aid projects against the "hard" and "soft" approach in regional cooperation, we should realize a strong synergy could be drawn from both government-led and civil society-initiated collaborative projects. Both official and unofficial humanitarian parties should draw up effective aid agenda for recipients' interests to satisfy the needs of the recipients to a maximum extent. Humanitarian parties should be conscious of "For what?" and "For whose interest?" that they are doing. In addition, nation-states should cooperate together for global common benefits, carefully avoid "cultural re-colonization" and "cultural imperialism," and abandon personal interests. In contrast, they should accept, respect, and affirm the political, cultural, and religious difference of each other, and appreciate diversity, so that cooperation can be possible.

Deepening regional cooperation in the context of increasingly competitive environment would certainly require both structural approach and soft approach interact to maximize the "political capital" generated from the government-driven cooperation frameworks and "network capital" generating from the organically formed regional cooperation platforms. Empirical evidence can be found in support of the interactional relationship between the hard and soft approach when analyzing regional cooperation in Asia, for instance, Taiwan, finding difficulty to assert its national status because of "One China" issue, has made different ways to assert its influence through engagement in a variety of regional/international cooperation venues like academic/research consortium, associations, and societies, while

Mainland China has also taken more active approach in asserting its regional and global leadership through participating in different forms of regional organizations spontaneously evolving from local/regional communities (Chen 2011).

Our above examination on major challenges facing international development and aid projects between nation-states is closely related to different political stands or ideological barriers resulting from the political order after the Second World War. However, the emerging mode of governance of partnership between governments and international NGOs would create a new pathway for regional cooperation. The Hong Kong way in handling international development and aid projects could be seen as an innovative way in promoting development and aid projects without engaging in unnecessary political controversy. Another major observation that needs to be highlighted here is when analyzing regional cooperation, we must note that regionalism is not a single phenomenon but complex and complicated processes showing sub-regionalism emerged from regionalism, which requires us to closely examine different forms and nature of regional cooperative frameworks.

9.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, we can see Hong Kong government and nongovernmental organizations have dedicated huge efforts into global humanity work. In Hong Kong, the government gives financial support, and the nongovernmental humanity organizations give action support to humanity work. To gain a status as "world city" and to gain an identification of "global citizenship," you have to dedicate to the world. How much you "get" is depends on how much you "give." From the examples of Hong Kong Government and unofficial humanity organizations' participations in global humanity work, including urgent disaster reliefs and sustainable development projects, Hong Kong undoubtedly deserves a global citizenship.

Hong Kong has a huge advantage in global humanity work. She has a unique identity; she was a British colony before 1997 and has developed to be a world financial center; she is a free trade port; she represents "freedom"; and after she returned to China, she was given autonomy as a special administrative region and continues to enjoy a large extent of freedom. The most important thing is that Hong Kong has built up a friendly image in the international stage; therefore, developing countries welcome and appreciate Hong Kong's assistance, averting the conditions of historical complex and political rivalries due to which countries refuse foreign help, just like Taiwan refused Mainland China's help, Turkey refused Israel's, Iran refused USA's, and North Korea refused South Korea's.

Hong Kong is undoubtedly a pioneer Asian city in global humanity work; she is definitely a good model to learn from. The relationships of Asian countries are not very good, for example, Japan and China, Japan and Korea, North Korea and South Korea, Israel and Palestine, India and Pakistan, USA and Afghanistan have different kinds of disputes. Hong Kong has no dispute and discord with any Asian city, so she can act as a goodwill ambassador, encourage and bring them together to cooperate

in global humanity work, and share the responsibilities as a member of the world; the achievement from working together will surely be greater than working alone.

In conclusion, our above discussions have clearly indicated more regional collaborations have begun and different forms of regional cooperation frameworks are in the making in Asia. Despite the fact that the global regionalization is only at a relatively inception phase in Asia, we should not underestimate the importance of the growing prominence of these regional collaboration initiatives especially when these forms of organizational/institutional arrangements may well facilitate new governance model through "network governance." The growing hybridization of organizations involved in shaping global regionalization processes would considerably render the conventional governance model inappropriate and new forms of governance would lead to the emergence of super- or mega-regional governance structures to govern the growing complexity of regionalized activities and increasingly transnationalized humanitarian work in Asia (Mok 2012).

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Chapter 10
Education Aid and International Cooperation in India: Shifting Dynamics, Increasing Collaboration

Mona Khare

Abstract India has traditionally been a society placing education and creative abilities in high order. Once a great seat of learning and international trade, India seems to be coming 360° to emerge strongly on the world map, both economically and politically. India's booming economy in recent years has been supported by a fast-growing service sector, rapid urbanisation, increasing share in global markets, high savings and inflow of foreign capital, a rapidly growing middle class and an exploding youth population. This has brought India centre stage in global economy and politics. India is today an active and vocal member of many regional and international forums – SAARC, ASEAN, G-20, WIPO, NATO, and WTO, to name a few. A more open economy and India's new found desire to position itself strategically in the global political leadership has impacted its policies on external relations in a wide array of sectors – education being an important one. With the college-age cohort projected to reach 400 million by 2030, India is all poised to become a happening destination. The international community too has rightly identified India as an important partner to education development in the coming years. The global sentiment is supported by the focus of the ongoing Twelfth Five Year Plan (FYP) in making India a global educational hub by fostering greater international collaborations and its emergence as an education aid donor.

10.1 Introduction

Education in India has always been accorded high priority. Ancient India had some of the world's best seats of learning. Post independence, India paid special attention to education by adopting a sectoral approach right from the initial years of planning (i.e. First Five Year Plan (FYP), 1951–1955). However, its approach kept changing to suit the changing needs and demands of the domestic as well as global

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environment. In the initial years of planning, India's educational development programme was domestically driven as well as domestically financed. Opening up of the economy under financial constraints in the 1990s was a landmark shift in India's ideology of 'protectionism' to 'liberalism' and can be seen to get reflected in its approach towards educational development planning as well.

10.2 India's Educational Priorities and Global Commitments

India's priorities in terms of educational development can be easily visualised from the ideological shift in the welfare approach of education to the right-based approach – providing the foundation for the right to dignified living. Though the goal of 'free and compulsory education to all children up to 14 years of age' has been an integral part of India's development strategy right from 1950 as mandated by India's Constitution through its Directive Principles of State Policy (Article 45), India reaffirmed its commitment to the global movement of universalising elementary education, reducing gender, social and regional differentials in access to quality education and ensuring learning needs of all youth and adults that started with Jomtien conference in 1990 by being a part of almost all such major endeavours at the international level not just ever since but from earlier times. India has been a signatory to many normative and standard setting frameworks/instruments in education. To name a few, in the chronological order that guided India's educational journey are Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966; ILO Convention No. 138: Minimum Age of Employment, 1973; Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979; Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in Asia and the Pacific, 1983; UNESCO Convention on Technical and Vocational Education, 1989; Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989; Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995 Dakar Framework for Action, 'Education for All, 2000; Millennium Development Goals, 2000; United Nations 'A World Fit for Children', 2002; Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, 2005; Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, 2006. The same has been supported by a series of national-level policy changes, programmes and schemes to align national education development to global education targets – the EFA and MDGs.

The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) launched countrywide in 2001 aiming at universalisation of elementary education (EE); 86th Constitutional Amendment in 2002 providing for free and compulsory education for all children between 6 and 14 years of age followed by implementation of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act in 2010, the launch Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) (i.e. the flagship programme of Government of India for universalisation of secondary education by 2016–2017) and the latest Rashtriya Ucchatar Shiksha Abhiyan (RUSA) for higher education (HE) are all aimed towards

the three Es, i.e. expansion, equity and excellence in education. The new wave of linking 'education to work' is not only gaining strength globally but also in India. As a result, India too is all poised to move its emphasis from elementary to secondary and higher levels of education in alignment with the global emphasis to focus on higher levels of education post 2015 as a response to emerging labour market needs globally (Commonwealth Ministerial Working Group on the Post-2015; 18CCEM 2012). A sector-wide approach (SWAp) and shift in focus from quantity to quality is clearly visible in all recent government documents at all levels of education. Also measures have been taken to address the issues of educational quality and employability skills by investing in infrastructural development, teacher training, faculty and curriculum development. Specific efforts have been made to integrate elements of skills delivery right from elementary to higher level of education. Emphasis on developing basic and life skills – basic numeracy and language, value-based education, financial literacy at elementary level; renewed impetus to large-scale vocationalisation at secondary level; expansion of technical and vocational education; and rejuvenation of huge network of existing universities – is all geared towards making the transition from education to work easier and smoother. Such initiatives at home have also received support externally via both multilateral and bilateral resources. The focus of the ongoing Twelfth Five Year Plan (FYP) is to make India a global educational hub by fostering greater international collaborations.

10.3 Education Aid to India Through the Lens of Five Year Plans

A phased study of educational aid financing in India clearly reflects its changing dimensions. These are also closely linked to changes in India's educational policy and programmatic approaches to educational development.

10.3.1 Phase I: (1950s–1970s) Centralised Planning with Domestic Funding

The first phase after independence can be stated to have started with the launch of the Five Year Plans in 1951. India paid special attention to educational development by adopting a sectoral approach through its Five Year Plans. While EE was topmost priority right from the First Five year plan, the government's desire of a balanced growth for the sector as a whole was quite explicit in the plan document. The First Plan had clear-cut targets of increasing primary school enrolments from 50pc in 1950 to 60pc and secondary from 10pc to 15pc along with consolidation of higher education. Thus, none of the sub-sectors were ignored completely with a targeted and budgeted approach in not just the First FYP but all subsequent plans. Though the sub-sectoral focus might have changed with time, EE continued to be the mainstay until recently.

Also the federal structure after independence provided for a clear-cut division of financial powers and expenditure responsibilities between Central and State governments in the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution.[1] Initially, Education was placed in the State List (Entry 11 of the List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution; Naik) with central institutions and institutes of national importance created by the Act of Parliament under the Union List and vocational and technical training of labour a part of the Concurrent List. Interestingly, implementation of the constitutional provision for free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years (Article 12 of the directive principle of State policy) placed primary education to be a joint responsibility of the Federal Government comprising of the Government of India (GOI), State Legislatures and Local Authorities, but overall responsibility rested with the Centre . While education was a State subject, many other important issues were GOI mandate. These included taking care of social and regional imbalances in education, all external education relations, decisions regarding the need to obtain foreign assistance (monetary, physical or human), training of Indians abroad, relationship with international organisations like UNESCO, participation in bilateral or multi-lateral programmes of educational assistance like the Commonwealth Cooperation Scheme were all under Central control. Thus, education though a State subject in theory was practically a 'joint responsibility' with Centre not just playing the big brother but a sole authority when it came to policy, planning and also on financial and international matters.

The first two plans (1951–1956 and 1956–1962) saw substantial flow of funds from Centre to the States by way of grants-in-aid towards the implementation of a large variety of educational programmes. The Planning Commission's devolution of funds to the States in India's federal set-up was under the Plan Head, i.e. planned development expenditure meant to finance the capital needs of State education systems. As far as external funding was concerned, the initial years of Planning saw a greater degree of self reliance with the educational development programmes being domestically driven as well as financed. This was also in line with India's philosophy of 'closed doors' up to the 1990s.

Although there were few externally funded projects in the 1960s, they were mostly in the higher and technical or vocational education sector by way of standalone projects. These too were restricted to single institutional development support, such as UK and USA support in developing Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) and Polytechnics; UNICEF's pilot project on prevocational training for children completing 5 years of primary education launched in 1963 and UNICEF-GOI initiative in the area of science teaching in the early 1960s. The latter brought NCERT, UNESCO and UNICEF to work together for reorganisation and expansion of science teaching in Indian schools emphasising innovative teaching through demonstration kits rather than through chalk and talk method. However, due to their

[1] The three lists in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution of India include List I, i.e. Union List comprising exclusively of central subjects, List II, i.e. State List comprising State subjects, and List III, known as Concurrent List comprising subjects under joint jurisdiction of the Central and State Governments.

stand-alone nature, they had very limited impacts and little visibility. This period hence qualifies to be called highly centralised with dominance of internal funding. In fact, it is alleged that the educational progress in the States during this period relied more upon the financial distributions and priorities decided by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education at the Centre.

10.3.2 Phase II: (1970s–1990s) Decentralised Planning with Emergence of Project-Based External Funding

This period witnessed two milestone constitutional amendments to Indian Constitution – one in mid-1970s and second in early 1990s that paved the way to a definitive change in India's educational planning. These included:

1. Shift of education from State to Concurrent List through the 42nd Constitutional Amendment of 1976, making education a joint responsibility of both Centre and State
2. Establishment of the three-tier system of governance through 73rd (Panchayati Raj Act) and 74th (Nagarpalika Act) Constitutional Amendments, 1992, that vested legislative powers in the hands of rural and urban local bodies in the country

While the former led to increased central funding for elementary education in the 1970s followed by GOI's decision to accept external funding in the 1980s, the latter laid the foundation for the era of SWAp to educational planning and financing in the country.

This whole period can further be classified into three interrelated phases – each distinct in character but laying the foundation for the succeeding one.

10.3.2.1 Era of Increased Central Assistance and Domestic Resource Crunch (1970s)

By mid-1970s, a constrained situation on the States' exchequer to fund the fast-expanding education sector coupled with the 42nd Amendment allowed for the State Governments to further increase their reliance on Central Government. During the Fifth Five Year Plan (1974–1978), the State Governments were finding it difficult to finance even their recurring expenditures. The Central Government thus stepped up its support to States through a series of centrally sponsored schemes (CSS) with focussed interventions in more needy States. The first such centrally sponsored scheme of non-formal education targeting out-of-school children in the age group 6–14 was initiated in the nine educationally backward states (EBS)[2] in the

[2] During the Sixth Plan, the Planning Commission identified 9 educationally backward states (EBS) of AP, Assam, Bihar, J&K, MP, Orissa, Rajasthan, UP and WB. Some of these later became the focus states of donor agencies.

year 1978 followed by many more (such as Operation Blackboard, Teacher Education through District Institutes of Education and Training (DIETs)) in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980–1985).

Till this time, the GOI restrained from taking any financial assistance from external sources, despite resource constraints domestically and continued efforts by the World Bank to woo India to do so. India's own apprehensions regarding external interference in domestic policies and World Bank's 'domineering behaviour' in designing and implementing projects (Ayyar 2007) are quoted to be the major cause of this reluctance.

10.3.2.2 Era of Project-Based External Funding (1980s)

It was only in the Seventh FYP (1985–1990) that GOI reached out to external funders for the first time not just to augment its financial resources but also to bring about 'changes and improvements in the system through increased attention to non-monetary inputs' (GOI 1980–1985 : Section 21.47).

Two factors can be said to be responsible for this shift in government policy:

1. Formulation of the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1986 with renewed emphasis on EE, universal enrolment as also maintaining quality standards.
2. Realisation on the part of the government that achieving the above is going to be tough given the State's dwindling resources and the multitude of problems that plagued India ranging from huge number of out-of-school children to poor infrastructure to untrained teachers. Also the fact that a larger part of India's educational expenditure was non-plan expenditure, major proportion of which went into salaries with very little left for quality improvement forced the government to look for additional sources of finance.

The Seventh Plan thus heralded the era of several small-scale externally funded projects in primary education. First came in the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (APPEP) with British ODA support in 1986, Rajasthan Shiksha Karmi (SK) and Lok Jumbish Project with Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) support in 1987 and 1992, The Mahila Samakhya in Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh with Dutch (Netherlands) support in 1988–1990, non-formal education project funded by Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (NORAD), Bihar Education Project with UNICEF Support in 1990 etc. One good thing about this beginning was that the purpose here was not just about bringing in funds to increase coverage but also quality by bringing in foreign expertise and innovations in teaching-learning.

Although all these projects were broad based aiming to bring improvements in a range of factors including buildings and class rooms, teacher absenteeism and teacher training, women empowerment, curriculum development, community participation, each one was launched in a pilot mode with extremely focussed

intervention in one selected sphere. They were also modest in size both in terms of resource support as well as geographical coverage. They did not cover even the entire selected State but focussed only on few districts or blocks within the selected districts. Another thing that was common to all was that they all covered one or the other EBS identified in the Sixth FYP. At the same time, existence of a multitude of donor agencies also brought challenges of negotiations, coordination and monitoring thus challenging aid harmonisation.

This period thus saw two types of programmes running simultaneously – CSS fully funded by domestic sources and the externally funded pilot projects. While the former were national in character running on pan India basis, the latter were small-sized pilot projects with limited coverage. But, more important is the fact that all donor-supported projects differed from the ongoing CSS in having their own management structures outside the existing government structures called the State Implementation Societies (SIS).[3]

Although formally headed by the State Education Secretaries and subject to strict supervision and financial control by government bureaucracy, the SIS were given complete autonomy in day-to-day functioning and control over funds. And funds were transferred to these societies and did not become part of the general treasury of the State. The Rajasthan Shiksha Karmi Board was the first of this kind of government-sponsored NGO registered as an autonomous society that went to the extent of creating an entirely new cadre of 'para teachers' bypassing government norms of recruitment in order to address the problem of teacher absenteeism in remote areas of the State. The aim was to transform dysfunctional schools into more efficient ones through the provision of quality education with the help of locally available youth albeit with lower qualification.

The purpose of bringing in these autonomous management units was to do away with bureaucratic rigidity, provide flexibility to the implementing agencies at the local level and facilitate them to find creative and innovative mechanisms to address local needs. Inspired by the results of this management system in the SK project, all other projects (aided as well as centrally sponsored) adopted similar management model, henceforth. This can be seen as the first concrete move towards improving 'aid effectiveness' with greater community participation and autonomy. The experience also provided strong reasons for shifting from 'top-down approach' of earlier times to 'bottom-up approach' in educational planning. This provided for greater role of districts and lower level local bodies in educational planning and management. The 73rd/74th amendments put a stamp to this movement. Making aid more effective gained greater significance in the years to follow by shifting from small projects to large-scale programmatic support to reduce administrative hassles and involving multiple stakeholders in decision making and programme implementation to impart greater ownership.

[3] State Implementation Societies (SIS) were created under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 to implement the externally aided projects.

10.3.2.3 Era of Decentralised Planning and Sector Programme-Based Approach to External Funding (1990s)

The 1990s began as one of worst periods of India's financial situation. With huge Balance of Payment (BOP) account crisis, India was forced to reach out to World Bank (WB) in order to save itself from falling into the debt trap. On the other hand, burgeoning fiscal deficits led to sharp decline in the public expenditures, the brunt of which fell on social sectors including education.

India thus succumbed to the pressures of WB to accept educational funding as part of its Structural Adjustment Programme for two reasons. While domestic funding for education in India was becoming scarce, strong pressure was getting built globally on universalisation of elementary education (UEE) with the Jomtien Conference in 1990. Also, India at that time had one of the largest numbers of out-of-school children in the world. Through Delhi Declaration, India had reiterated its commitment to international movement towards EFA. The desired move from UEE to EFA keeping in line with the international community held great challenges for India. Taking advantage of India's situation, WB indicated at International Development Association (IDA) support only if India accepted to take aid for primary education. Thus, the first conditional and forced IDA loan was taken for Uttar Pradesh (UP) Basic Education Project in 1991. However, one good thing that prevailed was that India did not allow WB to dominate in designing the project. It was only after a series of consultative meetings between GOI, UP government and the WB that the project design was finally agreed upon.

By now the three-tier system of governance in the country was in place so that the focus shifted from Educationally Backward States to Educationally Backward Districts.[4] Keeping in line with India's changing system of educational governance, WB too provided district-based programmatic support via Social Safety Net Adjustment Credit for the first ever all inclusive, comprehensive District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) launched in 1993/1994.

The sub-sectoral focus of GOI as well as the donor agencies was clearly in line with global movement towards UEE. Although it was since the Sixth Plan onwards that financing of secondary and higher education as against EE in India had started showing a declining trend in terms of percentage spending on education, by the Eighth and Ninth Plans it was more than half for EE only. Along with the programmes launched in the Seventh Plan, the two FYPs in this period (the Eighth 1992–1997 and the Ninth 1997–2002) saw substantial volumes of external aid flowing for DPEP from multiple sources to support EE development (Table 10.1). These provided both financial as well as technical support.

The catch point here is that a greater proportion of this aid was in the form of World Bank Loans, which had future liability of repayment with interest.

With the launch of DPEP, many ongoing smaller projects got subsumed under it (such as Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (APPEP), Bihar Education

[4] Eighth Plan divided districts into four categories recognising large-scale interdistrict disparities within the States.

Table 10.1 Eighth Plan (1992–1997) externally aided projects (Rs Crore)

Name of the project	Donor agency	Approved Outlay	Actual Expenditure	% Expenditure[a]
RAJASTHAN SHIKSHA KARMI	SIDA	35	29.41	84.03
RAJASTHAN LOK JUMBISH	SIDA	90	63.93	71.03
Bihar education project	UNICEF	118	58.96	49.97
Mahila Samakhya	Netherlands	51	18.44	36.16
UP Basic Education Project	World Bank	1	0.2	20.00
South Orissa Project		5	0.2	4.00
DPEP	Multiple donors	230	512.99	223.04
TOTAL		530	683.33	

Source: Ministry of Human Resource Development, GO
[a]Author's calculations

Project, UP Education Project). The programme thus had few unique features that reflected India's changed aid modality quite prominently. These are as follows:

- *Expansive coverage:* By 2000, DPEP covered 219 districts in all 15 major States (uniform structures across all districts for management, funds flow, monitoring and evaluation thus paving way for more effective and sustainable aid utilisation).
- *Additional financial support*: First, such extensive programme funded by multitude of foreign agencies (WB, EU, DFID, UNICEF and Netherlands) providing support in addition to the Central and State Funding. The DPEP funds were over and above the normal development expenditure otherwise incurred by the States and Districts (Department of Education 1994).
- *Decentralised implementation*: Indigenously developed to be implemented at the district levels by State Implementation Societies reflecting greater ownership and broader local participation with community mobilisation and micro-level planning reforms at district level.
- *Extensive in nature* incorporating a range of quality improvement initiatives alongside increasing access. These included civil works to improve physical infrastructure, teacher grant, school grant, equipment, operations, management, consultancy, academic support and the like for holistic school improvement.
- *Target specification* in terms of outcomes rather than inputs – a clear cut step towards measuring aid effectiveness in visible terms. These included targets such as reduction of overall dropouts at the primary level to less than 10 pc, improvement in achievement levels by 25 pc points over and above the measured baseline levels and reduction in disparities of all types to less than 5 pc (Department of Education 1993).
- *Shifting ideologically from UEE to EFA*: The programme encouraged non-formal education and non-traditional methods to reach out to all who lacked education (Varghese 1994).

- *Systematic and regular monitoring* (biennially) via Joint Review Missions (JRMs).
- *Both-way conditionalities*: While GOI put certain conditionalities for acceptance of aid, the donors put condition on fund release. Both move towards greater accountability and effective utilisation of aid money.

The above characteristics were guided by the conditionalities placed by GOI in its Eighth Plan document: Henceforth, aid resources had to provide additional capacity beyond what was already being funded and support innovative projects emphasising community participation, widening access and improving quality (GOI Eighth FYP, 1992–1997). This shows although India was forced to increase its reliance on foreign aid, it was not ready to dilute its ownership in project design and implementation. Nor was it ready to be overshadowed by the philosophies of the foreign partners by placing certain conditionalities of its own.

The period can thus be seen as a tune setter for micro-level planning with greater role envisaged for the districts and local bodies in implementing educational plans. Not only did the funds coming from the centre started flowing down to the districts but also the districts were made responsible for developing District Education Development Plans (DEDPs) which became the basis for central funding including the external kitty; the basis for this funds flow being the requirements projected in the district plans with the understanding that funds would be made available (by Union Government from central pool including external funds) as and when needed.

Thus, began an era of more targeted intervention and customised all inclusive approach with additional support from donor agencies. It would not be wrong to say that DPEP heralded a new genre of development cooperation that emphasised sustainability, local ownership and execution – the three of which later became essential prerequisites of the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp) to educational funding. But, the problem of coordination and monitoring remained to exist because of multiple donor agencies, each with its own ideology and interests. Despite some implementation issues of coordination and monitoring, major inter-district variations in school management and planning, the results from DPEP were quite encouraging. As pointed out in the Tenth Plan Document Volume 2 chapter 2, the 1990s could be called the watershed decade as far as basic education is concerned in India. With the highest jump of almost 14 % in literacy rate between 1991–2001, the country saw manifold increase in institutions, teachers and students during the period. But, glaring gaps still existed with 42 million children (out of a total of 200 million children in the age group of 6–14 years) still not attending schools, high dropout rates, low girls participation rates, low levels of learning achievement, and other systematic issues such as inadequate infrastructure, teacher absenteeism, staff vacancies, etc.

All said and done, one thing is for sure that the experiences from DPEP paved the way for a more comprehensive sector-wide approach to educational funding, a thing that India had already started practising as the concept gained strength globally, soon after.

10.3.3 Phase III: Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp) and Aid Consolidation (2000–2010)

SWAp was the derivative of the need to harmonise national plans and priorities with external funding. Thus, it attempted to consolidate funding from all levels of government right from top to bottom most as also from all sources both internal as well as external for the education sector as a whole. The purpose was to reduce the gaps in coordination complexities with multiple agencies by providing a common framework for planning, execution, funding and evaluation. The period thus saw the launch of nationwide CSS for UEE, i.e. the SSA in 2001–2002. While the basic structure and objectives were more or less an extension of DPEP, it aimed at a more comprehensive policy and budgetary framework. Maintaining consistency with the MDGs and the NPE, the SSA aimed at (1) All children in school, (2) Bridge gender and social category gaps, (3) Universal Retention, and (4) Focus on EE of satisfactory quality with emphasis on education for life. The programme aimed to provide elementary education to all children in the 6–14 age group by 2010, through improved performance of the school system and community-owned quality elementary education in a mission mode.

Few major distinctive features of SSA were:

1. *Universal coverage* – covers all districts in India.
2. *From primary to elementary* – Aimed at universalisation of not just primary education (Classes I–V) but elementary education (Classes I–VIII).
3. *Greater decentralisation* – with planning unit being habitations within the districts.
4. *Holistic and convergent approach* – by dovetailing programme implementation at the sectoral level by all other departments such as programmes for children in the 0–6 age group under the Department of Women and Child Development, sports-related interventions of the Ministry of Sports and Youth Affairs, establishment of public libraries under the Department of Culture and nutrition and health programmes of the Ministry of Health.

All existing schemes in EE including DPEP were subsumed under SSA to act as single umbrella providing for Elementary Education development. Interestingly, although SSA is said to be a beginning of SWAp, in reality it was a sub-sectoral programme focusing only on EE.

Also, volume wise, at this time external aid as proportion to total education expenditure was at its peak. As per estimates, towards the end of the Ninth FYP (1997–2002), foreign aid as a proportion of central government plan expenditure on education increased to 20 pc from a mere 5 pc in 1993–1994, the increase being much higher for EE – from 10 pc to 35 pc (Tilak 2008). But, commencement of the Tenth Plan (2002–2007) saw a reversal in India's approach to foreign assistance as a policy matter. This had its repercussions on the education sector too (Table 10.2). Although total aid approved for EE increased in absolute terms, the percentage of

Table 10.2 Expenditure allocations for elementary education during different plans (Rs Mill) (figures in parentheses are pc of total aid approved)

FYP	Total aid approved	Aid allocated	Aid utilised
VII	6,580	N.A.	81 (1.23)
1987–1992			
VIII	40,060	6,320 (15.78)	6,130 (15.3)
1992–1997			
IX	147,540	87,240 (59.13)	40,930 (27.7)
1997–2002			
X	287,500	49,040 (17)	38,270 (13.31)
2002–2007			

Source: Annual Financial Statistics, GOI, relevant years
http://education.nic.in/planbudget/planexpen.pdf (p12) for the Tenth Pan

aid actually allocated for the purpose went down from about 60 % during the Ninth FYP to a mere 17 % during the Tenth FYP.

Two factors can be quoted to be the major reasons behind this policy reversal.

1. *Huge Repayment Burden*: Of the 60 % of total aid to India from multilateral sources, 90 % were from WB in the form of loans. Thus, a substantive part of India's aid had huge repayment burden. If the repayments were to be taken into account, then the net external assistance had started falling significantly since the beginning of the 2000s. In fact, it was negative in the year 2002–2003 where the repayment was 198 % (Colclough and De 2010).
2. *Comfortable BOP Situation*: On the other hand, the Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation (LPG) Policy of the 1990s resolved India's BOP crisis and led to huge accumulation of foreign reserves. In the decade starting 1990s, they increased rapidly from $ 5,834 million in 1990–1991 to $ 42,281 million in 2000–2001 to a further $ 62,021 million by mid-September 2002.

Finding itself more resilient to external shocks, India decided to pre-pay its debts and voluntarily decline the acceptance of small volumes of foreign assistance from large number of erstwhile bilateral donors (India's New Aid Policy 2003a, b). Following these changes, the SSA programme too was launched without bilateral support and only 30 % coming from three major partners WB, DFID and EC, which respectively had a share of 48 %, 33 % and 19 % in SSA Phase I and changed to WB (60 %), DFID (30 %) and EC (10 %) in SSA Phase II starting 2007. In fact, in 2004, the GOI attempted to augment its domestic resources by introducing education cess of 2 % exclusively for EE. The ownership and self-dependence of the GOI for SSA programme is clearly reflected in the expenditure on SSA Phase I being more than double the projected outlay and thereby reducing the share of external donors to only 13.6 % as against the planned 30 % (Colclough and De 2010). Also time phase of the SSA was coterminous with the Tenth FYP period in order to provide greater consistency with national planning.

The above-mentioned developments reveal India's desire to secure greater donor harmonisation by reduced number of external partners and increased country ownership – two important components of the later period Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (OECD-DAC 2005). Steps initiated for effective donor harmonisation during this period can be outlined as follows:

- Pooling of external funds and GOI resources, with no parallel financing structures.
- Common formats for Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with all partners' long-term donor commitments.
- Common procedures for monitoring and reporting (as being used in GOI's CSS), such as six monthly JRMs, the existing GOI procedures for Public Financial Management (PFM), auditing and reporting and a shared approach to managing fiduciary risk.
- Greater Alignment with National Priorities: The overall SWAp approach was in tune with the GOI's Tenth Five-Year Plan's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). As stressed by EC COUNTRY STRATEGY PAPER (2002), India's very challenge for the new millennium is to lift its citizens out of poverty. All of India's development partners need to mobilise their resources and strengths in order to help GOI to achieve the millennium goal of poverty reduction.
- Funds came as reimbursement of expenditures by GOI on SSA rather than advances in order to ensure proper utilisation.

All this simplification and harmonisation of procedural formalities aimed at minimisation of transaction costs and misappropriation of funds along with easier coordination and monitoring. In the light of rising international concern towards aid utilisation and effectiveness as against aid volume in the earlier decade (i.e. Paris declaration and Accra Agenda 2008), India can be stated to be both a precursor and a follower of this trend. The decade saw phasing out of small multiple donors and re-emergence of India's dominance in dictating partnerships as it emerged as a major donor than recipient. The 'external partners' were now to be viewed as 'Development Partners (DP)'. The Tenth Plan also stressed on synergetic partnership with the private sector, realising the herculean task of achieving universalisation of quality EE with increased focus on retention and learning. Thus, the concept of public–private partnership (PPP) in education started taking shape and allowing for greater role of the private sector in opening quality schools, schools for deprived children and computer education (Tenth Plan vol 2 ch 2). Also more space was provided to the NGOs after 2003, with aid being allowed to be channelled directly to them rather than GOI playing the role of the intermediate agency. Direct negotiations with States too were promoted, which started getting reflected in the country strategy papers of the DPs. As political decentralisation in India increasingly shifted the dynamics for change from the Centre to individual State governments, the EC invested more resources in a 'partnership for progress' with initially one Indian State that was committed to poverty reduction by pursuing a socio-economic reform

agenda (EC Strategy Paper 2002–2007). The Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh State Partnerships were launched in 2006 with €160 million contribution from the EU. Inter-state and regional disparities are being addressed by these partnerships for an innovative sector-wide approach to improve governance.

Both the above-mentioned approaches were carried forward in the years to come. The key theme in the Tenth Plan was to impart quality education at all levels of education, pursue excellence and thereby indicate a shift of sub-sectoral as well as functional focus in coming years.

10.3.4 Phase IV: Post 2010: Shifting Sub-sectoral Priorities with Long-Term Commitments and International Cooperation

The above efforts and India's continued commitment to UEE got terminated into passage of the RTE Act in 2010. As access and enrolment at the primary level attained near universal levels in many States, demand for expansion of secondary education grew out of need to accommodate increasing number of UP pass-outs. New priorities started emerging on the scene under national as well as global influences. India's changing demographics and resultant higher demand for secondary, post-secondary education led to sub-sectoral shifts in priorities from elementary to secondary, higher and technical education. Vocational education too was given renewed impetus.

These shifting trends in priorities from elementary to higher levels and from access to equity and excellence became all the more evident in the following Eleventh FYP (2007–2012). The Eleventh Plan titled 'inclusive growth' aimed at ensuring education especially for the poor, equality of opportunity, empowerment through education and skill development. Just as in 2004 for EE, this time the GOI introduced a cess of 1 % for secondary and higher education in anticipation of funding requirements of this sub-sector (Union Budget 2007–2008). The funding pattern of the Eleventh Five Year Plan further testified this shift. Although around 50 % of the Eleventh Five Year Plan outlay was for elementary education and literacy, it was lower than earlier years with corresponding increase in the shares to 20 % for secondary education and 30 % for higher education (including technical education).

Keeping in line the funding agencies also shifted their priorities. As external support to SSA came to an end with the Phase II of SSA ending 2012–2013, World Bank, DFID and EU came forward to support the next level CSS of RMSA to support secondary school expansion in the country. In addition, World Bank's support to the Technical Educational Quality Improvement Project (TEQIP) (Externally-Aided Projects in Technical Education) came in the technical education sector in two phases (2004–2009 followed by 2010–2014) through IDA as the first World Bank project in higher education in India. This programme too follows a bottom-up approach, allowing institutions to design, implement and be accountable for the quality improvement. The programme involves partnerships with the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD),

State Governments and private associations. The partnerships with State Governments have been strengthened in the second phase, and the IDA plays a major role in facilitating industry participation in research employment and curriculum development. Also representatives from private associations are members of the Steering Committee – the apex body of the project. Competitive funding of the institutions on the basis of their commitment and capability to implement a set of predefined reforms to promote academic and administrative autonomy is a unique way of selecting institutions for joining the project.

The focus is also now more on quality, research and innovation as is evident from Table 10.3. Except for RMSA, all other projects are in the technical, vocational sector involving multiple ministries in the country. Although the number of partnering agencies has gone down, internally multiple departments/ministries are involved in externally aided education projects.

The following changes can be seen to have already taking shape and are likely to get strengthened in future.

- Foreign partners' rising interest and GOI's shifting focus back to higher and technical education. For example, the EU 2007–2013 Country Strategy paper states, 'In alignment with India's national policy agenda, it is proposed to continue EC support to India's social sectors (health and education)'.
- Only three major bilateral partners in education remaining (US – USAID; UK – DFID and Japan – JICA). Other multilaterals include UNDP, WB (IDA) and EU.
- Along with assistance to government programmes, NGO as well as the private sector initiatives to be strengthened.
- Choice of co-operation partners to be undertaken in a more cautious manner: The private partners to be selected on the basis of their past records and credibility.
- Joint programmes to be implemented on pilot basis through government-sponsored organisations like Small Industries Development Bank of India (SIDBI) and National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC), particularly in the area of skills and employability improvement.
- Thematic and geographic bundling of resources to become important factors when aiming at critical mass intervention.
- More integrated support package comprising of financing advisory services and knowledge tailored to the needs of individual States.
- Priority States to be chosen keeping in view donor as well as national interests.

The country strategy papers and long-term operational plans of the two major donor agencies WB (2013–2017), World Bank (2013) and DFID (2011–2015) clearly reflect the changing face of educational aid to India. With the Twelfth FYP (2012–2017) titled 'Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth', these DPs plan to shift support towards low-income, special category states with higher proportion of poor and disadvantaged with focus on ensuring access of underprivileged children, retaining girls in secondary education and opportunities in HE. However, as far as funding is concerned, while external aided projects may remain limited bilateral, trilateral and plurilateral partnerships in education are likely to increase rapidly.

Table 10.3 Externally aided projects under central plan where inflows during 2013–2014 are Rs 100 crore or more

(In crores)							
Name of the concerned Ministry/ Department	Name of the project	Name of the funding agency	Actuals 2010–2011	Actuals 2011–2012	BE 2012–2013	RE 2012–2013	BE 2013–2014
Department of Agricultural	National Agricultural	IDA	–	176	131	150	400
Research and Education	Innovation Project						
Department of School Education &	Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha	IDA & DFID	–	–	–	–	625
Literacy	Abhiyan						
Department of Higher Education	Technical Education Quality	IBRD	5	183.13	350	197.63	400
	Improvement Project of GOI						
Ministry of Labour & Employment	Vocational Training Improvement	IDA	189.22	88.91	100	100	150
	Project						

Source: GOI, Expenditure Budget Vol. I 2013–2014

10.4 Process of Funds Flow

The mechanism and types of funds flowing as education aid can be described in the following fashion:

- Flows by way of both loans and grants-in-aid but loan component of the WB more. IDA is the concessional arm of the World Bank and plays a key role in supporting the Bank's poverty reduction mission. However, with effect from July 1, 2011, IDA has changed terms of lending. Now credits carry 1.25 % interest and a service charge of 0.75 % pa has a repayment period of 25 years inclusive of a grace period of 5 years as against longer repayment and grace period with no interest but only service charges of earlier years. This is bound to make WB funds more costly per annum and has serious ramifications for future.
- Flows to mutually agreed governmental as well as non-governmental projects: While a larger part of assistance comes to CSS but funds also flow directly to State sector projects as per donor priority.
- Flows in the form of financial grants as well as technical assistance.
- Decentralised funds flow mechanism: In a decentralised system of funds flow, the funds coming to the GOI kitty including external funding flow down to the grassroots level as depicted in Fig. 10.1.

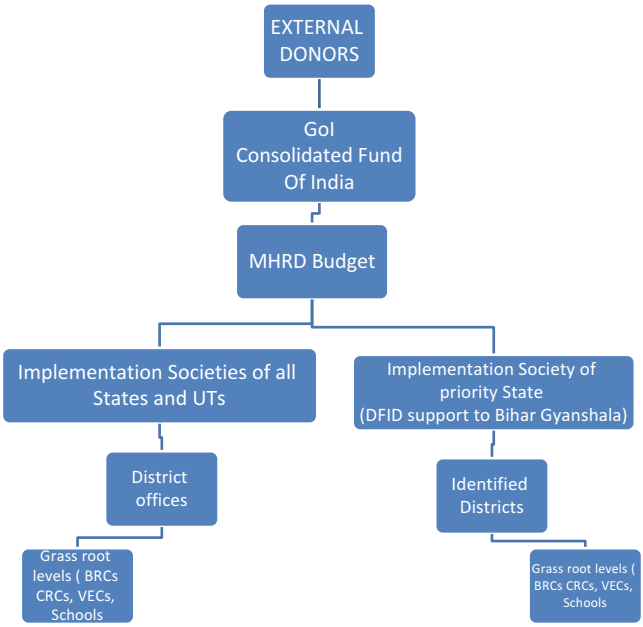

Fig. 10.1 Funds flow mechanism of CSS (SSA)

As is clear from the figure, resources go, via the Department of Education, to state budgets or directly to District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) or to State Implementation Societies (SIS). This process of funds is characteristic of the post-DPEP period. The earlier period pilot projects usually involving modest amounts of resources were included in the state plans.

10.5 Aid Effectiveness and Policy Influence: Two Way

On analysing India's education aid journey across the globally defined principles of aid effectiveness, it would not be wrong to say that India has been conscious of improving 'aid effectiveness' while dealing with donor agencies, but nonetheless, is still grappling with the problems of effective governance and monitoring at the local level.

Each of the five principles set out in the Paris Declaration (2005) followed by four more in Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) (2008) include:

1. Ownership: Receiving countries should have their own strategies.
2. Alignment: Donor agencies should align with national objectives and use local systems.
3. Harmonisation: Better coordination, procedural simplification.
4. Results: Shifting focus to measurable results.
5. Mutual Accountability: Both donor and recipient country.
6. Predictability: Three to five year planned donor commitment.
7. Country Systems: Aid delivery through domestic country system rather than donor systems.
8. Conditionality: Use of aid money as per domestic country's own development objectives.
9. Untying Aid.

As far as ownership is concerned, India has by far stayed away from being influenced by the donor agencies right from the very beginning. It was only after prolonged dialogues that country strategy is decided with mutual consent. However, while policy decisions are nationally owned, the influence is bidirectional with donor agencies priorities becoming additional targets. For instance, DFID's own outcome level indicators for SSA include increasing the retention rates of primary school children (a formal target of the SSA programme) and improving the learning levels in maths and reading at Grades 3, 5, and 8 (not formal targets of the SSA programme but DFID additions). In this manner, DFID also seeks to influence national programmes' outcomes.

With time, more clear-cut objectives and measurable targets are defined in alignment with national priorities. While headline targets are expressed in terms of providing access to services and do not include outcomes or quality, DFID India had additional indicators applicable across the entire portfolio of UK-funded education activities in its Country Plan 2008–2015 (DFID 2008). These included increasing

Table 10.4 DFID India's priorities and expected results (2011–2015)

School education (6–14 years) indicator	DFID's results	Basis for deriving DFID results	Proportion in Bihar
Number of girls and boys supported by DFID to enrol in basic education (ages 6–14)	1.5 million children, including 0.73 million girls	DFID pro-rata share of children enrolled in government-supported elementary schools in 2012–2013 when DFID funding to elementary education ceases	(1) 10 % for total of India in Bihar
			(2) 150,000 children through SSA
			(3) 13,500 Gyan Shala*
Number of girls and boys supported by DFID to enrol in secondary school (ages 15–16)	800,000 students, including 300,000 girls	DFID share of a total result of 31.4 million students enrolled in 2014–2015	Not yet defined

Source: DFID Operational Plan India 2011–2015, DFID, October 2011, Accessed at http://www.dfid.gov.uk/documents/publications1/op/india-2011.pdf

*GYAN SHALA – DFID-funded programme in Bihar aimed at providing affordable, quality primary education to the poorest children of urban communities in Patna and Bihar Sharif

by 2 % the number of children who after 2 years of primary education have sufficient fluency to 'read to learn'; increasing the number of children who move to grade 5 (age 10–11) by 4 %; and increasing the number of female teachers in the primary system to 47 % (ICAI 2012).

While both India and DPs claim to be jointly accountable for the 'goods', they pass the butt on others' shoulders for the 'bads'. It is extremely difficult to assess the exact and measurable impact of aid. As the proportion of external funding is very small, it is almost impossible to say whether it has had any direct and specific impact (despite that funding agencies are trying to measure their contributions in quantitative terms on a pro-rata basis, as seen in Table 10.4).

As can be deduced from the above table, while it may be possible to measure targets in terms of numbers, it would be very difficult to do so for quality of either infrastructure or learning abilities.

The later period (post 2000) is also characterised by long-term country plans by DPs clearly outlining their commitment strategies. For example, DFID introduced their Country Plan for India 2008–2015 in June 2008, spelling out their strategies in two phases 2008–2011 and 2011–2015. Similar plans are released by World Bank. The country-specific allocation of UNDP resources is made every 5 years under the Country Cooperation Framework (CCF), which usually synchronises with India's five-year plans. These are being prepared to accord greater stability and transparency as the recipient is able to predict the involvement of the DPs in advance and plan accordingly. With the aim of increasing aid effectiveness, the DPs are more inclined towards providing technical cooperation rather than financial assistance, particularly post 2000. In the earlier periods, the proportion of technical assistance under SSA was merely 5 % (ICAI 2012).

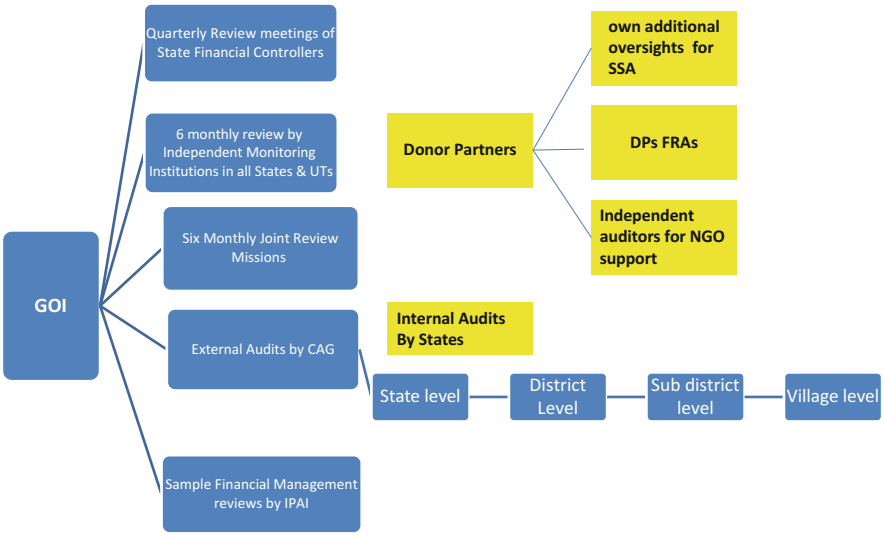

Fig. 10.2 Financial management and monitoring of aid

The harmonisation process started sometime in early 2000, with shift to SWAp and India's New Aid Policy Announcement in 2003. The new aid policy and few political developments automatically led to reduction in the number of donor partners thereby facilitating procedural simplifications. Multiplicity of bilateral donors coupled with multilateral donor organisations and the growing number of vertical funds add to fragmentation and aid complexity (Acharya et al. 2006). With lesser number of donors, there is bound to be reduced pressure on tracking modalities, other conditionalities and further evaluations.

The DPs participate in joint planning and coordination as well as monitoring. As far as SSA is concerned, the largest donor-funded programme so far, GOI has its own oversight arrangements with representatives from funders and government-appointed independent specialists visiting multiple states simultaneously to assess whether the programmes are delivering results (i.e. the six monthly Joint Review Missions (JRMs)). All financial contributions from donor partners are set in bilateral agreements with GOI and are paid on reimbursement against audited approved spending. The World Bank being the lead partner with 60 % of the contribution leads on all monitoring and evaluation initiatives, including finance and procurement management. Financial management and monitoring is done at multiple levels involving multiple agencies (Fig. 10.2).

Since 2004, all systems of monitoring are set out in the GOI Financial Management and Procurement Manual, which is applicable to the entire programme across all states. In addition to the JRMs, the GOI conducts quarterly review meetings of financial controllers of states, discussing issues regarding audit observations, financial performance, training, staffing and internal audit. These reports are

shared openly through the GOI's SSA website. At the state level, GOI has identified and appointed monitoring institutions in all 35 states and union territories (UTs). These are independent professionally qualified organisations, usually accountancy firms assigned with the task of carrying out six monthly reviews of expenditure and submit their reports to GOI as well as state-implementing agencies. Many States too conduct their own internal audits outsourced to independent firms. In addition, most comprehensive external audits are undertaken by the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India through its empanelled auditors. These audits are performed at state, district and sub-district levels and also at village level wherever payments are above a certain threshold. The above is further supplemented by financial management reviews on a sample basis conducted by the Institute of Public Auditors of India (IPAI).

To top it all, the Donor Partners (DPs) have their own additional systems of oversight. Most importantly, the Fiduciary Risk Assessments (FRAs) right at the time of design of any programme (usually by a credible third party) are followed by annual reviews and updates of FRAs. Nonetheless, the information is hardly shared among donor community. Despite all such systems in place for monitoring, reports of malpractices, corruption and funds leakages are not unheard of. The most glaring revelation of the kinds came forth through 'The Annual Status of Education Report into Indian Schools,' which says that the money spent by Britain on SSA has made little or no impact. It adds that UK's £400 m aid for India schools' squandered after education standards fall since 2007 as quarter of primary school teachers are routinely absent, half of 10-year-olds cannot read a sentence and only a third can do a simple sum. Investigations exposed corruption within the scheme, with up to £70 million going astray. This has not only led to severe criticism in India but also UK. This proves that though there may not be any misalignment at the policy level, there exist grave anomalies when it comes to governance. It is important to build upon good governance practices of both the domestic as well as foreign partners if aid has to achieve the desired results. Also not much can be said about what shall happen after the currently operational plans of the donors end. Sustainability is lacking as there is no clarity on the role of these agencies post 2015 except one indication that future rests more on international cooperation and lesser on financial dependence.

10.6 India as Donor: Emerging or Long Existing

Though India is always quoted to be a major recipient of educational aid, it has been traditionally providing funding to many United Nations and World Bank Agencies and neighbouring countries as education support. Ironically, the country is referred to only an 'emerging donor' given its small volume of lending but what is overlooked is the country's record as a provider of foreign aid from the time of its independence to its rise today as a 'development partner'.

10.6.1 India as a Donor Historically

India's educational aid programme dates back to assistance to Nepal in the 1950s, the Technical Co-operation Scheme (TCS) under the Colombo Plan to Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Scheme (ITEC) since 1964 and the Special Commonwealth African Assistance Program (SCAAP) through which India has provided assistance to more than 150 countries in Asia, East Europe, Africa and Latin America. The last two together amounted to nearly US$ 2 billion since their inception (JICA 2012). However, all this was largely limited to capacity development and technical education. According to the Ministry of External Affairs, India spends around Rs 500m ($11 m) annually on ITEC activities, training around 3,000 people in the South each year. Both ITEC and SCAAP use the same aid modalities except that the latter only targets African countries in the Commonwealth (SCAAP). Both are Government of India funded programmes administered by the Ministry of External Affairs. They are demand-driven development schemes aiming at bilateral cooperation and partnership for mutual benefit. ITEC/SCCAP aid comprises five different modalities: training of personnel in India, project aid, technical assistance, study trips, and humanitarian assistance. India provides all African countries that maintain diplomatic relations with it a certain amount of SCCAP/ITEC units that may be converted into aid via the above-mentioned modalities. The number of units allocated to each recipient varies according to the economic and political importance of the country for India. Hence, economically unimportant countries with a small or no Indian minority receive only a few units, while economically important countries with a large Indian population receive 50 units each (ITEC, MEA, GOI; ITEC). In addition, India has been the third major donor only after UK and Canada in Commonwealth of Learning (COL) – a collaborative venture of Commonwealth countries towards preparation of instruction materials, telecommunication technology, training and information service since 1988.

10.6.2 Dimensions of India's Foreign Assistance Programme

Various Modes of Foreign Assistance As per records, there are three parts of India's foreign assistance spending. These include:

1. Grants and preferential bilateral loans to governments
2. Contributions to international organisations (IOs) and financial institutions
3. Subsidies for preferential bilateral loans provided through the Export Import (EXIM) Bank of India

Of these, it is the first two sources that form major proportion of education and training assistance. Fortunately or unfortunately, India does not categorically define its foreign assistance in the typical Official Development Assistance (ODA) frame of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) countries. As Agarwal

(2007) explains, what India calls overseas development assistance is rather a mixed package of project assistance, purchase subsidies, lines of credit, travel costs and training costs. To do so, the GOI has entered into numerous bilateral cooperation agreements over a range of countries; willingly offered its manpower skills by providing experts for multilateral organisations including the Commonwealth, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank; and also partnered in plurilateral funding bodies. While the bilateral programme has grown, in the last decade, India's contributions to multilateral organisations have also increased significantly.

Official Development Assistance Records: Given the multiple forms and ways of delivering foreign assistance, it has been extremely difficult to arrive at a consolidated figure of Indian government's ODA. The simple reason being that neither does the Indian government release any official figures on the amount it spends on foreign development assistance nor does it report its aid flows to the OECD/DAC (Bijoy 2010). Whatever figures are available are only approximate, derived from different foreign assistance activities allocated in India's annual budget. As per an OECD estimate, India's foreign assistance increased from US$ 539 million in 2009–2010 (House of Commons 2010) to US$ 785 million in 2010–2011 (Chanana 2010). As per another estimate, India's budget allocations for aid-related activities have grown at 'a compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 6.9 % from 2004 to 2010' (Real Instituto Elcan).

Aid Discretionary in Nature: While most developed nations and DAC donors have dedicated agencies for foreign development assistance working on policy planning to financing and administering aid, India until recently lacked any such centralised dedicated body. Its delivery of ODA was therefore fragmented among many organisations, departments and lacked coordination as well as centralised implementation. It may well be characterised as discretionary aid because spending is determined through a budget appropriation process every year.

Foreign Assistance (Aid) Appropriations Process: Most aid from India is provided through multiple programmes operating within different ministries of the Indian government. While the Ministry of External Affairs plays a coordinating function, individual ministries have their own objectives and budgets both for bilateral programmes and for the funding of international organisations.

The two ministries that are responsible for implementing the foreign assistance programme are Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and the Ministry of Finance (MoF). The formal (MEA) plays the principal role in providing development aid through grants and project assistance via various institutional arrangements, such as the ITEC Programme, aid to African countries through SCAAP and bilateral aid to neighbouring and other developing countries. The MEA's foreign assistance is allocated under the title of 'Technical and Economic Cooperation With Other Countries' – a budget head catering to India's multilateral and bilateral aid (MEA, Notes on Demand of Grants 2011–2012). The MoF channels budget allocations for development assistance to many countries. The MoF's expenditure proposal includes a separate allocation for contributions to World Bank, International

Monetary Fund (IMF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other multilateral assistance under the heading of international cooperation. It also extends GOI Supported Lines of Credit (LOCs) routed through EXIM Bank of India to countries of Asia (excluding Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan), Africa and Latin American region under the Indian Development and Economic Assistance Scheme (IDEAS).

The MoF in India proposes an appropriation bill to fund India's foreign assistance programmes based on multiple ministries' proposals known as a 'demand of grants'. After parliamentary approval of the appropriations bill, the Indian government draws funds from government revenue for the purpose. With so many complexities and virtually no official records of aid disbursements from India, there definitely is a dearth of oversight mechanisms and safeguards against corruption and misappropriation. More so, there is hardly any regulation of private contributions.

India's Assistance Tied/Untied: India's has always claimed that it has neither allowed itself to be overshadowed by its DPs nor tried to do so with others as a donor. For instance, ITEC and SCAAP programmes are demand-centred. It places few conditionalities and allows the recipients to voice their interests and priorities but can be said to be tied to some extent. For example, under its flagship ITEC programme, a substantial part of the funds is spent on providing training to the delegates from participating country in India only while many EXIM bank LOCs require the purchase of Indian goods or services.

India's Aid Ideology: India has not treated these activities as trade but always looked at them as partnership programmes of mutual benefit. It has provided substantial developmental assistance to less developed nations with the aim of capacity building, institutional development and incubating technical expertise to create long-term sustainability in these countries and human resource development. Although, the choice of these countries was more demand oriented from the angle of recipient country, the aid volume to these countries is largely determined by India's inherent political and economic interests from such relationships. But, then India has never shied away in acknowledging that its foreign assistance programme is meant to further meet Indian interests abroad and to promote its own economic development (Budget Speech 2003–2004). Also traditionally India believes in building partnerships of mutual benefits rather than a donor–recipient relationship.

10.6.3 New Dimensions of India's Aid to Education

Widening Aid Space: India's aid space has widened both in terms of geographical spread as well as activities. India has broadened its horizon from providing aid to neighbouring countries such as Burma, Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Indonesia, Mongolia, Singapore, Bangladesh and more importantly to Bhutan, Afghanistan, Nepal and

African countries. It was also one of the major participating countries for reconstruction and rehabilitation in Afghanistan and supported a number of school development activities ranging from literacy to nutritional support in schools to construction of schools, scholarships, skill development and vocational education to capacity development of teachers and administrators in monitoring, school tracking and planning.

Aid to Poorest Developing Countries in Partnering Mode: The New Foreign Aid Policy of India 2003 explicitly talks about its focus on humanitarian and development support to the poorest nations. As a result, India's aid to Africa has grown at a compound annual rate of growth of 22 % over a 10-year period starting from the late 1990s (Ramachandran 2010). India proposes to offer 5 billion dollars over the next 3 years under LOCs to help achieve Africa's development goals with an additional 700 million dollars to establish new institutions and training programmes in consultation with the African Union and its institutions. In doing this, India proposes to engage with Africa at bilateral and multi-lateral levels, and strengthen partnerships with the African Union and Regional Economic Communities (RECs). A major proportion of this money has gone towards setting up Pan African E-network project connecting schools and hospitals of 53 African countries with top institutions in India aiming at skills and knowledge development of students. Two other recent initiatives in Africa are setting up of African Institute of Information Technology and African Institute of Educational Planning and Administration.

India's Increasing Contribution to Joint Funds: As a result of its desire to be recognised as a regional leader and educational hub, India's involvement via regional bodies is growing. India's contribution to India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) Trust Fund, Africa Development fund, UNESCO-SSC funding for education and World Bank's Trust Fund for South–South learning are all testimony to India's rising power as a donor country. Rather, as per a UNDP report on 30-year perspective of South–South cooperation, about 70 % of India's technical assistance programme has gone to education and capacity development activities.

Creation of a Single Coordination Body – Development Partnership Administration (DPA): In order to be able to provide a single window service to its foreign assistance programme, India has recently created a separate department in the Ministry of External Affairs in January 2012. The purpose is to deal with all of India's aid projects in a coordinated fashion by a single authority handling right from the stage of conceptualisation to launch to execution and completion. With well-staffed technically qualified in-house personnel (including technical, legal and financial professionals), DPA is expected to fast-track all stages of India's aid project implementation. DPA has three divisions: 'DPA I' copes with project appraisal and Lines of credit (LOCs), 'DPA II' deals with capacity-building schemes, disaster relief and Indian technical and economic cooperation programmes, and 'DPA III' copes with project implementation (MEA, GOI; MEA). While India has always been connected through capacity development, aid to neighbouring nations in recent years has seen India's transition from a major recipient of educational aid to a major donor particularly in

the second half of the last decade. ODA in India being rather loosely defined covers a wide array of India-assisted educational activities. Of lately, the nature and scope of these activities is expanding as well as diversifying with India's aid ideology of development partnership becoming more explicit in its increasing regional and international cooperation in education. Also, in order to improve its accountability, an umbrella agency to deal with all matters related with foreign assistance has been created recently.

10.7 India's Partners in Educational Development

In this whole process of shifting priorities, evolving processes and international dynamics, multiple stakeholders have played an important role in India's educational development. The following section takes a look at their contributions and ideological impact on India's approach to educational development.

10.7.1 Role of External Aid

India has been amongst the top aid recipient countries given its size of illiterate population and out-of-school children in the 1990s. However, both in terms of per capita aid as well as its proportion in India's total expenditure on education, the volume of foreign aid has been quiet low. Also aid component in India's educational expenditure has been lower as per international comparisons particularly amongst low-income countries. While the 1990s witnessed a rapidly rising trend in real aid receipts for education, the same could not be sustained in the latter half of the last decade (Tilak 2008). By and large it can be said that India has been quite self-dependent as far as its expenditure on education is concerned. This in no way undermines the role of the external partners in not only augmenting its resources but also providing technical and advisory guidance in implementation of various education schemes and programmes. Keeping in line with India's commitment to elementary education development since the 1990s, donor organisations/countries not only financed a significant part of the development costs augmenting Centre's resources to provide States' plan funds but also helped raise educational quality outcomes, shared their global experience and global best practices for us to learn from. The Joint Review Missions (JRMs) further helped to identify problem spots and seek solutions through extensive policy dialogue, supervision and reflection. Not only the major donor agencies such as WB, DFID, EC and UNICEF helped gear up the drive towards universalisation of elementary education but also impacted the evolution of the present policy and programme environment through the DPEP in

1993/1994, to SSA in 2001, to RTE in 2009 (i.e. from a project-based approach to sector-wide approach to a right-based approach). They also helped improve service delivery and raise public awareness and expectations from education. External funding, directed via NGOs, supported innovations in actualising SSA goals. As a result of many externally aided educational projects such as Shiksha Karmi and Lok Jumbish (aided by SIDA), Mahila Samakhya (aided by DFID-Dutch) and non-formal education (by NORAD), India was able to increase access, quality, social and gender equity in Educationally Backward States. Realising the need for expansion of secondary education in the country as more and more children move towards completing their elementary education cycle, WB did not stay behind in contributing towards the GOI programme of universalisation of secondary education (Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan – RMSA). In the Twelfth FYP, it committed US$ 500 towards RMSA. Although external support by way of ODA was largely meant for elementary education sector, higher education sector was being taken care by many bilateral collaborations (including UK, USA, Japan, Australia and France) funding technical and higher education by means of scholarships, technical collaboration and technical training. Few multilateral organisational donors such as World Bank (investing in Technical Education Quality Improvement Programme – TEQIP and Technician Education Project) and UNICEF (strengthening District Institutes of Education and Training – DIET and pre-service training for school teachers) also supported this sector.

10.7.2 Role of Private Players

As the fallout of increased demand for education particularly at secondary and higher levels, the private sector has played a major role in expansion of education in the country. Though public sector is still the major provider of education, the country has witnessed unprecedented growth of private schools, universities and colleges in the past decade, more so in the technical and professional education sub-sector. Involvement of India's corporate giants in setting up technical institutes is not new (e.g. Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) and Birla Institute of Technology and Sciences (BITS) now conferred with deemed universities status). However, the culture is picking up with such universities, now running various professional and general academic courses, and coming up as huge groups/foundations (such as Jaypee University by Jaypee group of companies, Azim Premji Foundation/ University by Wipro Ltd., GD Goenka Group ranging from pre-schools to university levels and Shiv Nadar University by HCL) – a new breed of 'edupreneurs'. Directly running educational institutions on a not-for-profit basis through trusts/societies and Section 25 of the Companies Act have been traditionally operating in the country.

10.7.3 Public Private Partnerships

Government-aided institutes are another conventional form of public–private partnership (PPP) in India to be seen at both K-12 and higher levels. Both institutional and project-based (or activity-based) PPPs are existing in the country with predominance of the latter variety. The Private Aided Schools (i.e. schools run by private managements, receiving substantial funding from the government), the Model Schools (i.e. a scheme at secondary level in which the government contributes to recurring cost and an additional 25 % support towards capital costs on per capita basis for the students sponsored by the government) and the Tihar Jail Literacy Project (i.e. a unique collaborative venture between the Department of Prisons, Government of the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi and Anusheel Foundation, aiming to impart functional literacy, computer literacy, vocational skills and life skills training to non-literate inmates of Tihar and other jails of Delhi) may be termed massive in scale. The project-based or activity-based PPP is observed in provision of physical infrastructure (including construction of school buildings, printing books, stationery and uniforms) and/or services (including security, catering, maintenance and administrative support). Many PPPs exist in the fields of computer education, mid-day meal programme, upgrading of ITIs, ICT in schools, professional and vocational education and skills development (GOI 2011). The biggest initiative under PPP mode of lately is the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) that brings together 17 ministries/departments of GOI and industrial associations in a massive skills enhancement drive aiming to train 500 million youth by 2022 Government of India (GOI). NSDC is a not-for-profit company set up by the Ministry of Finance under Section 25 of the Companies Act with 49 % stake of GOI and 51 % of the private sector.

While experiments in PPP mode more prominent in the school sector, the concept is fast picking up in the HE sector. One successful case is the Indian Institute of Information Technology (IIITs), jointly funded by GOI (50 %), State Government (35 %) and the industry partners (15 %). The GOI envisages greater role of private partners through PPP in the current Twelfth FYP through teacher education, use of ICT in education, TVET, international collaborations in research and development (GOI). University Grants Commission (UGC), the apex level regulatory authority in higher education, has recommended four models of PPP in higher education (GOI): I – Basic Infrastructure Model (Private sector provides infrastructure); II – Outsourcing Model (government outsources establishment and management); III – Equity/Hybrid Model (both share infrastructure investment); IV – Reserve Outsourcing Model (government invests in infrastructure and private partner manages). PPP in higher education is thus all set to come up in a big way with 20 IITs, 14 innovation universities and 300 polytechnics planned to be set up under this mode.

Apprehensions, however, loom large with increasing participation of private players in education. Prime amongst them is the fear of rising commercialisation of education which at the outset goes against the basic Indian philosophy of education being a 'not-for-profit' merit good. For any private partner to rise above its basic objective of profiteering is difficult by virtue of the very nature and basic definition

of a private entity. Jeopardising quality and equity for commercial gains by the private partners in the absence of proper monitoring and governance by State partners has often been the case with the majority of government-aided educational institutions in the country. High fee and poor quality education from such institutions has led to greater polarisation rather than equalisation of educated youth. If this cannot be checked, it may have serious consequences of greater frustration and societal fragmentation. Also chances of the private partners dominating the institutional policy and planning cannot be completely ruled out.

10.8 South–South Cooperation, Regional Integration and Changing Dynamics of ODA

India's movement from a North–South recipient nation and South–South cooperation to North–South, South–South and triangular cooperation is seen as the result of increasing globalisation and internationalisation of education worldwide. Amongst the major triggers of India's increasing educational cooperation, the following have been often referred to:

- Renewing economic strength and resilience flowing from economic reforms of the 1990s
- Enlarging middle income population bracket willing and capable to invest in education
- India's desire to emerge as a regional education hub as part of its strategy to strengthen its regional presence both economically and politically

The whole new movement may be characterised by the following.

10.8.1 Knowledge Sharing

India has been engaged in knowledge sharing with other countries from decades by way of capacity development and technical cooperation, science and IT education, space cooperation and agricultural science. In addition to faculty exchange, student exchange, deputation of experts, training, study tours and scholarship programmes, India helped capacity development for feasibility studies and provided consultancy services for technical projects. India's international diaspora is continuously widening in terms of both – partnering countries as well as activities. India is now actively engaging in developing and honing intellectual resources and sharing knowledge and expertise on global challenges of energy crisis, food security, biopharma and biosciences, environmental degradation, health and livelihood issues. Vocational education and skill development, innovations, and institutional leadership, multilingualism and foreign languages are also emerging on the scene.

India is keen to learn from the best practices outside. Few examples of such recent endeavours include UNICEF-supported Introduction to Basic Technology (IBT) programme (also known as the Parivartan Shiksha Abhiyan, to signal the changes that education needs) aiming to promote work-centred education (the programme was launched on a pilot basis in five schools in 2011 to be extended) and the more comprehensive Australia–India industry/sector skill council partnerships, imbibing the USA model of Community Colleges to build capacity for vocational education and skill development. Given India's huge population and geographic spread, India also proposes to forge collaborations with US institutions in the area of Technology-Enabled Learning and Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs). An MoU has been signed between IIT Bombay and edX on Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) on June 25, 2013, during the India–US Higher Education Dialogue in 2013.

10.8.2 New Directions

Exchange and collaboration have traditionally been the two major modes of international education cooperation. Newer modes comprise of co-innovation and co-creation via developing inter-governmental institutions (South Asian University in New Delhi by SAARC Member Nations). Joint teaching including online blended and distance education, setting up of Indian study centres in foreign universities, mutual recognition and credit transfers, quality enhancement and benchmarking, exchange of publications and academic material are fast catching up. Earlier, most collaborative researches were coming through individual faculty collaboration, but now institutional partnership projects led by India and by foreign partners are picking up.

The formation of regional blocs such as South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC – comprising of Sri Lanka, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), BRICS (comprising of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), IBSA (the trilateral agreement between India, Brazil and South Africa) and the E-9 Initiative (whereby 9 member countries Bangladesh, Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria and Pakistan have come together with support from UNESCO, UNICEF, UNPF and WB to promote joint commitments towards EFA) have further consolidated and strengthened relations between India and its neighbouring countries. Many national initiatives, such as India's 'Look East' policy and desire to create strategic economic and political leadership in the area, have had a profound influence in opening up the education sector via greater collaborations and increased academic mobility of students, researchers, teachers and academicians. Most of these have come through three basic modes: (1) research collaborations amongst individuals and institutions; (2) exchange programmes (via education exchange programmes/cultural exchange programmes/faculty exchange programmes sponsored by government agencies such like University Grants

Commission and Indian Council for Social Science Research, and Foreign agencies such as Commonwealth and Fullbright); (3) institutional partnerships via twinning programmes, dual degree programmes, joint degree programmes, branch campuses of foreign institutions in India and Indian institutions abroad. In order to provide greater impetus to internationalisation, regulations have been liberalised to allow twinning arrangements. There is also a rising desire and practice in Indian education institutions for hiring professionals from foreign education system on attractive remunerations for short-term arrangements. This has also resulted in a conscious drive towards harmonisation of curriculum, assessment, standardisation and accreditation mechanisms to encourage mutual recognition of degrees and credit transference.

Accordingly, education exchange programmes (EEPs)/MOUs have been signed with 12 countries during the last 3 years GOI (2013) bringing the total number to 48. Most of these countries are from the Asian and African regions. The eight EEPs signed in 2012 are with Mauritius, Yemen, Tajikistan, Burundi, Belarus, Trinidad, Tobago and Republic of Korea. While research collaborations have largely been the forte of public institutions of high repute (the likes of Indian Institutes of Technology) and research organisations, most of the degree-awarding collaborations have happened with private education providers in India. For example, Manipal University with Hochschule Bremen University of Applied Sciences in Germany; ITM university, Gwalior with Greenwich University; Institute of Hotel Management, Aurangabad with University of Huddersfield, UK. All these are programme-based collaborations ranging from technology to management to science and social science, and a large number of newer forms of educational cooperation (as seen in Fig. 10.3) have helped recognise India as a rising educational hub.

NEWER DIRECTIONS OF EDU COOPERATION
Inter Governmental Institutions
Joint Teaching including online blended
Distance Education
Study Centres
India Chairs in foreign Universities and Vice Versa
Mutual Recognition and Credit Transfers
Quality enhancement & Benchmarking
Exchange of Publications & Academic material
Institutional Partnership projects led by India & foreign partners

Fig. 10.3 Newer directions of EDU cooperation (Compiled by author)

10.8.3 India's Emergence as a Regional Education Hub

India's rising political and economic importance is promoting not only South–South but also North–South well-defined long-term partnerships. India is not only emerging as an economic leader in the region but its potential as an academic leader is also being recognised. The newer modes of collaborative ventures are testimony to the fact and can be seen to be happening in following forms:

Increasing Number of Public Universities Entering into MOUs: Scenario is changing slowly with public universities entering into MOUs in promoting joint and dual degree programmes in recent years, such as Delhi University and Massey University, New Zealand; Jawaharlal Nehru University and Victoria University, New Zealand; IGNOU and three Chinese Universities; India-Africa Virtual University. A number of twinning programmes are already set up between India and educational institutions in the UK, Singapore, Australia and the USA.

Development of Regional Education Multi-country Universities/Centres: Such centres are the outcome of increasing number of regional associations. Two institutions that have been set up under the aegis of the two most important regional associations deserve a special mention here. These are the South Asian University set up by SAARC member nations and the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development to come up as a Category I institute of UNESCO in the Asia-Pacific region.

Distance Education Network: India's largest open university IGNOU has almost 300 study centres in 38 countries mostly located in Africa, central Asia and the Persian Gulf region. In addition, there are many other private management and professional institutes offering programmes to foreign nationals in distance mode.

Inter-governmental Collaborations: In recent years, philanthropism in international educational cooperation is being replaced by more systematic intergovernmental collaboration getting consolidated after prolonged policy dialogue between different stakeholders on mutually agreeable terms and mutually beneficial subject domains. Singh-Obama knowledge initiative (USA), UKIERI – UK India Education and Research Initiative, Indo-German meta-universities, India-New Zealand Education Council and India-Israel Research Initiative are examples of this shift.

Campus Abroad: A few Indian educational institutions also have their branch campuses operating abroad, for example, Birla Institute of Technology and Science, Manipal Academy of Higher Education and the SP Jain Centre of Management.

Increasing Cross-border Student Migration: Since early 2000, India is quoted to be a top-ranking country in terms of number of students seeking cross-border education (Varghese 2008), but it is now increasingly emerging as a student destination. As per statistics quoted about 340 Indian institutions offer joint or dual degree programmes with international partners both at the master and undergraduate levels.

The number of foreign institutions operating in the country in some way or the other has increased from 144 in 2000 to 631 in 2010 (Skorton 2013). More than 28,000 foreign students from about 140 countries are studying in India. Large number of students are pursuing education in India from Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bahrain, Bangladesh, China, Canada, Cameroon, Egypt, Sudan, African countries, France, Germany, USA, Iran, Iraq, Indonesia, Gulf countries, Australia, UK, Vietnam, Thailand, etc.

Yet another trend catching up in India as well as globally is the fact that a good part of this internationalisation is not dependent on external funding but is either self-financed or domestic government-/company-supported (including government scholarships and student loans, and Tata scholarships for Indian students in Cornell University, USA). Although scholarship programmes continue, the recent trends in cross-border education indicate that a large share of the students are self-financed or privately financed (Varghese 2009). Increasing international cooperation has its implications for ODA in education although its importance in a fast-growing and highly diverse sector in India with glaring, quality issues and social gaps cannot be completely ignored.

10.9 India's Changing Education Aid Modalities

On the basis of the above analysis down the years, India's changing aid modalities can be consolidated in the table below:

Outline of	Changing aid	Modalities
AREAS OF SHIFT	**FROM**	**TO**
IDEOLOGY	DONOR-RECIPIENT	DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS
APPROACH	PROJECT/PROGRAMME-BASED	SECTOR-WIDE (SWAp)
	AID QUANTUM	BOTTOM-UP
	TOP-DOWN	
POLICY	MAJOR AID RECIPIENT	EMERGING AID DONOR
FOCUS	Primary/elementary/ vocational education	Secondary/higher/professional education
	Access/equity	Quality/learning/employability skills
INVOLVEMENT	BILATERAL/North–South/ MULTILATERAL	South–South, TRIANGULAR COOPERATION/ THROUGH REGIONAL BODIES
	MULTIPLE DONORS	FEWER DONORS
AREAS OF	FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE/	KNOWLEDGE SHARING/
COOPERATION	TECHNICAL COOPERATION	CAPACITY BUILDING
DURATION	SHORT-TERM	LONG-TERM COMMITMENTS
AID BASIS/ Planning	INPUT BASED	OUTPUT BASED/TARGET ORIENTED

Compiled by Author

10.9.1 Impressions of Changing Dynamics of ODA

The rapid regional integration, education networking and India's rising economic power in the last two decades have affected the educational aid dynamics in the country in two ways – shift in India's approach as well as the approach of the major donor agencies. From India's side, this shift entails the following:

1. Decreased dependence on ODA for budgetary support
2. Shift from tied to untied aid
3. India's emergence as a donor country aimed at developing nations in the region

Shifts in the approach of donor agencies like World Bank and DFID on the other hand includes:

1. Moving away from supporting large financial transfers for centrally sponsored schemes of GOI to poorer State Governments and pro-poor private sector investments
2. Shift from elementary to higher levels of learning, particularly technical and vocational education
3. Involving the private sector by bringing matching funds from private philanthropists
4. Moving away from donor–recipient relationship to partnering relationship

As a result, while ODA for education is declining by way of low interest grants, it is likely to increase by way of returnable capital to donor agencies. Also more money would be flowing in through bilateral and trilateral partnerships in the light of increasing South–South cooperation and triangular development cooperation (TDC) and the revised guidelines on India's external aid policy in 2006. India's new guidelines on external aid allow for bilateral aid of only an amount larger than $25 million from G-8 countries, Russian Federation and the EC (Government of India, Ministry of Finance, Department of Economic Affairs Project Monitoring Unit, Position Paper on External Assistance received By India 2008). Rest from smaller partners can be channelled only through the multilateral organisations, while procedures for direct bilateral development assistance to autonomous institutions, universities, NGOs etc. from all countries have been simplified to promote smaller collaborations. As a result, though India's contribution to world education aid through ODA may not be large, it is making its presence felt in the global arena through greater number of MOUs signed with individual countries – both developed and developing. India is also promoting triangular cooperation in which Indian institutions provide training to candidates from developing countries with funding being made available by donor countries or multilateral institutions (Trends in South-South and Triangular Development Cooperation). There are all signs that the distinction between North–South and South–South remain only artificial creations as both sides are trying to become truly 'global' and not 'regional'. The establishment of following bodies recently can be considered to be a movement in the above direction: (1) The South–South Experience Exchange Trust Fund (SEETF) set up by the WB aiming to promote smooth functioning of horizontal learning initiatives between low-income/developing countries not only within the

same region but also across East and West, South and East, North and South, South and North; (2) conversations amongst the BRICS countries; and (3) an axis focused on the South–South dimension of the aid effectiveness agenda consisting of World Bank Institute (WBI) and World Bank's Operations Policy and Country Services (OPCS) unit (World Bank). Newer modes of cooperation comprise of co-innovation and co-creation in a mutually beneficial framework.

10.10 Benchmarking and India's Capacity Development Needs

India very consciously traces its educational trends through series of surveys so as to compare it against the globally/regionally agreed goals and make required policy interventions in a planned manner through its Five Year Plans. Though India's National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1986 came ahead of the Jomtien Conference in 1990, the primary goal of UEE was reaffirmed by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) after India endorsed the World Declaration on EFA. And the NPE 1986 was revised to further strengthen India's drive towards greater equity and quality in EE. The National Literacy Mission in India was already in place since 1988, benchmarking itself against EFA goal of continuing education for all adults. At the same time, the modified NPE in 1992 considered lifelong education as the cherished goal of the educational process and was further endorsed by the Working Group on Adult Education during the Eleventh Plan with the aim to do away with the segregated approach of earlier times that very often resulted in relapse to illiteracy for the adult neo literates. Similarly, the National Plan of Action 2002 provided directions to link the national goals to international education development goals. Thus, learning from its experiences, India makes all possible efforts to benchmark its progress on education and makes necessary policy interventions. Some may not consider this as benchmarking in the true sense. While benchmarking may not get reflected explicitly in the National Policy on Education (NPE), it can be seen as part of vision and mission of individual national level bodies. Two such examples being National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC) and National Board of Accreditation (NBA), both autonomous bodies set up in India to assess and accredit institutions of higher education and technical education, respectively, follow internationally accepted methodology and best practices.

While India's education sector is fast expanding, quality of education has been a constant deterrent by way of poor achievements and educational outcomes. India's capacity development needs thus revolve around developing strategies and monitoring competencies for quality enhancement. Some of the areas that need attention include: Enhancing and enriching teaching and research capacities both quantitatively and qualitatively particularly in the field of humanities and social sciences; Faculty enrichment by upgradation of teaching skills; Greater use of ICT for

teaching learning; Sensitisation and promotion of inclusion in classroom practices; Guidance, counselling and training for quality publications and networking with industry and international academia/organisations. Other areas that demand harmonisation with global education scenario are capacities to define and implement standardisation/accreditation/assessment of learning achievements, improving basic numeracy and English language skills, curriculum development and innovation, and development of teaching-learning materials. Capacity for designing and delivery of high-quality TVET programmes is yet another area that demands special attention. Good governance practices, leadership and managerial skills for institutional leaders can go a long way in making India's education sector more competitive and responsive to changing global needs.

10.11 Concluding Observations

It would not be wrong to say that given all its deficiencies of implementation, India has been a forerunner in all educational commitments at the global level. The problem is not so much of Indian policy alignment with global education policy directions but more at the ground level of implementation, fund management and governance. The public expenditure on education as percentage of GDP has continued to hover around 3.5 % for more than a decade now, as against the targeted 6 %. While need for additional resources in the light of increasing demand for quality education remains a concern, India's new policy directions indicate lesser reliance on external aid. This is coupled with lack of any clarity on the role of erstwhile DAC nations in post 2015. One thing is, however, for sure that the focus is now more on 'nationalising' the whole movement, be it by way of defining and designing the education development plans or financing them. If in the long run, it is good for countries to rely on domestic sources to finance their national systems of education and look for innovative means to finance 'ambitious goals' for the post 2015 (EFA GMR 2013; UNESCO-IIEP 2010; Varghese 2010), then India seems to be moving in that direction by resorting to newer modes of financing. The external development partners (DPs) too have committed themselves to using innovative forms of financing that put purchasing power directly in the hands of citizens, pay and manage for results, and bring in matched funding from private sources. With greater role of private players envisaged in the coming years in general as well as in partnering with the external agencies/countries, there is an inherent danger of conflict of ideologies of treating education as public or private good. This conflict may further extend to practices of either promoting or withdrawing governmental financing for educational development. The apprehension of 'market' engulfing the 'government' in determining future policies cannot thus be completely ruled out.

India has clearly stated its priorities and focus areas for the ongoing Twelfth Five Year Plan (FYP; GOI), notably amongst these are institutional collaboration for education and research; globally compatible credit systems, curricula internalisation processes for mutual recognition of qualification; skills development; exposure

to diverse teaching–learning models and use of information and communication technology (ICT); faculty and student exchange programmes and opportunities for Indian institutions abroad. India is also determined to strengthen its regional presence through its external assistance programme. As a note of caution, with a larger number of players entering the educational field as a result of regional integration, strict monitoring and governance with strategic government intervention would be needed to rule away any kind of student polarisation. Also all these collaborative ventures should have distinct directions and measurable deliverables. The post-2015 debate on role of market vs government in educational planning and development is more important in the Indian situation of large-scale inter-personal and inter-regional disparities and inequalities. Also a more balanced approach of international aid/education financial organisations towards all sub-sectors of education – school, higher, vocational and professional – would be required to do away with the asymmetries of the past and meet the future desires and demands of educated youth.

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Part IV
Lessons Learnt from Asian Recipient Countries' Reflections on education MDGs and EFA on the Ground

Chapter 11
Donor Aid to the Education Sector in Sri Lanka and the Achievement of Education Goals

Damaris Helene Wikramanayake

Abstract Sri Lanka has pursued a policy of Education for All since 1945 with the decision to provide free education to all children from primary to tertiary age of schooling. This has resulted in high literacy rates and high attainment for the country in the human development indicators. Gender parity in education and 98.3 % enrolment in primary education indicate the country is likely to achieve the relevant MDGs before 2015. The state in Sri Lanka has traditionally been the provider of the educational needs of the country, and national education has always been considered to be the responsibility of the government. However, a large percentage of government expenditure on education goes towards salaries and maintenance of buildings and equipment. The state also provides free school uniforms and textbooks to all students and a mid-day meal in rural areas. The country is thus heavily dependent on donor funds for any quality improvement or reform. Donor agencies have supported the education sector in Sri Lanka since the early 1950s with the World Bank traditionally being the largest education donor/lender to the country. Aid to the education sector has conventionally been through the project mode, but in 2006 the government decided to switch to a sector-wide approach for education so as to integrate donor contributions within the government's sector development policy, giving the government ownership over the program. Although there is a sharing of information and discussion of the sector-wide approach, donors still act on their own agendas, hindering aid effectiveness.

11.1 Introduction

Traditionally, since colonial times, the state in Sri Lanka has been the provider of the educational needs of the country, and national education was considered to be the responsibility of the government. Since 1945, the state has provided free education to all children of school-going age, from primary level to tertiary level. At the

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present time, the state system of education consists of 10,763 schools, 9,931 of which are government schools (Central Bank 2013, p. 26). There are 98 private schools, some of which obtain aid from the government, and about 734 pirivenas.[1] All schools in the national system of education function in accordance with government policy on education and come under the purview of the Ministry of Education. A peculiarity of the Sri Lankan education system, when compared to other countries in the region, has been the lack of private involvement in education since the ban on private schools in 1961. The state is also responsible for approximately four million students and 244,000 teachers. In 2006, expenditure on education amounted to 2.67 % of GDP or Rs. 78.3 billion (Central Bank 2008, Table 33). But in 2012, public investment in education amounted to just 1.80 % of GDP or Rs. 136.2 billion (Central Bank 2013, p. 26). Government expenditure on education is spent on salaries, maintenance of buildings and equipment, provision of free school uniforms, textbooks, and a mid-day meal in rural areas, and thus the country is heavily dependent on donor funds for any quality improvement or reform (World Bank 2005, p. 35). This chapter will focus on donor aid to the education sector and its effectiveness in improving the quality of education in Sri Lanka during the last 10–15 years. It will also look at the country's achievements in terms of the relevant Millennium Development Goals and Education for All.

Sri Lanka has been well known in development policy circles for her achievements in education. Widespread access to primary and secondary education enabled Sri Lanka to attain a high level of human development for a low-income economy (Isenman 1980, p. 238; Little 2003, p. 10; World Bank 2005, pp. 1–2). Until the early 1990s, Sri Lanka enjoyed the highest basic social development outcomes relative to per capita income among virtually all developing countries. Sri Lanka continues to have one of the highest literacy levels (92.2 %) in the region (Central Bank 2013, Key Social Indicators). A variety of economic and social benefits are derived through the educational attainment of a country's people, and the literacy rate of countries is vital for development.

The governance framework for education in Sri Lanka is complex and combines "elements of deconcentration, delegation, and devolution of functions and power" between the central government and the nine Provincial Councils (Ministry of Education 2007, p. 15; World Bank 2005, p. E8). Since the devolution of education to the provinces in 1987, the supervision of 90 % of the schools has fallen to the Provincial Councils, and the central Ministry has only the right to intervene in order to maintain standards. Although the central government remains responsible for national education policy at all levels of education in the general education, tertiary education, and vocational and technical education sectors, the administration of the school system and the management of its finances falls to the Provincial Councils and their Ministries of Education.

[1] Temple schools.

11.1.1 Background

Education became a vital part of the state's welfare package with the development of a strong sense of equity in the years after independence. Thus, no government if it wanted to stay in power would have changed the policy of free education which had brought gains to the country in its high literacy rate and human development achievements, neither would it have made efforts to bring back private participation in education. Education was seen as a right and all efforts were bent towards achieving equal opportunity for all. But there were naturally regional disparities in facilities and resources, and rather than raising student achievement levels, curriculum standards were continuously lowered in an effort to ensure students in better equipped schools would not dominate. Therefore, the quality of education was lowered rather than looking to the private sector to share in the costs; so great was the impact of the past on the perception of private participation in education.

A study of the literature reveals that although the education system in Sri Lanka provided free education to all students from primary to tertiary level, public education was of a very poor quality and had deteriorated over the years as enrolments increased (Presidential Task Force (PTF) General Education Reforms 1997, p. 1; Jayaweera 1998, p. 314), largely due to ineffective management. In spite of impressive achievements in education, Sri Lanka has not yet developed a workforce equipped to compete successfully in the emerging global economy.

Several problems have emerged over the years stemming from the lack of foresight of educational planners. The continuous increase in enrolment in secondary education had repercussions for the tertiary sector as well. No plans were made as to how these large numbers would be accommodated. The increase in enrolments put a strain on budgets, particularly in the years of the civil war with rising military expenses. Abeyratne (2002) states "the expansion of the social welfare system was based not on a sustained growth momentum of the economy but on the historically accumulated resources, which formed its initial condition" (Abeyratne 2002, p. 11). Government expenditure on education in the 1950s and 1960s was around 4 % of GDP (Tilakaratna 2006) with the student population totaling 1.8 million in 1957 (De Silva and De Silva 1990). By 1997, there was an estimated 4.2 million students in the system and expenditure on education was only 2.51 % of GDP (Central Bank 2007, p. 39 Statistical Appendix). This decreased to 2.01 % of GDP in 2001 and 2.09 % of GDP in 2004 (Central Bank 2007, p. 39 Statistical Appendix). The trend, however, picked up slightly and in 2006 expenditure was at 2.80 % of GDP with a total student population of 3,999,323 (Central Bank 2007, p. 39 Statistical Appendix). Since then, the expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP has decreased steadily with 1.86 % in 2010 and 2011 and 1.80 % (provisional) in 2012 (Table 11.1). About 85–90 % of the recurrent education budget goes towards salaries, while textbooks account for 3 % and uniforms 2 % (World Bank 2005, p. E6). As such, not much is left for quality improvement programs, and a high proportion of investment expenditure has been financed by donor-funded projects. Sri Lanka's expenditure on education is relatively low compared to other countries in the region.

Table 11.1 Economic and social infrastructure, salient features of general and university education

Item	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012 (a)
1. Schools (No.)	10,473	10,510	10,461	10,461	10,430	10,445	10,205	10,502	10,549	10,763
1.1 Government schools	9,790	9,765	9,723	9,714	9,678	9,662	9,410 (b)	9,685	9,731	9,931
a/w National schools	323	324	324	327	328	330	334	340	340	342
1.2 Other schools	683	736	738	747	752	783	795	817	818	832
Private (c)	85	85	85	93	94	92	98	98	98	98
Provincial	598	651	653	654	658	691	697	719	720	734
2. Students	4,098,465	4,028,186	4,103,512	4,000,714	4,111,022	4,101,529	4,037,896	4,119,525	4,157,885	4,186,808
2.1 Government schools	3,941,685	3,870,628	3,942,077	3,837,548	3,942,185	3,930,374	3,864,824	3,940,072	3,972,983	3,996,531
2.2 Other schools	156,780	157,558	161,435	163,166	168,837	171,135	173,072	179,453	184,902	190,277
Private	101,047	100,683	106,262	107,874	113,884	115,070	114,974	117,362	122,041	125,669
Provincial	55,733	56,875	55,173	55,292	54,953	56,065	58,098	62,091	62,861	64,608
3. New admissions (No.) (d)	316,344	303,269	319,078	322,431	332,200	326,466	329,832	332,562	331,344	337,901
4. Teachers (No.)	196,588	197,697	199,715	217,369	222,505	224,410	225,951	224,541	228,336	244,188

4.1 Government teachers	186,695	187,337	189,234	206,559	211,424	213,212	214,307	212,457	216,397	231,988
4.2 Others	9,893	10,360	10,481	10,810	11,081	11,198	11,644	12,084	11,939	12,200
5. Student/teacher ratio (Government schools)	21	21	21	19	20	20	18	18	18	18
6. Expenditure on education (Rs. million) (e)	39,116	42,340	63,557	78,344	92,540	100,083	100,506	104,248	121,369	136,202
6.1 Current expenditure	31,673	33,792	50,697	61,144	72,592	77,141	82,414	85,195	99,043	107,271
6.2 Capital expenditure	7,443	8,548	12,860	17,200	19,948	22,942	18,092	19,063	22,326	28,930
7. Education expenditure on a % of GDP (f)	2.15	2.03	2.59	2.67	2.59	2.27	2.08	1.86	1.86	1.80

Central Bank (2013) p. 26 in Statistical Appendix

The inadequacy of resources has been a major challenge for the education system in the country. The budgetary allocation for education in Sri Lanka is relatively low as against its counterparts in the developing world. At present, the Government of Sri Lanka spends about 1.80 % of GDP and 9.98 % of total government expenditure on education (Central Bank 2013). Though the expenditure on education has increased with the expansion of the school system, it has remained between 6 and 10 % of the overall public spending over the past 30 years. The resource allocation for education by the national treasury at present is sufficient only to meet the recurrent expenditure.

11.2 Donor Agencies and the Education Sector in Sri Lanka

Donor agencies have supported the education sector in Sri Lanka since the early 1950s. The World Bank has traditionally been the largest education donor/lender to Sri Lanka. The Asian Development Bank also has been a lender to the education sector accounting for a large proportion of foreign assistance. Funds were also made available by other lending and donor agencies such as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the Department for International Development (DFID) UK, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), the Japan International Cooperative Agency (JICA), and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC), all of which have facilitated the modernization of education. The impact of external assistance on the development of the education sector is based on equity of access and quality of teaching and learning. The sector has also received funds from commonwealth countries and Colombo Plan.

The World Bank has supported general education through the General Education Projects 1 and 2, the Teacher Education and Teacher Development Project, the Transforming School Education Project (TSEP) that supports the government's ESDFP 1 and 2, and the higher education sector through the Improving Quality and Relevance of Higher Education (IRQUE). The Asian Development Bank has supported the education sector through the Secondary Education Modernisation Project 1 and 2 and the Education for a Knowledge Society Project. JICA has funded the Junior Schools Science and Mathematics Education Project and the Training program for the University of Colombo, School of Computing. SIDA has focused on the development of disadvantaged primary schools, distance education, special education, and education management. GIZ has worked on projects that support teacher education and the promotion of peace and social cohesion while DFID has been involved in a major primary education project and has conducted important studies on education. UNICEF has been involved in promoting the Child Friendly Schools program.

External assistance to the higher education sector is more recent and began with the IRQUE project of the World Bank. The World Bank responded positively with a facility of US$ 40 million. Quality improvement in the higher education sector is

a very important factor that needed immediate attention. While the initial intention was to focus on the faculties offering degree programs in the Arts and Social Sciences as graduates in these areas had the highest rate of unemployment, at the stage of implementation funds were allocated to the Medical faculty and others (Ministry of Finance and Planning 2010, p. 62).

Aid to the education sector has traditionally been through the project mode, but there was dissatisfaction in the Ministry because there was often duplication and overlap in the projects. At one time, it seemed that every donor had a component for livelihood support, housing, health, and education. Every donor seemed to be involved in everything, with different ways of accounting and different procurement procedures. Donors' internal systems and procedures could be complex and inflexible. There is a difference between foreign policy and development assistance. Donors also have different motives for providing assistance: for some international aid agencies, development is the primary objective; for others, however, diplomatic relations could be at the forefront. Agencies are further constrained in their cooperation with one another because of their individual need to abide by their own procurement procedure. Because of dissatisfaction with this approach, the focus was shifted to a sector-wide approach. The Education Sector Development Framework and Programme (ESDFP) initiated in 2006 covers the entire school system. The main aim of the Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp) is to integrate donor contributions within the government's sector development policy, giving the government ownership over the program.

The Sri Lankan experience is that it has been difficult for donors to align their support with the government's overall development strategy because of the frequent changes of government, the total absence of a bipartisan consensus, and the fragmented nature of the administrative system (Wikramanayake 2009, p. 154). Around 2005, donor alignment and harmonization efforts tended to focus on a peace agenda rather than on how to work within country strategies or how to work collaboratively. The government continues to deal with each donor separately, even in the education sector where there is a sector-wide approach, indicating weak harmonization among donors. There is little transparency of results, whether on the donor side or the government's, making mutual accountability a distant goal. In sum, during the early years of the SWAp under review, there were many donor agencies providing aid to the country, but despite well-intentioned efforts at aid cooperation, coordination, and harmonization, progress on the ground was slow and patchy (Wikramanayake 2009, p. 154).

Aid comes about through an interaction of the needs of the borrower and the interests of the donor. Since successive Sri Lankan governments have needed to contain budget deficits to ensure fiscal stability, aid and donor funding have been used to address these broad concerns in the name of stimulating development and growth. One result has been that donor conditionalities regarding broad economic policy directions have had a direct impact on education, as in the case of other key social sectors. Policies such as the rationalization of schools and teachers were proposed to meet broader economic goals. Focus has been on aspects that were relevant to donors given their respective priorities and agendas.

Within the Ministry of Education, there are several project offices of the various donors. These are usually staffed with officers from the Ministry of Education. In many instances, staff members are paid by the donor and these salaries are significantly more than the wages paid by the Ministry. The Project Management Units are usually better equipped and more comfortable than the other offices in the Ministry. The staff also enjoys several privileges such as trips abroad. In a SWAp, these Project Management Units would typically cease to exist and there is thus likely to be a resistance to change from this group of people.

The chart above indicates the foreign aid investment for the development of the education sector for 2011 and 2012. The World Bank grant of Rs. 133 million in 2011 and Rs. 481 million in 2012 are directly in support of the government's Education Sector Development Programme and the 1,000 secondary schools program. The Asian Development Bank's funds of Rs. 1,867 million in 2011 and Rs. 4,300 million in 2012 support the Education for a Knowledge Society Project. The Asian Development Bank will also support the 1,000 secondary schools program and vocational education. In addition to these, Japan through JICA provided US$ 69 million in 2011 to be shared between projects that developed education, health, finance and insurance, the environment, media, tourism, and the hotel industry. Sri Lanka also obtained 33 million in grant assistance from the Australian Government through AusAID for the development of the education sector in 2011.

The Asian Development Bank through the Education for a Knowledge Society Project has upgraded the Centre for Excellence in English Language Teaching in Peradeniya. This will be the headquarters for English language instruction to enhance English Language teacher training. The project will also upgrade 18 National Colleges of Education and 10 teacher training centers through pre-service and in-service training in competency-based teaching and assessment models and ICT applications. The project will also strengthen the Sri Lanka Institute of Advanced Technology for Education by upgrading ICT facilities.

Save the Children has worked on programs for Non-formal and Special Education and school dropouts, particularly in the areas afflicted by the conflict. They have also been involved in programs on teacher development and school management. In addition, they have organized studies and surveys on aspects of education. Save the Children has also funded support curriculum development. UNICEF has been involved mainly in primary education and has actively promoted the concept of child-friendly schools. They have organized programs on psycho-social intervention in education and programs on inclusive education. UNESCO has chiefly supported activities that focused on EFA goals. GiZ has worked to promote learning of the second national language, peace and value education and have sponsored several programs to promote social cohesion, through the relevant branch in the Ministry of Education. Although the chart above indicates that UNICEF, UNESCO, GiZ and Save the Children are supporting the annual implementation plan, they actually fund individual programs in areas relevant to their priorities.

11.3 The Millennium Development Goals in Sri Lanka

The Millennium Declaration in 2000 set out a series of specific goals for the global community to meet by 2015 with the aim of combating poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation, and discrimination against women. These goals were decided at a gathering of world leaders at the United Nations in September 2000. The Sri Lankan government too endorsed the Declaration and committed to a set of time-based, measurable Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). A national campaign led by the Ministry of Finance & Planning has been launched in Sri Lanka with direct implementation assistance by the UNDP to meet the targets. By adopting a pro-poor and pro-growth strategy, the country has worked tirelessly to ensure it attained the targets it set in the eight MDGs (UNDP n.d.).

The MDGs also help people in different countries, both at the national and local level to connect with the global community working towards common goals. "In particular, the MDGs set a powerful agenda for developing countries and the international community; provide a global benchmark for eradicating poverty; and set standards for monitoring progress towards achieving the benchmarks." (National Council for Economic Development 2010, p. 10).

The Government of Sri Lanka's development plan as recorded in the Mahinda Chintana has accorded a high priority to achieving the MDGs with its special emphasis on rapid economic growth and its desire to improve the living conditions of its people (National Council for Economic Development 2010, p. 10).

Over the years, Sri Lanka has achieved considerable success in some of the social indicators that comprise the MDGs and seems on track to achieve these targets by 2015. The MDG Country Report 2008/2009 is helpful in that it provides indicators not only at the national level but at the sector and regional level as well enabling both the Government of Sri Lanka and development partners to identify where additional work is needed. Since this chapter focuses on education, the writer will be dealing with the second MDG that concerns universal primary education.

Sri Lanka's achievements in education are remarkable and well known in the region. Sri Lanka has long been praised as being a model low-income country – one that has had great success in reaching high levels of male and female literacy, school enrolments, and health outcomes despite low levels of per capita income. Only a few developing countries like China, Vietnam, Cuba, and Costa Rica can list as many achievements on the social front as Sri Lanka (National Council for Economic Development 2010, p. 10).

As early as 1990, at the Jomtien conference, Sri Lanka had a net enrolment rate of 91.7 % and an enrolment rate of 95.7 % in 1996 (Department of Census and Statistics 2006, p. 4). With a net enrolment of 98.3 % in 2012 (Table 11.2), the country is well on the way to achieving the target of universal primary education. There is little variation across province or gender though some disadvantaged areas like the estate sector average around 94 %. When compared to other developing countries, Sri Lanka's achievements are significant. The present trends indicate the country is likely to achieve the MDG of universal primary education before 2015.

Table 11.2 Foreign aid investment for the development of education 2011 and 2012

Source	Program	Annual investment 2011 Rs. M.	Annual investment 2012 Rs. M.
World Bank	Grant for Education Sector Development Programme	133.0	481.0
Asian Development Bank	Education for a Knowledge Society Project	1,867.0	4,300.0
UNICEF	Annual implementation plan	14.0	15.4
GIZ	Annual implementation plan	10.5	11.6
UNESCO	Annual implementation plan	11.7	12.9
Save the children	Annual implementation plan	2.8	3.1

Source: Ministry of Education (2011)

Table 11.3 Access to basic facilities (2012)

Item	Percentage
Electrification level	93 %
Access to safe drinking water	84 %
Paved roads of the total road network	85 %
International Roughness Index (IRI) – Less than mm/km in the national roads	61 %
Telephone density – including cellular phones per 100 persons	116.9
Primary schools enrollment ratio	98.3 %
Student/teacher ratio (Government schools)	18:1
Life expectancy (years)	75.1
Maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births)	41.6

Source: Ministry of Finance & Planning, Annual Report, 2013, p. 29

However, work is still continuing with out-of-school children through non-formal or special education in an effort to bring the remaining children into school. With the end of the civil war in 2009, more children have been enrolled in primary school. The gap still exists in some remote areas where schools are difficult to access. Reasons for not attending school vary from illness to economic factors, with distance from home being a common cause for absenteeism particularly in the estate areas.

Retention rates for primary school children in grades 1–5 has risen to 98.2 % in 2011 (Central Bank 2012, p. 368). The Compulsory Education Act of 1998 made it compulsory for children between the ages of 5 and 14 to attend school and this has obviously contributed to the high enrolment and retention rates. The new ESDFP also focuses on improving the survival rate with the target of retaining children in school until 16 years, and the Ministry has commenced action to ensure the Compulsory Education Act will be amended to extend the upper age limit to 16 years (Table 11.3).

Broadening the opportunities for education and improving access to education have been the priorities and strategies of the Government of Sri Lanka for the last 10 years. Education can pave the way for the poorest sectors to gain upward mobility in society. It is also one of the most important factors supporting economic growth. Several policies are already in place to ensure enrolment and retention in primary education. The new 1,000 secondary schools program also builds up and equips a network of primary schools in the area of the secondary school, ensuring that every child will have access to a primary school within 3 km of their home.

11.3.1 Education and the MDG for Gender

Sri Lanka enjoys a high level of gender parity in the education sector. Student enrolment at all stages of the education cycle shows gender parity, and, in fact, at the secondary level there are more female students than male students. However, enrolment at this stage has risen sharply in recent years narrowing the gap between boys and girls (World Bank 2011, p. 6). The university intake also shows the number of female students, eligible for admission to the university, exceeds the number of male students. This trend has continued for a number of years. Yet the average literacy rate for females is less than the literacy rate for males. This is largely due to the lower literacy levels of older women. There is no significant disparity in the younger age groups. Thus from the point of view of education as far as the third Millennium Development Goal goes, females are achieving as much or more than males. The right to vote, irrespective of any restrictions, granted with universal suffrage in 1931 and the provision of educational facilities for women without discrimination have established gender equity in Sri Lanka.

11.4 Education for All in Sri Lanka and the Post-2015 Education Agenda

At the International Conference on "Education for All" held in 1990 in Jomtien, the meaning of the two words "Basic Education" was broadened to include the educational needs in the Early Childhood years.

At this time, Sri Lanka had a primary enrolment of 91.7 % and had been pursuing a policy of "education for all" since 1945.

Much work has been done on EFA since then. In 1991, an EFA National Action Plan was drawn up and a National Steering Committee was established. The Early Childhood Care and Education program was incorporated into the said EFA National Action Plan for the first time in Sri Lanka. Based on UNESCO's Dellor's Commission Report, the formulation of Primary Education Reforms by the National Education Commission commenced in 1992 and the reforms were implemented in 1998.

The Compulsory Education Act for 5–14-year-olds was legislated in 1997. Several major development projects to provide more facilities to disadvantaged areas in order to achieve EFA goals were implemented during this period. Some of these major projects were the Primary Schools Development Project, the Plantation Sector Education Development Project, the Development of Schools by Divisions, the General Education Project 1, and the Sector Education Development Project.

At the World Education Forum in Dakar in 2000, all participants reaffirmed their commitment to achieving Education for All by the year 2015 and entrusted UNESCO with the overall responsibility of coordinating all international players and sustaining the global momentum. In the light of the "World Declaration on Education," the Sri Lankan education system also promoted new trends based on the EFA vision. The National Education Commission put forward nine national goals of education to be achieved through comprehensive reforms in formal and non-formal education.

When the "Dakar Frame Work for action" was declared in 2000, Sri Lanka had already introduced new changes in the education system with the help of international organizations. In the formal education system, five basic competencies had been introduced with the intention of improving the quality of life. After the Dakar Conference, the Ministry of Education formulated a Plan of Action for EFA in 2001 incorporating different programs relevant to EFA goals and targets, with the assistance of other relevant ministries and agencies. The plan covered vital areas of learning early childhood education, primary education, improving learning achievement, non-formal education, literacy and skills development, and monitoring and evaluation. In May 2001, a separate branch to handle EFA planning and monitoring activities was established in the ministry, and since then, it has been functioning as the EFA coordinating body of the country and a number of programs have been implemented.

Debates on the current global education framework indicate that education has not been addressed in a holistic manner. The agenda for implementation focuses on access at the expense of quality and primary education at the expense of secondary and tertiary education. Expanded access and quality, alongside a strong focus on equity, particularly targeting marginalized and vulnerable groups, is most important for a post-2015 education agenda. Sri Lanka has done well with her early focus on the equity of access, but has also experienced a drop in the quality of learning over the years. An objective of the present ESDFP focuses on the improvement of the quality of learning.

In 2010, UNICEF and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics launched the Global Initiative on Out-of-School-Children (OOSC). As part of this initiative, Sri Lanka has been selected to conduct a country study on out-of-school children with the objective of examining currently available statistical information on OOSC, scrutinizing factors related to exclusion from schooling, and identifying existing policies that are effective at enhancing participation, as well as gaps in policy and social protection provisions. This study uses the Five Dimensions of Exclusion to analyze the problem of OOSC.

Although Sri Lanka has achieved a high enrolment rate and retention rate for primary schoolchildren, there is still a need to find out why this small 2 % is out of school. The government, as part of the global initiative conducted by UNICEF and supported by AUSaid, is exploring the reasons why some children drop out of school and is discussing measures to keep them in schools to complete their education.

The main reasons for children avoiding school have been identified as poverty, illiteracy of parents, distance to school, and physical (or mental) disability. Poverty plays the biggest role in this, causing children to be engaged in child labor. The most vulnerable groups are poor girls living in plantations, poor primary-school-age children in urban areas and lower secondary boys. Measures to counter the adverse effects of poverty include the distribution of free text books, free uniforms, mid-day meals in rural areas and subsidized transport, in addition to free education. Social protection programs like the Samurdhi Poverty Alleviation Programme provides scholarships to deserving poor families to subsidize the cost of schooling.

The uneven distribution of schools and inadequate school infrastructure and facilities also play a part in poor attendance. The ESDFP and the Transforming School Education Project are supporting a program to develop 1,000 secondary schools attached to four or five primary schools in each locality. This is intended to remove the disparity in the distribution of quality schools. Each of these secondary schools will be well equipped with adequate classrooms, computer and science laboratories, playgrounds, toilets, and water supply. To ensure all schools have the required number of teachers, a measure to introduce divisional-level teacher recruitment and deployment has been proposed.

The ESDFP also addresses the problem of out-of-school children through the revitalization of the Compulsory Attendance Committees, which monitors student attendance in each locality. The National Policy on Disability addresses a wide range of needs including accessibility to schools, combating of negative socio-cultural attitudes, and the promotion of inclusive education. The ESDFP acknowledges that children with disabilities need special attention to ensure their access to education. The Non-Formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education has developed a number of services for children with disabilities. With all these measures in place, it is hoped that the objective will be achieved.

11.5 The Education Sector Development Framework and Programme

The Government of Sri Lanka in 2004 initiated the Education Sector Development Framework and Programme (ESDFP) in order to provide a comprehensive and long-term plan that streamlined management systems at different levels of the education system. In spite of commendable advances in many aspects of education in

Sri Lanka, the need for reforming the system arose mainly due to dissatisfaction over the quality and relevance of education (ESDFP).

During the period 2002–2004, several status studies and reviews were carried out by the National Education Commission, National Education Research and Evaluation Center, and the development partners on education sector. The findings of these studies and sector reviews enlightened the Government of Sri Lanka to step forward to adopt a Sector-Wide Approach (SWAp) in the general education sector as the most appropriate instrument to address sector-wide development issues. As the current trend was to follow sector-wide approaches in order to achieve developmental targets of the specific country, this seemed the best way to move forward. In the past, Sri Lanka had been receiving support from several lending and donor agencies using diverse modes of operation. The SWAp, however, helps to overcome weaknesses that were apparent in the programs, projects, or fast-track approaches which have been taking place since the late 1980s. Often in the past, the development stopped when the financing ended. But a SWAp delegates resources and authority to the various implementation levels thus strengthening the education system in the country. Such an approach enables the development partners to support the Government to implement a wide-ranging and multi-faceted set of strategies across central, provincial and school level to develop the education sector. The traditional approach previously used by external donors was to set up a Project Coordination Unit in the Ministry and implement project components through separate project accounts and financial and administrative procedures. In the sector-wide approach, the implementation process would not be ring-fenced as in the traditional project approach, but integrated within the normal government financial, administrative, and operational process. The ESDFP was launched with the assistance of the World Bank and other development partners.

The sector-wide planning approach covers the general education sector including the entire school system, ranging from grade 1 to 13. Accordingly, all central government and provincial education institutions involved in primary, junior, and secondary education have been eligible to participate in the new education sector development program. In this context, a comprehensive *Education Sector Development Framework and Programme* (ESDFP) was developed, initially for the period 2006–2010, using a combination of bottom-up as well as top-bottom planning approaches, giving a greater focus to the needs of schools. The ESDFP had a broad framework comprising four major policy themes with key related development operations under each (Ministry of Education 2007). The four themes were: (a) increasing equitable access to basic and secondary education, (b) improving the quality of basic and secondary education, (c) enhancing the economic efficiency and equity of resource allocation, and (d) strengthening education governance and service delivery. The framework also included the strengthening, monitoring, and evaluation of educational outputs and outcomes (Ministry of Education 2007).

The ESDFP II adopts the annual rolling planning approach and the plan will be further improved and strengthened at each of the next planning stages. Allocation of funds to the Line Ministry and the Provinces, Zones, and schools will be based on annual organizational plans derived from the medium-term education plans. The

program continues with the same goal of "transforming the Sri Lankan school system to lay the human capital foundation for a knowledge-based economy" focusing on the development of well-rounded students (Ministry of Education 2012).

The ESDFP incorporates its program under the following major policy themes:

Theme 1: Increasing equitable access to primary and secondary education
Theme 2: Improving the quality of primary and secondary education
Theme 3: Strengthening governance and service delivery of education
The foundation: Overarching education sector development rolling plan
Cross-cutting activity: Results-based monitoring and evaluation (Ministry of Education 2012)

The policy framework has been developed on the basis of the proposals of the Mahinda Chinthana Vision for the Future (2010) and the national guidelines of the "Emerging Wonder of Asia" (2010). It is also in line with the directions of the Education For All initiative and the Millennium Development Goals program for the development of the education system in the country under the direction of the Ministry of Education. All development partners will integrate their support within the ESDFP (2013–2017), although the funding modalities may be different. The Government of Sri Lanka hopes that donors will collaborate and harmonize their work with each other to help optimize each partner's contribution towards achieving long-term goals and education outcomes for Sri Lanka. The new document ESDFP II states that there would be periodic national-level monitoring meetings for the ESDFP conducted by the Secretary of the Ministry of Education for all development partners. The development partners in turn would appreciate participatory approaches, predictability, transparency, credibility, and comprehensive documentation.

The Government's vision is to move the country towards a knowledge-based economy, thereby gaining the ability to harness global knowledge and use it for the development of all sectors. In this context, the country must develop science and technology and a high quality of human resources able to compete in a global world. "The human capital foundations of a modern knowledge economy are established at the stage of general education" (World Bank 2011, E1). The country needs to focus on developing the quality of general education to ensure she produces competent students for the universities which in turn will determine the quality of the graduates that enter the work force. The quality of general education will also determine the competencies of those who enter the vocational and technical sector and those who directly enter the work force. Education has a vital role to play in equipping youth with the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy. The preparation of the SWAp has improved relations between donors. But although there is a sharing of information and discussion of the SWAp process, donors still act on their own agendas, hindering aid effectiveness. A range of funding modalities are now accepted for ESDFP 2. According to UNESCO, though many countries have sector-wide approaches, the approach is implemented through different funding modalities (UNESCO). In the ESDFP 1, several donors supported the SWAp, but in practice only the World Bank directly supported the country's budget for education.

11.5.1 Thousand Secondary Schools Development Programme

The Ministry of Education has planned a program to develop 1,000 secondary schools and 5,000 feeder primary schools in the island (Ministry of Education 2012). The Sri Lanka Treasury has allocated Rs. 8.6 billion to develop these schools to improve access to good quality education. The "Thousand Secondary Schools Development Programme" was launched by the President in 2011. The government has already selected 834 schools to be developed in this program. Although the program mainly focuses on secondary schools, a number of primary schools will also be developed so as to link three to five primary schools as feeder schools to every secondary school. According to the Ministry of Finance, priority will be given for development of school buildings, improvement of the quality of school text books and school equipment, and the upgrading of sanitary facilities of students.

A School-Based Learning Improvement Grant of Rs. 400,000.00 has been provided to each of the 405 schools in phase one of the program through the World Bank, Transforming School Education Project (TSEP). This will be used to improve the learning environment of the school, through the maintenance of basic facilities, the development of programs for teachers and students, and the purchase of books and resources. A maintenance grant of Rs. 100,000.00 was also provided to all 834 schools through the Asian Development Bank, Education for a Knowledge Society Project.

The project plans to establish the Mahindodaya Technological Laboratory, a specially designed laboratory building consisting of an Information Technology Laboratory with 50 computers, a Mathematics Laboratory, a Language Laboratory, and Nanasa Distance Education Unit in each secondary school; each of these buildings is estimated to cost approximately Rs. 8 million (Ministry of Education 2012, p. 6). For those schools without science laboratories, the Mahindodaya Technological Laboratory will be merged with physics, chemistry, and biology facilities (Ministry of Education 2012, p. 6). The project aims to reduce the percentage of students who are following the GCE Advanced Level in the Arts stream and to encourage students to participate in Science and Commerce streams instead. The authorities expect the project to create an environment which enables students to acquire the relevant technical and professional skills to compete in the global market.

It is further expected to fulfill equal opportunities of education under the fields of Science and Mathematics, Information Technology, English and Foreign Language Studies, Aesthetic Studies, and Sports. Graduate teachers for ICT, Science, Mathematics, and English Language have been recruited and deployed in these schools (Ministry of Education 2012).

11.6 Aid Effectiveness in the Education Sector

Education in Sri Lanka has been provided free by the government to all students from primary to tertiary level since 1945. The government also bears the costs of maintenance of facilities and salaries and wages. Such a burden on the public purse

inevitably means that the country is dependent on foreign aid for quality improvement in education and needed to accept the conditions attached. This in turn allowed donors to influence the direction of education policy. Aid to the education sector during the last two decades has come through the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the Japan International Cooperative Agency (JICA), the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GiZ), SIDA, the UNICEF and UNESCO, and the Department for International Development (DFID), UK.

In the past, aid to the education sector was focused on the project approach. But with donors working in isolation on their projects, aid effectiveness was hampered and there was an ineffective use of resources and coordination failure. Each donor had their own relationship with the government. There was duplication and overlap in many projects. The government often did not have ownership of the program. It was hoped that the SWAp will solve the problem of ownership and alignment.

The World Bank has been the driving force behind the SWAp in the education sector and its initiator. Led by the World Bank, all interested donor agencies (ADB, JICA, UNICEF, DFID, GIZ and SIDA) met in 2004 to discuss the support they would give to the government's education plan. In an ideal SWAp, there is a pooling of funds, but when the SWAp in the education sector took off, with ESDFP 1, there was a reluctance on the part of the donors to use budget support. Although initially several donors agreed to participate in the SWAp, in practice this did not happen in ESDFP 1. The Asian Development Bank, the other major donor in the education sector, does not participate fully in the SWAp. Its initial attitude was to wait and see how the SWAp progressed. It continued to provide funds through a project mode. It explains that it cannot see the impact of its actions through budget support and is therefore reluctant to use this method. The Asian Development Bank has a strong control over the projects it funds and the government has little ownership here. The External Resources Department (ERD) and the Asian Development Bank do not see eye to eye but the ERD has stated that they agree with the Asian Development Bank conditions in order to get the funding.

Two coordination meetings between development partners and the government of Sri Lanka – the Sri Lanka Development Forum (SLDF) and the Donor Assistance Coordinating Committee (DACC) – were set up. They were organized and led by the government. The Sri Lanka Development Forum was the annual high-level meeting between the government and the donors. The Donor Assistance Co-ordinating Committee (DACC) is the other government-led donor coordination mechanism in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lanka Donor Forum in 2005 had a positive impact on the relationship between donors and the government. The DACC was established in 2004 and was a result of the Tokyo Donor Conference. It included all members of the donor community. Quarterly meetings were organized by the External Resources Department. It was expected that this would provide a framework for all the donors but the group was too large to have any effect. In June 2005, there was a pre-appraisal SWAp mission and representatives from the World Bank, UNICEF, DFID, and SIDA participated. Other donors were invited to some meetings.

The World Bank led the move towards a SWAp first, by their decision to use a sector-wide credit instead of starting a new project. The World Bank has guided the

Ministry of Education through the entire process, and the resulting government program, the Education Sector Development Framework and Programme (ESDFP), is the product of the WB and the government collaboration. They have also assisted the government in the improvement of the evaluation and monitoring system. The WB leadership, however, had other donors initially a bit wary of the whole program. The World Bank has led the donor meetings instead of the government. Although on the part of the World Bank they made an effort to get all donors on board, donors have not been satisfied with the WB's efforts to create a government-led donor coordination mechanism. Bilateral donors feel that government-led coordination is still an area of concern. Many donors disagree with the WB leadership and felt the Ministry's program showed striking similarities to a World Bank document (Stolk 2006, p. 178; Wikramanayake 2009, p. 172). This caused concern as to what extent the Ministry's program was country relevant. The Ministry was also in a difficult position because they had received a grant of US$60 million and could not afford to be critical. Within the Sri Lankan Donor community, other donors feel that the WB country director plays the most important role.

It thus appears that some donors chose not to participate fully in the development of education policy in the SWAp process or may have even been discouraged from participating. Although this may not have been the explicit intention of either institution, decisions on the goals of the SWAp and the development of policy have been made between the World Bank and the Ministry of Education (Wikramanayake 2009, p. 177). The World Bank prepared the plan around which donors were expected to align, as part of the general education project cycle, and continued to assess progress with quarterly missions and technical assistance. Ashford (2009) concludes that the breakdown in the process of negotiation and the lack of opportunity for a formal structured negotiation process, rather than an unwillingness to negotiate or a difference in views, have caused the World Bank to play a central role in the direction of education policy (p. 366).

The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005 and the subsequent Accra Agenda for Action in 2008 set high standards for aid effectiveness between donor agencies and partner countries. Both statements of principle stressed the objectives of country ownership, alignment of aid with country goals, harmonization of the provision of aid among donors, and a focus on results and mutual accountability. According to Harris (2005), although all agencies working in Sri Lanka expressed a broad commitment to the Paris Declaration agenda, there seemed to be a lack of discussion on the issue of aid effectiveness both among donors and between donors and the government (p. 2). He maintained that while the government would claim its ownership of development strategies very strongly, it did not in fact exercise effective leadership (Harris 2005, p. 9). From the donors' point of view, the Declaration states that they ought to commit to respect partner country leadership and help strengthen capacity to that end. However, donor behavior is shaped by the actions of the partner country. The system of patronage in the political structure in Sri Lanka hinders efforts at change. While the international aid effectiveness agenda provides guidelines for donor behavior and a framework that facilitates progress, Stolk (2006, p. 179) states that there is a gap between the international and the

national level and that at the country level in Sri Lanka there is no solid framework that facilitates progress.

Ashford (2009) stresses the importance of negotiation in sector-wide approaches, arguing that the lack of formal negotiations has caused the lack of cooperation among donors in the education sector in Sri Lanka (p. 367). He maintained that donors need to have clearly defined roles in the plan for the sector or there could be uncoordinated efforts by each agency. This is largely what has happened in the Sri Lankan context.

JICA, SIDA, and GiZ continued with the project mode as did the Asian Development Bank. Japan does not want to put money into a common basket. Donors became more cooperative when they realized that the SWAp could accommodate different funding modalities.

GiZ have a traditional project approach with their own staff and technical assistance team. They have an office in the Ministry of Education and operate on a parallel system putting their funds into areas they are interested in and not going through the official channels. They operate like the Asian Development Bank except that they are a much smaller donor. Yet their projects have been successful and whilst this is so GiZ believes there is no reason to change. This could be a rational way of thinking to them but it is not practical from the government's point of view as they are trying to coordinate the actions of several donors. More recently, GiZ have become aware of the trend towards aid effectiveness and the importance of harmonization and cooperation. GiZ is trying to convince the Head Office in Germany of the need to change their ways of operation. Although GiZ has made significant contributions to the education sector, they are quite separate from other actors who are categorized as donors. There is confusion about the attendance at meetings. It appears that not all donors have been invited to attend donor meetings. The GiZ like other bilateral agencies represent their government.

UNICEF is regarded as a "traditional" donor but in general seem to have their own agenda. While in principle UNICEF supports the SWAp, their participation is limited in that they do not directly support the government's budget for the education sector. UNICEF provides funds directly to the zonal office despite it being in conflict with what the government wishes. UNICEF prefers to give money closer to the ground because there is a limited time in which they are allowed to spend the money. Their contention is that in the past money had to be returned to UNICEF because it could not be spent in time. This is against the idea of the SWAp and the government of Sri Lanka would like all donors to conform to the same practice and prefer all funds to be allocated to the central government and the provinces. So in spite of UNICEF pushing for a comprehensive and coordinated set of actions for development and quality improvement in the Sri Lankan education sector, they are working to their own agenda. The UNICEF is very keen to be visible and want their logo displayed on facilities they have provided.

The preparation of the SWAp, however, has improved relationships between donors. Donors' views were taken into consideration in preparation of the new ESDFP II. A range of funding modalities is now accepted for ESDFP II.

11.7 Considerations for the Future

Moving towards a SWAp is a long and complex process and while donor performance may not be satisfactory there is definitely an effort to move forward in this. There are many actors at different levels who all have to move in the same direction. Zonal officers, for instance, prefer to deal directly with the donors. Officers in the Project units will lose their privileges in a genuine SWAp. However, donors are now sharing information and taking on a partnership approach. The Ministry has managed to include most donors in the SWAp, which means there is a greater commitment from the donors to align their support in the ESDFP II. While there are still many concerns about harmonization, alignment, and ownership, there is an improvement in donor coordination.

While the government will consider increasing the share of GDP spent on education, many donors have agreed to provide funds for the general education sector in the SWAp. The World Bank, as the lead education development partner, continues to provide assistance to the government through budget support. Some other donors, AusAID in particular have agreed to provide funds through the World Bank, thereby providing budget support. However, other donors like the Asian Development Bank and UNICEF will use different funding modalities, i.e., project approach, direct financing, reimbursable grants, to finance various aspects of the education program. It is therefore very important to establish a mechanism by which all assistance from the development partners can be coordinated. This will help to utilize the resources more efficiently. All development partners have agreed to integrate their support within the parameters of the government program, the ESDFP, although their funding modalities may differ. They have also agreed to collaborate and harmonize their work with each other for the betterment of Sri Lanka's school children (Ministry of Education 2012, p. 98). On the donors' side, they have asked for more participatory approaches, predictability, transparency, credibility, and comprehensive documentation (Ministry of Education 2012, p. 98). There will be national-level monitoring meetings as well as joint missions. The World Bank will continue to take the lead in the coordination of the development partners.

It is expected that the ESDFP will improve learning outcomes in the country's schoolchildren ultimately assuring human development and a balanced regional development, and the country's stability as a middle-income country (Ministry of Education 2012, p. 9). But one of the pressing issues for education in the future is the improvement of the overall quality of education. While enrolment and participation figures are high, there are growing concerns about the quality of the education provided. Current debates center around whether it is pertinent for the country to subscribe to international assessment tests (such as PISA) and how relevant these international standards would be for local needs. Sri Lankan authorities are also concerned over an increasing number of reports that children are dropping out of school in the conflict-affected north, where economic pressure and poor job prospects are forcing teenagers from the poorest families to support the family taking temporary or manual work where they find it. Although measures are in place to

deal with this issue, donors to the sector might consider how they might assist the government in this regard.

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Chapter 12
Developing and Managing International Cooperation and Partnerships for Educational Development in Cambodia: Transforming Aid Effectiveness into Development Effectiveness

I-Hsuan Cheng

Abstract This chapter analyses and discusses the effective development and management of international cooperation and partnerships in the educational sector in Cambodia. Even if national education priorities largely coincide with global commitments to EFA and education MDGs, incompatibility exists between Cambodia's development policies (based on international mainstream aid ideas) and its governance (rooted in Cambodian culture and traditions). To what degree international principles and consensus on aid effectiveness (as addressed in Paris in 2005 and Accra in 2008) in the Cambodian education sector can be actually fulfilled and education quality be improved thereafter is questionable. It is also questionable what and who play determinant roles in effectively aiding and developing education in Cambodia. The leverage among various actions and interests of key development players is found crucial to contextualising and constructing policies and politics that have guided aid effectiveness in educational development in Cambodia. Various interests and powers can be categorised and characterised as pertaining to the Royal Government of Cambodia (the first player and its primary interest), the dissonant interests of traditional donors and emerging donors, and the reaction of Cambodia's civil organisations to urgent educational needs locally.

12.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and discusses the effective development and management of international cooperation and partnerships in the educational sector in Cambodia. Accordingly, this chapter addresses several research questions: "What are the context and concepts involved in educational development in Cambodia?" "Which

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players and partnerships involved in development can be identified as critical in financing and obtaining resources for education in Cambodia?" "How has effective development cooperation in Cambodia been promoted and leveraged, and by whom?" "Based on the current understanding of present international cooperation and partnerships in Cambodia, how can development effectiveness in the educational sector in Cambodia be further advanced and realised?"

12.1.1 Brief Background on Aid Dependency in Cambodia

Following 30 years of civil infighting and political conflict, the establishment of the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) in 1993 confronted serious deficiencies in physical and human resources in the educational sector. Not surprisingly, Cambodia is one of the most aid-dependent countries in the world; according to the Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC), external aid amounted to US$1.385 billion in 2011 and US$1.375 billion in 2012 (CDC 2013), and the educational sector has long been one of the largest receivers of official development assistance (ODA) in Cambodia, receiving US$100 million in 2008, US$155.5 million in 2011, and US$125.7 million in 2012. Education has received approximately one-quarter of all annual NGO support, amounting to US$39.7 million in 2010, US$51.1 million in 2011, and US$44.2 million in 2012. NGO-owned sources are typically underestimated because a full record of NGO activities and data is unavailable to the RGC.

Because of larger loans disbursed by China, Japan, South Korea, and the Asian Development Bank since 2010, the annual per capita aid of Cambodia remains at approximately US$100, much higher than the average among aid-recipient countries. At first glance, Cambodia is the recipient of abundant external resources. However, the donor fragmentation index in Cambodia is 0.91, which is nearly as high as certain heavily aided African nations such as Ethiopia (0.92; Sato et al. 2011). Furthermore, a proliferation of poorly coordinated, ad hoc, and project-oriented donor interventions have contributed to policy fragmentation and undermined the development effect (Katayama 2007). All of these factors imply major controversies over aid effectiveness in education, particularly in the aftermath of the introduction of education aid policies such as Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which have guided ODA distribution for over a decade. First, managing the skewed distribution of ODA resources is difficult, because the skewed distribution is reinforced and encouraged by numerous universal standards, goals, and targets of EFA and education MDGs. The goals and targets have been set from a rights-based perspective, but a trade-off between a rights-based approach and actual needs in this specific socioeconomic development context is often observed. For example, based on EFA and MDGs policies, primary education is regarded as a universal human right. ODA in Cambodia's education sector has targeted a specific EFA goal of primary education (rather than the entire comprehensive range of the six EFA goals), overweighted general education (rather than vocational education), widened the gap between educational supplies and

labour market demands, and ultimately perpetuated the status quo of the poor (Cheng 2012). Even if national education priorities largely coincide with global commitments to EFA and education MDGs, to what degree international principles and consensus on aid effectiveness (as addressed in Paris in 2005 and Accra in 2008) in the education sector can be actually fulfilled and education quality be improved thereafter is questionable. It is also questionable what and who play determinant roles in effectively aiding and developing education in Cambodia?

12.2 Educational Reform and Development in Cambodia: Context and Concepts

Since 2001, the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports (MoEYS) has launched and implemented the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) and Education Sector Support Program (ESSP) as successive 5-year rolling plans (2001–2005, 2006–2010, and 2009–2013) to meet the goals and targets set in the country's EFA National Plan 2003–2015,[1] Cambodian MDGs (CMDGs),[2] and the overarching National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP).[3] The ESP and ESSP were formulated to meet the urgent demands for educational quality in Cambodia, given that "strengthening the quality of education" is explicitly named as the major priority in the rectangular strategy of the NSDP. The ESP is the overall plan for education in Cambodia, and the ESSP was designed as an implementation and monitoring strategy of the ESP. The ESP was particularly developed to realise sector-wide educational reform (Hattori 2009), consistent with international mainstream aid policies, concepts, and modalities moving from a project approach to a sector-wide rationale, and is considered an effective approach to achieve quality educational reform. Nevertheless, the 2010 Education NGO Report (NGO Education Partnership 2011) indicated that, in spite of apparent and positive progress in widening access to education, Cambodian progress towards quality demands remains below expectations. Quality concerns in education, such as a lack of teacher qualifications and training, poor teaching-learning methods, private unofficial tuition, increasing household

[1] The Education for All (EFA) National Plan 2003–2015 was published by the MoEYS in 2002.

[2] Cambodian Millennium Development Goals Report was published by the MoP in 2003, and included 9 goals, 25 overall targets, and 106 specific targets.

[3] The National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP) 2006–2010 (and its update versions of NSDP 2009–2013 and NSDP 2014–2018) is the single overarching document containing the RGCs' prioritised goals and strategies and directs all public policies to the reduction of poverty and the achievement of CMDGs and other socioeconomic development goals for the benefit of all Cambodians. It is also intended to align sector strategies and planning cycles within an overall long-term vision, and to guide external development partners to align and harmonise their efforts to improve aid effectiveness. There are 43 targets within the NSDP. The NSDP was developed by the MoP based on consultations with all stakeholders, including line ministries and institutions, external development partners, and civil society. After approval by the National Assembly, the Senate, the RGC and the King, the NSDP was officially launched in 2006 by the Prime Minister.

costs, and community sharing to finance unresolved schooling challenges, remain unresolved.

Why do the Cambodian educational structure and system fall short of grassroots expectations, when they are so well aligned with international mainstream aid norms and concepts? In this highly aid-reliant country, the education sector is less politically sensitive and less publicly disputable compared with other sectors (e.g. rural development and women rights), where more political and civil space is bestowed by the RGC on international education aid donors to exercise and make decisions (Greenhill 2007). However, the educational development and systems of Cambodia have been traditionally politicised rather than oriented towards professionalisation (Tan 2007; Cheng 2010). Educational resources in a political system that has been traditionally characterised as patron-client oriented, paternalistic, and "winner-take-all" become a political reward given to those who prove loyal to the top ruler. In the Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) in 2010, Cambodian scores on economic management were above average for International Development Association countries, but its public sector scores, in areas such as transparency and accountability, corruption and bribe-taking, law enforcement, and rules-based governance, were weak (Greenhill 2013). Educational reform in Cambodia since 2001 has been institutionalised and structured in line with an international conceptual shift from donor dominance to governance-led ownership, from a project-type approach to a sector-wide approach, and from a market perspective to a human rights perspective. However, in the Cambodian context, governance is rooted in traditional politics and culture, and this influences the effective provision of quality education. In line with the international community, Cambodia celebrates the complexity, importance, and specificities of multiple new development actors, including civil society organisations (CSOs), nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), private foundations, social enterprises, and numerous developing and emerging countries that were earlier regarded as aid-recipient countries, but are now crucial sources of international development and assistance in the current aid architecture. However, governance culture and political will motivate governmental behaviours and performance and contradict what is defined by optimal governance in international standards, as in the aforementioned CPIA report. Though the RGC embraced and endorsed the Accra Agenda for Action (2008) and the Busan Partnership (2011) to welcome civil engagement, it also limited civil space by enforcing the Law on Demonstration (2008) and drafting a law on associations and NGOs. Although the RGC claims to base its policies on a human rights rationale rather than on a market view, and often complains about the reluctance of the business sector to assume a greater social responsibility for sharing a wider range of information and resources, it has not justly sorted out numerous cases of factory worker protests lodged against capitalist employers. Another contradiction is that although the RGC asserts that it follows the mainstream trend in ODA from donor-dominated loans and aid to partnerships for development (Power 2011), the government has received an increasing number of loans from China. China has become the largest loaner to Cambodia by offering "noninterference" aid polices (Greenhill 2013) and political support for the present prime minister, Hun Sen.

Cambodia firmly claims and endorses agreed international aid principles, norms, standards, and guidelines of Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) High Level Forums (HLF) on aid effectiveness from Rome to Busan. However, the Cambodian government's endorsement of the context and concepts of educational reform and development is not necessarily effective in developing cooperation in quality education. To manage development effectiveness (i.e. to bridge the gap between what Cambodia claims and what it actually does), in the following section we analyse and discuss which and how various development parties have leverage for, interests in, and influence over the country's institutional and policy changes in the educational sector.

12.3 Leverage for Developing and Managing Effective Development Cooperation in Education

Although Cambodia has endorsed and claimed to follow the Rome Declaration on Harmonisation (2003), the Paris Declaration (2005), the Accra Agenda for Action (2008), and the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (2012) on aid effectiveness, the leverage among various actions and interests of key development players is crucial to contextualising and constructing policies and politics that have guided aid effectiveness in educational development in Cambodia. Various interests and powers can be categorised and characterised as pertaining to the Royal Government of Cambodia (the first player and its primary interest), the dissonant interests of traditional donors and emerging donors, and the reaction of Cambodia's civil organisations to urgent educational needs locally.

12.3.1 Shift to Enhanced Governmental Ownership

The leadership and ownership of aid-recipient countries have been addressed and justified in numerous key international aid documents produced by the current international community, such as the Monterrey Consensus on Financing for Development (2003), the Rome Declaration on Harmonisation (2003), the Marrakech Roundtable on Managing for Development Results (2004), and the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005). Because Cambodia is highly resource-dependent on international donors, national development policies are aligned with and adhere to international aid trends. These international aid trends were particularly observed in the four OECD/Development Assistance Committee (DAC) High Level Forums that were separately held in Rome (2003), Paris (2005), Accra (2008), and Busan (2011). In addition, the RGC's firm attitude towards enhancing its leadership and ownership is catalysed by the promises of the OECD/DAC forums, and by RGC's discovery and possession of its potential fortune and strategic natural resources, such as oil found in the South China Sea. Enhancing

and extending ownership and leadership has been a prior concern of the RGC within such a highly resource-dependent environment, but it is unclear how the RGC has acted on this concern. The following sections (Sects. 12.3.1.1 and 12.3.1.2) may provide answers to this question.

12.3.1.1 Legislating the Ownership and Leadership of the RGC

The existing governmental mechanism for mobilising and allocating ODA was first legislated by Royal Decree No. 03/NS 94 (1994) and further detailed in the Sub-Decree No. #147 ANK.BK (2005). As clarified in a policy document, the Strategic Framework for Development Cooperation Management (2006), the Cambodian Rehabilitation and Development Board of the CDC legally serves as the focal point and operational centre of the RGC for the mobilisation of resources from development partners (primarily multilateral organisations, bilateral organisations, and NGOs) and the coordination of external aid for line ministries and other governmental agencies. In addition to the CDC, the roles and responsibilities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, the Ministry of Planning (MoP), and the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) are particularly crucial as outlined in Royal Decrees and Sub-Decrees.

The Strategic Framework for Development Cooperation Management (2006) suggested that the twice-per-year Consultative Group meeting (led by the World Bank, and composed of key development partners and the RGC since 1999) be restructured. Consequently, the Consultative Group was renamed the Cambodia Development Cooperation Forum (CDCF) in 2007 and held meetings once or twice per year. Under the CDCF, the RGC assumes "full ownership and leadership" of external aid management systems and mechanisms. In the same year, 19 sector/thematic technical working groups (TWGs) composed of development partners and RGC were formed, and each TWG is chaired by a RGC official to enhance governmental ownership, according to the Guideline on the Role and Functioning of TWGs (CDC 2006a). A high-level dialogue mechanism is the Government Donors Coordination Committee (GDCC), established in 2007 to coordinate TWGs, provide policy guidance, establish priorities, and resolve concerns raised by TWGs.

As revealed previously, Cambodia's juridical institutionalisation and mechanisms to pool, distribute, and manage aid resources can be divided into two aspects. One is designed to internally coordinate diverse interests among line ministries of the RGC (especially the MEF, which exerts considerable power over aid resource distribution) and between the national and subnational levels. The other is developed to align various motives and interests of external development partners with that of the RGC. Both internal and external aspects can be regarded as two sides of the same coin to legislate RGC ownership and leadership.

12.3.1.2 Prioritising RGC Ownership and Leadership Within National Development Agendas

The RGC has participated in nearly every international meeting and forum on aid and development, and shown its adherence and commitment to international aid agendas such as EFA (1990, 2000) and the eight MDGs (2000). Consequently, national policy papers such as the EFA National Plan 2003–2015 (2002) and the Cambodian MDG Report (with one additional goal referred to as "Goal 9: Demining, ERW, and Victim Assistance") (2003) have been launched. Therefore, access to additional external aid resources that have been promised under the international aid agendas of the EFA and MDGs can be easily obtained and secured by the RGC. By adhering and committing to international aid trends, the RGC is primarily concerned that "full respect" of RGC ownership and leadership be repeatedly articulated and elaborated in the official documents of the RGC regarding institutionalisation, legalisation, and management for aid effectiveness,[4] as revealed in the Declaration by the Royal Government of Cambodia and Development Partners on Harmonisation and Alignment (CDC 2004),[5] the Declaration by the Royal Government of Cambodia and Development Partners on Enhancing Aid Effectiveness (CDC 2006b),[6] the Cambodia Aid Effectiveness Reports 2007, 2008, and 2010 (CDC 2007, 2008, 2010),[7] the Cambodia Development Effectiveness Report 2011 (CDC 2011),[8] and a series of background papers for the forthcoming Development Cooperation and Partnerships Strategy 2014–2018.[9]

However, the RGC has raised criticisms regarding the poor performance and disunity of development partners and ineffective aid management. The RGC frequently criticises development partners for their unwillingness and reluctance to improve their poorly coordinated behaviours and national interests behind aid provision. Therefore, the RGC frequently calls for more aid (particularly in the form of grants and untied/unconditional aid), greater predictability of aid flows, and the elimination of ad hoc, project-based approaches. Key multilateral and bilateral donors operating in Cambodia have already signed the Declaration by the Royal Government of Cambodia and Development Partners on Harmonisation and Alignment (CDC 2004) and the Declaration by the Royal Government of Cambodia and Development Partners on Enhancing Aid Effectiveness (CDC 2006b). Donors are also asked to join the dialogue mechanisms of CDCF, GDCC, and TWGs, where

[4] The RGC's aid management policy documents and guidelines on aid effectiveness can be found on the CDC official website at http://www.cdc-crdb.gov.kh/aid-management-documents.html

[5] This declaration was made to respond to Rome Declaration on Harmonisation (2003).

[6] This was signed by the RGC with development partners to apply the global principles agreed to in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005).

[7] These are monitoring reports on aid effectiveness, following the Declaration on Enhancing Aid Effectiveness.

[8] This is the fourth monitoring report on aid effectiveness (namely, development effectiveness), prepared for the 4th OECD/DAC High-Level Forum in Busan in 2011.

[9] This is a response to the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (2011).

donors are expected to pay tributes out of respect for RGC ownership and leadership, to give technical and financial support aligned with RGC policy priorities, institutional mechanisms, and procedures, and to facilitate cooperative efforts on aid harmonisation, transparency, mutual accountability, and most crucially, alignment with RGC policy priorities. For example, whereas most OECD/DAC donors emphasise the "social development" aid sector in Cambodia, the RGC emphasises the "governmental capacity building" aid sector. Therefore, it is not surprising that the official document of the Guideline on the Provision and Management of Technical Cooperation (MoP 2008) includes an attempt to translate technical cooperation into an investment in RGC human resource development and institutional capacity building. Different aid priorities and preferences are often observable between what is crucial to Cambodian national development identified by the RGC, and what donor agencies recognise as crucial.

The education sector, as indicated in the Cambodia Development Effectiveness Report 2011 (CDC 2011), has attracted the fourth largest share of the 20-year (from 1992 to 2011) amount of ODA, a statistic indicating that the education sector in this country is overly reliant on external aid. Overreliance in the education sector does not concern the RGC because it (and the health sector) is not regarded by the RGC as a politically sensitive area or as an obstacle to enhanced governmental ownership and leadership, compared with other relatively politically sensitive areas such as human rights and land concerns. Accordingly, key educational policy papers (including the ESP and ESSP) have been developed by the MoEYS to accelerate education reform in Cambodia and to meet international aid principles, targets, and goals in the EFA National Plan 2003–2015, CMDGs, and NSDP. How has the RGC acted in extending its ownership and leadership? The answers primarily lie in the timely strategic changes of the role and behaviours of the RGC that are observed in the shift from a passive supporting role to an active leader in the management of external aid resources and relationships. These strategic changes correspond and coincide with a broader theoretical and conceptual process in the field of international development, moving from a focus on donor-recipient relations to multiple partnerships for development, from the unchallenged, conventional (but indeed disputable) notion of "aid" to welcoming a genuine and neutral concept of "development."

12.3.2 Dissonant Interests and Influences of Donors

As mentioned, education in Cambodia is a highly aid-dependent arena where the RGC has received ODA amounting to US$12.13 billion between 1992 and 2011 (CDC 2011). Donors are more welcomed by the RGC to exert their influence in the education sector than in other sectors, resulting in a relatively high degree of aid fragmentation in education. Hattori (2009) reported 22 multilateral and bilateral development agencies that are active in the education sector, in support of at least 90 programmes and projects. Additionally, approximately 250 education projects

actively implemented by 80 NGOs were recorded in 2008 (NGO Education Partnership 2009). Traditional DAC donors and emerging (mostly non-DAC[10]) donors operating in Cambodia have led to the construction and reconfiguration of development effectiveness on the ground. The diverse perceptions and influences of donors on aid effectiveness can be further discussed and analysed as follows.

12.3.2.1 Commonalities and Differences Among Donors

Who are the traditional DAC donors and emerging (mostly non-DAC) donors operating in Cambodia? Traditional donors include the bilateral development agencies of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, Switzerland, New Zealand, Japan, Canada, and Australia, and multilateral development agencies of the UN, the World Bank, and the Asia Development Bank (ADB, Global Fund). Emerging donors primarily consist of the bilateral agencies of South Korea, India, and China, and the multilateral agencies of the OPEC Fund for International Development. Table 12.1 shows that the ODA volume disbursed by emerging donors such as South Korea and China has sharply grown since 2005. Although Japan remained the largest single ODA source until 2010, Chinese ODA (primarily given to the infrastructure sector) is estimated to exceed Japanese ODA in 2011, implying the rise of Chinese influence.

Table 12.2 lists the diverse interests behind the ODA disbursement of various donors. For example, whereas bilateral donors such as China, South Korea, and Japan generously invested in infrastructure (primarily transportation) in Cambodia, the education sector receives more attention from multilateral donors such as the ADB and the World Bank. China, South Korea, and Japan have adopted a strategy of actively financing infrastructure using concessional tied loans and tied projects, reflecting their common interests in stabilising the investment climate of Cambodia for private companies, securing the entry of their own export companies and industries into the Cambodian market, and catalysing the regional economic integration of Asia through infrastructure (Sato et al. 2010, 2011).

Whether they are traditional or emerging bilateral donors, donor countries give ODA for political, economic, and strategic reasons, as much as for the economic and policy reasons of recipient countries (such as NSDP priorities in Cambodia; Cassity 2008). As was indicated in the Cambodia Development Effectiveness Report (CDC 2011: 20),

> Continued increased investment in a number of sectors in 2010, including transportation, a priority identified in the NSDP, provided further evidence of increased development partner alignment with national investment and infrastructure priorities. Investment projects amounted to US$695.5 million in 2010, equivalent to 65 % of total aid, compared to US$303.3 million (28 % of the total) provided in the form of technical cooperation (12.4 million of budget support, and 37.5 million of food aid and emergency).

[10] South Korea has joined DAC since 2010, but is regarded as one of emerging donors in this study.

Table 12.1 Disbursements and projection by development partner 2005–2011 (USD millions)

Development partner	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010		2011
						USD	%	(est)
UN and multilaterals								
UN programmes (all funds)	91.8	96.3	98.6	118.8	148.9	115.6	10.8	104.4
UN (own resources)	41.1	54	58.3	73.2	101.8	88.2	8.2	80.9
World Bank	37.8	24.5	47.5	41.7	60.4	56.9	5.3	96.0
IMF	0.3	83.5	0.9				0.0	
ADB	89.4	67.5	69.4	145.7	89.4	76.3	7.1	149.7
Global Fund	18.8	21.9	21.1	38.6	46.5	61.2	5.7	68.4
Sub-total	187.5	251.2	197.1	299.2	299.7	288.8	26.9	400.0
European Union								
Belgium	11.7	7.3	7.2	2.8	4.8	2.2	0.2	2.1
Denmark	4.8	4.1	9.8	10.6	13.8	15.7	1.5	6.8
Finland	3.3	4.5	5.2	9.0	6.0	6.5	0.6	3.4
France	24.4	21.8	21.7	29.8	25.4	23.2	2.2	20.0
Germany	27.3	32.4	20.7	36.6	27.9	35.3	3.3	44.4
Netherlands	1.1	0.1	0.1	2.2	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.1
Spain		2.8	3.5	6.1	16.6	28.0	2.6	11.4
Sweden	13.6	16.0	17.3	15.9	22.8	24.7	2.3	30.1
United Kingdom	20.6	20.7	23.7	29.6	32.6	24.7	2.3	17.8
European Commission	23.7	46.5	44.0	48.4	49.4	34.2	3.2	55.8
Sub-total: EU	130.6	156.1	153.2	191.0	200.7	196.3	18.3	192.5
Other bilateral partners								
Australia	16.8	22.5	29.6	49.1	47.8	67.4	6.3	74.3
Canada	9.1	7.9	12.6	11.5	16.7	7.9	0.7	11.4
China	46.6	53.2	92.4	95.4	114.7	138.2	12.9	210.7
Japan	111.7	103.7	117.2	126.4	134.0	146.0	13.6	120.6
New Zealand	2.1	1.7	4.5	2.8	2.3	5.2	0.5	3.5
Republic of Korea	14.9	13.3	31.3	33.0	15.8	33.9	3.2	43.6
Switzerland	2.8	2.4	3.6	3.9	3.0	3.1	0.3	4.5
USA	43.3	51.0	58.1	55.7	56.9	60.4	5.6	57.2
Sub-total	247.2	255.7	349.4	377.6	391.3	462.1	43.0	525.8
NGOs (core funds)	44.7	50.2	77.7	110.8	108.5	127.5	11.9	117.0
Grand total	610	713.2	777.5	978.5	1,000.2	1,074.9	100	1,235.3

Source adjusted from: Council for the Development of Cambodia (2011: 15)

Table 12.2 Disbursement (gross) by the five largest donors to selected sectors (USD millions)

Health		Agriculture		Transport		Education		Water and sanitation	
Global Fund	28.0	ADB	27.3	China	100.2	World Bank	24.7	Japan	12.4
USA	20.6	EC	12.7	Japan	30.4	UN	16.4	France	8.1
UN	17.4	Japan	12.4	ADB	22.3	Germany	8.1	World Bank	6.4
Australia	13.4	Republic of Korea	11.4	Republic of Korea	13.7	ADB	7.4	UN	1.9
World Bank	9.8	World Bank	4.4	World Bank	8.3	EC	5	USA	1.5
Sub-total	89.2	Sub-total	68.2	Sub-total	174.9	Sub-total	61.6	Sub-total	30.3
Total	131.3	Total	93.7	Total	177.9	Total	80.3	Total	31.2
Share of five largest donors (%)	67.9 %	Share of five largest donors (%)	72.8 %	Share of five largest donors (%)	98.3 %	Share of five largest donors (%)	76.7 %	Share of five largest donors (%)	97.1 %

Source from: Sato et al. (2011: 2094)

This quotation indicates that both traditional and emerging donors show their common preference for and interest in concessional loans (e.g. investment project), rather than other aid modalities such as technical cooperation and grants (e.g. food aid and emergency, budget support). However, unlike traditional donors restrained by DAC principles and norms (i.e. adhering to MDGs and the Paris Declaration), many emerging donors have not yet developed collective institutions for self-restraint. For instance, according to DAC guidelines and references, qualified ODA must have a grant element of at least 25 % and discard any forms of tied aid for Least Developed Countries. Such guidelines are seldom met by emerging donors. Also, taking the traditional bilateral Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID) as an example, Cassity (2008) observed that a higher degree of traditional donor coordination in Cambodia has made AusAID highly selective in its own donor strategies over a decade of its aiding education in Cambodia. Except for the provision of Australian Development Scholarships for Cambodian nationals to study in Australia (to meet Australia's geopolitical interest and priority), AusAID has withdrawn most of its support from the education sector, because it was informed through DAC donor coordination that other donors have provided considerable support of educational development in Cambodia.

12.3.2.2 Influence of Donor Dissonant Interests on Aid Effectiveness

The RGC has criticised traditional donors as unpredictable, supply-driven, and coloured by a top-down manner. Most ODA-funded programmes require parallel systems rather than aligning with only government regular mechanisms. Each educational programme employs various formats and procedures that are separately demanded by the MoEYS and donors, which has burdened and imposed higher transaction costs and a heavier workload on the RGC (Hattori 2009). The CDC (2007, 2008) has indicated that technical cooperation provided by various traditional donor agencies often results in contradictory intervention and advice from diverse agencies. Although "budget support" is ideally perceived as an effective modality to pool and channel aid resources, only multilaterals such as the World Bank and a few traditional bilateral donors are willing to conduct "budget support" in the education sector (Hattori 2009).

Deducing that strategic natural resources (e.g. oil revenue) and the rise of emerging donors in Cambodia provide confidence to the RGC in general and to the MoEYS in particular to voice and to criticise traditional bilateral donors is reasonable. Whereas emerging donors joining the aid architecture has led to growing aid fragmentation, these donors offer the RGC an option for choosing an optimal development partner to meet the priorities of the RGC and for rejecting the aid conditionality of traditional donors, such as democratic reform, anticorruption, environmental conservation, and sustainable development. Emerging donors such as China and India, in the name of South–South Cooperation, regard themselves as more aid-effective than DAC countries in numerous aspects. India neither joins donor-coordinating mechanisms nor exposes its information on aid to other donors. Unlike the long evolutionary process

of DAC donors of institutionalisation and establishing liaison offices in Cambodia to manage ODA, Chinese ODA flexibly serves the national interests of China (e.g. fully tied loans for using Chinese labourers to construct Cambodian infrastructure, and aid conditionality on the condition of the "one-China principle"). China directly channels aid resources to the MEF and other line ministries rather than the CDC in the name of efficiency and effectiveness. Such effectiveness, however, undermines the existing management structure of Cambodia, where CDC is designed as a focal point. Considering that numerous emerging donors (such as China and India) actively operate in Cambodia according to their own methods, the RGC has begun to have choices and has shown its ignorance of DAC donors' urge to bind non-DAC emerging donors to DAC principles and norms and to involve those emerging donors into the official aid-coordinating structure in Cambodia (Greenhill 2013; Sato et al. 2011). Although DAC norms and principles have laid an ideal foundation for developing and managing aid effectiveness in Cambodia, dissonant interests and uncoordinated relations among traditional and emerging donors contribute to an understanding of how effectiveness is actually negotiated and reconstructed on the ground.

12.3.3 Reaction of Civil Society

Considering the RGC's claim of its ownership and leadership, to what extent does the RGC influence the development of civil society in Cambodia? By contrast, how do civil society organisations (CSOs) and NGOs respond and react to other development players? Are the dissonant interests and influences of donors an opportunity or a risk for CSOs and NGOs in Cambodia in developing innovative and responsive approaches to meeting local needs? How does civil society in Cambodia leverage for effective development cooperation?

Since the 2008 national election, the Law on Demonstration has been passed, and the law on Associations and Nongovernmental Organisations has been drafted. On behalf of domestic and foreign NGOs in Cambodia, key NGO networks, including the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia, MEDiCAM, the NGO Forum on Cambodia, and the Cambodian Human Rights Action Committee all actively work together on recommendations to the RGC (e.g. these key networks suggested that the RGC create a specific TWG to work on the law draft, and replace existing ill-functioning consultation workshops). Pressure from the draft law has cultivated a public fear of shrinking provisions for the development of civil society of Cambodia, particularly because civil society in Cambodia remains in its infancy (Kuhn 2006). The development of civil society is seldom emphasised in official Cambodian documents, except for a few documents such as the 2010 Cambodia Aid Effectiveness Report, which focuses on the accountability of Cambodian civil society.

As promised in both the Accra and Busan meetings, an enabling and nurturing environment for civil society should be created, and major donors (such as USAID and the World Bank) operating in Cambodia have agreed to support the development of Cambodian civil society. In 2009, the World Bank suggested that NGOs be

identified as full participants (and no longer observers) in TWGs (Nowaczyk 2011). However, a World Bank official interviewed by Greenhill (2007) held the opposite opinion that donors should not intervene in the relationship between state agencies and civil society. Although some NGOs and donors question donors' intervening and financing NGOs' activities (for fear that NGOs lose organisational autonomy and sustainability), it is agreed that donor aid policies and practices must be informed by NGOs on the ground. For example, having been informed by NGOs and CSOs, the World Bank policy on Policy Reduction Strategy Papers is now arguably harmful to civil societies.

The crisis of NGOs and CSOs could be attributed to the international aid structure, where aid flows in a top-down manner. The international aid structure threatens the identity of NGOs and CSOs, which are centred on their own grassroots characteristics. However, supported by the international aid chain (and the resource-dependent international context in Cambodia), numerous NGOs and CSOs in practice stress upward accountability (to international donors) more than downward accountability (to service beneficiaries). NGO and CSO workers might also be excessively concerned with their job-keeping needs over the needs of their service beneficiaries and thus unable to implement mutual accountability at the grassroots level.

In Cambodia, most CSOs and NGOs in the education sector focus on service delivery rather than advocacy work. Therefore, civil society remains heavily dependent on donors, both for funds and for policy lobbying (Nowaczyk 2011). Because NGOs and CSOs have little direct influence over RGC policy decisions and policy-making, an indirect strategy of persuading multilateral and bilateral donors to intervene is developed through international and national dialogic mechanisms such as TWGs. NGOs and CSOs in the education sector have developed a certain amount of influence at the national level; they are approved for membership in educational TWGs and have assumed the responsibility to monitor educational ODA in Cambodia. However, no such dialogic mechanism is available at the subnational level (where NGOs and CSOs win greater support, practices, and reputations), not to mention that TWGs are identified as technical groups, and have less policy influence compared with those at the GDCC and CDCF. As indicated by the NGO Education Partnership (2011), the primary challenges that educational CSOs and NGOs consistently encounter in Cambodia include financial shortages (local NGOs over international ones), a lack of educational resources and materials, legal and legitimation obstacles in implementing educational projects, and poor collaboration and support from governmental and international agencies.

12.4 Discussion and Conclusion: Transforming Aid Effectiveness into Development Effectiveness

In the wake of the OECD High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness held in Busan in 2011, discussions on international development and effectiveness have followed the trend from the top-down approach to the bottom-up approach, from traditional

project-type modalities to sector-wide ones, from a welfare approach (focus on needs) to a rights-based approach (focus on rights), and from an emphasis on donor views to a focus on the views of the recipient government and civil society. Cambodia has shown its support for the Busan partnership documents and concepts by documenting and reinstitutionalising its aid management and distribution mechanisms. However, incompatibility exists between its aid policies (based on international mainstream ideas) and its governance (rooted in Cambodian culture and traditions). Catalysed by emerging multiple development players and a changing aid landscape in Cambodia, such incompatibility has undermined aid effectiveness according to the following four arguments.

First, aid fragmentation remains high. From a long-term perspective, aid fragmentation undermines cooperation and coordination for development, although it is arguable that aid fragmentation creates a space in which the RGC can negotiate with traditional DAC donors and thus exert stronger ownership and leadership in national development.

Second, a lack of coherent and responsive relations exists between universal indicators and local education needs in Cambodia. Based on international mainstream aid concepts and modalities, the ESP and ESSP were launched in 2001 to realise sector-wide education reform; they are considered to constitute an effective approach for constructing a coherent and responsive relation between inputs, activities, progress, indicators, and outcomes, to achieve educational quality. However, key quality concerns remain unsolved, particularly teacher qualification, the teaching and learning process, and methods, teaching materials, and content.

Third, the governance structure in Cambodia favours politicalisation over professionalisation. In a political climate that is characterised as winner-take-all and patron-client relations, educational resources are a reward distributed to those who prove loyalty to political leaders. Education reform in Cambodia since 2001 has been institutionalised and structured in line with an international conceptual shift from donor dominance to governance-led ownership, from a project-type approach to a sector-wide approach, and from a market perspective to a human-rights perspective. However, it is equally true that governance rooted in traditional politics and culture influences the effectiveness of providing quality education in the Cambodian context.

Fourth, a "shadow play" (Power 2011: 10) is observable. Both traditional and emerging bilateral ODA are given to Cambodia for national political, economic, and diplomatically strategic reasons, as much as for national economic and political reasons of Cambodia who receives foreign aid. Numerous recipient countries pretend to reform and donor countries pretend to help (Power 2011). Immediate national political interests typically take precedence over the long-term common good. In other words, recipient countries (particularly emerging) and donor countries both override or compromise international obligations, mechanisms, and conventions.

These four challenges of aid effectiveness in Cambodia have implications for establishing genuine partnerships for development effectiveness in education. Because of the instability of the global economy, the decreasing amount of ODA,

the increasing numbers of emerging development players, and the long-term resource dependency on external aid in Cambodia, multiple emerging development players must collaborate thorough dialogue, mutual respect, and understanding, based on the principle of integration rather than compromise. Private enterprises must be encouraged (e.g. by introducing a Cooperate Social Responsibility bill or tax reduction) to assume greater social responsibility and innovation to invest in human resource development in Cambodia, help narrow the gap between labour market demands and educational supplies, and make education affordable to the poor. The development of an educated, informed workforce can directly affect labour quality and eventually benefit (rather than trading-off the benefit of) private companies and enterprises. In addition to integrating private enterprises in the country's partnering network for development, legitimising international cooperation in educational development based on civil support is equally crucial. The real needs, voice, and vivid innovative force of Cambodian civil society require public attention rather than the marginalisation and neglect of donors and the government. Genuine governance by the RGC leadership is what enables genuine international cooperation and partnerships for development. Finally, effectiveness must be redefined in the specific Cambodian cultural and social context. Traditional DAC donors are bound to common Paris principles, rules, and institutions, whereas emerging non-DAC donors have greater diversity. The lessons learnt regarding what it means to be effective are critically dependent on time and place, as well as on the multiple development players with various powers, motives, interests, and actions present within a context; effectiveness, therefore, requires cautious reexamination and redefinition in the future.

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Part V
What Next for Post-2015 International Education Aid Agenda?

Chapter 13
Conclusion: International Education Development in the Post-2015 Era

I-Hsuan Cheng and Sheng-Ju Chan

Abstract What are the Asian perspectives on international education aid, and how do they contribute to a post-EFA and post-MDG agenda? Various country cases exhibit commonalities. All traditional and emerging Asian donors shape and reshape their ODA vision and provisions based on their dialogical interaction with other non-Asian donors and from the lessons learnt from their field experience as previous aid recipients. In addition, traditional and emerging Asian donors have also challenged the international normative framework of aid effectiveness based on a Eurocentric discourse. For recipient countries and states with a dual role of being donors as well as recipients, a rising Asia leads to more cooperative choices and opportunities. However, this increased South–South cooperation might also weaken the pursuit of a post-2015 development agenda because of the constraints posed by domestic developmental needs and institutional factors. Apart from reforming governance culture and institutional environments, recipient countries should engage and embed local needs and knowledge into a post-2015 development agenda. A greater participation and growth of civil societies can also enhance local perspectives and contextual knowledge, reinforcing the supplementary and complementary effect to the top-down approach.

How do the insightful and analytic understandings of country case studies (Chaps. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12) elucidate the ideas and imagination regarding post-2015 international education aid[1]? Do the case studies offer any lessons, based on their debates over the effectiveness of international education aid and universal

[1] The authors prefer the promising and equal 'development' term instead of the conventional 'aid' term.

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human rights approach to education quality? What are the Asian perspectives on international education aid, and how do they contribute to a post-EFA and post-MDG agenda? How do Asian countries identify and position their roles and corresponding responsibilities in the changing aid architecture? In an era of regionalisation and globalisation, can the Asian experience of educational development provide an alternative worldwide development paradigm and approach?

Various country cases exhibit commonalities. All traditional and emerging Asian donors (including India, China, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Japan) explicitly stress the importance of applying their own successful educational development experience to their vision and planning of educational ODA provided to others inside and outside Asia. However, they shape and reshape their ODA vision and provisions based on their dialogical interaction with other non-Asian donors and from the lessons learnt from their field experience as previous aid recipients. For example, Japan first translated the core value of international education aid into a 'purpose for peace' (based on Japan's own conceptual emphasis) and subsequently into a 'purpose for human rights' (based on international dominant norms). Japan first reallocated its educational ODA resources to higher education, skills development, and basic education (referred to as Japan's own development experience), and subsequently to a narrower focus on basic education (referred to as international education aid policies EFA and education MDGs).

In addition, traditional and emerging Asian donors have also challenged the international normative framework of aid effectiveness based on a Eurocentric discourse. Taking India and China as examples, they are arguably categorised and classified as 'emerging' and 'South' in the discourse of western aid logic, in spite of both countries having been donors in the Asian region for long time. These Asian donors direct a possible development future in post-2015, based on their own national, political, economic, and strategic interests, and on their absorption and understanding of western-dominated aid ideas. For instance, Yoshida, in Chap. 5, proposed a post-2015 international education aid approach that combines the World Bank's top-down approach and Japan's bottom-up approach. In Chap. 6, Kim called for an alternative educational ODA paradigm because of South Korean experience and the achievements of APEC Learning Community Builders (ALCoB). Considering the growth of civil societies worldwide, Mok and Yu, in Chap. 9, drew on the traditional Chinese 'Yin' and 'Yang' to envision sustainable relations between governments and grassroots communities that complement and energise each other. Even rising powers such as the Indian and Chinese governments are aware that their educational ODA cannot be delivered sustainably and effectively if communities, the private sector, and other development stakeholders in the region do not assume responsibility. Asian donors tend to picture post-2015 alternatives to international education aid and acknowledge the increasing volume and complexities of development obstacles that require solutions, such as the widening gap among educational demands and supplies, growing unemployment of the young population, and unfulfilled promises to link skills development with decent work and life. These obstacles emphasise the urgency and importance of international cooperation in redefining effective and quality educational aid and reidentifying their rising roles in the regionalising and globalising process of developing Asia.

However, a history of good interaction among Asian donors is lacking. First, Asian donors do not have a record of previous effective cooperation because of their diverse (and sometimes, contradictory) political and economic interests and conflicting historical relations. Second, each Asian donor studied in this book either overtly claims or seems intent on a competitive, leading role in regional development, which raises the question as to whether an Asian cooperative network can work effectively if all countries want to be leaders rather than partners. Third, contexts matter; it is questionable if alternative development approaches and paradigms proposed by Asian donors based on their previous experience and reflection are applicable to and adaptable by other Asian recipients and partnering countries (such as Sri Lanka and Cambodia) that are now undergoing a much faster regionalisation and globalisation process than before. Can the increasing volumes and complexities of development obstacles that obscure and hinder effective and qualitatively improved education aid be successfully tackled? In addition to the commonalities, diversities exist among traditional donors, emerging donors, recipient countries, and states with a dual role of being donors as well as recipients.

Japan, as a traditional DAC donor, has great potential for connecting traditional donors with emerging donors. As indicated by Yoshida in Chap. 5, international aid modalities and aid effectiveness in the education sector can be improved if the top-down approach (adopted by the World Bank) and the bottom-up approach (conventionally used by the Japan International Cooperation Agency; JICA) can complement each other, leading to a synergetic result. Based on the abundant knowledge and experience of field-based operations with recipient countries, and negotiations with other non-Asian DAC donors, Japan is in a superior position to embed field-based knowledge in the dominant DAC discourse. Both Yoshida (Chap. 5) and Kuroda (Chap. 4) emphasised the increasing future importance of international cooperation in the field of educational aid, partially because Japan's domestic resources mobilised for educational ODA have gradually decreased and partially because the emergence and ambitions of non-DAC donors and other multiple development stakeholders in the changing aid landscape can no longer be ignored. However, the bridging role of Japan is unlikely to be realised if the extremely diverse interests and hidden agendas of development partners and stakeholders are miscalculated. For example, in Cheng's study on the recipient viewpoints of aid effectiveness (Chap. 12), the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC), encouraged by traditional DAC donors, established well-organised, consultative, and coordinating mechanisms (including the Cambodia Development Cooperation Forum, 19 sector/thematic Technical Working Groups, and Government Donors Coordination Committee) to align external aid donors. However, the RGC has shown reluctance to invite emerging donors such as India and China to participate actively in these consultative and coordinating mechanisms. A hidden agenda might be that recipient countries have a larger negotiating space to select optimal donors if coordination among donors is relatively weak. Kuroda (Chap. 4) also addressed another bridging function of Japan in connecting Asian perspectives to non-Asian perspectives. The aforementioned Japanese philosophy regarding education aid is more closely related to peace than to human rights. Although relatively scant discussion exists regarding 'education

for peace' in the mainstream discourse of EFA and education MDGs, Japan, working with UNESCO, has continually embedded the peace dimension into a broader post-2015 discussion.

Regarding emerging donors, both South Korea and Taiwan follow the same DAC principles and trajectory in managing education aid, as do other traditional donors. They have also developed alternative approaches because of their distinct experiences of diplomatic interaction and relations with international hegemonies. South Korea has been a DAC member since 2010 and has recently assumed leadership of numerous international organisations ranging from the United Nations headquarters to the UNESCO Asia and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education and the education section of APEC. Kim observed (Chap. 6) the great ambition and capacity of South Korea to absorb knowledge that has been generated or selected by international organisations and international hegemonies, which has penetrated the current international aid architecture. However, South Korea is seemingly more open to other possible alternative development paradigms and imaginations, as a reflection of current urgent global development problems. Such a developmental, paradigmatic imagination towards a sustainable environment and inclusive society might not be novel to the western world, but Kim's smart systemic change model presents a possible and innovative approach to realise and fulfil such a paradigm. By comparison, Taiwanese education aid has evolved and revolved around how the Taiwanese government has shifted its diplomatic interests and relations with mainland China since the late 1950s. Taiwan's diplomatic relations and unique political tension with mainland China constitute the main driver in defining and determining how Taiwan distributes its educational ODA. Cheng, Chan, and Lee observed (Chap. 7) that the launch of the *White Paper on Foreign Aid Policy: Partnerships for Progress and Sustainable Development* by the Taiwanese government in 2009 signalled that Taiwan and mainland China have agreed on a 'diplomatic truce' to overtly soothe the tense confrontation between them. Accordingly, the management and distribution of Taiwan's educational ODA has gradually moved from a short-sighted 'money diplomacy' purported and utilised for securing diplomatic allies to an incremental harmony with the international mainstream aid policies and concepts pertaining to MDGs and the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.

Chapters 8 and 10 thoroughly discuss how the dual role of India and China as aid donors and recipients has redefined aid effectiveness and reshaped aid modalities (particularly in the form of South–South cooperation and triangular cooperation). Instead of adherence to the discourse and practices of traditional DAC donors, both rising forces prefer to maintain their distinction in support of their growing global and regional leadership. Considering that India and China have increased their influence on international aid to education and have been shifting their role from recipients to donors, their challenges will correspondingly increase after 2015. The first challenge stems from the fundamental contradiction among their various aid roles that they and others have identified. Yang and Ma (Chap. 8) and Khare (Chap. 10) all mentioned that, historically, China and India were donors to numerous neighbouring countries in a broader 'core–periphery' relation, where China and India provided assistance and protection to neighbouring countries in the region that

paid tribute. Historically, both China and India have developed national commitments, logic of aid, and centralist attitudes towards cross-border and cross-cultural assistance activities. Ironically, they are currently identified as emerging donors and required to adhere to others' aid norms and discourse. To exert greater influence and considerable sustainable leadership in the region and worldwide, it is questionable whether China and India will embrace the aid discourse of traditional DAC donors or strategically maintain their distinctions after 2015. The second challenge lies in the difficulty of redistributing the educational ODA of China and India in a trajectory with swiftly changing educational demands in the recipient world. As observed, the distribution of both countries' educational ODA is bound to their domestic experience of educational development. Informed by the relatively successful experience of basic education and its positive effect on national economic development, China's educational ODA inclines towards increasing distribution of basic education, which coincides with that of EFA and education MDGs. By contrast, India has acted independently of the international education aid agenda and poured its educational ODA into other education subsectors, such as higher education and technical and vocational education and training (TVET), given its long-term experience of poor coordination and ineffective collaboration with foreign aid to develop its own basic education. The third challenge is to manage the increasing criticism that China and India face regarding their unique aid principles and modalities. China's 'noninterference' and 'win–win' principles are a political choice, as is India's ODA principle of 'mutual benefit and reciprocity'. These two rising Asian donors are criticised as having eventually performed similarly to traditional non-Asian donors because they all have developed aid norms and principles with certain political, economic, and strategic self-interests. In an attempt to become leaders and educational hubs in post-2015 developing Asia, both powers may continue adopting a blended model of aid, investment, trade, technology, and public–private partnerships for intervening in regional educational development and for embedding education into the region's political and economic context.

From a recipient perspective, Sri Lanka and Cambodia are highly aid dependent in their education sector and fall short of grassroots expectations, although the educational policies, plans, structure, and systems of these two countries are suitably aligned with international mainstream aid norms and concepts. For instance, Sri Lanka and Cambodia have adopted a popular SWAp in their education sector, in an attempt to promote national ownership and integrate external aid resources into national development frameworks. EFA and education MDGs endorsed by over 185 nations have targeted the poor and vulnerable majority in developing Asia. However, Wikramanayake (Chap. 11) and Cheng (Chap. 12) observed a shadow play on recipient grounds between donors and recipients. The education aid process and results are hindered by the bureaucratic culture, poor coordination, aid fragmentation, and complex evaluation and reporting systems of bilateral and multilateral donors that parallel the systems of recipient governments and excessively burden recipient governments' workloads. This is in addition to the skewed distribution of educational ODA resources, reinforced and encouraged by universal frameworks, standards, goals, and targets of EFA and education MDGs. Both chapters address a dearth of

consistent and immediately responsive relations between universal indicators and local educational realities. Considerable education aid ineffectiveness results from the self-interests and governance culture of an elite minority in recipient countries who favour politicalisation over professionalisation. These obstacles have prevented the interests and voices of the poor and vulnerable majority from an inclusive decision-making process of international education aid policies and practices, and have evoked strong concerns regarding the extent to which the aforementioned activities between donor agencies and the elite minority of recipient countries hamper the majority's qualitative improvement of their educational realities in pursuit of decent life and work. The question as to whose interests are eventually served in the policies and practices of international education aid remains unanswered.

What quality education has been aided in the name of human rights, particularly after more than two decades of implementing EFA and MDGs? In an attempt to catch up to the economic development of other powerful nations, the elite minority and politicians of recipient countries embrace international education aid and resources that further direct the national overall development frameworks towards a knowledge-based, globalising economy, rather than using education as an opportunity to challenge the neoliberal globalising process, and to question the relevant structural causes and institutionalised environment, where the disadvantages and dependency of recipient countries are rooted. Transitional donors such as China and India are intent on aid intervention in education as a soft power to reidentify themselves as education hubs and regional leaders exerting greater influence over developing Asia. By contrast, Japan has proposed a holistic vision of high-quality education assistance that implements actual teaching and learning. Based on its previous experience of providing aid, Japan has suggested reinforcing at least four key factors of quality and meaningful learning for post-2015: strengthening teacher capacities, establishing a community-participatory school management system, locals constructing school facilities, and improving the capacity building of educational administration at both local and central levels. Finally, a few Asian donors have discussed the development values and concepts of education and have considered the possibilities of quality assistance and alternative paradigms on international education development in the post-2015 era.

13.1 How Can Aid Be Effectively and Sustainably Extended Beyond 2015?

Currently, emerging donors such as India, China, and Taiwan are seemingly self-interested and their aid priorities are conditioned by their geopolitical relationships, global economic strategies, and diplomatic considerations. Although they are aware of the mainstream global education discourse in developing countries, they are not proactive in complying with the macro objectives of EFA and education MDGs. The aid priorities of those emerging donor countries in education are determined according to the degree of correspondence between their own development agendas and

the demands of recipient countries. Therefore, determining how to encourage and evoke emerging donors in Asia to engage actively in formulation and dialogue regarding development goals at the international level is critical. Effective measures for motivating them to share visions and join multilateral cooperation for post-2015 international aid and development rely on both internal and external incentives. As argued in this book, an established culture and structure of informed civil societies, civil society organisations, nongovernmental organisations, and the private sector in emerging donor countries constitute crucial internal drives. Therefore, the increased participation of such diverse organisations in multilateral actions in promoting agreed-upon development goals worldwide can exert substantial pressure on the official development assistance of emerging Asian donors.

For recipient countries, a globalising and regionalising process of Asia leads them to more cooperative options and opportunities to mobilise aid resources. However, the increased South–South cooperation and triangular cooperation by no means guarantee the willingness of recipient governments and their pursuit of genuinely transforming international aid policies into practice, not to mention the constraints imposed by their domestic governance cultures and poor institutional capacity. Apart from an urgent call for reforming governance cultures and institutional environments, recipient countries should engage and embed local needs and knowledge into the ongoing debates on international education aid and development beyond 2015 and effectively catalyse and augment the interplay between two educational realities: the reality as understood by the few who decide on knowledge content and broadcast their approaches to providing knowledge and the reality as understood by most recipient people. In addition, the increased participation and development of Asian civil societies can enhance local perspectives and contextual knowledge, reinforcing the supplementary and complementary effect on the long-existing, top-down approach to aid policy decision making. This move can be justified by the optimal response to the needs of most recipient people. Ultimately, the primary objective for international aid or international development cooperation is to serve recipient people and public welfare. According to the Asian experience, what is defined as effective is critically dependent on time and place as well as on the multiple development players with various authorities, interests, and actions present within a context. Therefore, the answer to the question of how international education aid can be effectively and sustainably extended beyond 2015, from the Asian perspective, is in determining how aid should be distributed rather than how much aid should be distributed. Thus, the role and responsibilities of developing Asian countries (whether they are donors or recipients) must be changed drastically in international education aid policies and practices by being more active in international mainstream platforms; increasing intraregional cooperation opportunities; legitimising international cooperation in educational development based on civil support; creating integrative, genuine, and sustaining partnerships with a wide range of old and new development players (including collaborative ventures, businesses, private philanthropies, and social enterprises) present within the developing Asian context; and, ultimately, evoking the global dominant to support the changing role and responsibilities of developing Asian countries.

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