Dedicated to Education for All:
The Lifework of Ingemar Gustafsson

A Pioneer of Swedish and International Development Cooperation

Editors

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Ingemar Gustafsson

1942-2012

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List of Abbreviations

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
CB	Capacity Building
CD	Capacity Development
CSM	Church of Sweden Mission
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAE	Donors to African Education
DFID	Department for International Development
ECDPM	European Centre for Development Policy Management
ERP	Education for Rural People Partnership
ERT	Education for Rural Transformation
ESD	Education for Sustainable Development
EWP	Education with Production
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KSTC	Kenya Science Teachers College
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PBAs	Programme Based Approaches
PEOs	Provincial Education Offices
PFM	Project Financial Management
PIUs	Project Implementation Units
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategies
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SBDT	Serowe Brigades Development Trust
SBS	Sector Budget Support
Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (formerly SIDA)
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SPS	Sector Programme Support
SWAP	Sector Wide Approach
SWAPO	South West Africa People´s Organisation
TA	Technical Assistance
TAP	Technical Assistance Personnel

TC	Technical Cooperation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development
ZIMFEP	The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production

Acknowledgements

Our dear and most respected colleague and close friend Ingemar Gustafsson passed away on the 17th April, 2012. His life's work was dedicated to international development cooperation and in particular to education in developing countries, mainly through his work at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, formerly known as SIDA, but also at the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University. The compilation of this book was made possible by the Institute together with a group of Ingemar Gustafsson's friends and colleagues. Without the encouragement of Ingemar's life-long partner Hallgerd Dyrssen, this work could not have been fully realized.

The papers have been collected together from various sources, and our thanks go to Hallgerd for allowing us access to Ingemar's own archive and to the Institute where a number of other papers were made available. Two papers are re-prints from publications: Chapter Five "Strengthening the links between education, training and objectives related to food security: how a capacity development perspective will help," was first published in the conference proceedings of the Education for Rural Transformation International Symposium, 2010, and is reproduced by kind permission of the Institute of International Education. The paper was written together with Lavinia Gasperini, a Senior Education Officer of the FAO. The other reprint is Chapter Nine "Education in the new architecture of aid," first published in 2011 in "Education and Development in the Context of Globalization" (ed.s Daun and Strömquist) and is re-printed by permission of Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

The editorial group is made up of four friends who have all worked and studied together with Ingemar, at SIDA, and/or at the Institute of International Education. They are Agneta Lind, Christine McNab, Berit Rylander and Mikiko Cars. Our work has been encouraged by Ingemar's close friend and colleague, Lennart Wohlgemuth, who has written a personal introduction to this book.

Our warm thanks go to Professor Vinayagum Chinapah at the Institute for providing staff time and logistics support for the publication of these collected papers. Our thanks also go to Talia Klundt for preparing the summary of Ingemar's PhD dissertation, and for support in the final editing of the book.

We hope that this book will honour and continue Ingemar Gustafsson's legacy and commitment to Swedish and International Development Cooperation in Education.

In Memory of Ingemar Gustafsson, A Great Educationalist

Our friend and colleague, Ingemar Gustafsson, was born in 1942 and spent his professional life as a student and practitioner of education and development. He passed away in 2012, aged just 69 years, leaving behind him a legacy of work in the field of international education and development.

Upon completion of his Bachelor's degree in political science at the University of Gothenburg, in 1969, Ingemar became the International Secretary of the Swedish National Union of Students. Ingemar joined the Education Division of the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA, in 1971. Apart from working as an educational planner in the Botswana Ministry of Education 1978-80, and later taking leave to write his PhD dissertation, Ingemar remained at SIDA/Sida until his retirement in 2007. Ingemar headed the Education Division from 1987 to 1994. Thereafter he became the Education Advisor to the Director General of the newly organized, and re-named, Sida, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. From 1995 until his retirement, Ingemar's work expanded from education to the larger task of methods development for development cooperation. In this new capacity, he was instrumental in developing a new Methods Handbook for Sida as well as being the main author of a manual on capacity development.

In addition to his work within Sida, Ingemar had a number of international assignments, including the chairmanships of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, ADEA, and the Editorial Board of the Education For All Global Monitoring report. He was a member of the Swedish Delegation at the conference on Education for All that took place at Jomtien, Thailand, in 1990, and at Dakar, Senegal, in 2000. He completed his PhD thesis, on productive work programmes in schools in Southern Africa, at the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University, in 1987. Upon retirement from Sida, he returned to the Institute of International Education as a guest researcher and also worked as an international education consultant.

Ingemar's experience and studies of education with production gave him the right insights to participate in the international dialogue on international education within the discourse of lifelong learning, education for all, UNESCO, International Institute of Educational Planning and as member and chairman of Association for the Development of Education in Africa. He was also one of the founding fathers of the Northern Research Review Advisory Group that supported the development of a forum for

dissemination of important information and research in the field of international education and aid that had been collected and developed over the years.

During his 37 years at the Swedish Aid Agency, SIDA, which from 1995 became known as Sida, Ingemar participated in the development of Swedish development cooperation and contributed to the good reputation of Swedish aid internationally. Few like Ingemar could combine activities in the present with experiences in the past. He would describe in a very personal manner how development cooperation had developed from a transfer of knowledge with "a Swedish expert in every bush" to a more long term support in terms of local capacity development on the condition of the partners. As part of an intellectual tradition of ideas he would help younger colleagues to put the development policies of today in a broader historical setting.

But, Ingemar was much more than a professional educationalist. He was also a very good pedagogue with the ability to make complex matters easily understandable for his colleagues, his peers and the public at large. He was clever and constructive. We will remember his low key but sharp analyses, his humility and genuine respect for his fellow man, be it in the academic community, among his colleagues or with his dialogue partners in many countries across the world. Ingemar was also a great musician and many of us have with great enjoyment listened to him playing piano classics as well as jazz. I, a close friend and peer and his colleague at Sida, as well as all his other friends and colleagues, miss him very much.

Lennart Wohlgemuth

November, 2013

Introduction

This book is divided into a number of sections that reflect Ingemar's focus on support to the development of education systems in SIDA's partner countries and developing countries in general, but with a focus on Africa. Ingemar, as a longtime member of SIDA's Education Division was uniquely placed to analyse and influence the Swedish development cooperation policy for the education sector. He was astute in his analysis of the challenges facing children and young people in their fight for decent education, and strongly supported the Education for All movement and the formation and development of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa. He also worked on major themes in education, in particular education for production, an interest that later broadened into the more ambitious field of education for rural transformation. Another area of interest was capacity development within education systems and, linked to this, he was in the forefront of discussions on the theoretical and methodological frameworks for donors supporting education systems in developing countries. After he retired from Sida, another area of interest came into focus, the question of what we mean by knowledge, and how our perceptions of knowledge influence the form and content of education systems.

This book is a collection of papers that have been selected by a group of Ingemar's friends and colleagues, to reflect the life work of a dedicated educationalist and development worker. We hope that a reading of this volume will give the readers insight into the rapidly evolving state of play of education and development and insights into the relationships between donor governments and the partner countries, not only between Sweden / Sida and African countries, but more widely in the international development sphere, and globally. The book is divided into sections that bring together papers on major themes that Ingemar became involved with during his many years at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA/Sida) and as a researcher based at the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University. Within each section the papers are presented in chronological order so that the reader may follow Ingemar's evolving thoughts on each topic.

Part One: Education for All, includes three papers, from 2001, 2003 and 2006 respectively. Two of these papers are in Swedish but are presented with short summaries in English.

Chapter One, ***Utbildning för alla some en fråga om att leva tillsammans*** **(Education for All, a question of living together),** from 2001, was written as an article for the Swedish-UNESCO Council. The paper outlines the background and the development of the Education for All initiative from Jomtien 1990 to Dakar 2000. The most critical issue presented in the paper

is the neglect of the "expanded vision" of basic education adopted in Jomtien. The vision included values, rights, and much more than formal education. It included organised non-formal education for all ages, including adults, as well as informal learning, with special attention to marginalised and disadvantaged people.

Chapter Two, **Partnerships, Ownership and Context in National Planning for Education for All**, was presented at the 2003 Oxford Conference on Education. It focuses on the role of external development cooperation agencies in achieving the Education for All goals, and how the agencies need to work in genuine partnership with the developing countries, fully respecting national leadership. The ideas presented in this paper in many ways foreshadow the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005.

Chapter Three, ***Perspektiv på utbildning i Afrika*** **(Perspectives on Education in Africa)**, the 2006 paper, was prepared for a lecture at the University of Gothenburg for Masters' level students, and therefore has a different flavor to Ingemar's other writings on this topic. The paper is historical and explanatory. It stresses the political aspect of education reforms in the independent African countries, including the tensions between elite and mass education arising from their colonial pasts but also from current debates on the role and function of education in national economic development.

Part Two: Education for Rural Transformation and Production, brings together Ingemar's early interest in education for production with the wider question of the role of education in transforming rural areas. There are two chapters, Chapter Four being a summary of Ingemar's PhD dissertation, 1987, and Chapter Five a paper arising from a consultancy task for the Food and Agricultural Association (FAO). This task was commissioned in support of the collaborative global efforts led by FAO and UNESCO for Education for Rural People Partnership (ERP). The version of the work presented in this volume was written together with Lavinia Gasperini, a senior officer at the FAO, for a conference. It is reproduced from the conference proceedings, with kind permission of the Institute of International Education, Stockholm University.

Chapter Four, the **Summary of Ingemar Gustafsson's PhD dissertation on Schools and the Transformation of Work: A comparative study of four production work programmes in Southern Africa,** explores the relationship between formal schooling and working life before and after the colonial periods in Botswana and Zimbabwe. In investigating the relationship between education and work, the study emphasizes the importance of giving ideological and strategic consideration to the

stakeholder groups. By constructing/identifying various ideological and theoretical positions held by the various stakeholders, the findings of the study suggests the significant role of schools as agents of change, effectively involving those stakeholders.

Chapter Five, **Strengthening the Links between Education, Training and Objectives Related to Food Security: How a Capacity Development Perspective Will Help**, focuses on the concept of capacity development at the individual, organizational and at the normative/policy levels. The paper identifies linkages between learning/education and three dimensions of the concept of food security. This paper is an important contribution to bridging disciplinary boundaries and sectors. Ingemar sees the ERP as a powerful framework to bridge the two sectors in pursuit of global sustainability. By focussing on the reality of rural people, he emphasizes the importance of contextualizing learning employing both formal and non-formal education in broader strategies of poverty reduction and food security.

Part Three: Historical Perspective on Swedish Aid to Education, shifts the focus of this volume from international perspectives on education and development to a specific focus on Sweden's role in supporting education systems in developing countries. Together, the four articles show how the rationale and methodology underlying the aid programmes for education have changed over time. The article profiles Sweden's role in the debates on education and development and also more widely on how the aid relationship has been perceived in Sweden and how, internationally, it has changed over time.

Chapter Six, **Sector Support Agreements – The Swedish Experience**, was written together with Lars Bellander in 1981 and is the earliest of Ingemar's papers included in this volume. Sector Support Agreements, shifting the relationship between donor and partner country from project to programme level, was at the time a new concept and a new way of doing business. Ingemar strongly supported this movement towards looking at education sectors as a whole rather than supporting a myriad of small projects that burdened national governments.

Chapter Seven, **The State, The Market and Educational Assistance: The Experience of SIDA**, was written in 1994. It reflects a growing international trend toward considering the role of multiple partners in education, not just donors and governments but also civil society organisations and the private sector. The question was how this looked from a Swedish point of view and if, and how, Sida could support programmes outside of the state education sector, a key question given the state's virtual monopoly provision of education in Sweden at that time.

Chapter Eight, **Swedish Aid to Education in Historical Perspective**, was prepared for the International Symposium on Global Education and Cooperation, held at Seoul University, in 2010. By this time, Ingemar had retired from Sida and, with the International Institute of Education at Stockholm University as his base, was able to reflect on the years when he had been actively driving forward the Swedish position on education and development. He asked two main questions in this paper, first on the perceptions of education and development that underlay the Swedish aid programme for education, and secondly how Swedish aid strategies have changed over time, drawing on examples from Kenya, Namibia and Cambodia.

Chapter Nine, **Education in the New Architecture of Aid,** was first published in 2011 in Daun and Strömquist (ed.s) *Education and Development in the Context of Globalization*, and is reproduced in this volume by kind permission of Nova Science Publishers, Inc. This is one of Ingemar's major think tank pieces, reflecting in particular on the impact of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, and how this changed the international aid agenda by focussing attention on national leadership and the necessity of a coherent approach by the donors which would support, rather than burden, the partner countries. In this paper, Ingemar returns to the Cambodian case study and through a detailed description and analysis of the donor-partner country relationship, shows the impact of the Paris Declaration and also of the two Millennium Development Goals for education.

Part Four: Capacity Development in Development Cooperation, zooms in on a specific, key aspect of donor-funded education programmes, the quest to build up national capacities and thereby strengthen the planning, design and implementation of national policies, plans and strategies for education. There are two papers, the first from 1995 and the second from 2008, thus spanning an interesting period in the transformation of education aid from mainly individual projects to sector wide approaches to education assistance.

Chapter Ten, **Building Capacity through Development Cooperation – Some Reflections: A Paper written for Sida Department for Democracy and Social Development,** was written as a contribution to an internal debate within the newly re-organised Sida on how best to support capacity development. This paper is focused on education and training and argues for a broad approach to both capacity and institutional development, in which training is only one component. It also links the issue of capacity development to the wider debate on how to support the development of democratic institutions in the public sector.

Chapter Eleven, **Capacity Development and the Role of External Actors,** is a paper prepared for a workshop at the International Institute of Educational Planning in Paris. In the paper, Ingemar returns to the themes of capacity development, knowledge and learning, and refers to the DAC Good Practice Paper on Capacity Development, which was adopted by the DAC in 2005, the same year as the Paris Declaration. This document refers to capacity development as an endogenous process of change, a proposition that Ingemar could fully endorse. The paper ends up with some new questions, including how knowledge and learning is affected by the "globalization of knowledge", and the increasingly common market approach to education. The knowledge theme is returned to in the final paper in this volume.

Part Five: Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), takes up a part of Ingemar's work that was very close to his heart, the empowerment of African governments to take the leadership role in the development of national systems of education. Ingemar was active in the setting up of ADEA, which evolved from a donor driven forum for donors, international agencies and Ministers of Education from African Countries, originally called Donors to African Education. This was set up in 1988 and it became ADEA in 1997.

Chapter Twelve, **Towards a New Partnership: Reflections on the Role of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, ADEA,** was written for the University of Oslo "Education in Africa Seminar Series", for their seminar on "Globalization – on whose terms?" held in 1998. In this paper, Ingemar briefly reviews the changing environment for aid to education, which reached a turning point with the publication in 1988 of a World Bank Study on education in sub-Saharan Africa that called for a reappraisal of the donor – government roles in the development of education systems. Ingemar's paper then looks in more detail at ADEA, its guiding principles and methods of work. Particular note is made of ADEA's work on capacity development and also on girls' education.

Chapter Thirteen, **ADEA's Twenty Years – A personal reflection**, was written in 2008 at the request of the co-Chair of the Association for African Education, and is precisely as titled, a personal reflection on an organisation to which Ingemar was totally committed, being instrumental in moving it forward from a donor-led forum to a African Governments led association.

Part Six: Knowledge Societies, contains just one paper on this subject, a background paper prepared for Sida's Knowledge Society Project in 2009. However, this is not a new subject for Ingemar, it is a theme that makes an appearance in many of his earlier papers, albeit only in a supporting role.

Chapter Fourteen, **Knowledge and Knowledge Societies,** is a paper in which Ingemar takes the opportunity to ask some fundamental questions about the content of education systems: what knowledge is central to society, and how does it become integrated into education in the classroom. What influences what is taught and learnt, and how will the new information and communication technologies impact on the way we think about knowledge, what is counted as knowledge, and how education systems function? As in other papers, Ingemar takes a historical approach and anchors the contemporary questions in what has gone before. Ingemar also links back to the discussion on capacity development, and in the end leaves a very open question as to how we will move forward with education, capacity development and development *per se* in the future.

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PART ONE

EDUCATION FOR ALL (EFA)

Introduction

The UN (UNDP, UNICEF, UNESCO and UNFPA) and World Bank sponsored World Conference on Education For All (WCEFA), held in Jomtien in 1990, was a milestone still referred to in various global education contexts and initiatives. The Jomtien Declaration included a broad vision of basic education for all, well beyond formal primary education for all. It was global and encompassed all forms of education and learning and stated the right to education for all from early childhood to adulthood. The vision was optimistic about future partnerships at all levels, mobilization of resources, and possible achievements towards EFA by 2000. The follow-up conference in Dakar a decade later analysed the achievements and setbacks and outlined a framework for action with more targeted and short term goals. The limitation of funding and commitments led to a lively debated "vertical" initiative by the World Bank meant to accelerate and increase external funding, eventually called the Fast Track Initiative (FTI).

Ingemar was directly involved in all these events and initiatives and their follow up activities. He contributed to maintaining the broad vision, including human values, human rights, non-formal education and adult education, in addition to formal basic education. His analysis in the following three papers highlights some of the major tensions and dilemmas arising from differing perspectives by the various stakeholders, as well as the necessary implications of the common commitments. He discusses the need to combine funding of poor countries state budgets with support for innovative quality measures, as well as support for strengthening the capacity of national implementation.

Ingemar emphasises the need to keep up a truly global perspective that goes beyond development assistance from North to South. To be able to participate in and contribute to meaningful national education reforms in poorer countries, our own education system needs to be scrutinized by all stakeholders, he argues. Further, he typically stresses the importance of recognising the political dimension of educational planning. For example, he points out that the implementation of EFA is and will be linked to broader development strategies.

Ingemar advocates more support from Sweden to adult education in developing countries, building on our rich experiences and traditions, such

as the active role of popular movements, study circles, folk high schools, the municipal adult education and the systems for state funding, as well as vocational training linked to the labour market.

CHAPTER ONE

UTBILDNING FÖR ALLA SOM EN FRÅGA OM ATT LEVA TILLSAMMANS

Artikel för Svenska UNESCO-rådet, oktober 2001

Summary in English

Education for All – a question of living together

The paper outlines the background and the development of the EFA initiative from Jomtien 1990 to Dakar 2000. While the resulting increased interest among development assistance partners led to more aid to basic education in poor countries and increased national budget allocations in these countries, the goals and targets were far from being achieved.

The most critical issue, presented in the paper, was the neglect of the "expanded vision" of basic education adopted in Jomtien. The vision included values, rights, and much more than formal education. It included organised non-formal education for all ages, including adults, as well as informal learning.

The article points out that the EFA vision was not just about aid and developing countries. It requires national debates and actions in all countries on education, poverty and democrac,y on how to make our education systems inclusive of all, with special attention to marginalised and disadvantaged people.

The paper concludes by recommending Sweden to broaden its EFA agenda by encompassing national issues in a global perspective and by including more exchange of experiences between rich and poor countries.

För elva år sedan stod vi upp, vi 1500 delegater från 150 regeringar, 20 internationella organisationer och 150 enskilda organisationer, tog varandras händer och lovade att arbeta för att alla skulle få grundläggande utbildning. Det var i Thailand, i Jomtien och ett högtidligt ögonblick för oss som var med. Sedan dess har utbildning för alla varit ett tema för otaliga sammankomster och nationella planer runt om i världen. Det står numera också högt på biståndsorganens dagordning. Vi menade då att målet kunde nås inom tio år.

Tio år senare i Dakar kunde vi se att många fler barn går i skolan, många vuxna har lärt sig att läsa men att vi är långt från målet. Så flyttade vi perspektivet ytterligare femton år fram i tiden till 2015. Men då…. Jomtien konferensen var inte bara en i raden av internationella möten. Den kom i en brytningstid och dess syfte var att vända en nedåtgående spiral; att bryta en trend och få ett genombrott för det som finns i FNs deklaration om de mänskliga rättigheterna sedan 1948. Alla har rätt till en grundläggande utbildning.

Vad kan vi göra här för att de närmaste femton åren inte bara ska bli ”business as usual?”

En vidgad vision

Jomtien-deklarationen om utbildning för alla måste ses mot bakgrund av 1980-talets ekonomiska kriser som hade slagit hårt i de fattigaste länderna. Det gällde särskilt i Afrika. Framgångarna under 1970-talet i länder som Tanzania hade brutits under 1980-talets ekonomiska kris.

Att kunna sända sina barn till skolan förblev en dröm för många fattiga familjer och den utbildning de kunde se var i många fall inte längre värd namnet. De ekonomiska krisrecepten hade gjort lite för att ändra på detta på kort sikt. De hade istället slagit hårt mot de sociala sektorerna. Flertalet biståndsorgan hade inte heller basutbildning särskilt högt på sin dagordning. Svenska Sida, som prioriterat utbildning för alla sedan början av 1970-talet, var mer ett undantag.

Jomtien-deklarationen kom till för att bryta en nedåtgående spiral. Den planerades i en anda att det är kris och det är bråttom att vända utveckling. Det kom också till i en anda av optimism och framtidstro Ett år efter murens fall kunde vi hoppas att det kalla krigets låsningar var över, att världen kunde se fram emot ett decennium av fred och ökat samarbete.

Deklarationen talar om en ”vidgad” vision och ett ”förnyat åtagande”. Den talar om humanistiska värden, om tolerans för människor med olika tro, om fred och internationell solidaritet. Den placerar utbildning i detta breda perspektiv, som ett uttryck för ett sätt att leva tillsammans. Utbildning ses självklart också som ett sätt att skaffa kunskaper och färdigheter för att klara sin försörjning, men inte bara det. I förberedelserna hade det förts många och långa diskussioner mellan ett mera snävt nyttoinriktat synsätt och det breda anslag som antogs i Jomtien.

Till det optimistiska hörde också att ekonomiska beräkningar som lades fram på konferensen visade att utbildning för alla inte var en utopi för idealister utan att det låg inom det möjligas gräns. Jomtien till skillnad från Dakar hade också många finansministrar närvarande.

Dakar tio år senare

Uppföljning i Dakar tio år senare var på många sätt en kraftfull manifestation om allas rätt till utbildning, inte minst vikten av att satsa på flickors utbildning. Utvecklingen under 1990-talet visade ändå obevekligen att resultaten inte hade blivit de väntade.

Många länder hade satsat mer och omsvängningen i det internationella samfundet var mycket tydlig. FN, Världsbanken och de bilaterala biståndsorganen överträffade nu varandra i att betona allas rätt till grundläggande utbildning. Ett annat tema var att utbildning är en grundsten i kampen mot fattigdom och de mål som satts av OECD-länderna att halvera fattigdomen fram till 2015.

Så vad behövs? Mera resurser måste mobilieras i fattiga länder samtidigt som resurserna utifrån måste öka. Dakar-deklarationen går här länge än vad som skedde i Jomtien. I slutdokumentet står att inget land ska hindras i sina ambitioner på grund av brist på resurser. Det innebär i praktiken att det förutses att de fattigaste länderna ska få tillgång till ett stadigt flöde av resurser utifrån, åtminstone under de närmaste 15 åren. Biståndsorganen måste anpassa sig till detta. Det är inte fråga om att var och en har sina begränsade projekt utan det är fråga om en samordnad överföring av resurser och nya samarbetsformer.

Biståndsorganen har sin egen interna debatt om hur mekanismer kan skapas för detta, hur resultat ska redovisas, hur korruption ska undvikas och så vidare. Allt det är bra och det förutsätter att nuvarande arbetssätt förändras. Det pågår ett intensivt arbete framförallt i den nordiska kretsen tillsammans med Holland, England, Irland och Kanada. Ändå fattas något.

Utbildning för all är mer än bistånd

Problemet är att Jomtien deklarationen i den rika delen av världen reducerats till en biståndsfråga under de tio år som gått. Den refereras oftast till som en fråga om hur många barn som går i skolan i fattiga länder och hur mycket pengar som satsats i biståndet på detta. Den breda visionen har kommit bort på vägen.

Vi måste gå bortom detta perspektiv och påminna oss att Jomtien i första hand var en politisk manifestation; för mera resurser men i grunden för ett sätt att leva tillsammans i en värld med växande klyftor och motstridiga värderingar. Hur dess frågor löses och reflekteras i svensk utbildning och senegalesisk är ingen biståndsfråga. Den handlar ytterst om demokrati och jämställdhet och den är allas angelägenhet.

Vi behöver gå tillbaka till deklarationens skrivningar, diskutera vad de betyder för oss idag. Vi behöver bredda kontakterna, mellan elever och lärare i fattiga och rika länder och mellan dem som står för att formulera mål och kursplaner. Det är fråga om internationalisering i bred mening.

UNESCO har en viktig roll att spela som förmedlare av kontakter och som en mötesplats. UNESCO är ju inte i första hand en biståndsorganisation. Att UNESCO efter Dakar fått ett tydligt ansvar för den internationella uppföljningen är en markering av att det är den ”utvidgade visionen” som ska gälla. Utbildning för alla berör all grenar av UNESCOs verksamhet.

Så borde det också bli i vårt eget land. Utbildning för all kan aldrig vara en fråga bara för Sida. Vi måste också tänka på att utbildning för alla är mer än att alla barn ska få en plats i skolan. Jomtien-deklarationen handlar också om vuxna. Det finns fortfarande 875 miljoner vuxna i världen som inte kan läsa och skriva. Vi i Sverige, med vår långa folkbildningstradition borde kunna göra mer på detta område än vi gjort hittills. Folkrörelsernas roll, pedagogiken, studiecirklarna, folkhögskolorna, den kommunala vuxenutbildningen, systemen för statsbidrag, allt detta är tillgångar som vi borde kunna ta vara på i det internationella samarbetet. Delvis har det skett som i samarbetet mellan folkhögskolor i Sverige och Tanzania, men mer kan göras.

Förslag till vad Sverige kan göra

Här några punkter som en bas för det fortsatta arbetet i Sverige:

- Bredda debatten om vår egen utbildning i ett internationellt perspektiv
- Öka möjligheterna till utbyte och diskussion mellan rika och fattiga länder om utbildning, fattigdom och demokrati.
- Sätt fokus på de mekanismer i vårt eget samhälle som gör att vissa slås ut och att andra gynnas. Ta vara på den erfarenhet som finns hos enskilda organisationer och Sida av att arbeta med dessa frågor i miljöer som är mer konfliktfyllda än våra egna.
- Ta bättre vara på vår ganska unika vuxenutbildningstradition i det internationella samarbetet.

Om vi kan skapa en bred diskussion och ett brett engagemang om utbildningens roll i vårt eget samhälle i ett internationellt perspektiv så har vi också tagit ett viktigt steg mot den vidgade vision och det förnyade åtagande som Jomtien deklarationen handlar om. Bara så kan vi skapa den bas som behövs för att långsiktigt mobilisera de resurser som fattiga länder också behöver.

CHAPTER TWO

PARTNERSHIPS, OWNERSHIP AND CONTEXT IN NATIONAL PLANNING FOR EDUCATION FOR ALL

A paper for the Oxford Conference on Education, August 2003

This paper discusses some of the tensions that exist between an international reform agenda and the national contexts in which it is supposed to be implemented. The example comes from the Education for All, EFA-initiative, launched at Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. The paper looks specifically at the role of external agencies in the planning and implementation process; how they try to balance their support for this agenda with their concern for national ownership and creation of a genuine partnership as far as interaction is concerned.

Based on this analysis, the paper discusses the need to review the de facto priorities that are driving the EFA-initiative. It is argued that the original and international "expanded vision" of basic education should be brought back as a framework for coordinated efforts at the country level.

The setting of priorities at Jomtien

Basic education for children and adults is a key to development. The problem then is to provide good quality education for all at a level that is affordable and sustainable in the long term. This, in brief, is the common platform on which the EFA-initiative was based. How these ambitions should be achieved may also be pretty clear in that all partners would agree that a good system of education is characterized by a combination of clear objectives, well thought out plans, motivated and well trained staff, learning material, school buildings of reasonable quality etc. But, the experience since Jomtien shows that this kind of rationality does not suffice as a base for the setting of joint priorities. Why is that?

It is argued in the paper that the tensions that arise between the international consensus building around such objectives and measures and the political and economic realities of national contexts pertain mainly to three types of issues. They are:

a) the balance between the different objectives, levels and target groups within a national system of education,

b) the strategy chosen to widen access and to improve the quality of basic education,
c) the appropriate mix of inputs that are required.

The international community has responded and tried to address these issues in different ways, some aspects of which are discussed in the paper. It is in this process that the real priorities are set.

The balance between objectives, target groups and levels of education

The lessons from the EFA-initiative show that there are some recurring priority issues. A look at the Jomtien agenda i.e. the declaration and the framework of action, illustrates some of the priority issues. Throughout the conference and during the preparations there were broadly two different views about the overall objectives of education. There were those who saw the ultimate purpose of education to be to promote basic values. To them the role of education is essentially to promote values that would ensure *"that commonly accepted humanistic values and human rights are upheld, and to work for international peace and solidarity in an interdependent world"* (World Declaration on Education for All, 1990, Article 1.2). Another group would take a more instrumental view and emphasise that education and training should help the individual to make a living and national economies to grow.

Another but related discussion about priorities was expressed in terms of three channels of education. The first channel was defined as primary education for children. The second channel was adult basic education including other essential skills required by youth and adults. The third channel was the use of mass media for communication of knowledge, skills and values (King, (Editor), NORRAG NEWS, 1990; Northern Research Review Advisory Group. No 8).

The relative emphasis that should be given to these three channels has been subject to debate ever since Jomtien. It is clear that primary education has been the predominant priority area as defined at Jomtien in 1990, at Dakar ten years later and when the millennium goals were agreed.

There is another way of expressing priorities that have to do with the strategy for change. Already at Jomtien, there were presentations of all kinds of innovations in education. A special "channel" was instituted at Jomtien and coordinated by UNESCO. This group of initiatives became a set of flagship programmes, the assumption being that educational change can best be promoted through innovations. They can be replicated on a larger scale. It is also assumed that innovations that are successful in one part of the world can be of value also in other contexts.

In contrast, national governments deal with systems of education. Any discussion about priorities within the education sector, let alone its importance in relation to other sectors and national objectives, has to take a balanced view. Education priorities are a balance between different needs, interests and target groups. These come out as a discussion about primary education versus adult, secondary, vocational and higher education. Also, it has to be recognized that educational planning is subject to the same economic restrictions as other sectors, often formulated as sectorial budget ceilings in agreements with the IMF (International Monetary Fund). Enrolment rates differ widely and so does the relative emphasis given to different objectives. From the point of the EFA initiative, these differences came out as a discussion about timing and time frames. To what extent was is it feasible to establish a uniform international time frame that all countries should follow, irrespective of enrolment rates and reform strategies at the time of the EFA-initiative? During the drafting process there were those who wanted to recognize this fact by pointing out the expected direction of change ("progress toward universal access to and completion of primary education") and those who favoured clear deadlines and quantitative targets for all countries. Eventually it was agreed that universal access to and completion of basic education be achieved by the year 2000 (King, ibid, p 9).

The setting of the same time frame for all is in effect to say that those who start from the lowest level as far as enrolment and completion rates are concerned should be expected to run faster than those who were close to universal access to primary education in 1990. At the same time, there has been increased recognition in later years within agencies that development is an endogenous process. Political commitment and ownership to plans and strategies are the key to success. In order to support national reform processes it is important to understand the context and to be sensitive to it.

This trend is reflected in the move towards integrated and coordinated support to Poverty Reduction Strategies and to basic education within a broader national framework. The Dakar Framework of Action concludes that it is important for all partners to take a sector wide approach to education reform work and to bring the external contributions in line with the overall national plans. Governments are requested to produce such plans as a basis for external support.

International initiatives to speed up the reform process

Ten years after Jomtien, there was increasing dissatisfaction with the pace of the reform process. Indeed, the Dakar Conference confirmed that the targets set at Jomtien (education for all by the year 2000) had not been reached. The second EFA report confirmed that many countries are unlikely to reach the target even by 2015, which was the time frame agreed upon at Dakar (UNESCO, 2002).

In response to these frustrations, the World Bank launched the Fast Track Initiative, FTI, as a way to mobilize more external resources and to speed up national reform processes. It is important to note that the initiative contains both elements. One of the objectives is to mobilize additional funds for primary education and to direct these towards those countries that need them most, are ready to spend and do not get funds through other channels. This is all in line with the international commitments made at Dakar and the Millennium Development Goal for Education ("*Ensure that by 2015 all children will be able to complete primary educatio*n"). The FTI is also a framework designed to speed up national reform processes by providing *"the data, policy, capacity and resource gaps that currently constrain progress."* Understood in this way, the Fast Track Initiative is a normative framework and mechanism for national reform that generates data, sets performance standards, guides the policy process and strengthens national capacity.

This initiative is an example of what in the health sector would be called a vertical programme. The Global Programme to fight HIV/AIDS is an example through which funds are mobilized internationally but also, and this is a basic assumption, to redress priorities in the national context so that higher priority is given to fight HIV/AIDS.

There are obvious dilemmas associated with this approach, which the international community is trying to address through the creation of a new type of partnership, by strengthening national ownership to policies and plans and by strengthening of national capacity. The question is if these two trends (vertical programmes and a sector wide approach) in international cooperation can be reconciled?

It is important to note then, that the commitments made at Dakar, imply a shift of the role of external agencies that will have implications for the way these agencies support national reform processes and hence for how priorities will be set. This changing role will be discussed in relation to one of the six objectives in the Dakar Declaration that is about improvement of the quality of education

The significance of quality improvements and the changing role of agencies

The issue will be illustrated by a study carried out at the initiative of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, ADEA, for its biennale meeting in Johannesburg in 2000. It is entitled "What Works and What's New In Education: Africa Speaks." It was mainly based on reports from Ministries of Education in Africa in answer to the question posed in the report. (ADEA, 2001).

The study illustrates the range of innovative schemes that exist in Africa. They aim in various ways to widen access, to improve the quality of education and to strengthen the capacity of Ministries of Education to plan and to implement education reforms. The big majority has been financed by external agencies and had probably not been possible without external financial and professional support.

Two observations are important in this context. The first is that the schemes referred to above rest on the assumption that improvements of quality take place through innovations that are tried out and tested on a small scale before they are replicated on a larger scale. The second is that African Governments and external agencies seem to have reached an understanding over the years that external support should focus on innovations. This is evidenced by the fact that many agencies have been restricted to support the capital budget of the national education budget. Until recently agencies could not fund recurrent costs, such as teachers' salaries. There were several reasons for this restriction, one being that countries should not become dependent on external support. Another consideration was that agencies hoped to focus on improvements of quality by enlarging that part of the national budget that was there to finance investments/capital costs as opposed to "consumption" or recurrent costs.

The framework for education reform was different at the World Education Forum at Dakar two years after the completion of this ADEA report. Innovative programmes, what UNESCO would call flagships, are there still, but there is a shift of perspective on what it takes to implement education reforms. A frequently quoted sentence in the Dakar Declaration states that: *"no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by lack of resources"* (UNESCO, 2000; Dakar Framework of Action, paragraph 10).

What is highlighted here is not only the need for innovations but rather that there is a basic problem of financing of education in the materially poorer countries of the world. The 2002 monitoring report clearly

illustrates the big and widening gap between commitments and provision of the necessary material resources. External support to education has decreased in the 1990s, contrary to expectations at Jomtien (UNESCO 2002). The conclusion implied in the Dakar Framework of Action is that unless this problem can be overcome, there is not much point in talking about quality improvements through innovations or otherwise.

This in turn calls for a systemic approach to education reform with basic education as an important priority. Agencies should no longer focus on "their" innovative programme and national governments are requested to open up for a general and open dialogue about the whole reform strategy. This change should be seen in light of the fact that external funders provide on average less than five per cent of national education budgets (ibid).

Long-term financial commitments and new mechanisms of cooperation are required. In short, there is a need for a Sector Wide Approach to education reform. For the external agencies this means that they have to move from a project approach to a sector wide approach to education reform. A joint and shared agenda between all partners has to be developed. This is happening in some countries, for example in Cambodia, Tanzania and Uganda.

Experience so far indicates that this shift of emphasis also influences the content of the reform agenda i.e. the setting of priorities as well as the dynamics of the cooperation and of the internal planning process. Some of the recurring issues are that:

- The political dimensions of educational development are brought to the fore. For example, to what extent are plans the result of a national democratic process? To what extent do the objectives relate to the national reform agenda, notably the strategy for poverty reduction? External agencies become legitimate partners in a dialogue about the whole reform agenda.
- External funds are channelled into and become part of the national budget for education. By necessity, the striving towards education for all will be subject to the same financial constraints and ceilings as if they were financed entirely through internal funds.
- The question of accountability becomes more important than before. Ultimately all parties should be accountable to the parents and students who should benefit from education. External agencies are also accountable to their taxpayers who share their sense of urgency about improvements and tangible results.

So, on the one hand there are international vertical programmes such as the fast track initiative and the innovative and international flagship programmes. On the other hand there is a priority to integrate external support as closely as possible into a broader national reform agenda for education and for poverty reduction.

Can the two trends be reconciled? The answer so far, and it applies not only to the Fast Track Initiative or the education sector, is that this will be done in a dialogue around a shared agenda for education reform in which education for all will be an important objective. This dialogue will be based on the notion that the national government will lead the reform process i.e. that there is strong national ownership.

Partnership, dialogue and ownership as a way to reconcile the reform agendas

If this is the formula through which competing agendas and approaches to education reform will be reconciled, what is the likely outcome in terms of priorities?

The discussion about priorities as a question of balance between subsectors seem to show that there is growing consensus about the need for a systemic approach to education priorities and to education reform. This implies a balance between the different parts of the system. There is no international formula. Priorities will vary between countries and within countries over time. Priorities expressed in this way will be context specific.

In reality, experience so far seems to indicate that this means that priority will continue to be given to the formal part of the education system at the neglect of adult and non-formal education. Already the millennium development goals have narrowed the EFA-goals to primary education for children and this is in line with the priorities of most national governments. The references to the Jomtien conference made above illustrate that primary education for all children has been the dominant priority from the start.

There is an obvious risk that countries and international agencies alike, trapped in the competition for scarce resources will fall back into the traditional reform agenda of improvements of primary education. This may even be reinforced by vertical programmes such as the Fast Track Initiative. This is happening at the same time as the number of reports and seminars about education and globalization is increasing. Some of these are adamant about the need to place education in a broader analysis of globalization (Carnoy, 1999; Strömquist, 2002).

Issues raised include the increased emphasis on comparability, mathematics, science and communication skills as vital for international competition, the use and role of information technology and the cultural dimension of education. Carnoy, for example, argues that *"this constitutes a new kind of struggle over the meaning and value of knowledge."* But whatever one thinks, the important thing about education in an increasingly globalised world connects the reform agendas of the North with those of the South. There is a link between this new agenda and the original "expanded vision" that is reflected in the Jomtien Declaration.

There has been a tension within the EFA-initiative from the start, whether it should deal essentially with this broad international agenda as a matter of priority and concern to all or whether this "expanded vision" of basic education is more of a smokescreen for the fact that EFA in practice is about mobilization of resources for primary education for some of the poorest countries of the world.

A fundamental question for the future is how "minimum requirements," the need to concentrate, "first things first", can be reconciled with a broader and more far reaching reform agenda as outlined at Jomtien and reaffirmed at Dakar. Unless this can be done there is a risk that *"we are witnessing the crystallization of a dual education paradigm on a global scale: Lifelong learning for the North, and Basic education (narrowly understood) for the South" (Torres,* 2003, p. 53). This means that education reform in the North will be based on a notion of life-long education. The same agenda in the poorest countries will be about meeting the needs for primary education by the year 2015. The experience from the EFA-initiative so far seems to be that in the final analysis short term gains and considerations are taking over at the expense of long-term perspectives and broader visions. There is a risk that this tendency is reinforced by vertical initiatives such as the Fast Track Initiative unless handled with care.

Concluding comments

There seems to be international consensus that ownership to policies and plans at the country level is the key to successful reform efforts. Ownership means that policies and plans have been subject to a participatory process within the country. But ownership presupposes access to and control over financial resources. It also presupposes that there is capacity to implement reforms. Integration into national strategies for poverty reduction is essential. Reforms should take a systemic view and will by necessity be subject to the same restrictions as other sectors.

It can also be concluded that the PRSP and SWAP-concepts have changed the rules of the game for the relationship between national and international actors. If understood as a new partnership they provide the framework for a collaborative and coordinated effort centred around a joint and shared reform agenda. Vertical initiatives, such as the Fast Track Initiative, provide additional financial and professional inputs that should be integrated into these broad reform agendas and frameworks of cooperation.

The problem is that the pressing financial problems within poor countries combined with the need to achieve tangible and immediate results call for short term and quantifiable objectives. This is important for the credibility of international initiatives and for the accountability to the taxpayers in the North. Vertical programmes such as the Fast Track Initiative aim at doing that but while making this possible they may distort national priorities and the national planning process (Separate plans for separate pots of money, benchmarks etc.).

Therefore it is critical how the partnership process at the country level is set up and handled. It is also important that the parties agree on the framework that should guide the dialogue about reform and reform strategies. From this point of view one of the priorities should be to establish the expanded vision of Jomtien as a shared framework for the cooperation. It is broad enough to accommodate the variety of national priorities and strategies that exist.

This would inter alia mean to:

a) Re-introduce life-long education as a joint framework for the policy dialogue and for planning both in the North and in the South. This means that adult education and skills development should be brought back onto the international agenda. Also, it should be important to take an explicit long term view on education reform.

b) Focus external support more on efforts to improve the capacity of implementation. Developing national research and analytical capacity is an important part of such efforts. External agencies need to critically review present and largely uncoordinated efforts at capacity development. Much more of an integrated approach is required. This is true for education but also for all other areas of cooperation.

c) Bring in the global dimensions and dilemmas of knowledge, education and learning into the picture. Three important questions emerge from the present international discourse on education and globalization. They are priorities in relation to (i) international competition and the issue of comparability (quality is a contested issue), the use of new technologies, and the cultural dimensions of education. As has been noted above, the use of new technologies was called the third channel at Jomtien.

d) Increase the financial flows from the North to the South. In the short term these are political decisions within the external agencies. In the longer term this can only be done if a sense of shared commitment to a global agenda for education reform can be created in the North and in the South. That is one reason for bringing in the global perspectives mentioned under c) above much more clearly. It is only if and when the taxpayers in the North understand and accept a global and globalized agenda for basic education that the necessary political momentum will be created.

e) Recognize the political dimension of educational planning. The implementation of EFA is, and will be linked, to broader development strategies such as PRSP, on the one hand and to vertical initiatives, on the other. These processes are taking place in a context of globalization. Governments and agencies have choices to make and it is essential that it is made clear what these are.

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CHAPTER THREE

PERSPEKTIV PÅ UTBILDNING I AFRIKA

Föreläsning vid magisterkurs, Göteborgs universitet, Centrum för Afrikastudier december 2006

Chapter Three: Summary in English

Perspectives on Education in Africa

A historical perspective on education in Africa is analysed in a framework of tensions and movements between elite and mass education. The author´s own first experience of Swedish aid to education is described as an example of how complex reforming education systems can be. It was about support to Kenya Science Teachers' College (KSTC) and involved training of teacher trainers, and reforming the content and methodology of the national science curriculum. The project certainly managed to provide more trained secondary school science teachers, but hardly to change the system.

To understand this, the role of the missionaries and the colonial governments in introducing dual education systems is analysed. Children of local leaders were educated to become good "civilised" Christians, and at the same time, at least in the ex-British colonies, the majority of children (boys) were provided with a minimum of basic skills, i.e. only enough to read the Bible and submit to the norms and values of colonial rule. In Kenya so-called adapted education for the rural population was introduced. The idea was to impart practical agricultural and handicraft skills so as to encourage people to stay in the rural areas. In opposition to this, the anti-colonial liberation movements were determined to create a comprehensive all-inclusive education system.

The paper stresses the political aspect of education reforms in the independent African countries. The role of the state in defining education policies was normally strong as education was expected to contribute to nation-building and human resource development. Education was also seen as the motor of economic growth and productivity. Nonetheless, the right to education for all remained high on the agenda.

1. Syftet är att ge några ingångar till förståelsen av utbildningssituationen i Afrika i historiskt perspektiv, liksom av några drag som finns i reformarbetet. Frågan är vilken kapacitet eller förmåga som finns att möta de

krav och förväntningar som utvecklingen ställer. Förutsättningarna för sådant reform eller förändringsarbete kallar vi kapacitet. Att förbättra dem kallar vi kapacitetsutveckling.

2. När jag första gången satte mig bakom mitt skrivbord på Sida, det är 35 år sedan, lyfte jag fram pärmar med KSTC, Kenya Science Teachers College. En lärarhögskola i Nairobi som byggdes upp med svenska pengar, svenska lärarutbildare, rektorer i samarbete med Uppsala universitet. Gradvis svensk utfasning under 10-12 år. Säger något om synen om utvecklingssamarbete då men också på förändringsarbete. KSTC skulle inte bara möta behovet av lärare i naturvetenskapliga ämnen hos ett snabbt växande system, det skulle också utbilda lärare av en ny sort. Bort från engelskans auktoritära ”chalk and talk” till koppling teori och praktik, samarbete i grupp och mer demokratiska attityder. KSTC ville stå för pedagogiskt nytänkande men också för en bred reformansats i demokratisk riktning av hela det kenyanska utbildningssystemet. Hur skulle det gå till? Lärarna skulle sedan förändra de skolor där de placerades och KSTCs kursplanearbete skulle vara en förebild för undervisningsministeriet. I det syftet placerades en svensk pedagog på kursplaneavdelningen på ministeriet. Det var ett sätt att öka kapaciteten i Kenya på två sätt: Fler lärare till ett snabbt växande system på sekundärnivå samt en resurs för reformarbete på det naturvetenskapliga området samt av det pedagogiska tänkandet. Blev det så? Fler lärare ja, men förändringen av ett utbildningssystem är en mer komplicerad sak. Det finns många förväntningar och intressen i Kenya och Sida var inte den enda utomstående biståndsgivaren. Kenya, liksom praktiskt taget alla länder i Afrika hade en kolonial tradition att släpa på. Det formella utbildningssystemet var en produkt av vad missionärerna gjort och för de engelska kolonierna, protektoraten en medveten statlig engelsk utbildningspolitik, som formades i början av 1920-talet. Jag har grävt lite i den historien och den är lite mer motsägelsefull än vad den oftast framställs. Det går inte att förstå dagens diskussion utan det perspektivet.

3. En historisk tolkningsram är att utvecklingen av utbildningssystem i Afrika kan förstås som en pendelrörelse mellan elit och massutbildning.

a) missionärerna var först, och redan här fanns två traditioner. Den ena och tidigaste var att utbilda elitens dvs lokala ledares barn (läs pojkar) till goda kristna ledare men också till civiliserade humanister som kunde tala om Platon och Shakespeare lika obehindrat som de talade om Afrika. Den andra var att ge alla afrikaner, dvs de som bodde på de olika missionsfälten ett minimum av kunskaper och färdigheter för att ta till sig det kristna budskapet och läsa bibeln. Den som vill gå tillbaka i svensk utbildningsdebatt under första häften av 1800-talet kommer att känna igen sig.

b) I de engelska kolonierna bestämmer sig den engelska staten i början av 1920-talet för att styra mer och att forma de spretiga missionsinsatserna till ett enhetligt system anpassat till den koloniala situationen och ekonomin. Det är/var frågan om en utbildning för afrikaner med praktisk inriktning. Elitutbildningen fanns mest för kolonialtjänstemännens barn, skolor som stegvis öppnades för den afrikanska eliten, ju närmare självständigheten man kom. I de franska och portugisiska systemen var den senare traditionen starkare. Kolonialmakten ville forma en elit som var förfranskad och i Portugals fall en ”assimilado”.

Ett fåtal fick stipendier för studier i moderlandet. I den engelska traditionen växte några elitskolor fram, Achimota i Ghana, Makerere i Uganda, Love Dale och Fort Hare i Sydafrika. Några blev bas för Afrikanska universitet med stark koppling till universitet i moderlandet.

För den stora majoriteten i Kenya var det emellertid fråga om en s.k. anpassad utbildning, med inslag av jordbruk och hantverk. Pedagogiskt var den traditionen inspirerad av progressive pedagoger på 20-talet, främst John Dewey i USA (Phelps Stokes Commission).

Den s.k. anpassade utbildningen blir alltmer kritiserad av den framväxande inhemska eliten främst för att den byggde på förutsättningen att afrikaner i huvudsak skulle stanna kvar på landet och försörja sig där. Därutöver behövdes lärare och sjuksköterskor men afrikaner skulle inte ha del i hur landet styrdes. Politiskt uppstår därför hos de rörelser som kämpar för självständighet från 1940-talet och framåt ett överordnat mål. Det är att skapa ett enhetligt utbildningssystem som är öppet för alla.

4. Här kommer så nästa perspektiv. Utbildningsreformer är politik även i Afrika och det blir särskilt tydligt under de dramatiska skeenden, mer eller mindre blodiga som ledde fram till självständigheten med början i slutet av 1950-talet och början av 1960-talet. De nya ledarna söker frigöra sig från det förflutna genom att skriva om kursplanerna med ”nationbuildning” som det övergripande målet.

Det andra målet är att skapa en kader av utbildade människor för att bemanna den framväxande statsförvaltningen. Detta var ju också en period av plantänkande i många länder, där staten sågs som motorn i utvecklingen.

Utbildning, innehåll, finansiering, styrning, blir på ett självklart sätt den nya statens ansvar. När vi tittar på utbildning i dagens Afrika kan vi inte förstå vad som händer utan att fundera över statens roll.

Alla utbildningsplaner från den perioden har två övergripande teman:

a) Nationbuildning, dvs respekt för presidenten, flaggan och nationen;

b) Skapande av nationell kapacitet i meningen utbildning av yrkeskunniga människor. ”Capacity och Capacity Development” var under denna tid liktydigt med ”Human Resource Development”. Utbildningsekonomer försåg planerare och politiker med argument. Utbildning är den enskilt viktigaste faktorn för att generera ekonomisk tillväxt. En hel tradition av ”The economics of education” växer fram. (Inte bara för Afrika men den har också stort genomslag där med de olika givarna som viktiga aktörer).

5. Men, kvar finns också tanken på kolonialtidens diskriminering och allas rätt till utbildning. År 1961 samlas utbildningsministrarna i Afrika under UNESCOs ledning. De enas om att inom 20 år ska alla barn i Afrika ha tillgång till grundläggande utbildning. Så sker också i vissa länder med Tanzania som det tydligaste exemplet under president Nyerere. I mitten av 1970-talet är det en realitet och Tanzania får alfabetiseringspris av UNESCO för att också ha satsat på att alla vuxna får lära sig att läsa och skriva.

PART TWO

EDUCATION FOR RURAL TRANSFORMATION AND PRODUCTION

Introduction

Education for Rural Transformation (ERT) is a tool for the inclusive and sustainable process of development, as well as for the attainment of sustainable development goals, in an effective and equitable manner by addressing the diverse and dynamic learning needs of rural people. As is strongly addressed by Ingemar over the decades, capacity development is vital to strengthen ownership and sustainability of development strategies and processes in an effective, democratic and accountable manner.

Ingemar's interest in education for rural transformation and production can be traced back to his early years at SIDA's education division, to his time as an educational planner in Botswana, and to an interest in the education work of Swedish missionaries in central and southern Africa. Ingemar did not advocate a two-track system of education with an academic track for urban children and a skills based track for rural areas, which could end up trapping rural children into rural poverty. He did advocate a multi-pronged approach to the design of education programmes, including addressing rural poverty through education programmes that would support rural transformation.

The first paper in the section is a summary of Ingemar´s PhD dissertation, which investigates the relationship between formal schooling and working life before and after the colonial periods in Botswana and Zimbabwe. Through analysis of four school programmes as cases, contextualized in their historical socio-economic changes, Ingemar shows how and why the objectives of productive work in the programmes have changed. He challenges the dominant theoretical perspectives, which claims that the content of education reflects the social and economic structure of the nation states. In investigating the relationship between education and work, the study emphasizes the importance of giving ideological and strategic consideration to the stakeholder groups. By constructing/identifying various ideological and theoretical positions held by the various stakeholders, the findings of the study suggests the significant role of school as agents of change, effectively involving those stakeholders.

The second paper was written, together with Lavinia Gasperini, for the Food and Agricultural Organisation, FAO, in support of the collaborative global efforts led by FAO and UNESCO for Education for Rural People Partnership (ERP). Employing the concept of *capacity development* at the individual, organizational and at the normative/policy levels, the paper identifies

linkages between learning/education and three dimensions of the concept of food security. This paper is an important contribution to bridge disciplinary boundaries as well as to transcend boundaries between sectors. Ingemar sees the ERP as a powerful framework to bridge the two sectors in pursuit of global sustainability. By shedding light on the reality of the rural people, he emphasizes the importance of contextualizing learning employing both formal and non-formal education in broader strategies of poverty reduction and food security.

CHAPTER FOUR

SCHOOLS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF WORK: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FOUR PRODUCTIVE WORK PROGRAMMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Summary of Ingemar Gustafsson's PhD Dissertation, 1987

1. Introduction

The present study focuses on the relationship between formal schooling and working life as it was manifested before and after independence in Botswana and Zimbabwe, two Third World countries whose history is interlinked with that of South Africa. Four productive work progammes in schools at the upper primary and lower secondary level are described and analyzed. The programmes share a common characteristic of student involvement in productive work and the strong belief among their founders that students' involvement in productive work is a way of establishing a closer relationship between education and the world of work.

Productive work programmes in schools in Africa were introduced by missionaries, with varying degrees of support from the colonial governments. Productive work programmes introduced before independence were associated with attempts by missionaries and colonial officers to adapt Western schooling to schooling considered suitable for Africans, and the predominantly rural communities in which they lived. Numerous programmes were initiated, from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. Gradually, an ideological foundation for such programmes was developed, at international conferences, in consultancy reports and official policy statements. The rational for programmes was expressed in economic, pedagogical, social and religious terms. The hammering out of policies and strategies was accompanied by accounts of resistance to such schemes from young people and their parents whose main ambition was to improve their living standard outside the rural environment (Berman, 1975). Experience told them that the best way to achieve this ambition was by acquiring high academic qualifications (Lillis, 1985).

2. The Problem and the Objectives of the Study

Examples of productive work programmes can be found all over the world, particularly in Third World countries. Typically, the introduction of productive work has stemmed from dissatisfaction with the school's role in

bringing about social change. It has been assumed that the introduction of productive work programmes would bring the school closer to the realities of life, particularly the world of work.

Productive work programmes vary a great deal, as demonstrated below. The main reason is that programmes, which aim to establish a closer relationship between education and work, cannot be described or analyzed in isolation from the specific conditions of the world of work. Conditions in Africa in the beginning of this century were not the same as they are today, nor are present-day conditions in Africa the same as in present-day China. However, a fundamental problem in most programmes seems to have been to define more specifically how education should be related to the world of work.

The main aim of the study is to contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between education and work. It will focus on a description and analysis of the struggle over the objectives of productive work progammes, which took place among and within different interest groups, particularly in so far as these objectives relate to the world of work.

The study has three objectives:

a) To identify the different ideological and theoretical frameworks of the main actors regarding the relationship between education, work and development.
b) To describe, in a context of socio-economic change, the planning and implementation of four productive work programmes.
c) To analyze, in a historical and comparative perspective, how and why the objectives of productive work in the four programmes changed.

3. Framework and Methodology

The empirical material in this study covers the planning and implementation of four education programmes concentrating especially upon some critical phases in their development. The case studies are essentially historical accounts, based on unpublished and published sources. These have been supplemented by semi-structured interviews. Whenever possible, these interviews have been tape-recorded or the person interviewed has been given an opportunity to read notes from the interview. Furthermore, key persons in the progammes currently in operation have, as far as possible, been given an opportunity to read drafts of the relevant case studies.

The selection of data has been guided by the theoretical framework outlined above. Two assumptions have been made. The first assumption has been that changes in the objectives of productive work, as well as problems in the

implementation of these objectives, can be best understood as a process marked by conflicts among and within influential interest groups. The second assumption has been that the objectives themselves contain some contradictions, which will be reflected as conflicts among or within interest groups.

Comparisons between case studies assume some structuring and uniformity of the material but, as pointed out above, this does not mean testing a hypothesis by drawing a representative number of uniform case studies. The justification for the inclusion of more than one case study is their variety and complexity. Issues dealt with in one case study do not necessarily have to be covered in all four studies. The focus is on various themes in the four case studies, which have appeared to be of particular importance for an understanding of how the founders defined the relationship between education and work. At the same time, however, the case studies are sufficiently uniform to allow for an analysis of certain patterns and relationships. Otherwise, the study would have been reduced to a descriptive historical account of four programmes, which have little in common. The assumption has been that the comparison of four programmes within the same broad social and economic context would reveal interesting trends that could shed light on existing theories of education and work, and give rise to further research.

4. Four Case Studies

Tigerkloof 1904-1920: A Self-Financing Mission for the Tswana

Up to 1955, Tigerkloof was an institution for post-primary education run by the London Missionary Society, LMS. It was established by the Society in 1904 mainly to provide further education for the Tswana in Southern Africa and was located at Vryburg not far from present-day Mafikeng. In 1955, it was handed over to the South African Government as a result of the introduction of Bantu Education in South Africa (Malherbe, 1977).

Tigerkloof opened at Vryburg not far from Kuruman in 1904 with Willoughby as principal. The school day started with common prayer, drill and scripture classes. After that, the students spent the morning in their classes and the apprentices in their workshops. In the afternoon there was two hours of "fatigue work on the roads or in the garden for the pupils and shops again for the apprentices" (Haile, 1919). The students could also spend the afternoon in the workshops learning a trade (General Orders Session, 1917). After supper the apprentices had two hours of work in the classroom while the students did their homework.

There was general agreement among the main actors during the period of study about the need for productive work in education. The reasons were

ideological, economic and social. The occasional student protests against participation in productive work had little or no impact on the implementation of the programme. The conflicts mainly occurred within other, more influential interest groups. Within the mission it was the question of evangelization versus development work, while within the Chiefdoms the conflict was between tradition and change. The mission saw the school both as a replica of the larger Christian community that it wanted to build and hence, to some extent, as an agent of change. In practice it was mainly concerned with change of the performance of individual tasks within the Tswana Chiefdoms rather than with a transformation of the social organization of work although this was implied in the wider strategy of development.

Mnene and Masae 1920-30: The Swedish Heritage and Missionary Work

Mnene and Masae are the names of the first two missionary stations founded, in the beginning of the century, by the Church of Sweden Mission, CSM, in Belingwe district in Southern Rhodesia, which resulted in the formation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Zimbabwe in 1963. During the period of study we will be dealing with, a small but steadily growing Swedish mission, up to 1934 a branch of the Church of Sweden Mission in South Africa, was run and controlled by Swedish missionaries (Söderström, 1984).

The Swedish missionaries saw the school as the most efficient means of evangelization. Almost every annual report to the Board in Sweden repeated this. Education during the early years, i.e. before 1920, was very rudimentary. Whatever the intentions, there were no resources to offer but the basics of reading, writing, and religious knowledge. By 1921, two programmes for further education had been initiated, one at Masase for boys and one at Mnene for girls. The main purpose of the school for boys was to train evangelist/teachers. The girls were prepared for household work and the overall objective was that they should impart a new spirit into African homes.

Students at Mnene and Masase, like those at Tigerkloof, participated in two types of productive work. The first consisted of collective work for the mission station such as erection of church buildings, work in the garden, maintenance of roads and so on. The second type consisted of activities which were closely related to more structured courses for skill training. There was a very strong emphasis on character formation within the mission education programme. Education in general and participating in productive work in particular, were expected to inculcate discipline and self-control.

This was the core of the ideology as related to work. There was an emphasis on diversification of the curriculum that included student participation in productive work.

No changes were made in the objectives of productive work, despite financial problems and ideological conflicts within the mission and between the mission and the other main actors. If anything, the importance of productive work in mission schools increased rather than decreased during the period of study.

The Swaneng Model 1963-85: Alternative Development in Botswana

The term "Swaneng model" will be used to denote an experimental programme for community development initiated by Patrick van Rensburg in 1963, three years before Botswana's independence. He remained the key figure during the first ten years of the programme's operation. At the end of this period, the programme consisted of three secondary schools, a number of vocational training schemes known as the brigades, and a few consumer and production co-operatives.

Productive work was an integral part of the Swaneng model and it involved both students and staff. They were expected to participate collectively in work for the school and the community. Productive work was also linked to the teaching of specific skills as well as the teaching of more theoretical subjects. The rationale for productive work, as laid out by van Rensburg, rested on two principal assumptions. The first was that resources for education would continue to be scare. The second was that participating in productive work would foster the commitment to develop a society based on egalitarian and democratic principles. The community orientation implied for the most part that the school should transform conditions in the community. The work ideology implied however, that students be collectively committed to any task necessary for survival of the community and of the school.

Serowe Brigades Development Trust, SBDT, was formed as a separate legal entity on the 22nd of August 1972. In 1972 the Trust had 10 brigades, offering training course varying in length from one to three years. The main target group for all but one of the brigades was young people, mainly boys, who had completed seven years of primary education. The fields of training included building, carpentry, farming, engineering, tanning and textiles. The tenth brigade was a co-operative, called Boitko. Its purpose was to provide training and employment for men and women with little or no education. Activities included spinning and weaving, leatherwork, pottery, beer brewing, etc. Unlike the students at Swaneng Hill School, the brigades' trainees learnt a particular trade through direct involvement in productive

work. The attitude of students and brigades trainees towards participation in productive work has been dictated primarily by the relation of productive work to future prospects for employment.

Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, 1978-1986: A Blueprint for Education Reform

Education with Production, EWP, has been the key concept for national education reform work in Zimbabwe since independence. The Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production, ZIMFEP, was formed as a trust under the Ministry of Education in 1981, to co-ordinate the work of the eight schools and to develop a model for education with production that could be replicated nationwide. The programme was developed in the refugee camps outside Rhodesia during the war of liberation. After Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the ZIMFEP-schools were opened mainly for former refugee students who had returned from Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.

The foundations for a new model of education in Zimbabwe were laid in the refugee camps of Mozambique and Zambia. For the most part the refugees had come from the rural areas bordering Mozambique. The schools operated under poor material conditions. It was necessary that students participated in productive work. Students and teachers alike were divided into work brigades, which built houses, desks and benches, cooked food, fetched water, washed clothes, tended the garden and sewed clothes" (McLaughlin). The secondary schools curriculum provided an ideological foundation, which reflected "the basics of Marxism-Leninism, leading to a deeper analysis of the internal contradictions inherent in capitalism" (Nyhundu, 1981).

Zimbabwe inherited a highly unequal economic and social structure. The ZIMFEP schools were established within a broader framework for the transformation of that structure. Their founders saw the ideological function of education as being very important. In ideological terms this was expressed as creation of the new socialist man. This also implied inculcation of a general commitment to work through education. The ZIMFEP schools have been expected to prepare for employment within the formal sector while at the same time preparing the students for self-employment, which means that students have been prepared for introduction of new methods of production either within the existing social organizations of work or within a new self-ruling and self-financing co-operative form of production. All the objectives are linked to student participation in productive work either as collective work for the school and the community or as project work in relation to a particular subject.

5. Analysis of the Findings: Comparison and Theoretical Implications

The programmes share a common characteristic of students involvement in productive work aimed at relating education to the world of work. The findings indicate that such changes can be interpreted as the result of a struggle for control over education rather than as the result of long-term structural changes. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate that schools have, under certain conditions, played a role as agents of change. It is suggested that more attention should be paid to conflicts over ideologies and strategies about work and work organization within and among influential interest groups than has hitherto been the case. It is concluded that theoretical approaches which suggest that the content of education is determined mainly by long-term changes in the social and economic structure, and the rewards that are associated with different positions within that structure, have failed to explain why schools, under certain conditions, may act as agent of change in relation to the world of work.

The analysis of the four case studies has demonstrated that the objectives of productive work in the four programmes were linked to wider strategies of development which, albeit in various ways, challenged existing ideologies about work, methods of production and the social organization of work. These strategies gave rise to conflicts, which in some cases, resulted in modification of the original objectives of productive work. It can be concluded that the objectives of productive work as they relate to the world of work have mainly been determined by priorities set by the State and the founders. There have been conflicts within the State and within groups representing the interests of the founders. Students and parents have had little direct influence over the establishment of these priorities.

Irrespective of whether individual or group interests are analyzed, the analysis has shown that the conception of productive work has been intimately linked with wider ideological and strategic issues about work and transformation of the social organization of work. In other words, the struggle for control over education has been manifested in terms of wider ideological conflicts. These ideological conflicts are to some degree independent of the group interests from which they stem. This is evidenced by the fact that there have been ideological conflicts within interest groups over the objectives of productive work.

6. Recommendations regarding further research

In his recommendations, Ingemar suggests that future research on the relationship between education and work should include the following areas. Firstly, how ideologies about education and work are formed in Third World

Countries, through international contacts, research results, and contact with donor agencies and so on. Secondly, Ingemar notes that to examine how such influences are modified and translated into strategies for development.

This study has been concerned with the objectives of productive work and, to some extent, with how the programmes have been implemented. It has not dealt with impact except in so far as the programmes have been a challenge to, and had an impact on, national strategies for development. It has not attempted to look at the effects of the introduction of new methods of production in schools or the effects that these may have had on the world of work. Other research reviews have observed that there is a need for well-grounded empirical studies of the impact of productive work programmes on the world of work. This study offers but a small contribution in this respect. It has illustrated that it is important to distinguish between the three aspects: conflicts over objectives, the implementation of the programmes and the wider impact.

In conclusion, Ingemar explores the hope that the analytical framework chosen for the study, can be developed further and will lead to fruitful analyses of the relationship between education and work in Third World countries.

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CHAPTER FIVE

STRENGTHENING THE LINKS BETWEEN EDUCATION, TRAINING AND OBJECTIVES RELATED TO FOOD SECURITY

HOW A CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE WILL HELP

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1. Purpose and Scope of the Paper

This paper was commissioned by the Task Group on Training for Technicians for Capacity Development (OECD/FAO) and the Education for Rural People Flagship Partnership. The Education for Rural People Initiative (ERP) is a collaborative effort between the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the 363 partners who are members of the ERP network. The FAO-led Education for Rural People Partnership was officially launched during the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002.

The paper is written against a background of the fact that there are over one billion people in the world today who do not have access to adequate food on a sustained basis. They are food insecure. Or expressed in a more direct way, there are one billion hungry people in the world today, despite all international targets and action plans aimed at reducing poverty. 70% of the world's poor are rural poor. The percentage is highest in Africa.

There is a close correlation between poverty and lack of education, including adult literacy, in both rural and urban areas. The correlation is stronger in rural areas. Although there are big variations, another feature of education and training has remained over the years. It is that neither the formal system of education nor non-formal and targeted programmes have managed to bridge the gap between urban and rural areas. The rural areas are disadvantaged when it comes to access to information, knowledge and opportunities for education, be it formal or non-formal. This gap is shown by indicators for school attendance, completion rates and access to literacy and other adult education programmes. It can also be illustrated with reference to the quality of teachers, books and school buildings. There are many reasons

for this and they vary with the context (Atchoarena & Gasperini, 2003; FAO & International Institute for Educational Planning, IIEP, 2006).

This paper is intended as a tool for all those who are seeking ways to strengthen the links between education, training and wider individual and societal objectives related to food security. It uses the FAO policy and concepts of capacity and capacity development as a lens and as a bridge between the general discourses on learning, education and training on the one hand and on food security on the other. Also, it discusses the relationships between learning, education and capacity. The first part of the paper presents a framework that illustrates how the concepts of learning, education and capacity can be understood and linked. The second identifies links between education and objectives related to different dimensions of the concept of food security. The third part offers some concluding comments based on the analysis. In this context, it discusses the role of the ERP as a bridge between policy frameworks and organisations. It also concludes that the ERP is a network of mutual learning which is typical of modern knowledge societies. The paper draws heavily, but not exclusively, on material from the ERP generated since its inception in 2002.

2. Framework for the Analysis

Capacity and Capacity Development

The etymology of the concept of *capacity* stems from French *capacité* (latin *capacitas*) and it has two meanings. The first has to do with space i.e. what can be contained in a room, a ship or a container etc. The other meaning has to do with action. Capacity is what individuals, organisations or countries are able to do. In the words of a recent definition by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, capacity is *"the ability of people, organisations and society to manage their affairs successfully"* (DAC, 2006, p. 12). According to the draft FAO Corporate Strategy *"Capacity Development ideally unfolds across three dimensions; an enabling policy environment, the institutional dimension and the individual dimension"* (FAO, 2009c, p.1). This definition relates to capacity development as a way to get to what the DAC has defined as capacity above. It signals that it is important to look at the ability of individuals and of organisations/institutions. It is equally important to identify the policy environment. It is understood in this definition that an enabling policy environment will open up possibilities for action by individuals and organisations/institutions. Needless to say, there may also be other policy environments that prevent individuals and organisations from using their capacity. Also, the FAO definition, unlike the DAC definition above, does not include physical and technical factors that may facilitate or prevent

people, organisations and countries to act. This is an advantage when the concept is used for analytical purposes. The DAC definition is so wide that it may include almost everything when it comes to the question of capacity development.

In the case of the FAO, these capacities relate to individuals and organisations that act on objectives related to food security. The policy environment is important in that it may open up or close possibilities for individuals and organisations to act. It should be noted that in the real world there is hardly any capacity that is developed without a purpose. Capacity is always related to normative issues, or expressed in another way: What capacity is can hardly be separated from another question, namely: Capacity for what? And yet, it is useful for analytical purposes to think about capacity and capacity development as a generic term.This being said, it should be important to note that there is an unfinished discussion about criteria for the evaluation of capacity. How is it possible to know that capacity has been developed and exists in real life?

There are basically two answers to this question, both of which will be addressed in this paper. The first says that capacity exists when there are capable people, efficient organisations and a normative policy environment that is conducive to change. There should also be reasonable correspondence between the three levels in relation to the capacity that is required, say to increase agricultural production. Capacity is measured according to its component parts and what it takes to create capacity is understood in this way. The second answer is that capacity can only be measured in a meaningful way when it has been translated into action. For the most part, it is easier to measure what has been done to create capacity i.e. through education, organisational and policy changes than to establish that this capacity has led to the achievement of higher order objectives such as increased agricultural production.

One of the merits of the FAO's definition with three dimensions is that it makes a clear distinction between normative frameworks such as policies on the one hand and the organisations set up to implement them on the other. It is a distinction between normative frameworks as "the rules of the game" and organisations as the way resources are combined to "play the game." For example, the rules of the game of football are the same for all. The way a coach decides to organise the football team will vary and may even change during the match. The way resources are combined is not one and the same for all teams even if the purpose is the same (to win the match) (North, 1990). The linkages between the three dimensions of the concept of capacity have been illustrated in Figure 2.1 below.

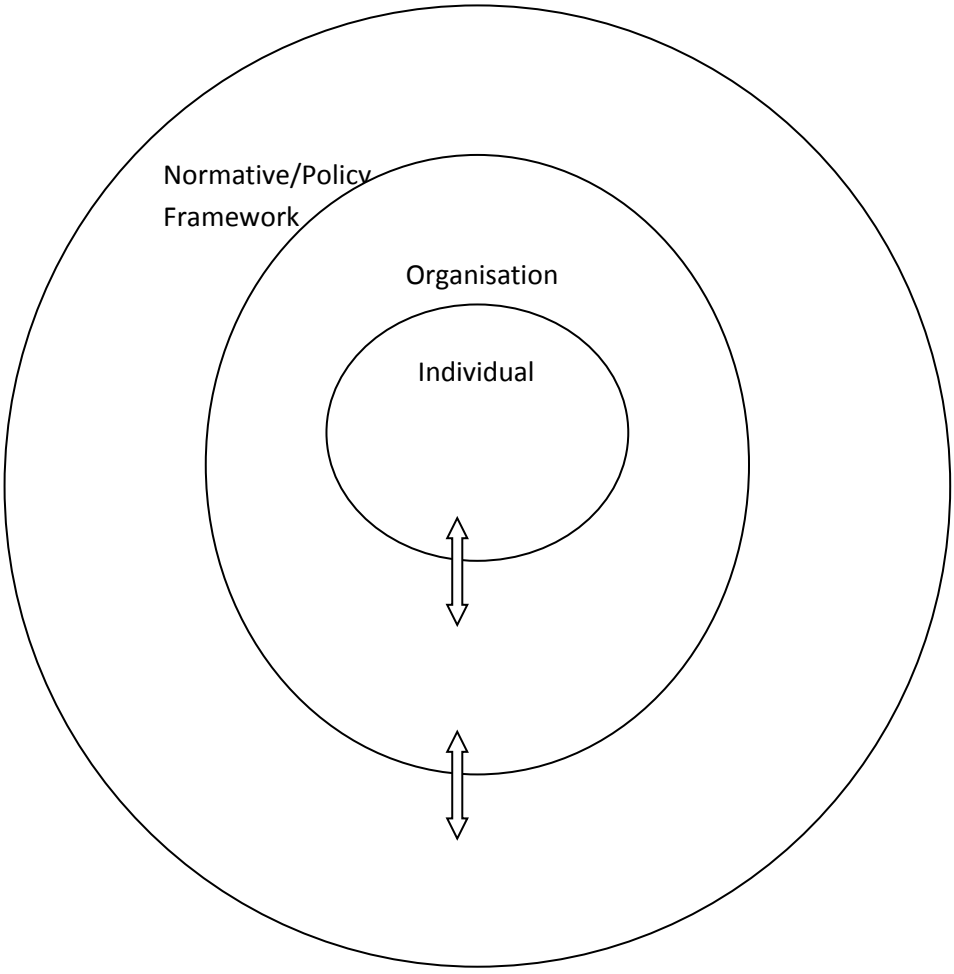


Figure 2.1: Capacity Development as an Interplay between Individuals, Organisations and Policy Frameworks

Comments

There are linkages and interdependence between the different levels of analysis. Individual capacities that are enhanced through learning will be carried out within a formal or informal organisation. The capacity of the organisation is not only contingent on the capacities of the individuals but on the way these resources are combined and used. Results may also depend on the "culture of the organisation" or the informal normative frameworks that exist within any organisation. Action undertaken by the organisation will

also be the result of incentives, information flows, management styles and an enabling policy environment. These policies may facilitate or restrict the organisation from doing what it set out to do. Individuals within the organisation may act as a result of education and training but they may also refrain from doing so for a number of other reasons related to their policy environment. What you actually do as a result of learning may also be a result of what you think you can do and what you are allowed to do. These few examples are mentioned in order to point out that this framework is only the beginning of an analysis. It has to be contextualised in each situation.

3. Learning, Education and Capacity Development

It is concluded in the FAO strategy that education and training are important pillars of the strategy. They are interlinked with the process of capacity development. In the DAC Good Practice Paper, it is concluded that learning is central to the process of capacity development. If and when individuals act as a result of their learning, this can be taken as an indication that they are using the capacity that they have acquired through learning. The links are not one and clear-cut. They will vary with the context. In this section, this kind of thinking will be applied to the learning process itself. Individuals learn. When this learning takes place in an organised way, this will be called education. This distinction refers to the individual and the organisational level of analysis above.

Three questions arise. They are the following:

- What is learning?
- How is learning organised?
- Which are the specific international and normative frameworks that pertain to learning and education?

Learning

There are many definitions of learning. This paper is based on an understanding of learning as the interplay between inner mental processes and contacts with the environment (Jarvis, 2007). According to Jarvis, there is often a disjuncture between what the individual carries with him or her and what he or she experiences in the environment. The more rapid the changes are, the more likely it is that a disjuncture arises. It is precisely at this disjuncture that learning takes place. The individual takes in this "new sensation," gives meaning to it and decides to comply with the environment or to change it. But this can only happen as individuals gain a sense of self and self-identity and can become "actors in the situation as well as recipients" (Jarvis, 2007, p.6). Understood in this way, it is almost a given that learning takes place throughout the life span of an individual.

Learning and Education

Education is a system aimed at the promotion of learning. In all countries today education consists of complex national systems with professional teachers, instructors, planners and managers. These organisations work in an equally complex policy environment which may or may not be conducive to individual learning. Not long ago, in the history of modern development, the bulk of all learning took place in the family and in the workplace. It was not organised to the same extent as modern systems of education are. Also today, a lot of learning takes place outside the organisation of a school or a university, perhaps increasingly so. This learning is usually less structured and well organised.

Learning and structured forms of training also take place in the myriad of other organisations that make up modern society. Learning is not their main mission but developing their capacity is unthinkable without deliberate education and training efforts aimed at learning within and outside the organisation. It has been argued by some observers that the definition of learning should be extended to organisations. In this understanding it is not only individuals within organisations who learn. There is a whole body of literature with roots in organisational theory, which argues that organisations should be treated as "learning organisations" (King & McGrath, 2004, Ohlson & Granberg, 2009). When organisations for learning are brought together into a coherent system, this will be called a system of life-long education. Some countries have made deliberate efforts to build such integrated systems of organised learning. The relationship between learning and education is illustrated below.

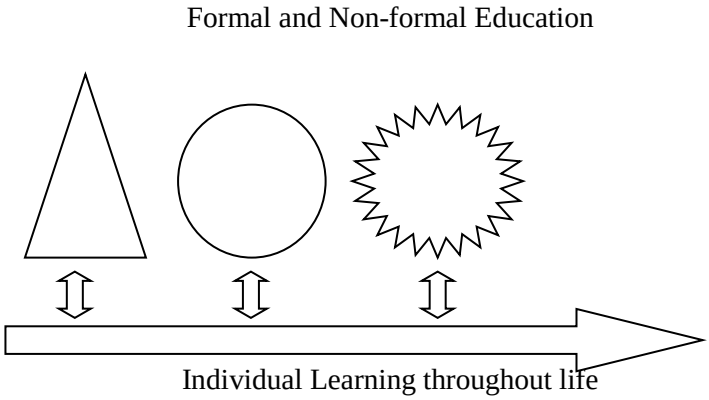


Figure 2.2: The Relationship between Learning and Education

Comments

The reality for rural people is far from this vision of life-long education. The more typical picture is that education for rural people is taking place within many different structures within and outside the state. Also, rural people learn outside these organised structures set up for the purpose of learning. It is important to recall what was observed by Coombs and Ahmed in 1974:

> *Non-formal education, contrary to impressions withstanding, does not constitute a distinct and separate education system, parallel to the formal education system. It is any organized, systematic educational activity, carried out outside the framework of the formal system, to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined, non-formal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programmes, adult literacy programmes, occupational skill training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes, and various community programs of instruction in health, nutrition, family planning, cooperatives, and the like* (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974).

International Policy Frameworks Pertaining to Learning and Education

The international rights framework pertaining to education is more far reaching than is commonly assumed. *"Everybody has the right to education,"* is a frequently quoted sentence from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Less well known, perhaps is that this paragraph continues by stating that:

Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. Education shall be directed to the full development of the personality (Tomasevski, 2003, p.41).

The most elaborate statements are to be found in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child. It includes:

- *The right of disabled children to education and special care. It should be provided free of charge when possible.*
- *The right of children to education, regardless of their sex, where they live or what language they speak.*
- *The right to education of refugees and populations affected by war, displacement and calamities.*
- *The right of working children to education.*

In this Convention, the right to education is linked to the principle of non-discrimination (SIDA, 2000). There is also an international agenda of action expressed in the Jomtien Declaration on Education for All and in the Dakar Framework of Action. The Jomtien Declaration of 1990 set the stage for international initiatives and was followed by six concrete goals and a framework for action ten years later at Dakar (World Conference on Education for All, 1990, and World Education Forum, 2000). The Jomtien Declaration concluded in 1990 that *"what is needed is an "expanded vision" that surpasses present resource levels, institutional structures, curricula and conventional delivery systems"* (World Conference on Education for All, 1990, p.4). Both are an attempt at crossing organisational borders: between formal and non-formal education, between levels of education and between knowledge areas.

What should be the purpose of learning? Individuals have a variety of reasons to learn. Two important international UNESCO reports have synthesised a very broad discussion of what should be the different purposes of learning when translated into organised forms of learning. One is the Report of the Faure Commission in 1972, which was followed by the Delor Commission Report in 1996 (Faure, 1972; Delor, 1996). According to the Delor Report, there ought to be four objectives: (1) learning to know, (2) learning to do and (3) learning to live together. Following the tradition of the Faure Commission, the fourth objective was formulated as (4) learning to be.

Where do Rural People Learn?

It was noted in the introduction that the relationships between learning and education have changed over time. Today, all countries seek to develop formal systems of education as a way to organise learning. It is also a fact that most organised learning takes place in hierarchical organisations, be they schools, universities or organisations for extension work. What can be described as typical from a national and international perspective may not be typical at all for rural people. Formal education may not be accessible, due to long distances to schools or high user fees. Rather, rural people continue to learn what they need to learn in other settings. The question that arises is if there are worldwide trends that will change the way organised learning is taking place among rural people?

Rural people walk in and out of organisations for learning during their life-span. Many never get in contact with a primary school, let alone a secondary school or a university. On the other hand, experience has shown that sending children to school is a very important part of the survival strategy of rural families. If these possibilities are not open and they want to improve their capacity through learning, they may do it in other settings. For example farmers have always had their networks and they have learnt from each other

and as observed in a study by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD): *"Most farmers learned more by looking over the fence and copying techniques from other farmers"* (than through extension or other organised forms of learning, my comment) (IFAD, 2005, p.4).

Indeed, it has been argued by some observers that the whole tradition of extension service as organised learning is undergoing change. For example, a recent literature review of experiences of agricultural extension in Africa observes that *"the building of farmers' management and problem solving capacity requires joint learning through practical field work"* (Duveskog, 2007, p. 6). This observation reflects past experiences of rural extension but it also reflects a changing reality for the farmers. The trend is towards diversification of activities and sources of income. In this new reality, farmers need to get together and organise themselves. It is not possible a priori to define what constitutes relevant technology. Management and problem solving capacities as well as skills directly related to agricultural production will be important (Duveskog, 2007). In the words of the FAO strategy for capacity development, farmers will need both functional and technical capacities (FAO, 2009 c). This example is but one of many that have changed the context of learning for poor people. One implication of this is that the balance between formal and non-formal education may shift for rural people with the emergence of an international networking society. Few if any studies have been found that could throw light on this question in an international and comparative perspective.

An Emerging Networking Society?

It is often said that modern societies are information and knowledge societies. In this analysis, information and knowledge are treated as assets which are more important for productivity increases than labour and capital.

Manuel Castells is one of the most well-known analysts referred to in this discussion. He has placed questions on knowledge and development in a broad perspective of worldwide trends in which information and modern information technologies play a crucial role not only for the economy but for social and political changes at large. Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are not only to be looked at as new tools that have facilitated the production of goods and services. According to Castells, the implications are much wider. The main reason is that the new ICT has made it possible to organise production processes in a less hierarchical way. This process started with the production of this new technology. This model of organisation has spread to other areas and become an integral part of globalisation. Castells has argued that the new information economy and the successful enterprises within it are marked by a networking organisation.

This means that vertical and hierarchical structures are replaced or supplemented by more decentralised and horizontal networks (Castells, 1996).

Therefore, the globalised world of today can best be characterised as an emerging networking society. From the point of view of learning and education, the implication could be that more and more learning takes place within horizontal networks. The use of ICTs is an integral part of these networks which are sometimes at odds with more established and vertical structures of education and training. They can also be seen to complement these. However there is also a risk that an emerging networking society will lead to new inequalities between rich and poor, between urban and rural people.

4. Food Security, Learning and Education

Some Features of the International Normative Framework

Access to adequate food for all was formulated in the International Convention of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1976. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, defined the right to adequate food as *"inherent in all people, to have regular, permanent and unrestricted access, either directly or by means of financial purchases, to quantitatively adequate and sufficient food corresponding to the cultural traditions of people to which the consumer belongs"* (FAO, 2010, p. 1). There are voluntary guidelines for its implementation which stem from 2005 (FAO, 2010). The current FAO definition of food security is: *"Food Security exists when all people, at all times, have physical social and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life"* (FAO, 2009, p. 8). This definition can be seen as a normative statement or a goal.

As mentioned above there are approximately one billion people in the world today for whom this objective is not a reality. The great majority, or 70%, are living in rural areas. According to the 2010 Rural Poverty Report this is partly due to poverty but also gender inequalities and the exposure to risks and shocks (IFAD, 2010). The FAO has and continues to put special emphasis on the capacity or capabilities of small farmers to produce food. On this point, the Director-General of FAO noted in his foreword to the Medium Term Plan of the FAO of 2009 that: *"The recent L'Aquila Joint Statement on Global Food Security signals a welcome and encouraging shift of policy in favour of helping the poor and hungry to produce their own food"* (FAO, 2009b, p. 1). It also notes that there is a *"new momentum after*

decades of neglect to re-invest in agriculture" (FAO, 2009b, p. 10). One of the conclusions is that *"FAO shall build capacity, particularly for rural institutions"* (FAO, 2009b, p. 15).

Comments

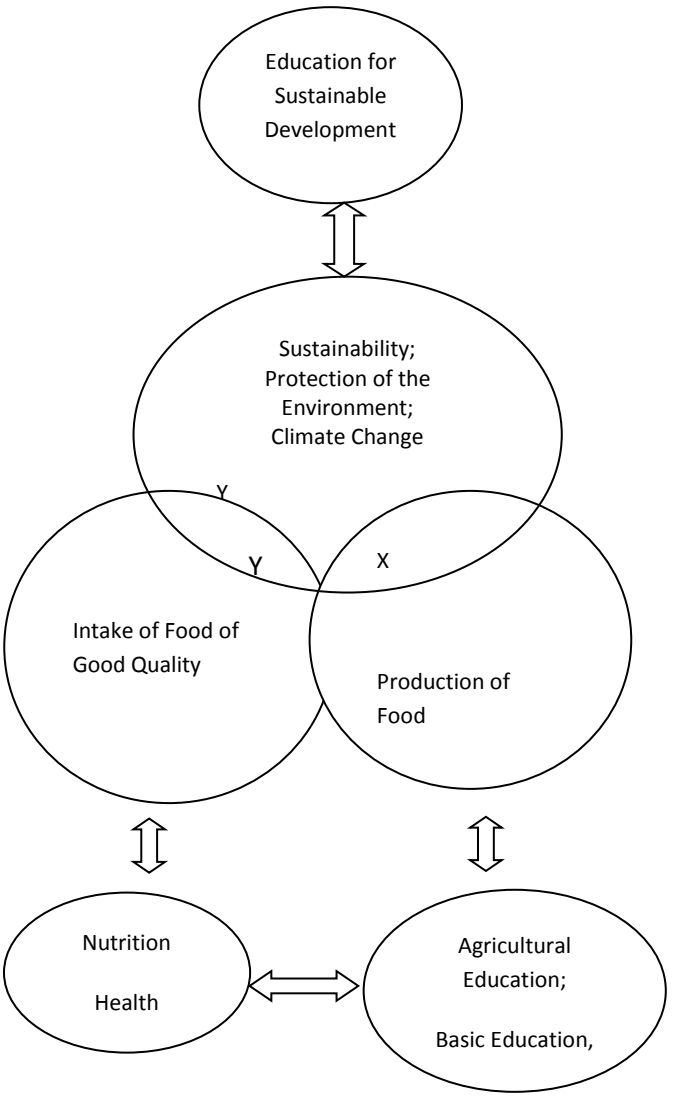
It can be seen from the above that the international discussion on food security has three dimensions. One has to do with production of food. The other has to do with access and intake of food of good quality on a sustained basis. The third dimension opens up a broad discussion on how the production process should be organised so as to ensure that production takes place and increases. This part of the discussion seems to follow three strands. One has to do with "geography," i.e. the physical conditions. A second puts emphasis on research, new technologies and innovations. A third centres on the importance of institutions and the crucial role of the state. Furthermore, production should be organised in such a way that the processes are sustainable and with due consideration to the environment. In recent years, there has been an emerging discussion about the implications of climate change.

Traditions of Educational Responses

There are content areas and traditions of education and training as organised learning that relate to the different dimensions of food security above. Issues related to agricultural production have been reflected in primary and secondary schools, universities and in extension work. The FAO has a long tradition of working in this area as well as functional literacy. In this tradition there has been a combination of all three traditions mentioned above. Agricultural production has been seen as the result of a number of technical inputs and to "geography" as summarised in the IFAD (2010) report. It has also related to the "institutional" dimension as defined above. This is to say that increases of agricultural production are more the result of stable institutions, cooperation and communication between farmers, the formation of organisations and networks among farmers than of anything else. This dimension comes out most clearly in adult literacy. The most well-known representative of this tradition is Paulo Freire who saw literacy as a way to liberate the mind of oppressed farmers. It was only when farmers had formed words and a language that reflected their lived reality that they could get out of their mental and "institutional" oppression. Without this liberation, no agricultural development would take place (Freire, 1970).

The FAO has also worked extensively for many years in the area of nutrition and health education. A fourth and emerging area has grown out of the concept of sustainability and protection of the environment. This area is usually referred to as Education for Sustainable Development (ESD).

Against this background, it is possible to illustrate the links between food security and education. This has been done in Figure 2:3 below.



X: Sustainable production
Y: Food security
Adapted from Swedish Government (2002)

Figure 2.3: Educational Responses to Different Dimensions of Food Security

5. Strengthening the Links between Food Security and Education

Learning and Capacity for Food Security

There is a vast body of research that illustrates a general connection between learning, education and actions related to the different dimensions of food security. The findings usually start with the individual learner. The effects are often assessed both from the individual and/or family perspective and as cumulative effects at the societal level. For example, an often cited literature review has studied the relationship between basic education and agricultural productivity in 13 developing countries. The 37 studies confirm this positive relationship and conclude that agricultural productivity is over 7 percent higher for farmers with four years of elementary education than for farmers without such education (Lookheed, Jamison & Lau, 1980 as quoted in Atchoarena & Gasperini, 2003). A study from Latin America in 1994 reached the same conclusion (cited in Atchoarena & Gasperini, 2003). A more recent cross country study commissioned by the ERP concludes that *"Education for rural people…is a key factor in fighting food insecurity in low-income countries... Indeed, of the factors we examined, our measure of rural primary education was by far the best predictor of rural food security"* (de Muro & Burchi, 2007, p. 37). It should be noted that this latter study takes a broader approach to food security than simply the increase of agricultural production. It also includes issues such as "processing and commercialisation."

Studies that have looked at knowledge and skills that are related to family life have generally found a strong relationship between learning and education on the one hand and improved nutrition, hygiene and health status of families on the other. The nutrition and health status of the learner is also strongly related to learning outcomes. The main actors in such programmes have been the women (Atchoarena & Gasperini, 2003). The report on the state of food insecurity in the world has the following to say about the relationship between nutrition (access to adequate food) and the ability to learn *"[t]hese effects (of malnutrition, my comment), are particularly worrisome because there exists a large body of literature that suggests that stunting is associated with cognitive skill and slower progress in school as a child, as well as reduced earnings as an adult"* (FAO, 2009a, p.26). The Global Monitoring Report on Education for All of 2010 says that *"[h]unger undermines cognitive development, causing irreversible losses in opportunities for learning. There are often long time lags between the advent of malnutrition and data on stunting"* (UNESCO, 2010, p. 24). This has led to the introduction of school feeding programmes in many countries. Education improves the nutritional status of families at the same as children and adults who have access to food of good quality learn better.

Many studies can be found in the area of adult literacy. They often include aspects that are related to individual identity and self-esteem and ability to make one's voice heard. The same can be said about programmes that aim to give poor people voice and improve their capacity to work together and to organise themselves. The 2006 Global Monitoring Report on Education for All was devoted to literacy as a human right and for its role in development. One of the important conclusions was:

While the benefits accruing from women´s formal education is well understood, less well known are those accruing from women's non-formal education; education contributes positively to women´s empowerment, in terms of self-esteem, economic independence and social emancipation. Many women who have benefited from adult basic and literacy education have spoken of feeling a sense of personal empowerment as a result (UNESCO, 2006, p. 31).

It was also found that a number of adult literacy programmes contributed very positively to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Comments

From the individual point of view, there are compelling arguments for the assumption in the beginning of this paper that learning is at the heart of capacity development at the individual level. If and when this learning is the result of national programmes of basic education, for children and adults, it can be argued that there is a strong relationship between learning and the capacity to act. However, the extent to which this relationship can be established depends on the context (UNESCO, 2006). Oxenham (2009) raised three important considerations. Firstly, that the process of personal change at individual level takes time and is often unpredictable. Second, that though literacy and numeracy make the process of change quicker it must still begin with minority groups before gradually spreading to the entire population. And lastly, that education and training can only be fully effective if supported by suitable social, political and infrastructural environments.

Linkages between International Normative Frameworks

It has been noted that there are important international rights frameworks pertaining to the right to education and the right to food. They are mutually reinforcing. There are also a number of international objectives, strategies and action plans that are relevant in this context. Some that pertain to food security have been mentioned above. The ERP also operates within the framework of the Jomtien Declaration on Education For All (EFA) and the Dakar Framework for Action (World Conference on Education for All, 1990

& World Education Forum, 2000). The EFA initiative that resulted in the Jomtien Declaration in 1990 and the Dakar Plan of Action in 2000, were also serious attempts to widen the traditional discourse on education and to place it in a context of lifelong learning. They are framed within a broad context of development which includes the different dimensions of food security though they do not refer specifically to food security.

Though there are many links between these different normative documents there are also tensions between the normative dimensions and the contribution of education and training to wider objectives related to food security. A strong belief in the right to education does not necessarily mean that learning will have these effects or that all education programmes will have an immediate impact on higher order objectives. However, one step towards capacity development for food security at the level of international normative and policy frameworks would be to identify links and try to build bridges between them *"the building of bridges across disciplinary boundaries is therefore necessary, to transcend boundaries amongst sectors"* (Tomasevski, 2003, p.1). If interpreted in the terms used for this paper, it is to say that the building of bridges at the normative level is a precondition for a closer connection between all those organisations that seek to link education and training to higher order objectives related to food security.

Linkages at the Organisational Level

Learning relevant to the improvement of food security takes place in many different settings, too many to be covered here. From the point of education as organised learning, these organisations are of two kinds. There are those whose main purpose is organised learning and there are those which have other mandates but put organised learning high on their agenda. This latter aspect is usually referred to learning within organisations. It applies to schools and universities, to ministries of agriculture and to Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs). It should be noted in this context that the FAO strategy on capacity development makes a distinction that has not been used in this paper so far. It distinguishes between "functional capacities" and "technical capacities". The first knowledge area includes learning related to planning, management and evaluation within an organisation. "Technical capacities" relate to learning within the organisation that is derived from the objectives of the organisation. For example, if the purpose of the organisation is rural extension, the technical capacities refer to the knowledge and skills that farmers need to increase agricultural production. It does not primarily refer to the capacities that are required to manage extension work (FAO, 2009c). FAO and UNESCO are the main organisations that have sought to establish and maintain linkages at the international level. There is fragmentation as well as alliances among

networks, in a complex web, typical of the international community of today. Improvements in the capacity of organisations related to education and food security is a question of identifying and strengthening linkages both within and between organisations. How this can be done can only be answered in a contextual analysis.

6. The Education for Rural People Initiative as a Bridge

It is against the broad context of this paper that the ERP should be seen. As mentioned above the ERP is a collaborative effort between FAO, UNESCO and the 363 partners who were members of the network by the beginning of 2010. It was officially launched during the WSSD in Johannesburg, South Africa in 2002. The ERP and WSSD partnership was launched at the request of and in collaboration with UNESCO through an intersectoral and interdisciplinary approach, to address issues which needed a combination of the comparative advantages of the two organisations. These areas included agriculture, biodiversity and education. The ERP is also one of the UNESCO flagships that were agreed as follow ups of the Dakar Framework of Action relating to EFA (World Education Forum, 2000). Some of the recommendations of the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) were retained in the Plan of Action of the World Food Summit that took place in Rome in 2004. The ERP network is an arena of research, policy dialogue and mutual learning. It is also an important "modern" network of mutual learning across disciplines.

The ERP can be seen as one of many international networks, typical of the modern knowledge society. In terms of capacity development, it has been a way to develop the capacity of the individuals who have participated in the network through mutual learning. In some cases it has also done so through different forms of organised learning. However, its mandate and ambition have been wider. It was set up to serve as a bridge between international normative and policy frameworks pertaining to food security and to education. It has been illustrated in this paper that there are many links that could be strengthened in various ways. The ERP has also been expected to bring FAO and UNESCO closer to each other, and it has been expected to stimulate contacts across borders within the FAO. It is at this organisational level that the problems of capacity development have arisen. As was described earlier the emerging networking society is very often at odds with traditional hierarchical organisations. This is true for schools and for other organisations. Manuel Castells has shown how the computer industry, through its emphasis on horizontal networks, came to challenge organisations in other areas of production. It is when the ERP is placed in this broad context that it is possible to see what its future challenges are.

7. Concluding Comments

This paper has identified linkages between learning, education and three dimensions of the concept of food security. It has used the concepts of capacity and capacity development as a lens. This means that the analysis has covered the issues dealt with in the paper from an individual, organisational and normative/policy perspective. Also, it has identified links that have existed for a long time between the three dimensions of food security and related knowledge areas and traditions of education and training. It can be concluded that there are compelling arguments for the assumption in the FAO policy on capacity development of a strong link between learning, education and capacity development at the individual level. When such learning and education is implemented in a national perspective, education is an important pillar of a wider strategy that aims at improving national capacities for food security. It has also been noted that there are strong linkages between international normative and policy frameworks. Human rights frameworks reinforce each other and so do international action plans in the fields of food security and education.

Rural people are far away from this international context but do come into contact with different settings in which organised learning does take place. Adult literacy programmes and/or extension work may be their main contact with organised learning. Sending children to school is part of the survival strategy of many rural households. Farmers also learn from each other "over the fence". In this perspective, there is every reason to think in terms of life-long education when it comes to organised forms of learning in support of broader strategies aimed at poverty reduction and food security. Such a system would include both formal and non-formal education.

The problems are mainly at the organisational level. All the different forms of organised learning that are relevant and important for the improvement of food security are partly found at primary and secondary schools. They can also be found in literacy programmes, at universities and in extension work. There are NGOs working in the knowledge areas associated with food security. At the international level there is a division of responsibility between many organisations working in organised learning e.g. FAO and UNESCO. There is also an emerging networking society which offers important opportunities for learning. The organisational problems however are eternal and endemic. There is no easy answer. This paper does not pretend to provide an answer. However, by using the capacity lens, it becomes even clearer that the improvements of capacity through education and training are strongly related to changes at the organisational level as this is where the main problem lies. The problems are not primarily at the normative/policy level. Nor do they have to do with rural people. They improve their capacity through learning whenever they can.

This paper has also identified some worldwide trends that may change the way that the linkages between education and food security are understood. Starting with the perspective of rural people, their coping strategies are marked by the diversification of their sources of income and the means by which this income is generated. One reason is that diversification is a way to mitigate risk but also to seize the opportunities that may arise. Diversification is also driven by increasing contacts and exchanges between rural and urban areas.

It has been argued in some of the material referred to above that this will encourage a more flexible and open-ended view of learning. The same can be said about education and training as organised learning. There will be a need to identify and strengthen linkages between formal and non-formal education. There will also be an increasing need for functional and technical capacities. It can be concluded that rural people see investments in education as part of a diversified strategy if they can afford it. There is no study in this paper that compares the importance of investing in education with other management strategies.

A related question has to do with the world economy as an emerging and global knowledge society. The emergence of a worldwide knowledge society is closely linked to modern ICTs. If this kind of analysis is used, it will impact on the linkages between learning, education and food security. The results can be seen among rural people today in their use of mobile phones but the implications for the understanding of these new trends are much wider. One question is how the emerging society will enhance the possibilities for rural people to access information and to learn. Will there be a shift of emphasis between formal, non-formal and informal education? Will more learning take place in non-formal and informal settings than before? If this is the case, then governments will have to review how education and training is organised.

At the normative level there is a strong connection between the ideas of emerging knowledge societies and the need for flexible and yet integrated systems of life-long education. The knowledge society will need individuals who are creative and ready to learn and adjust to changing conditions and opportunities that arise. At the same time there is a risk that new inequalities are created as a result of this process. There are linkages at the normative level (the enabling policy framework) and there are serious questions about learning within all these organisations that exist. They may have learning as their main objective as have schools and universities.

The analysis above has also underscored that these are different in character from other organised learning activities. The real challenge is not only to

work across organisational borders, but to identify the emergence of new settings in which relevant learning is taking place.

By way of conclusion, it would be fitting to repeat what the late Rapporteur for the right to education, Katarina Tomasevski concluded on the need for an integrated analysis: *"The building of bridges across disciplinary boundaries is therefore necessary, to transcend boundaries amongst sectors"* (Tomasevski, 2003, p. 1). It is hoped that this paper will be a contribution towards such an integrated analysis.

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PART THREE

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SWEDISH AID TO EDUCATION

Introduction

Principles of Swedish Aid have been relatively consistent over the decades: focus on poverty alleviation, human rights, justice and equality, and strengthening national capacity and ownership. The UN conventions and other international agreements such as the Dakar Framework for Action and Education for All movement, the Millennium Development Goals and the Paris Declaration, have provided an important normative vision for Sida´s work, and Swedish aid to education has evolved over time in terms of its structures and modalities.

Ingemar was during several decades in the forefront of the debates on aid modalities and approaches in development cooperation. His grasp of the realities on the ground, combined with strong analytical skills, made him push for new frontiers in this broad area. Ingemar, as a member of and later Head of SIDA/Sida's Education Division, played a key role in ensuring a Swedish voice in the development of new aid modalities for cooperation in education, and the application of new principles in Sida's education programmes. This section contains four challenging contributions produced during the last three decades each of which contributes to our understanding of Swedish aid to education in a historical perspective. The papers provide an analysis of the policies and the strategies, formulated by SIDA/Sida, that have guided Swedish aid to education.

Recent policy shift suggests Sida´s further engagement in poverty reduction strategy approaches, harmonization/alignment and a more holistic and multi-dimensional approach to aid intervention. These policy directions reflect well Ingemar's personal and professional convictions regarding aid to education: a people-centered approach responding to the varied needs of poor people as well as policy emphasis on education as a means of fighting poverty, and in particular rural poverty. Ingemar was also masterly in capturing on paper the complex tensions that exist at multiple levels in international development cooperation in education.

The first paper, *Sector Support Agreements – the Swedish Experience*, was written in 1981 together with Lars Bellander, and examines the change process from traditional project support to more broad-based and flexible sector support in the field of education. Ingemar had recent field experience

from his time in the late 1970´s as a Planning Officer in the Ministry of Education in Botswana, the country with which the first sector agreement in the field of education was signed in 1974. Very early on, Ingemar realised the difficulties the planners experienced when donors insisted on financing their own projects, not always part of the Government´s plans, or when donors were not willing to commit financing for more than one year at a time. Ingemar and likeminded colleagues at SIDA pushed for more flexible procedures within the framework of sector support agreements.

The second paper, *The State, the Market and Educational Assistance – the Experience of SIDA,* from 1994, reflects the emerging realities of the 1990´s with the introduction of "market solutions" to educational problems: this after several difficult years of structural adjustment with negative effects on Government capacity on the recipient side. Ingemar discusses in the paper how the future composition and forms of educational assistance would be conditioned by countries' definitions of not only the role of the State, but also of the market and civil society. An analytical openness and early understanding of an emerging change process characterize the paper. The conclusion is that individual initiatives can supplement the State´s efforts and that new intermediate forms will arise, with the State assuming a supportive and controlling role. The signal is: "greater openness to new forms", for example through SIDA contributions to funds whereby the State subsidizes non-state initiatives.

The third paper, *Swedish aid to education in a historical perspective,* was written in 2010. The paper is an analysis of the policies and the strategies of change that have guided Swedish aid to education since the early 1970s. Ingemar asked two main questions in this paper: what are the perceptions about education and development that have guided Swedish aid to education? What are the strategies of change that have served as underpinnings for the implementation of these policies? He looked in particular at education development cooperation in a context of globalization, and specifically at a Swedish policy document from 2001 entitled *Education for All: A human right and basic need.* The paper also looks at aid as an initiator of innovation, drawing on examples from Kenya, Namibia and Cambodia. Other themes included aid as afinancial gap filler, and the role of research cooperation.

The fourth paper, also from 2010, on *Education in the new architecture of aid*, was first published in *Education and Development in the Context of Globalization* (Editors Daun and Strömquist, 2011) and is reproduced here by kind permission of the publishers, Nova Science Publishers, Inc. Ingemar analyses how development discourse, policies and theories have changed since the 1980s from a donor–receiver perspective to partnership and harmonisation of action, and from one-sided responsibility to

alignment and mutual accountability. Ingemar shows how the new agenda set by the 1995 Paris Declaration on aid effectiveness from the mid-1990s has profoundly changed the way that donors and partner countries think about the aid relationship and how this in turn has changed the way that development cooperation is designed and implemented. To "test" the outcomes of this shift, Ingemar utilizes Cambodia as a case study, and gives a brief history of the country and analyses the country's experiences after the shift in the donor-partner countries dialogue.

CHAPTER SIX

SECTOR SUPPORT AGREEMENTS – THE SWEDISH EXPERIENCE

This is a discussion paper. Its purpose is to highlight some of the issues discussed within SIDA in connection with sector support agreements. It does not pretend to provide a comprehensive description or evaluation of all activities financed under such agreements.

By Lars Bellander and Ingemar Gustafsson,1981

1. The Background

Decision-making procedures within donor agencies are not neutral in relation to development efforts and the planning processes in countries which receive assistance. This observation is not new, of course, but forms part of the background to the issues raised in this paper.

Most countries which receive Swedish bilateral assistance produce long term Development Plans. They are the end product of the internal planning process and they provide guidelines for development, usually by sector. As a rule they include a set of projects to be implemented during the plan period. The plan document forms the basis of the discussion with donors. The characteristics of a project usually are that it has a beginning and an end which is related to the plan period, that it can be costed in detail in advance and that it will be located in one or a few places. There are also projects such as literacy programmes, rural water supply and primary school construction which reach beyond the plan period, which cannot be costed in detail in advance and which are widely spread geographically.

2. The Problem

Donors traditionally prefer projects which are limited in scope and time and which can be costed in some detail before being approved. The decision making procedures within donor agencies are built on this notion of a project and so is the image of foreign aid among the general public in the donor countries. This tends to make life difficult for the planners in the developing countries whose task it is to design suitable

projects for on the one hand the development plan and on the other for negotiations with donors. Their expectation of donor requirements tends to encourage a piecemeal approach to development. It may also reinforce traditional barriers between ministries. Planners have no doubt also experienced difficulties in securing external finance for highly scattered projects such as literacy projects, or projects built on self- help, the exact location and costs of which cannot be anticipated or planned.

3. The SIDA Response

The response within SIDA to these problems was to look for more flexible procedures as far as the use of Swedish funds was concerned. Sector support agreements were introduced in the early 1970's as opposed to more conventional project agreements. No attempt will be made at this stage to define the two terms. The introduction of these agreements should also be seen in light of some general trends of Swedish Development Assistance at the time. These are dealt with briefly below.

First, country programming had been introduced into Swedish aid in the late 1960's. This made it possible for Ministries of Finance or similar bodies to dispose of Swedish funds according to priorities of the country concerned but also to make reallocations between sectors after a programme of cooperation had been concluded. To ministries responsible for implementation of projects this did not make much of a difference however, as long as all their projects were tied up with very specific project agreements which gave detailed instructions for the use of the funds. More flexible project agreements were a necessary supplement to the implementation of country programming principles.

Secondly, Swedish aid in the early 1970's placed more emphasis on basic needs for food, health and education. For example, aid in the field of education was oriented towards programmes such as primary school construction and adult education including literacy. Partly this reflected a change of priorities in some of the countries which receive Swedish assistance, partly it reflected a change of attitude towards education within SIDA. The new programmes did not meet criteria of conventional projects. They were widely spread geographically, they were long term and they could not be costed in detail in advance. This called for new and more flexible procedures which provided for a regular revision of plans and budgets.

Thirdly, the Swedish Assistance Programme was growing rapidly in the beginning of the 1970's. SIDA did not have the staff to participate as actively as before in planning and implementation of individual projects.

SIDA had to take on a more supervisory role confining its involvement to planning and evaluation, leaving the implementation to the country concerned. There was also a common feeling that SIDA-labeled projects administered from Stockholm should be avoided.

As from the late 1960's the network of SIDA offices in the recipient countries was strengthened. Initially these offices were mainly in charge of the administration of Swedish experts and volunteers. Gradually they took over the responsibility within SIDA for planning and follow-up of projects supported by SIDA. As we shall see later in this paper the implementation of sector agreements had not been possible without a high degree of decentralization within SIDA.

4. Sector Agreements

The first sector agreement was signed with Botswana in the field of education. It was very open and did not confine the use of Swedish funds to specific projects. The agreement stipulates that resources will be provided *"as support to the development efforts of the Botswana Government within the field of education as set out in the development plan for 1973-78"* (Article I). However, *"the Swedish contribution shall be used for such programmes within the sector as shall have been annually agreed upon between SIDA and the Ministry"* (of Finance and Development Planning).

It was assumed that there would be annual consultations based on *"an annual report on activities financed by Swedish contributions"* (Article III.2). The Botswana Government also undertook to *"inform SIDA of all changes of the Government policy with regard to education that may influence this Agreement"* (Article III.5). Hence, the Government of Botswana had the possibility of replacing existing projects by others provided that these were given priority by both parties. This could take place in connection with the annual consultations. Also, it was possible to reallocate funds between projects according to their rate of implementation.

In a few cases Botswana has used the flexibility built into the agreement to propose new projects and to make re-allocations. For example, unspent funds within the primary school construction programme could be transferred to some training activities without additional administrative work on the part of SIDA and the Botswana authorities. As a rule however, the programme has been very stable, Botswana has spent the Swedish funds on a limited number of big and long term programmes notably primary school construction.

The original agreement was later renewed, but flexibility of the agreement has been maintained. It has been felt that this form of cooperation is the best way of meeting the needs of a rapidly growing and changing education sector in Botswana. It was the intention that this agreement with Botswana in the field of education should be used as a model for sector agreements in other fields. This has not been the case. After some time SIDA had a variety of sector agreements in terms of the conditions expressed for the use of the funds. There were differences according to sector, type of activity and involvement of the Ministries concerned.

Hence in some cases the agreements were very open and unspecified as in the case of Botswana. In other cases they comprised of packages of projects on which funds were to be spent on clearly defined activities only. It must be emphasized that one standard type of sector agreement does not exist. There are many different types.

Against this background it has been difficult to present a precise definition of a cooperation on sector agreement basis. SIDA has adopted the following definition:

A sector support is ideally based on a plan (sometimes though, not elaborated) for the long term development within a certain sector or subsector in a country. In most cases the cooperation contains several activities, often diversified from a geographical or functional point of view. All elements of the support are included before all activities have been defined. Within the frame of the agreement different activities can be replaced and reallocations can be made.

5. Some Facts

By the end of the Swedish financial year 1979/80 there were 35 programmes in ten countries that have been classified as sector support programmes. (The number of sector support agreements was for technical reasons slightly higher). The total disbursements up to 31st July 1980 under all sectoral agreements still in force at that date was about 1 034 million Swedish kronor (US$ 229 million). This should be compared with the total disbursement of Swedish funds under all agreements still in force at that same date which amounted to about Swedish kronor 2 750 million. Hence, roughly 38 per cent of all on-going programmes in ten countries consisted of sector support agreements. The proportion for the financial year 1979/80 was lower, or about 28 per cent.

If other countries which receive Swedish bilateral assistance are included, the proportion will be smaller. However, with the exception of Vietnam all the main recipients of bilateral assistance are included in the group of ten referred to above. Almost without exception sector agreements are used for programmes aimed at rural development in a wide sense, including rural water supply, primary health care, agriculture and basic education.

A summary by sector is given in the table below.

Table One: Sector Support Agreements in force – Total disbursement of funds by sector up to 30 June 1980 (Million Swedish Kronor, round figures)

Sector	MSkr	Percent of total
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	340	33
Small industry, water supply, electricity	360	35
Health	148	14
Education	186	18
TOTAL	1 034	100

Source: SIDA's annual financial report.

(A more detailed list of projects by sector and country was included in an annex in the original paper but is omitted from this version. Editor's note)

6. The implications flexibility – the recipient side

The planning process in the recipient countries did not change radically as a result of one donor (SIDA)introducing a new type of agreement. The task of the planner was still to produce conventional projects. He probably found it easier to secure Swedish funds for projects such as rural water supply, literacy programmes and primary school construction. Also in many cases it became possible to cover some recurrent costs. For example the agreement providing support for the literacy programme in Tanzania made no distinction between capital and recurrent costs. SIDA supported the programme as such and did not confine its contribution to certain activities or types of inputs.

The new agreement, however, also included projects such as buildings for a new secondary school or other institutions. In practice such projects

in no way differed from the "old" projects as far as SIDA involvement was concerned. The main difference was that a detailed agreement or mutually agreed Plan of Operation no longer existed.

This resulted in a somewhat confusing conversation with the implementing Ministry concerned about the implication of the new agreements and the difference between project agreements as opposed to sector agreements. With a traditional project agreement funds were earmarked for specific purposes in accordance with a Plan of Operation. The implementing Ministry knew that financial resources from SIDA were available during the period of agreement. The implementing Ministries asked for guarantees from SIDA that funds would be made available. If the new agreements were sometimes confusing to the implementing Ministry concerned they obviously opened up new possibilities to reallocate funds according to the rate of implementation. Some agreements also made provision for new projects to be included after the overall sector agreements had been signed.

Fears were sometimes expressed within SIDA that this would lead to discontinuity and drastic reallocations particularly in countries with a limited capacity to implement projects. In practice this has not been the case. It seems reasonable to assume that this reflects a need for long term commitments on the part of the recipient country. In some cases the recipient might also have been doubtful about the degree of flexibility provided for under the new agreement. Internal budgetary procedures in the recipient countries may also have prevented drastic reallocations between projects. Finally, the annual consultations and in some cases day-to-day contacts have contributed to the continuity.

7. The implications of flexibility – the donor perspective

The new sector agreements posed new questions to the Ministries which received Swedish aid but they also confronted SIDA with a number of new problems as we shall see.

First, procedures for preparation of project documents had to be revised. Project identification and project plan documents were replaced by sector studies which focused more on trends and bottlenecks within the sector than on details of projects. The studies usually included recommendations on the direction of Swedish aid indicating some of the projects that were envisaged for Swedish funding. Some of these projects had been going on for a long time already in the country, some were at a planning stage and some existed in the form of a sketch only.

The decision makers at SIDA rightly asked themselves what they were supposed to agree on. Had they simply agreed to trust that the development of the sector was on the right track, or had they approved some specific projects? Had they left implementation entirely in the hands of the recipient country? What was the purpose of annual consultations if an agreement had already been reached? What kind of feed-back would be provided in case of inclusion of new projects after the signing of the agreement?

These questions have still only got partial answers. It is generally accepted that sector agreements should be preceded by a thorough study of the sector. It is also generally accepted that funds can be provided for projects which are in various stages of development at the time of inclusion under a sector agreement. New projects which substantially change the direction of the programme and which are included later have to be taken back to SIDA for approval. Big projects should usually be supplemented by specific project documents. This has not always been the case. If flexibility is to be maintained it presupposes mutual trust and good working relations between the two parties involved. Perhaps that is the most important lesson to be learnt from the preparation of sector agreements.

Secondly, matters pertaining to the implementation of sector agreements had to be discussed. It has been stressed repeatedly in this paper that the new agreements were based on the assumption that the country concerned was responsible for implementation. It was understood, however, that this should not exclude SIDA involvement upon request, for example in the form of technical assistance or provision of other services. It was even argued within SIDA that sector support agreements would allow for donor involvement only when there was a genuine need for it and exclude unnecessary questions because of some (irrelevant) donor procedures.

The argument was that, since a decision had already been taken to support the development within the sector, donor views would be judged on their own merits. No longer would they be looked upon as potential conditions for the use of Swedish funds. Such views were all in line with the country programming philosophy.

Whether this has been perceived in the same way on the recipient side is another matter. Whatever the reasons, we find that SIDA is increasingly involved in all stages of sector support programmes including implementation. The degree of involvement in the implementation varies between countries, sectors and type of projects. It seems reasonable to assume that the strength of the planning machinery and the character of

the project are more decisive factors than the type of agreement used. Hence, if one of the original assumptions has not proved right, the agreements have broadened the outlook on both sides and given new and interesting openings of cooperation which if anything require more imagination and professional ability than traditional project agreements.

Thirdly, there is the question of follow-up. This issue is still under discussion. The procedural answer has been so called sector reviews. These are undertaken annually by SIDA staff from the Headquarters in Stockholm together with staff from the SIDA office in the country concerned. In some cases they are assisted by consultants. Increasingly the teams include staff from the Ministries concerned and are undertaken as joint exercises.

The problem has been and still is what they should concentrate on. According to the agreement they should analyse overall development of the sector, goals and priorities since that is what is being supported. In one sense the agreements have built in a regular revision of the sector analysis that formed the basis of the agreement originally. Also reviews should include a close look at the particular activities on which Swedish funds have been spent during the year. New projects and reallocations of funds should also be discussed. The agreements stipulate that some kind of overall analysis of the sector should be made available by the Ministry, prior to the review. In practice this part of the reporting system has not worked as was originally intended.

Reports, if produced at all, tend to deal with specific projects, whereas the overall analysis is brief or non-existent. Also the reviews as such focus more on the day-to-day problems than on policy issues. But again practices vary. Since very few, if any Ministries (in developing and industrialized countries), have a built in systematic evaluation of its activities it was perhaps not to be expected that overall reports on the development of the sector would be produced. This demand is also difficult to respond to as long as the criteria for the follow-up have not been defined. In most cases they have not been clearly expressed.

The role of the local SIDA office is therefore becoming increasingly important. It has to provide much of the SIDA oriented feedback that the agreements require. SIDA is in the process of developing guidelines for this but there is a need for more thinking in this field.

8. Concluding Remarks

Sector agreements, varied as they are, have no doubt facilitated the cooperation between SIDA and responsible bodies in the recipient countries, particularly rural development programmes. However, to be effective, the agreements have to be seen in the context of the whole planning and implementation process of the country as well as that of the donor agency.

It is the experience of SIDA that three main conditions must be fulfilled to make this type of cooperation feasible.

First, the development efforts of the country have to be based on long-term planning – either explicit in a document or clear in some other form. The backbone of a development cooperation based on sector agreements is a close and continuous dialogue. Without any official planning documentation there is no basis for meaningful discussions about a cooperation within the sector concerned.

The second and third cornerstones of the cooperation are related to the professional and administrative capacity of the partners of the dialogue. As indicated earlier in this paper, the role of the local SIDA offices has become increasingly important. Most of the responsibility for planning and follow-up of the cooperation programmes as far as SIDA is concerned has been transferred from Stockholm to the recipient country. SIDA has sometimes had problems to staff the offices with qualified and experienced personnel and this appears to be a serious bottleneck in the SIDA machinery. The administrative capacity of the recipient country is also an important factor. The country must have qualified staff able to articulate the needs within the sector concerned. There has to be functioning administration to implement and follow-up activities and programmes agreed upon.

If these basic requirements have not been met, cooperation on a sector agreement basis might develop in a negative way. There has sometimes been a tendency to exaggerate flexibility as a means to solving a whole range of problems of development cooperation. It should be noted that flexibility as such does not necessarily solve any problems.

As we can see above sector agreements also have had some unexpected implications for the decision-making procedures. This type of cooperation also makes it difficult to identify how Swedish funds have been spent. The information to the Swedish taxpayers may suffer as a result of this. Sector agreements make it more difficult to convey what SIDA is really

doing and what has been achieved. For example "Support to the Development of the Education Sector in Kenya" is a much more abstract and vague concept than is "A Teacher Training College to train science teachers in Nairobi". It requires much more background and analysis to be made meaningful to those who cannot devote most of their time to Swedish foreign aid. This is one important reason for SIDA to try to improve its methods of follow-up of sector agreements.

In relation to the recipient country the new type of agreements raises a fundamental issue related to the "ethics" of foreign aid. Whether it should be looked upon as a problem or not depends on the point of reference of the observer. The issue is briefly this. Planning and follow-up of projects tend in practice to focus on matters of detail, matters which by both parties are considered to be of a technical rather than of a political nature. It follows that such problems can be solved by experts. Sector support agreements emphasize the aims and objects of the sector as a whole and their relation to other sectors. In other words, they look at priorities which make political considerations unavoidable. If this is what the dialogue should be about, sector agreements represent an improvement, if not they have become a problem on both sides.

If not handled with care they can easily be used as an excuse for more interference and control, and flexibility may create uncertainty instead of stability. Sector support agreements should be seen in the context of the overall relations between two partners. They represent a technique, some would say innovation, which in itself will not improve working relations or guarantee successful projects.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE STATE, THE MARKET AND EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE

THE EXPERIENCE OF SIDA (1994)

Formal education has been the responsibility of the State since independence in countries receiving Swedish assistance. Over the last years, these countries have gone through a process of transformation, which has affected their economic and political system. The role of the State has been questioned and in many cases redefined. This has led to increased interest in market solutions among governments and in aid agencies like the World Bank.

This paper discusses this process in the field of education from the point of view of a donor agency, SIDA, which since the early 1970s has been supporting educational reform work in countries in Africa, Asia and, during the last two years, also in Latin America. How have these changes affected the relationship between SIDA and the countries concerned and what is SIDA's attitude to market solutions to educational problems?

1. The educational crisis redefined

The discussion about the changing role of the State and the quest for market solutions to educational problems should be seen against the crisis situation that many of the poorest countries are facing. It is well known that there are more children in school now than ever before. It is also true that considerable and steady progress has been made in many countries since independence, also among those which have been facing economic problems. From a financial point of view, education systems have always been in a crisis. Available resources have never been sufficient to meet increasing demands for education from growing numbers of school children.

This upward enrolment trend has now been broken in many poor countries, particularly in Africa, whilst it has continued in other more successful economies. With declining enrolment ratios and shrinking quality, these poor countries are now facing a different type of crisis. Parents who have sent their children to government schools begin to lose faith in the State as the sole provider of education. This also implies that they are losing faith in those politicians who had made education for all

one of their most important objectives ever since independence. It has been suggested that solutions to the crisis ought to be found outside the public sector. Not least has this been argued by some donor agencies such as the World Bank. Before looking at SIDA's response to such solutions, it is important to discuss the role of the State in the field of education, generally.

The three traditional roles of the State

It should be noted then, that all governments in countries receiving Swedish assistance to education consider education a prerequisite for economic and social development. All countries also aspire to provide universal access to primary education. Hence, it is recognized that educational planning is part of a social process in the public domain, in which the State plays a decisive role. To limit the analysis of educational change as a process of interaction between individual sellers and buyers on a market is irrelevant both from a conceptual and a political point of view. This is not to say that the expectations of individual students and parents are unimportant for educational planning. On the contrary, there are several examples when students' attitudes and expectations have influenced the content of the curriculum. One of the most frequent ones is the attempt to vocationalise the curriculum which students and parents have persistently resisted. The point here is, however, that such reactions are best understood as part of a social and political process in which the State is the most important actor.

Generally speaking the State has had three main tasks in relation to education.

The first is the institutional or normative role. This means that the State has provided the legal framework that it has set the standard through national curricula and examinations, and that is has ensured quality control through a system of school inspectors.

The second is the role as funder of the education system. Since independence, formal education has been financed over the State budget.

The third role of the State could be called the organizational role. This means that the State has been responsible for the organization of education. Many countries nationalized the education system after independence which i.a. implied that churches and other social organizations in effect reduced their education programmes. Education became part of the organizational structure of the State.

The international debate about alternatives to a state dominated education system as described above has in some cases questioned the role of the State as a matter of principle. It has been argued that private alternatives should be created to give students and parents a choice between alternative types of education.

It has also been argued that a State system of education is untenable given existing financial and other constraints. This has to be changed for reasons of efficiency. For example, the World Bank's analyses of basic, vocational and higher education contain proposals on how revenues can be increased if the market is given greater scope. It is proposed that this be done through fees (primary school), through industry taking over more (vocational training) and through universities receiving greater autonomy and thus opportunities for additional income. All these solutions are referred to as diversification of revenue sources. The justification is mainly financial, but also organizational and ideological. It has been argued that it is necessary for reasons of efficiency that education be organized and financed in a different way. It is implied, however, that this will also give the individual 'consumer' more influence and more freedom to choose between alternative routes to education.

The framework of action adopted at the Jomtien Conference talks about the need for new partnerships between the State, companies and private organizations. This debate reflects a new and reduced role for the State and an increased role for the market and/or for different social formations in civic society. The important question for the future is not so much the fact that the State will assume a different role but which of the three roles mentioned above, i.e. the institutional or normative, the financial, and the organizational role, should be changed. This is a question where ideological and efficiency considerations are mixed. It is often difficult to separate the one from the other.

2. Consequences for SIDA

The future composition and forms of educational assistance will be conditioned by countries' definition of the role of the State, the market and civil society. SIDA assumes that the State will continue to play a central normative and financial role in education. It is more of an open question how far educational institutions should be part of public administration.

As indicated above, SIDA understands educational change as part of a social and political process in which the State has an important normative role to play. This attitude coincides with that of the governments with whom SIDA cooperates. Experience also shows that

the potential for private financing is very limited at least if equity objectives should be maintained. First, resources are very limited in the poorest countries, and secondly, disparities tend to increase.

When it comes to organization it is important to remember that basic education has been the responsibility of religious organizations in many parts of the world. Folk high schools in the Nordic countries arose as part of various popular movements, at a later stage received government grants for their activities. It is more of an open question therefore whether basic education has to be part of public administration, i.e. the State as an organization. With this as the starting point, SIDA is preparing to adjust its forms of assistance to conditions in different countries. The new models of educational assistance that are being tried are discussed below.

Two existing models of assistance

From this starting point, aid has hitherto been based on two models. One of these has been adapted to investments in primary education, and has primarily consisted of financial support. This has been based on the assumption that basic education is the responsibility of the public sector, i.e. that it is the central government or local authorities that build schools, train teachers, issue and distribute school books, etc.

The other model has been used in establishing institutions for teacher training and vocational training. Here, too, state institutions have been involved. SIDA has recruited Swedish staff and financed the institutions in the initial phase. Subsequently, support has been gradually decreased until the country, i.e. the State, has assumed responsibility for expenses and appointed local staff in all positions. The teacher training college in Nairobi and the vocational courses at the Moshi school in Tanzania are examples of such inputs.

When the interplay between the State and market changes, the educational system is also affected, especially in the organizational area. Aid has been adapted to this. Educational materials are a clear example. In such countries as Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia, it has been the State's task to produce and distribute teaching materials. A change is now forthcoming whereby the State will formulate syllabuses while publishing companies and printing works are privatized. SIDA is supporting this process, partly by strengthening domestic publishing companies and partly by making grants to the state for use in subsidizing the textbooks purchased on behalf of local authorities or schools. This is one way of enabling poor children to gain access to school books and, at the same time, encouraging a private book market. The social objective remains the

same - teaching materials for everybody - but the organizational form is now different.

The future configuration of educational aid will also be governed by the development policy pursued by the recipient countries. The idea underlying structural adjustment is that third-world countries must boost their competitiveness in the areas where they enjoy comparative advantages. An export-oriented economic strategy tends to raise demands so that education becomes internationally competitive. The demands imposed by the industrialized world are the yardsticks used. This strategy will probably require increased state inputs, both financial and normative.

Another tendency in many countries is to emphasize the social and cultural role of education. According to this viewpoint, it should concentrate on conveying the knowledge and skills required to enable people to survive. The syllabus should thus emphasize agriculture, handicrafts and local culture. This viewpoint is frequently based on a development strategy that stresses self-reliance and the development of the local community. The role of the State remains important, but the roles of local bodies and individual organizations are expanding.

From this perspective, there are several conceivable alternatives. When various religious and ethnic interests become stronger and the State is weakened, it may result in responsibility for primary education being transferred to Local Government bodies, but the State continuing to provide financial and professional support. Another solution may be for the State to revert to subsidizing non-state initiatives. These may be local authorities, churches, industrial concerns or other organizations wishing to conduct educational activities. Churches and other organizations can supplement but not supersede the State. On the other hand, it is probable that new types of cooperation, or partnerships, will be created. The State should retain a normative and governing role. One of the tasks of aid should be to enable the State to fulfill this role.

The potential for companies to take over vocational training is a highly controversial issue. Here, it may to a larger extent be a matter of dividing responsibility between the State and industry. A model of this kind is to be introduced in Tanzania.

Summing up, the conclusion is that individual initiatives can supplement the State's efforts but not replace them. On the other hand, intermediate forms will undoubtedly arise from now on, with the State assuming a supportive and controlling role for individual initiatives. Subsidy systems will presumably be created.

New forms of assistance

Where assistance is concerned, this means greater openness to new forms. The following are three examples that SIDA wishes to try out in the future:

- Target-related financial sector support to the State directly. In cooperation with other donors, SIDA will assist in a reform process. Underlying it, there will be a plan that enjoys political support, and on which the donors agree. The purpose of aid is to cover a financial gap over a number of years. Such support must go hand in hand with institutional support to reinforce the institutional framework of central and local government, including the budget, accounting and auditing.

- Strategic inputs designed to reach poor social groups or areas. These can be given as parts of state-implemented programmes or directly in cooperation with individual organizations. Mixed forms are also conceivable, as in Bangladesh where the State channels Swedish aid to non-governmental organizations.

- Contributions to funds whereby the State subsidizes non-state initiatives pursuant to certain criteria. Such inputs will probably not favour those with the least resources, but they may be a way of supporting diversity or innovation, or of adjusting aid to different regions.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SWEDISH AID TO EDUCATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE (2010)

This paper was written for the International Symposium on Global Education Development & Cooperation, Seoul University, Seoul, 28 October 2010, by Ingemar Gustafsson, Guest Researcher, Institute of International Education, Department of Education, Stockholm University.

The paper is an analysis of the policies and the strategies of change that have guided Swedish aid to education since the early 1970s. Which are the perceptions about education and development that have guided Swedish aid to education? Which are the strategies of change that have served as underpinnings for the implementation of these policies. These are the two main questions in the paper.

1. Background

Swedish aid to education dates back to the beginning State financed aid in the late 1950s. This paper looks at policies for aid to education and of modalities of aid from the early 1970s as formulated by the main body that has been responsible for the implementation of these policies. This body was called the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA between 1965 and 1995. After 1995 it has been known as the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida. The new Sida of 1995 was a merger of five Swedish bodies responsible for the implementation of Swedish aid policies at the time. The focus of this paper is on the education sector as it has been defined in the main guiding policy documents.

Education aid has co-existed with a range of programmes and projects in the field of research. The paper would not give a fair picture of education, training and research in Swedish aid without some references to a parallel programme of research cooperation that emerged in the early 1970s. There have been some contacts and coordination between them. By and large however, the research programme has been implemented under other policies and in other parts of SIDA/Sida than the main unit responsible for education. Hence, the two programmes will be treated as separate in this paper. The focus is on aid to education with a few references to the research programme towards the end.

The paper will briefly mention a few illustrative examples of aid to education. The ambition has not been to provide detailed case studies. Also, a list of projects from the late 1950s up to today would be very long. It should be pointed out that the lessons learnt has been summarized in numerous reports, too many to be mentioned here. There is a rich material consisting of evaluations and other studies. The main ones have been published in two generations of Education Division Documents. The first is entitled SIDA, Education Division Documents and the second series is entitled Sida, New Education Division Documents (SIDA & Sida, 1975 onwards).

2. What the policies on education say

Sida and its predecessor SIDA have produced a number of policy documents on Aid to Education, since 1972. They have been revised regularly to reflect changing realities and changing perceptions within SIDA/Sida of the role of aid in wider processes of educational change. Some seek to establish general relationships between education and development. It should be important to dwell at some length on the first comprehensive analysis and education policy of SIDA. It appeared in 1972 and is based on an extensive review of educational issues worldwide. It was the first comprehensive policy document, it represented a partial break with the past and it laid the foundation for subsequent policies up to today.

These policies have not been written in a vacuum. There are changes in them which reflect a more general discourse on education and development, general trends of Swedish Development Cooperation and lessons learnt from Swedish aid to Education. It has not been the ambition to capture all the explicit and implicit links that exist between these policies and other policy areas. Some references will be made to these wider and changing perceptions of aid and development when deemed appropriate.

The first comprehensive policy document

Education and health had been seen as the main pillars of development and of aid when the first State financed aid programme took shape in the late 1950s. There was a focus on vocational training and on individual scholarships for studies at Swedish universities in these early years (Swedish Government, 1962). Education and health have remained on the agenda of Swedish aid ever since. The international agendas on aid and development have been widened step by step and so have the analytical perspectives of the causes of underdevelopment and of poverty. Today, education is one of many priority areas.

The first policy on education should be seen against the background of a long tradition of support to vocational training in Swedish aid starting in the 1950s. A background document from the Education Division to the Management of SIDA in 1971 echoes a strong conviction of the need to strengthen the relationship between education and work through continued support to vocational training. This document also expresses concern over the inefficiency of formal schooling. The solutions were seen to be in support to the media, correspondence education and other approaches to adult learning rather than in support to the formal system of education (SIDA, 1971).

The new policy of 1972 implies a shift of perspective in some important ways. It puts emphasis on the interplay between educational change and societal change. The analysis goes beyond the issues of the relationship between education, training and the world of work. A main conclusion is that improvements of education will only happen when other favourable conditions exist in society at large. The policy rests on the assumption that agriculture will continue to be the base for the livelihoods of the great majority of people in poor countries. The problems with the formal systems of education are seen to be that they are dominated by a western perspective and that they are geared towards the needs of the modern sector. As a result, they have been planned from the top i.e. according to the needs of an elite and of the tertiary level rather than from "the bottom" i.e. the needs of the great majority poor people living in predominantly rural areas. The policy seeks to apply a "bottom up" perspective on education and on educational planning (SIDA, 1972).

The priority areas of Swedish aid as given in the document should be seen in this light. According to this policy document, first priority should be given to non-formal education for adults, primary education for children, vocational life-skills and agricultural education. Second priority should be given to secondary education. Tertiary education is given third (and a very low, my comment) priority.

When this has been said, it is also made clear that education should be seen as a system in which all parts are interlinked. A system wide approach is essential when it comes to the analysis of the interplay between education and development. Such a perspective is also critical when it comes to educational planning. The document also expresses concern that poor countries will not be able to finance rapidly expanding, formal systems of education for all. There is a need to look into alternative modes of delivery.

Report from the Education Division in 1984.

This report is one in a series of internal reports from the Education Division during the 1980s. The report of 1984 is typical of the early 1980s. It is not a policy document, but it reflects the concerns within SIDA at the time about the consequences on education of the economic crisis that had hit poor countries at the time. It notes that partner countries would like the donors to take more responsibility for recurrent costs i.e. for teachers' salaries (SIDA, 1984). The report should be seen against the background of the world financial crisis of the 1980s which led to a questioning of the central role of the State in development. It also led to a wave of privatisation, absence of teachers in schools and private tutoring in countries like Tanzania. This country had been one of the main Swedish partners of cooperation in the field of education since the early 1970s. In contrast to the increasing needs for financial aid to education, the report notes a shrinking share of Swedish aid to education. Instead, the training components in other projects and sectors had increased (ibid).

Education Development Cooperation in a Context of Globalisation

A new policy of 1995 repeats some of the earlier messages, but there are also some important changes of the overall perspective. It is written against a background of increasing globalization and interdependence between countries. The document also stresses the need to understand the context and the fact that each education reform is unique. Education is multifaceted and good effects can be expected only "where other favourable conditions exist" (Sida, 1995, p.1). Educational change should be understood in the light of increasing interdependence, economic problems, political changes and a changing, (read the diminishing) role, of the State in education. It emphasises that education is a human right **and** that it has important effects on poverty reduction. The priority areas are now modified somewhat in light of the analysis.

It is concluded that first priority should be given to "Education Reform". This is to be understood as systemic and system wide efforts at reforming the education system. Second priority is given to Basic Education. Third priority is given to "Education beyond the Basic Level" (ibid, p. 12).

For the first time, there is a discussion about the importance of support to Further and Higher Education. It is argued that support to Higher Education is necessary for Basic Education. It is also important for "Institutional" and for "Technological Development." Further

guidelines are envisaged (ibid, p.12). The case is also made for targeting education aid for the poor. Self-help approaches should be given priority (ibid, p.16).

Education for All: A human right and basic need.

This is the title of a new policy document which appeared in 2001. (Sida, 2001). It repeats many of the earlier themes. It puts emphasis on education as a human right.

It is important to take a holistic view of the sector. Therefore *"Life-long-learning is required to develop the necessary competence"* (ibid, p.12). It looks at education as a public good which should be financed by the State. It is concluded that *"non-government sources can supplement but not replace the state financing of education"* (ibid, p.24). The contextual part is more preoccupied with issues like cultural identity, the importance of learning to learn, a perspective on learning as a life-long process and the importance of the new Information and Communication Technologies than the policy of 1995.

In terms of aid, it represents a break with the past in one important way. For the first time, there is a clear reference to the need to work with other donors and to have a Sector Wide Approach to Aid. This part of the policy points towards the international process that would result in the Paris Declaration in 2005. (DAC, 2005). The list of priority areas is longer and more elaborate than in previous documents. At the same time, a system wide approach is essential. This is the main point.

"Sida's main approach to enhancing the EFA goals adopted in Dakar, is to support the implementation of partner countries own sector wide education policies and development plans, in a way that is adapted to each country-specific context" (ibid, p.25). Again, it is stressed that: *"there is no universal solution to the problems facing the education sector"* (ibid. p.25).

Some of the other priorities are clearly linked to system wide reforms, including *"the transformation of conventional top-down approaches into participatory rights-based, learner friendly and gender sensitive approaches to teaching and learning."* (ibid, p. 25). The case is also made for targeting, including the *"special needs of children with disabilities"...."enhancing literacy for all children"* (ibid, p.26).

It is concluded that: *"The priority to basic education, especially for disadvantaged groups means that lowest levels of the system need most of the available national resources"* (ibid, p.27) . . ."Otherwise,

children or other learners from the poorest families will continue to leave school without having learnt the basic literacy, numeracy and other life skills" (ibid, p.27).

A new policy for "Knowledge and Health" is in the making in 2010. It is too early to say what the change of terminology, from "Education" to "Knowledge" and the link to the health sector will imply. It is likely that the shift of terminology also reflects a shift of perspective but this is too early to say.

Comments

This rather elaborate presentation of the main documents that have guided Swedish aid to education tell something about the perceptions about education and societal change that have guided them.

The first observation is that there has been an ongoing policy process within Sida since the beginning of the 1970s. Educational issues have been analysed and the role of Swedish aid has been reviewed.

A second observation is that there are some recurring thoughts and priorities in these documents but there are also shifts. The need to think about education and educational change as an inter-play with broader political, economic and social changes remains as a recurring theme as from 1972. It follows from this perspective that the effects of education reforms and of aid are as much the result of changes outside the education system as of changes within it. It also follows that there cannot be one solution for all times and all situations. This can be understood as a strong sign of caution against the idea that there is a "best practice" of education reform which is independent of the wider political, economic and social context.

A third observation is that that there has been a strong call for a holistic view of the education system. It is a system and has to be treated as such, in analyses and action.

A fourth observation is that there is strong concern in the policy documents of the fact that existing education systems in countries of cooperation are elitist and "top-down." The reasons for this state of affairs are not discussed. It is strongly suggested that planning should start from the needs of poor people rather than from the need for highly qualified professionals or researchers. The imbalances between basic education and the higher levels in favour of the latter should be redressed.

A fifth observation is that the documents reflect changing trends in an increasingly globalized world. The first policy in 1972 sees education mainly in the context of a predominantly rural and fairly self-contained rural society. In 1995, the policy is placed in a context of increasing globalization. In 2001, there is a strong call not only for a Sector Wide Approach to change but also for cooperation with other donors.

There is concern throughout about the capacity that poor countries have to plan, implement and finance their formal systems of education. This is recurring theme that can be found even in documents preceding the first comprehensive policy in 1972.

Finally, a recurring theme has been that education should serve the needs of poor people and they are to be found mainly in the rural areas. Agriculture will continue to be the base for the livelihoods of the great majority of the people. Also on this point there has been a shift of perspective between 1972 and 1995. The latter policy also discusses the situation for the urban poor. It observes that a distinction should be made between rural poor and urban poor. These groups live under different conditions and have different needs when it comes to education and training.

The shifts of perspective in the analyses are reflected in the suggested action. They come out as shifts of the priority given to sub-sectors and target groups. This being said, it can be noted that there has been a strong emphasis on basic education as from 1972. A gradual shift can be noted when it comes to other sub-sectors. There is even a call in the policy document from 1995 for a policy on higher education, but this has not materialised. More elaborate thoughts on the importance of higher education can be found in the field of Swedish research cooperation (Cf. section 5 below).

According to the policy documents, system-wide reforms have to be balanced by aid targeted towards the poorest. There are obvious tensions in such a policy between a sector wide and systemic view and the focus on basic education and the poorest in society. The nature of these tensions will come out more clearly, when the policies have been translated into action. The basic question has been to define the role of Swedish aid to education as a vehicle for wider processes of educational change. The role of aid as a vehicle for change has also been discussed in some of the documents above but it is not problematised. The next section is a way to identify linkages that have existed between general policies and the role of aid as a vehicle for change. In many cases these linkages have not been clearly spelled out in the documents and/or have been expressed in another

way. What follows below is an interpretation which is based on more general assumptions about the role of aid in a national process of development. These have guided Swedish aid from the start but the emphasis has shifted over time.

3. Aid to education as a vehicle for change

Implementation of Swedish aid to education has not only been guided by the policies given above. It has also been guided by some explicit or sometimes implicit assumptions about the role of aid as a vehicle for change. It is suggested here that these assumptions can be captured in four approaches to change. In practice they have been overlapping but it is suggested that they can be treated as four discrete categories for the sake of the analysis.

One assumption has been that educational change takes place through innovations. The main role of Swedish aid to education should be to spearhead such innovations.

A second assumption has been that change is the result of system wide national reforms. This assumption is echoed in the policy documents. If this is the case, change is mainly the result of a national political process which includes the capacity to plan, implement and evaluate such efforts. In such a perspective of change it is the role of Swedish aid to build up and strengthen national capacity for planning and implementation of national policies. Sweden may also participate in a policy dialogue to ensure that the "right" policies are being implemented.

A third strategy of change rests on the idea of targeting of Swedish funds. This may follow as a consequence of emphasis on the poor and disadvantaged in the policies above. It is not a given, however, that targeting of Swedish aid should be the response to wider issues of the relationship between national education reforms and wider societal objectives such as poverty reduction and/or the democratisation of society. When targeting has been chosen as the main strategy of change, the assumption has been that national reforms have neglected the poor and disadvantaged. It is the role of Swedish aid to compensate for this neglect either by providing additional and targeted funds for the poor and/or to seek to redress national priorities in favour of the disadvantaged.

A fourth underlying theme has been the concern that countries of cooperation will be unable to meet the needs for financing of the formal system of education. Ever since Phillip Coombs wrote his first book on the World Educational Crisis, donor agencies, including Swedish SIDA/Sida,

have been concerned that the formal system will be too costly for the national economies (Coombs, 1969). His analysis was, very briefly that formal education systems all over the world were ill fit to meet the needs of development. Poor countries were marked by rapid population growth coupled with an ever increasing demand for education. The needs would exceed the rate of economic growth. Since teachers are indispensable for the learning process they have to be well paid. This will increase costs beyond what countries can afford. Unlike other production processes, education cannot replace manpower i.e. teachers with new technologies in order to reduce the unit costs of production (i.e. to educate one student). Hence there is an inbuilt structural problem which needs to be addressed when the education systems are expanding at a faster rate than the national economy.

Pending long term solutions, one obvious conclusion for Sida has been that aid also has a role to play in bridging the financial gap in national budgets of education. It is not sufficient to finance innovations if they cannot be sustained when aid has ceased. Whether financing of national systems of education should be the main role of Swedish aid to education has been an issue throughout as can be seen from the policy documents.

On the basis of the above, it is possible to make a simple matrix, which will help to illustrate the balance and tensions between different approaches to change which are reflected in policies and actions throughout. For the support to innovations and to the strengthening of national systems of education, it has been considered important to draw on Swedish and/or international experience. Hence it has been assumed that there will be an element of professional inputs from outside. When financing of education has been identified as the main issue, this has been less important. Provision of professional expertise has also been important when the main objective has been to strengthen the capacity of existing systems and structures related to education and training.

The question of targeting of funds versus more general financial support has its own problematic and history. It applies to all aid but also to aid to education. This discussion will be left aside in this context.

With this as a background, the four approaches to educational change through Swedish aid to education have been summarised below.

These four different approaches to change are interlinked. In reality they appear as discrete categories only in exceptional cases. Aid to education in practice has usually been a combination of these four approaches.

Innovations that have been financed out of aid may require direct financial support later on etc. Sequencing of events is a very important issue in all such discussions.

Sida's Contribution	Professional support to national capacity	Financial
Purpose	Innovations	Earmarking of funds for disadvantaged groups
Purpose	Improvement of existing systems for planning, implementation and evaluation	Non-earmarked funds in order to bridge financial gaps (budget support)

Figure 1: Four approaches to change in Swedish aid to Education

A recurring question, particularly when it comes to innovations, is how changes can be sustained when aid has ceased. Also, there is an implicit question of conditionality involved in all financial aid. Financial aid is in most cases linked to some conditions relating to change of national policies, improvements of national capacity or national targeting of disadvantaged groups.

Professional support for the improvement of the capacity of existing systems has usually rather been the result of a dialogue and process of mutual learning. This can also be said about innovations. It should also be noted that aid aimed at the strengthening of existing systems of education usually implies change. Sometimes these changes have been small and long term. It has been a question of doing what Ministries of Education are already doing, but in a more efficient way. In other cases it has been a question of support to more profound changes as in education reforms aimed at decentralisation of the education system. In practice there has been a variety of options depending on the context. The bottom line when it comes to improvements of existing systems has been that they have had to build on what exists. This is in contrast to innovations which are meant to introduce something new in practice be it of teaching practices, management of schools or of a new and different curriculum. Separate structures have been set up in order to create space for the innovations and

to protect them from the inertia of existing systems. As a result, innovations have for the most part been organized and financed as separate from existing structures.

Aid as innovations

Education aid in practice has been geared towards innovations from the start. When new vocational schools were built up in the late 1950s and the 1960s, the purpose was not only to widen access to education and training. There was always an element of change and improvement of what existed. New curricula, new teaching material and instructors from Sweden were expected to carry the new messages and to ensure a better link between education and work (SIDA, 1971). The question was not **if** but **how** these changes should come about and be sustained. Tanzania and Zambia belonged to a wider group of countries in which vocational schools were built up with professional and financial support from Sweden (Lauglo, 1990; Eklöf et al, 1983).

A few examples from mainstream primary and secondary education may also be mentioned. The Kenya Science Teachers College, KSTC, was built up as a collaborative effort between the Kenyan Government, Uppsala University and SIDA during the period 1965 to 1978. It had a dual purpose. One purpose was to help to meet the need for new science teachers in a reformed national system of education. This system was expanding fast after Kenya's independence in 1963. The other main purpose was to break with what was conceived as the pedagogical traditions of the colonial past. The KSTC would train a new type of science teachers who were conversant with "modern" approaches to teaching. Such teaching was marked by interaction between students and teachers and by a strong link between theory and practice. This was demonstrated in the workshops but also by introducing a "practical" subject called Industrial Arts alongside the science subjects (Vinterbäck et al, 1999).

A more recent example comes from Namibia. This country gained its independence in 1990. A new system for up-grading and retraining of teachers had been planned by the liberation movement South West Africa People's Organisation, SWAPO, before independence. It was developed in the refugee camps of Angola under the guidance of a Swedish lecturer from Umeå University. This resulted *i.a.* in a programme of cooperation with this university. It trained a group of Namibian lecturers, meant to be the base for a new teacher-training programme in independent Namibia. This also happened and the process has been documented (Zeichner et al, 1999).

A third and more recent example comes from Cambodia. This is a collaborative effort between the Royal Government of Cambodia, UNICEF and Sida. It builds on UNICEF's concept of "Child Friendly Schools." It has been built up step by step in six out of 24 provinces since 2001. It has

been financed jointly by UNICEF and Sida. During the period 2003-2005 it had expanded fast in six out of 24 provinces in Cambodia. The first steps had been taken towards integration of this programme into the national reform effort. The issue of "scaling up" was a matter of discussion and concern in Review Mission Reports and Sida's internal decision-making process led to an extension of the cooperation up to 2010 (Sida Advisory Team, 2005; Sida, 2005).

This programme is a good example of an innovative approach to teaching which has been tried out on a small scale and in six provinces. The ultimate goal has been to integrate this approach into the ongoing national reform process. The challenge for the Government has been to find ways and means to do so. The challenge for the two external agencies has been to integrate this innovative programme with its separate budget and steering mechanisms into a wider so called Sector Wide Approach to Education in Cambodia. A critical question for all the parties has been how national capacity could be developed to make a national reform possible based on the experiences from this innovation (Gustafsson, 2007).

Capacity development as an overriding objective

The innovative projects mentioned above may also be described as a way to strengthen national capacity. For as long as they have been integrated into a national system of education, they have also been a way to strengthen national capacity. The KSTC can be seen as a way to strengthen national capacity for the training of teachers. Likewise, the teacher-training programme in Namibia has been a way to strengthen the capacity of the education system generally.

With hindsight, the issue of capacity and capacity development is more complex. It is true that the concept of capacity dates back to the very idea of aid. It has sometimes been expressed to be to help people to help themselves. At the operational level, this concept spans over the whole spectrum of the different modalities of aid. It is not good enough to say that the ultimate aim of Swedish aid to education has been to help people to help themselves. This is true in a general sense but would not helpful in an analysis of different approaches to educational change. The concept has to be made more specific.

It can be noted then, that the concept of capacity has been given many meanings over time. For a long time, it was associated with training of staff. If used in this way, it would be fair to say that the innovations mentioned above had important components of capacity development in the form of staff training. It was important to train Kenyan lectures to take

over from the Swedish lecturers at the KSTC. The same applies to the in-service training programme in Namibia. In this case, future Namibian lecturers were trained at Umeå University. It was important in both cases that the lecturers had internalised the pedagogical principles on which the two programmes were based. The question of staff training is a recurring theme in all vocational training programmes. Capacity was understood at the time to be a question of training of national counterpart staff. It was subordinate to the broader question of educational change through innovations.

In the case of Cambodia, the question of capacity looks partly different. It has been a matter of building the capacity in all parts of the Ministry of Education in Cambodia to plan and implement an education policy based on the principles of Child Friendly Schools. The concept of capacity here was more related to the ability that the Ministry of Education would have to integrate the experiences of an innovation into a national reform process. This had implications for all parts of the Ministry, including the national capacity to finance such a policy.

These broader capacity issues have given rise to a debate about the concept of capacity in the broader context of aid. In 2005, this resulted in a DAC Good Practice Paper in which the concept of capacity was understood to have three dimensions:

- The first was training of people as above. This was called capacity at the individual level. This would correspond to the training of Kenyan lectures to take over from the Swedes at KSTC.
- The second dimension has to do with the capacity of organisations. Understood in this sense, the KSTC would be looked upon as an organisation. Its way of working, including its management, would be part of a discussion about capacity.
- The third dimension seeks to capture all the formal and informal frameworks that are important for human interaction. They may facilitate human interaction or they may constrain it.

In the latter sense, there was a lively discussion at the KSTC about the need to change national science curricula to fit "modern" principles of science teaching as practiced at the KSTC. Existing curricula were seen by the management and the lecturers at the College as frameworks that prevented the introduction of the principles of science teaching at the KSTC (DAC, 2005a).

The problem with an analysis of Swedish aid to education in terms of capacity is that all the issues mentioned above were discussed and addressed at the time but they were not formulated within a coherent framework or shared understanding of the concept of capacity. The overriding theme was change through innovations rather than capacity development as the concept is understood today. This being said, the current concept can be used to capture another dimension of Swedish aid to education which stands out as different from the introduction of innovations, including training of national staff through aid. The focus in such capacity development efforts has been to take the existing structures as the starting point.

Many projects over the years have had a focus on strengthening of the capacity of existing systems. This has manifested itself in support to the capacity for educational planning, improvement of national education statistics, decentralisation of decision-making, more involvement of parents at the local level or a more efficient system for textbook production and distribution. For example, SIDA supported the Tanzanian system for textbook production and distribution over a ten-year period in the 1980s and the 1990s. This support entailed a thorough structural change which changed the interplay between the State and the market and between individual schools and the national authorities. As a result, the Swedish inputs changed from provision of paper towards professional expertise for restructuring of the system for book production and distribution (Gustafsson, 2010).

As can be seen from the above, the difference between an innovation and a change of the existing system is not easy and clear cut. The main distinction to be made is that an innovation has its own structure and budget. Capacity development as defined in the matrix above starts from existing structures and aims at improving them.

Aid to education as a way to change priorities and to close a financial gap

It has been illustrated above that the increasing costs of formal education and the need for financing have been of concern in all policy documents since the early 1970s. It has been implied in all these analyses that aid has a role to play to bridge short to medium term financial gaps. Historically, there have been two approaches:

The first and oldest tradition says that funds for education should be targeted towards those groups that receive the least through the national system. These are usually the underprivileged. Over the years they have been defined as women and girls generally, people in the rural areas, illiterate adults, students with special needs etc. The implication in all

these cases has been that funds are provided with some restrictions. They would be given on condition that they benefit a certain group or geographical area.

The other principle has been that funds for education should be given within the framework of an existing national policy for education but without restrictions. This was implied in the systemic approach to reform in the policy of 1972 and it is emphasised in the policy of 2001. The difference between the two policies is that the early policy of 1972 makes no reference to other donors. In the policy of 2001 it is very important that untied funds are coordinated with other donors.

It has been indicated above that these two approaches to financing rest on a number of assumptions about the particular role of aid in national processes for change. One such assumption is that it is the role of aid to redress national priorities. When funds are tied or earmarked, the assumption has been that it is the role of aid either to compensate for shortcomings in the national policy and/or to use the leverage of financial support to make Governments change their priorities in the longer term. The idea of untied financial support is built on assumptions such as the following: The main problem is not the national policy but the shortage of funds to implement it. It is the role of aid to close financial gaps in the short to medium term.

Another assumption has been that funds should be used as efficiently as possible. This will only happen if the National Government which has the best overview of the total needs of the sector, is allowed to use and reallocate funds as needs arise.

A third assumption has been that the role of aid is to strengthen national capacity and ownership. This objective will be undermined if the use of Swedish aid is restricted. If financial aid to education is understood in this way, it can also be seen as a way to strengthen national capacity, or as a minimum, not to undermine it.

In practice, a programme of cooperation with a specific government is a mixture and balancing of all these considerations. This can be illustrated with reference to a report on Swedish aid to education that was published by Sida three years ago (Sida, 2007).

4. Swedish aid to education in practice

The report is based on an analysis of the situation in 2006. It is a snapshot but it points at some important shifts since the 1970s. These have more to do with changing strategies of change than with changes at the policy

level. It can be noted that direct bilateral aid was given to 16 countries of which 9 were in Africa, 5 in Asia and 2 in Central and Latin America. In addition there was support to a number of global and regional initiatives and networks.

Total aid to education defined in this way constituted 6 per cent of total bilateral aid. This proportion represents an average percentage over the last eight years (ibid, p. 11). It can be noted that this proportion is only marginally different from what it was in the 1980s (Sida, 1984, p. 22). In absolute numbers, there had been an increase in total disbursements over the period 1999 to 2006, or from SEK 665 million to SEK 926 million. Since total bilateral Swedish aid had increased during the same period, the proportion given as aid to education has not increased in any significant way. In 2006, the global and regional part constituted close to 17 per cent of total aid to education. A major share of the international component was given to the Fast Track Initiative, FTI or SEK 100 million. This is a new international financing mechanism that was initiated by the World Bank in 2002.

If the Swedish aid to education in 2006 is filtered through the four categories of approaches to change in Figure One above an interesting pattern emerges. There is a clear focus on support to national plans and programmes. The contributions are given as financial aid which goes into the national budget together with other donors. In some cases, donor funds are kept separate in a "pooling arrangement." The distinction between budget support and pooled funding need not be of concern in this paper. The important point is that this focus is given for 10 countries. Hence, it has been assumed that the role of Swedish aid to education should be to support national plans and programmes through direct financial support. At the same time there is strong focus on disadvantaged groups. These include girls, children with special needs, illiterate adults and working children in urban areas. Hence, there is an attempt at targeting of Swedish funds for the poor and disadvantaged. This may take place through an additional support to national Non-Governmental Organisations, NGOs, or to an international organization, primarily UNICEF.

Poor national capacity is identified as an obstacle in most countries but it is addressed directly in only 5 out of 16 countries. The need for innovations is pointed out in 4 out of 16 countries. Two of these innovations include promotion of the concept of Child Friendly Schools in cooperation with UNICEF. Overall there has been a shift compared with the 1970s. Change through innovations and in cooperation with Swedish institutions has been given less priority in comparison with transfer of financial aid in support of national plans and programmes. The

innovations that are listed in the report from 2006 are either part of these plans for renewal of the education system and/or they are carried out with a national NGO or an international organization such as UNICEF. By and large, a structural and long term change seems to have taken place over the last 10-15 years in that the creation of innovations with strong professional Swedish inputs has been reduced drastically.

Poor national capacity is identified as a general problem but there are few concrete examples of concrete approaches through which these can be addressed. Rather the issue of capacity development is addressed in the global programme. This includes a longstanding cooperation with UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning, IIEP, aimed to improve the national capacity of educational planning. The main mission of the IIEP is to train national planners.

The creation of the Fast Track Initiative in 2002 represents a new international financing mechanism in the field of education. It has become a vehicle for financial support to national plans also for Sweden. Spending of these funds at the country level is surrounded by different restrictions. The discussion about the future role of this financing mechanism is ongoing and will be left aside. The important point to make here is that from the point of Sida's approaches to educational change, it would fall under the category of general financial aid in support of the two Millennium Development Goals that refer to education. These are related to the improvement of the completion rate of primary education for all children and promotion of gender parity.

5. Research Cooperation

So far, this paper has covered aid to education as defined in the policy documents relating to education and training. The picture of Swedish aid to education would be incomplete without reference to a long-standing tradition of research cooperation. It dates back to the early 1970s. As from 1975 it has been carried out by the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries, (SAREC). Between 1979 and 1995 it was a totally separate programme with its own Board, budget and organization. In 1995 it became part of the new Sida: it became a new and autonomous Department for Research Cooperation but retained its name

SAREC. Its history and programme would merit a separate paper (Utrikesdepartementet, 1985; Sida, 2006; Deiaco et al, 2006).

A short section is included here only to illustrate that the Swedish aid policies on education, training and research have included both a bottom up perspective on educational planning and a top down perspective.

It should be recalled then that the new policy on education of 1972 had a main point to make. It argued that the overriding problem of educational systems in countries of cooperation was that they were planned according to the needs of the next level of education. Hence, they were hierarchical, selective and elitist. This should be changed. Planning should start with the needs of the majority of poor people. They were expected to live from agriculture and in predominantly rural areas. As a result, less priority was given to higher education. It can also be seen from the section above that there has been a clear focus not only on basic education but also on targeting the poor. This being said, it was also argued in the policy of 1972 that there is a need to understand education as a system in which the different parts are interlinked. The policy of 1995 made a call for a policy related to higher education. This policy was never formulated. The entry points to a discussion on higher education will be found in the Programme for Research Cooperation. The basic assumption of this programme is that one of the main objectives of higher education in all countries is and should be to lay the foundation for national research capacity. There is a need to develop such capacity in poor countries for two main reasons. One reason is that all countries need to produce research based on the specific issues and context that each country is facing. The other reason is, and given the imbalance between rich and poor countries, that poor countries have to have the capacity to access, analyse and use international research results. A *sine qua non* for this to happen is that there is national research capacity in at least one university in each country.

Another feature of Swedish research cooperation has been its strong link to Swedish universities. For example, during the period 1998-2005 one third of the funds of the bilateral part of the research programme were channeled to Swedish universities. Out of 73 partners of cooperation with universities in developing countries, 67 were Swedish partners (Deiaco et al, 2006, p.13). The bilateral part of the research programme has a strong focus on the development of national research capacity in countries of cooperation. The research agenda also includes a strong belief that change takes place through innovations. In the present policy on Swedish Support to Research, it is pointed out that bilateral research cooperation should include support to innovation systems. In a recent Swedish Government Policy Document it is said that a main objective should be to *"Improve the ability of partner countries and regional actors to plan, carry out and use research in the struggle against poverty"* (Utrikesdepartementet, 2010, p. 23).

In terms of the categories in Figure One above, the emphasis of the research cooperation would be in the first two approaches to change i.e. to support innovations and to strengthen national capacity for research. SAREC has operated within a broader framework of change which says that research and innovations are important pillars of development. Change is the result of new knowledge and of innovations. Also, there should be a strong link to and cooperation with Swedish researchers and with Swedish universities.

6. Concluding comments

It can be seen from the above that Swedish aid to education has been guided by an ongoing process of reviews and policy making. These policies have many elements in common but there have also been shifts of emphasis. The common denominators have been that educational change can only be understood in its wider societal context. Results in the education sphere are as much the result of factors outside as of factors inside the education system. Since the policy of 1995 it has been recognized that national systems of education are also influenced by the forces of globalization.

The education system should be understood as a totality in which the different parts are linked to each other. This should be the starting point for Swedish aid. Its role should be to make existing systems work better. At the same time, there has been an equally strong emphasis on education for the poor and disadvantaged. Swedish aid to education should redress imbalances in support of the poor. It has been assumed that the majority are living in rural areas and will continue to make their living out of agriculture. National systems are generally elitist and selective. They ought to be reshaped in support of the poor and disadvantaged, be they women and girls, people in the rural areas or students with special needs.

The policy documents present a balanced picture of the tensions that exist in all education systems. The problems have arisen when this overall analysis should be translated into concrete strategies of change. Which tendencies should be reinforced through Swedish aid? Which aspects should be changed? Some important shifts over time can be noted. By and large, the analysis above has shown that there has been a shift away from the focus on innovations and the strengthening of national capacity that was typical of the 1970s and the 1980s. In later years there has been a renewed focus on financial issues and the need to redress national priorities in support of the poor and disadvantaged. During the last ten years this has increasingly be done in cooperation with other donors. One

of the implications seem to have been that the number of innovative projects that were implemented in cooperation with Swedish institutions and Swedish experts during the early years have been reduced drastically during the last 10-15 years.

The dearth of national capacity, in particular to address questions of educational quality, is frequently pointed out as a problem in the analysis of 2006, but seldom addressed in a systematic and explicit way. These trends are in contrast to the approaches used in the field of research. At the policy level, two perspectives have co-existed in Swedish aid since the early 1970s. The education policies have put emphasis on education for all and the need to cater for the needs of the poor. Policies and planning in partner countries have been criticized for being top-down i.e. for starting with the needs for an elite rather than the need for basic education for all. The entry point for the research cooperation has been to strengthen the capacity of universities to produce an elite that can carry out research.

Any Minister of Education would recognize that a national system of education has to do both. It has to meet the needs of basic education for all and it has to produce an elite that has the capability to carry out research. In practice, any system has to balance these different objectives. From the perspective of a Minister it should not have come as a surprise therefore that Swedish aid to education and to research have sought to meet both these objectives. The real surprise when looking back at Swedish aid is that the potential tensions that exist at any point in time between basic education and higher education for the sake of national research capacity have not been addressed in a coherent way at the policy level. It is only in the education policy of 1995 that references are made to higher education. It remains to be seen if the ongoing policy process based on the concept of knowledge rather than on education, will bridge the gap.

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CHAPTER NINE

EDUCATION IN THE NEW ARCHITECTURE OF AID

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Abstract

Development discourse, policies and theories have changed since the 1980s from donor–receiver perspective to partnership, from donor-owned and donor-driven to developing partner's ownership, harmonisation (meaning concerted views and actions among the countries providing funding), from one-sided responsibility to alignment and mutual accountability, and so on. This agenda was set in the Paris Declaration from the mid-1990s. To "test" the outcomes of this shift, the author utilizes Cambodia as a case study, and gives a brief country analysis and account of the country's experience after the shift in development agendas.

1. Introduction

The last five years have been a period of transformation for partner countries and for the international donor community. The process now under way internationally and in some 60 partner countries is based on a changed notion as to what drives the development process, it implies a change of the relationship between national governments and the donors and it means that the donors collectively take their part of the responsibility for coordination of donor inputs. It also means that all parties "manage for results" together. They should also be accountable to each other. The key word is "effectiveness" which includes better results in relation to the overall objectives and streamlining of the process of cooperation. The international framework that has been agreed is known as the Paris Declaration or the Paris Agenda.

This chapter provides a background and comment to this general change, why it has happened, what it implies and how it has affected cooperation between national governments and donors. Special reference is made to aid in the education sector, mainly basic education. Ultimately the objective of all these efforts in education is that poor students will be given better opportunities to learn so that they can become active citizens and improve their living conditions. The underlying assumption is that a

better process of cooperation during all stages of a national reform process will lead to increased access and improvement of the quality of education in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the six goals of the Dakar Framework of Action (UNESCO, 2000).

The main question raised in the paper is how the intended change of the relationship between the parties may impact the objectives and priorities of education reform work at country level? More concretely: What is the relationship between change of the principles and practice of aid and national education reform work? The issues that arise are illustrated with reference to donor support to education reform work in Cambodia. By 2010, the Paris Declaration will be five years old but the transformation of the way aid is provided in education started in earnest more than ten years ago. It is against this background that the paper starts by giving a short overview of the evolution of the international process that resulted in the Paris Agenda.

2. The new architecture of aid

The second half of the 1990s was a period of review and rethinking of development and development cooperation. It was also a period of shrinking support for aid among the taxpayers in countries providing aid. This was a cause of concern to politicians and to the international donor community alike (UNESCO, 2007, p. 85-103). The broader political context is outside the scope of this paper. It can only be noted that a series of UN-conferences were part of a consensus building process that resulted in the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals in the year 2000. This was followed by an international conference in Monterrey in 2002 aimed at mobilizing resources for poverty reduction i.e. for the implementation of the MDGs. This was followed by a conference in Rome in 2003 on the need to change the process of cooperation. These meetings were followed by a meeting in Marrakesh on Management for Development Results that same year.

So, the goals and targets had been set. MDG agreements had been made to mobilise more resources for poverty reduction (Monterrey) and a process had been set in motion to work together in a different way and to "manage for development results" together (Rome and Marrakesh). The question in the international community was how all these good intentions should be translated into concrete action at country level. The outcome of many discussions was the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness – Ownership, Harmonization, Alignment, Results and Mutual Accountability (DAC, 2005a).

The Paris Declaration

The principles established by the Paris Declaration are summarized in a few key concepts. They represent a break with, and criticism of, the way aid had been provided over the last 40 years or so. These principles are not new. The problem, according to the underlying analysis, is that they have not been applied in practice (DAC, 2004). Therefore the key concepts merit some comments in order to illustrate that the Paris Declaration is a radical break with the past as far as the practice of international development cooperation is concerned. The main message is that new ways must be found to strengthen national ownership to poverty oriented strategies and national capacity to implement them.

The Principles

The principles are summarized under five key words. In addition there are 12 indicators for follow up of the principles. The comments given below to this normative framework are those of the author.

Ownership

Many years of experience had shown that donor driven initiatives and projects do not survive without national political commitment. Foreign aid is a graveyard of interesting and promising initiatives that have not been sustained when the external contributions have ceased (Oden, 2006). There could be many reasons for this state of affairs but for the most part it has been explained by lack of ownership of the partner government. In the Paris Declaration partner governments commit to exercise leadership and to translate national strategies into prioritised results-oriented operational programmes and budgets. Donors commit to respect national ownership and to strengthen the capacity to exercise it.

This is only one part of the story. The international process during the latter half of the 1990's had also meant a deeper and more thorough rethinking of the concepts of development and of poverty. It is sufficient for the purpose of this paper to note that this whole debate and analysis came out as a widened and more multifaceted concept of poverty and poverty reduction. Up to the Millennium Declaration in 2000 it had been common to measure development in terms of GNP-growth for the country and individual poverty as less than a dollar a day. There had been an ongoing debate on what drives development. Many frameworks and definitions had been used (Stewart, 1996).

Gradually a more integrated understanding arose. It was Amartya Sen, the Nobel Prize Winner of Economics in 1998, who brought these different perspectives together by arguing that *"expansion of freedom is viewed. . ..both as the primary end and as the principal means of development"* (Sen, 1999, p. xii). Development is about the freedom of individuals to make their voices heard and to make their living. GNP growth is necessary and GNP per capita is an indicator of development but this is not enough. Political and social dimensions are equally important and any discussion about development should start with the freedoms of the individual. This view would be reflected i.a. in the new Swedish Policy for Global Development four years later. It states that *"The goal of Sweden's development cooperation will be to contribute to an environment supportive of poor people's own efforts to improve their quality of life"* (Government of Sweden, 2003, p. 60). The policy sees human beings as active subjects and agents of change rather than as helpless and poor objects in need of help. Development Cooperation should be based on a rights perspective and on the perspectives of poor people (ibid, p. 61).

Sida's main guiding document which came before the Swedish policy, reflects this understanding of poverty as multifaceted, contextual and as changing over time. Poverty can also be perceived differently. Therefore it is of utmost importance to listen to the voices of the poor (Sida, 2002).

Harmonisation

Harmonisation in this context means that donors commit to work towards coordination and common arrangements. This would imply everything from joint missions, joint meetings with partner governments to joint reporting requirements and formats.

Donor coordination had been discussed for years with small visible results. The pattern of aid had remained one of a myriad of stand-alone donor projects, each with its own budget, time plan and reporting requirements. There were variations as to their link or integration with national systems (DAC, 2004). The responsibility for coordination had, by and large, been seen by the donors as a problem for the partner country. It was up to the country to find ways and means to integrate the external contributions into national plans, systems and procedures. In the discussions leading up to the Paris Declaration it had been noted that this had seldom been the case, partly because the donors had taken their own time plans and procedures as a given. Given the number of projects, missions and reports that aid dependent countries such as Mozambique and Tanzania

had, harmonisation was no longer possible in practice. It was also noted that all this took a lot of time and resources. When expressed in a more theoretical way, this problem was referred to as the need to reduce the transaction costs associated with aid (Disch, 1999; Oden, & Tinnes, 2003).

Alignment and Mutual Accountability

Alignment is a more complex and sensitive concept than harmonisation. In this context it implies that donors should "align" with or base the cooperation on partner country strategies, use existing country systems and work together to strengthen them. The Paris Declaration contains a number of concrete points as to how this could be done in practice (DAC, 2005a, p. 3).

The consequences in practice of this simple principle have turned out to be far reaching for the donors. They should be seen against the background of the present pattern of aid as illustrated in the previous section. Whereas the question of harmonisation has been seen as a technical and administrative question by the donor community, the principle of alignment seeks to address the political dimensions of aid. The question in practice for the donors has been: What does it take to move from donor driven and controlled projects to a situation of support to national plans and of trust in national systems for i.a. planning, budgeting, accounting and auditing?

In principle this had always been the objective on which the aid relationship had been built. In practice there had always been tensions between national priorities and plans and the priorities of the different donors. Also, there had always been weaknesses in the national systems including corruption. Corruption in partner countries and lack of trust between the parties had driven the whole system of aid towards a pattern of more or less donor driven and controlled projects which in many cases had included so called Project Implementation Units (PIUs) with donor recruited and financed experts and Technical Assistance (TA). It should also be noted that donors are accountable to those who are funding them. On this point the Paris Declaration introduces the idea of mutual accountability. In practice this has meant that all parties in a process should agree on a common results framework relating both to partner countries and to donors. These should be followed up through a joint and independent mechanism.

Hence, the new answer to an old dilemma is that donors should accept existing plans and systems and work jointly to help strengthen them. This should take place in a spirit of mutual trust and accountability.

Separate structures such as PIUs should be abolished, and donors should also be subject to follow up and evaluation. This has triggered a discussion about, and renewed emphasis, on national capacity and what it takes to strengthen it (DAC, 2006).

Managing for Development Results

Managing for Development Results is also a complex concept beyond stating the obvious. Taken at face value it is almost a truism to reaffirm that development cooperation should lead to improvements for the poor and that the results should be clear and measurable. The quest for results should always be reflected in indicators for evaluation and follow up. Why spend a whole section in an International Declaration on something that is taken for granted by all those who make foreign aid possible and all those who benefit from it?

Again, it reflects a collective and much more multifaceted experience over many years. "Results" and "Evaluation" are also complex concepts. Questions that arise immediately are i.a. Results for Whom? Who decides what should be measured? Whose results? How to measure results? How should results be used etc.? Up to the Paris meeting it had been taken as a given that donor contributions could be traced and attributed to certain activities and results. When asked for results or value for money, politicians or donor representatives would refer to concrete projects financed out of aid funds i.e. this many school buildings have been financed out of aid funds, this many books have been provided and so on. An endless number of workshops had taken place in order to organise "the results chain" in a logical way such that it could be shown how the donor inputs would lead to immediate, measurable and visible results.

The understanding of *Development Results* in the Paris Declaration calls for a reassessment of this simple logic. For the sake of the discussion, it is useful to make a distinction between "contribution" and "attribution." In short, partner countries commit themselves to link development strategies to national budgets and to establish results oriented frameworks that are linked to national and sector development strategies through a *"manageable number of indicators"* (DAC, 2005a, p. 8). Donors will rely, as far as possible, on those frameworks and work together to strengthen the capacity to develop and use them. In the short term they will harmonise reporting and monitoring requirements among themselves.

There are several implications of this shift of emphasis from donor systems, frequently linked to individual projects towards joint country frameworks meant to measure progress at the level of national strategies and/or sector level strategies e.g. progress of the education system of a

country. First of all, improvements of education or health systems take time. It is not sufficient to note that more schools or health stations have been built. Just think of Sweden. What evidence is there to suggest that the Swedish education system has improved over the last 5-10 years? Is there agreement among decision makers, students and parents that this is the case? Is there agreement about what indicators to use? Is it sufficient to say that some researchers agree that there has been an improvement? Do the researchers agree? What do poor people in Sweden think about education?

There is a political dimension to "results" when measured at the national level. This is also true for "Management for Development Results?" In other words, what should be done not only to measure results but also to rectify shortcomings and who should do it?

The section on Management for Development Results in the Paris Declaration has a technical connation to it but it is highly political. The problem is that it seeks to translate the logic of the "results chain" used for more limited projects into complex systems and change processes. This being said, it is important to note that the key word is Managing *for* Results not *by* Results. The difference is that the wording in the Paris Declaration and the underlying discussions recognize that "Management *for*" has to be a rather flexible and dynamic process which takes into account that an education reform process cannot be planned in detail in advance. Even if this is done, the conditions will change during implementation and it is part of the process to use a flexible approach. The term "Management by Results" implies that there is a clear and detailed roadmap. The issue of management during implementation is to follow this roadmap as closely as possible. Deviations from it will constitute a problem. Although the latter may be true for construction of a bridge, the same thinking cannot be applied to complex political and social processes such as "managing together towards education for all in Mozambique."

A particular problem arises for the donors and it has to do with the distinction between "contribution" and "attribution." The principle problem for the donors is that if all external support is aligned with national strategies and systems and harmonised between the donors, who can then say that "Sida financed this school or this health station?" This can hardly be done and it is the wrong question anyway. The question to ask is whether the national strategy has been implemented. If it has you may say as a donor that your contribution has facilitated the realization of the objectives of the strategy but it is impossible to say exactly how your contribution can be attributed to the strategy. In some way you have

made a *contribution* but it is not obvious how it can be *attributed* to the overall results of the national reform programme.

Another problem that has no definite answer stems from the fact that funds channelled through the state budget are fungible. In terms of financial flows, the external element is very difficult to trace even if serious attempts have been made to do so. Regardless of the outcome of such studies, the problem is that, over time, funds are fungible even if earmarked or attributed to a particular purpose or result. It can always be argued that if a partner government knows that a group of donors have made a long term commitment to support an education reform plan by x per cent of the total budget, this commitment opens up for the government to use more of its own resources for other purposes i.e. for resolution of internal or external conflicts. Donors have agreed to contribute to the development of the education sector but their contributions may nevertheless be attributed to the armed conflict. The donor will be associated with the conflict despite the fact that the purpose of aid is to support the education sector. In the final analysis, the answer to the fact that funds are fungible is not financial but political. The issue is if it is acceptable to the donor to work in the education sector in a context of armed conflict. In the final analysis this has more to do with mutual trust than with financial allocations.

Another issue has to do with the time perspective. Change at the sectoral level takes time and is difficult to measure. Generally, donors look for immediate and tangible results. It is also mentioned that all parties will agree on a framework with a manageable number of indicators, but it is not so easy to agree on the "right" indicators. Finally there will be a need for a joint mechanism/forum/platform through which all parties can participate in the steering or, in the words of the Declaration, in the "Management for Development Results." It is obvious that this vision implies a big shift from the many different formats and procedures that exist for monitoring and evaluation of individual projects. In short, Management for Development Results implies a shift of perspective from measuring donor inputs to measuring outcomes of national strategies.

Towards Budget Support as the Main Modality for External Funding

One of the 12 Indicators of Progress of the Paris Declaration (no. 9) states that by 2010, *"66% of aid flows should be provided in the context of Programme Based Approaches"* (DAC, 2005 a p.10). This means that funds should be provided in a coordinated manner in support of nationally owned strategies for Poverty Reduction. According to the DAC, a Programme Based Approach is a way of engaging in development cooperation based on the principles of coordinated support for a locally

owned programme or a programme of a specific organisation. Programme Based Approaches share the following features: a) leadership by the host country or organisation; b) a single comprehensive programme and budget framework; c) a formalised process for donor coordination and harmonisation of donor procedures for reporting, budgeting, financial management and procurement; d) efforts to increase the use of local systems for programme design and implementation, financial management, monitoring and evaluation (DAC, 2005 b, Box 3.1).

Although not stated explicitly, it is understood that the aid flows referred to above should be provided mostly as General Budget support or as Sector Budget/Programme Support. The Swedish terminology is used on this point. A variety of terms are used by the different donors. Historically, Swedish General Budget Support has been channeled as financial, mostly short term, support of a national strategy for economic restructuring and development. Sector Budget Support or Sector Programme Support is a form of financial support aimed towards a sector plan or other policy area. These two financing modalities have existed in parallel within most donor agencies under different names.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been the leader for support to national programmes for economic restructuring and development. In the 1980s these became known as structural adjustment programmes. It has always been the IMF's task to provide general short term financial support to such economic reform programmes. Its mission is to help stabilise and develop national economies. In poor countries which have been dependent on external funds, this has been done mainly through a combination of macroeconomic analyses, a set of conditions for funding and short term foreign exchange support to the national budget (General Budget Support in the Swedish terminology). Different terms are used by donors for this kind of support. As a proportion of total international aid the amounts have been small. For example, the proportion of Swedish aid provided as General Budget Support has amounted to *5* per cent of the total bilateral aid flows to bilateral partner countries. (Schmidt et al, 2007). This means that the overwhelming portion of the funds has been provided as financial support to projects. A big proportion, 20-25 per cent, has been used for Technical Assistance. There is an unfinished discussion not only about the proportion spent on Technical Assistance but on approaches to Capacity Development, generally (Fukuda-Parr et al, 2002; Lopes et al, 2003).

Gradually, and over the last 5-10 years, there has been a move from projects to more coordinated support to sector strategies. The general principles and approach has been the same as for Programme Based

Approaches generally but the strategy, the indicators for follow-up and the steering of the reform process has focussed on one sector or policy area. Funds have mainly been channelled through a donor pool or into the national budget as Sector Budget Support (SBS) or Sector Programme Support (SPS). Both terms are used in Swedish guidelines. These terms are usually associated with different degrees of and mechanisms for control and steering on the part of the donors. There is an intensive debate internationally about definitions and the advantages and disadvantages of different funding modalities. This debate is outside the scope of this paper. The debate usually ends up as a question about the tension between national ownership and donor accountability and control of donor funds referred to above.

When the general principles of Programme Based Approaches (PBAs) are applied at the sector level they are usually referred to as a Sector Wide Approach (SWAP). Such processes, particularly in the health and education sectors, have a history that dates back to the late 1980s. In some ways, the Paris Declaration of 2005 can be regarded as a manifestation and international push for principles and financing modalities that had been used for a number of years within these two sectors.

The result is that the Paris Declaration seeks to bring two traditions of support (General Budget Support and Sector Budget Support) in aid closer to each other. The main idea is that donors should support nationally owned and driven strategies for poverty reduction and harmonise and ease their financing conditions. In principle all funds should be part of the national budget process and be channeled through the existing system for Public Financial Management. (PFM - Planning, Disbursement, Accounting and Auditing). Donor driven stand-alone projects should be phased out. In this context, indicator 9 above is far reaching and far from the reality of today. A recent follow up report concludes that *"the survey provides no grounds for complacency with respect to the Paris Declaration Commitment"*(DAC, 2007, p. 26).

The new Aid Architecture would not be complete without reference to the emergence of so called Vertical Funds. This has been most notable in the health sector but there is also an example in the Education Sector. In the education sector it is called the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) and will be described in some detail below.

Vertical Funds

The term "vertical funds" have emerged in the wake of the new architecture of aid. They have been established to speed up

implementation of the MDGs through mobilisation of additional funds for a particular purpose such as AIDS Prevention. Unlike the different forms of budget support mentioned above, the vertical funds seek to target certain groups or purposes through earmarking of funds, and they are most frequent in the health sector. The Fast Track Initiative (FTI) in the education field is not a private foundation but has been established as a special international mechanism to promote Education for All, EFA (UNESCO, 2007, chapter 4).

The issue that arises in relation to the Paris Declaration is how the idea of earmarking funds for a particular purpose should be combined with the principles of national ownership, alignment and harmonisation at the national level. Tensions have arisen and are built into the new architecture of aid. An assessment by DFID's-Health Resource Centre raises serious concerns about alignment and sustainability of these arrangements. (British Department for International Development DFID, 2004).

3. Implementation of the Paris Declaration

The Paris Declaration has a time plan and a mechanism for follow up. The next international meeting took place in Accra, Ghana, in 2008. There is a report based on a self-selection of 34 out of the 60 countries that endorsed it. This chapter will not go into details. The results are summarised in six policy recommendations and a more detailed list of proposed action in relation to these indicators. The follow up report, mentioned above, illustrates the complexity of the aid architecture and the process of cooperation. For example, in 2005, donors fielded 10 453 missions in the 34 countries and there was a total of 1832 parallel Project Implementation Units (PIUs) (to be reduced to 611 by 2010). About one third of all external funds are spent on Technical Assistance.

The report shows that there is a long way to go in relation to the targets of the Paris Declaration. Some areas are of particular concern. These include lack of national ownership including use by the donors of existing systems and an almost complete lack of coordinated capacity development efforts. One important observation is the interdependence between progress within countries and within the donor community. Countries respond to the perceived needs of the donors but donors are there to respond to the needs of countries and to strengthen their capacity. At the same time, donors have their own priorities. A difficult dynamic arises as a result. The Paris Declaration builds on the notion that a platform for the cooperation can be established in each case. The aid relationship is seen as fairly unproblematic (DAC, 2007).

The next section will illustrate how this dynamic has evolved in the education sector in Cambodia during the period 2000-2005. Before doing that, references will be made to the specific features of the new architecture in the field of education, generally.

Education and Aid

There are many common elements in the way aid is provided in all sectors. The main idea of the Paris Declaration is that sectoral objectives should be part of and support national Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRS). Again, these ideas are based on a very simplified and consensus based and linear model of planning that follows the same logic as a more limited project. In principle, it should be possible to start from the MDGs, break them down into operational goals, sub-goals and activities that can be planned and financed. The sum of all these activities constitutes a national plan for poverty reduction. It goes without saying that this planning model represents a very simplified model of national planning which leaves the dynamics of the aid relationship out. It also leaves the national political dynamic out. Plans and strategies are seldom, if ever, the result of one single objective (poverty reduction), translated into action in a logical way. It is more realistic to assume that overall plans represent compromises between contradictory objectives. This is also true for the education sector.

The discussion on this point will be limited to development cooperation in education and the new architecture. Each sector or policy area has its own history, objectives and ways of working. Different international initiatives over the years have provided frameworks and financing mechanisms that are specific to each area. This will be illustrated by a somewhat closer look at the education sector in light of international objectives and initiatives in the field of education.

Towards Education for All

The UN Declaration of Human Rights is an important normative framework for basic education as a human right but also for the conviction that education contributes to social and economic development. Internationally, education has been seen both as a means and end, much like Amartya Sen's definition of development as freedom referred to above (Sen, 1999). This has ever since been followed by regional and international initiatives aimed at spearheading education for all. One early initiative took place in Addis Ababa in 1960 under the leadership of

UNESCO. It outlined a plan for education for all in Africa within 20 years. However, this was not followed by an immediate response by the donor community. It was only ten years later that a few donors including the World Bank and Sida started to shift their priorities in this direction (Phillips, 1975).

In the late 1980s, it was clear to many in the donor community that "business as usual" would not do. Many poor countries were in a financial crisis and there were few signs that the main donors would reallocate their resources towards basic education. This paved the way for the Jomtien Conference which resulted in the Jomtien Declaration which declared that Education for All should be achieved in ten years. During the ensuing period it became clear that the goal would not be achieved. The Dakar Conference in 2000 specified six sub-goals one of which (eliminating gender disparities) would be achieved in 2005. The other five were set for 2015. A new and stronger mechanism for follow-up and political mobilization was established and UNESCO was given a clearer and stronger role for coordination than had been the case after Jomtien. The Director General of UNESCO would chair a new High Level Group for political mobilization.

It was agreed that a solid report should be the basis for its meetings. This report turned into the Global Monitoring Report that would focus on a follow up of the six goals. The Fast Track Initiative (FTI) was launched two years after the Dakar Conference as a way to mobilise additional resources and to direct those towards countries with good plans. *"It is money associated with intelligent programs"* as the WB President of the World Bank James Wolfensson put it at the time (World Bank, 2002a, p. 4). The Dakar Framework refers to the many UN initiatives during the 1990s which led up to the Millennium Declaration. The EFA initiative has a much longer history as has been indicated above. It has had its own dynamic in relation to the process that resulted in the Paris Declaration.

The FTI came as a response to a frequently quoted sentence in the Dakar Framework for Action which says that *"no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted on their achievement of this goal by lack of resources"* (World Education Forum, 2000, p. 9, para.10). There is also a clear commitment by the international community towards *"strengthening sector-wide approaches"* (ibid, p. 9, para 11). More generally it foresees that countries will produce credible plans which are linked to overall national strategies. The donor community undertakes to increase its financial contributions in a coordinated manner. There would be clear indicators of progress. National political will and capacity to plan and to implement are seen as the key to success. These principles and ideas

are very similar to what was manifested in a more general way (for all countries and all policy areas) five years later. The same problems and tensions relating to aid exist within the education sector which is also reported in the follow up of the Paris Declaration.

The Sector Wide Approach

The development within the education sector has both preceded and spearheaded the general principles of the Paris Declaration. For example, the SWAP-approach was a theme of an informal group of donors that had met once a year since 1982. It is known as the International Working Group on Education (IWGE). This can be illustrated by the report from the meeting in 1996. It tells how this group of donors has *"initiated a process of profound restructuring and of defining new policies and new modalities of operation, which is still going on today"* (IIEP, 1997, p. 57). It can only be noted that this discussion and process is still ongoing. There is a growing body of experience mainly as evaluations, state of the art or country reports which monitor the process towards a Sector Wide Approach as a basis for national education reform and for the external support given to implement it. For example, a major evaluation of four country processes concludes that there is a need to place greater emphasis on the relevance of external support to local needs and capacities: *....SWAPs do not necessarily improve partnerships if implemented as blueprint rather than as a process. It also raises concern that a long tradition of donor support to innovations may cease* (Freeman et al, 2003, p.5).

One problem arises from the fact that there are only two Millennium Development Goals in the field of education, concerned with improved access to primary education and gender parity in primary education. The Dakar Declaration of that same year (2000) has six goals which include Early Childhood Care and Education, Adult Education and Skill Training for young people. The final document from the Jomtien Conference ten years earlier is not as specific but its main message is that there is a need for an "Expanded vision" vision of basic education that should include basic education for adults. For countries who want to implement and mobilise external resources for the implementation of the MDGs it is tempting to focus on the two MDGs. The same applies to the donors who may want to earmark funds for these two goals. The Dakar Declaration however talks about a "Sector Wide Approach" implying a balanced development of the education system with particular emphasis on basic education.

It has also been argued that the education and health sectors are particularly apt for a Sector Wide Approach because, typically, they are a

State responsibility financed mainly from the State budget. This may have been the ambition in some African countries after independence. Today the trend is towards a growing part of private schools and universities in many countries with or without state subsidies.

Also, the NGOs have always had an important role to play in the evolution of the education system. So, the context of a SWAP in education will continue to be one of many state and non-state partners in the countries and in the donor community. Education reform work will increasingly be a question of participation. There will also continue to be a network of international NGOs who have had an important advocacy role. They have been instrumental in the development of the international goals and they have pushed for concrete/establishing a results-based incentive framework for providing assistance by "linking financial support to performance" (World Bank, 2002 b, p. 1).

It appears that the tensions that are built into the process of development cooperation generally also apply to the FTI. The question in this context is how it may facilitate the implementation of the Paris agenda as referred to above. When it does it will do so as a financial and professional partner in a national planning and consultative process that is likely to include a group of multilateral and bilateral donors in each country In some cases these donors are also involved in a process of transformation of their support from a project mode to a programme mode of cooperation (cf. discussion about Sector Wide Approaches above).

Hence the results of the different elements of the Paris agenda in the field of education are not only that they change the dynamic between national governments and donors. It also means that there are internationally agreed goals (MDG and Dakar goals) and a number of FTI benchmarks that should guide the process. In the final analysis these may be translated into conditions for external funding, something that the Paris Declaration seeks to replace by national ownership and an ongoing participatory process within countries and between them and the donors. In fact, this is the essence of the new partnership. It should redress the balance between national governments and donors in favour of the former. Hence "Aid Effectiveness" is not only about streamlining the process but also about the objectives of education reform and what determines change in a national reform process. Objectives, content, process and the new architecture of aid are interlinked.

Which are the issues that arise as a result of the Paris process? This will be illustrated with reference to ongoing reform work in Cambodia.

4. The case of Cambodia: Aid and Education

Cambodia is an interesting case which illustrates how the new architecture of aid has affected the relationship between the parties. It also illustrates how the new dynamic of cooperation with the donors may have a beating on national priorities, strategies and the capacity to implement them. Cambodia is used because it has made a deliberate effort to change from a project based towards a Sector Wide Approach in educational planning and in its relations to the donors. There is a well-documented process over a five year period, 2000- 2005. This should not be understood to mean that Cambodia is typical or is a blueprint for other countries. The evaluation of 12 such processes in education concludes that donors should be responsive to the context. They should avoid blueprints (Freeman et al, 2003).

The Political Context

Cambodia's history since the late 1960s is one of conflict. During a four year period 1975-1979, the country was ravaged by one of the most cruel regimes of our time, the Khmer Rouge Regime, during which 1,7 million people died as a result of poverty, illnesses, torture and executions. It was succeeded by a communist-oriented one party state under strong influence from neighbouring Vietnam that lasted up to 1992. A peace accord was signed between four political factions. This was followed by a massive UN-operation known as the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia, UNTAC, to supervise the accord and to prepare for democratic elections. These were successfully carried out in 1993. A coalition government was formed but operated in a fragile political environment. Cambodia went through a period of political turmoil and uncertainty in the second half of the 1990s.

With the elections, Cambodia went from a UN-administered country towards political independence in a context of careful balancing of different interests and political agendas which was reflected in the overall structure of the government and the leadership in the different ministries.

Generally, this meant that the state administration was weak and that state employees were underpaid. All this contributed to low planning and implementation capacity. For the purpose of this chapter, three aspects of this conflict-ridden history are important. One is that the Khmer Rouge regime had done what it could to exterminate all people with formal education and who had a profession other than farmer. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979, the formal education system was no longer functioning. A second aspect is that the socialist regime after the Khmer Rouge introduced central planning in the state administration. It also gave

high priority to education, including education for adults. A third aspect is that it was very difficult to establish stable institutions and a well-functioning state administration. The introduction of central planning meant that the public sector had grown fast. In the beginning of the 1990s, the public administration was overstaffed and underpaid.

After the elections in 1993, aid to Cambodia increased heavily as a way to help in the establishment of a democratic political system and a market based economy. However, up to the late 1990s, aid had to a large extent been given as short term emergency relief and even if the objectives had changed, there was still a culture of immediate emergency relief assistance among the donors. The result was that aid was short term rather than long term. The "architecture" was one of targeted but fragmented and donor driven projects intended to address the manifold problems that the country had. In practice, the donors had for the most part chosen to work beside the Cambodian authorities rather than through them. Aid was not aligned with the existing political and administrative system (Ronnås, 1995).

In 1999, an ambitious state reform programme was launched. One year later, the government was ready to present an overall vision of a new paradigm of aid. This was done at the Consultative Group Meeting in May 2000. The Royal Government of Cambodia, RGC, present a National Poverty Reduction Strategy in 2000 and established a Government-Donor Partnership Working Group in late 2002 for "strengthening government-donor partnerships in Cambodia" (RGC, 2004, p. 5). The World Bank had been very active in the preparations of this process and there was a strong resonance within the Government of Cambodia. During this period, the country was striving to gain international and regional recognition. The new paradigm of aid fitted very well into this broader context. There were also a few key individuals in the administration who had a prominent role in the process that would lead up to the Paris Declaration two years later. The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance was the coordinator of the Government-Donor Working Group and he had a prominent role in the OECD/DAC process that led to the Paris Declaration.

A new structure of joint Government-Donor working groups under Government leadership was built up. The Cambodian Government emphasized national ownership to policies and plans, the importance of mutual trust, a common vision and shared objectives. It also took a pragmatic view in that the new strategy and "architecture" would emerge step by step. Communication and trust were seen to be the key to the process ahead. The education sector reform launched in 2000 was one important pillar in this new strategy (Interview with Claes Leijon, Sida).

Towards a Sector Wide Approach in the Field of Education

This part of the chapter covers a five-year period, 2000-2005. In September 2000, the Minister of Education summoned his staff to explain the new concept of educational planning, entitled the "Sector Wide Approach". Two days after he called all the donors, including the NGOs to a meeting and the theme was the same. During a final wrap-up meeting with the donor group, his message can be summarised in three simple questions. They were (my wording):

- There is a long term national plan for education that will be implemented under Government leadership. Do you support this plan?
- I invite you to meet me jointly and regularly to discuss how the plan should be implemented. Are you prepared to participate in such a dialogue?
- I request you to gradually phase out all stand alone projects and to pool your resources in support of the national plan. Are you prepared to do that?

The Ministry of Education had adopted the following definition of a SWAP. *"All significant funding for the sector supports a single policy and expenditure programme, under Government leadership, adopting common approaches across the sector, and progressing towards relying on Government procedures to disburse and account for funds."* (Ministry of Education Youth and Sport and the Education Sector Working Group, 2005, p.6). There was a long moment of silence but after a little while the dialogue started (Sida, 2000, Appadu & Gustafsson).

Five years later there was a three day stocktaking seminar in Phnom Penh with 90 participants from the MoEYS and 30 from the donors supporting education in Cambodia. (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport and the Education Sector Working Group, 2005). It was noted that considerable progress had been made over a five year period in terms of national ownership, mutual trust and communication. Participants also noted that more had to be done by the MOEYS and by the donors in relation to the principles of the Sector Wide Approach. Further details will not be given here, since this is not within the aims of this chapter. The rest of this section of the chapter will instead be devoted to an analysis of the SWAP process in light of the Paris agenda. The question is how the SWAP-process in Cambodia has changed the conditions for educational planning and hence and in the longer term, how poor women and men will benefit from good quality education. In this paper, it will be assumed, in line with the Paris agenda, that strengthened national

ownership in terms of policy-making and capacity to implement it will also be beneficial to the great majority of poor people in Cambodia.

Costs and Financing of Education

The share of education in the Government recurrent budget in Cambodia has increased dramatically in recent years reaching 18.5 per cent in 2003, to be compared with 9 per cent in the period 1994-99. During the latter period, donors financed 58 per cent of the budget on average. In monetary terms this meant that the total spending on education over a five year period was US dollars 420 million with donors contributing US dollars 243 million, or US dollars 70 million and 41 million respectively per year. In addition and in 1999, households financed 59 per cent of the costs for primary schooling. In 1999, households spent 25 per cent more on primary education than the Government. Time series data have not been available but there are indications that 50 per cent of the education budget is spent on primary education up to grade seven.

The projections for 2006-2010 are that the total budget i.e. capital and recurrent would amount to US Dollars 143 million per year, of which about half or 72 million dollars would be spent on primary education. In addition it is anticipated that the donors will finance free standing technical assistance to the value of US dollars 22 million a year or 23 per cent of the total. NGOs also contribute to the development of education in Cambodia (RGC, 2004, p.39; World Bank and UNICEF, 2006).

No comparable time series have been found but in the period 2001-2003, the NGO share of the total donor contribution was in the range of 10-12 per cent. The projections for 2006- 2010 indicate a funding gap of state financing for education that amounts to 41 per cent of the total. This is partly explained by the fact that donor commitments so far for this period indicated a sharp decline rather than an increase. No assumptions seem to have been made in the Government projections for the share of parental financing of primary education. It is reasonable to suggest, however, that the pressure to expand the system and to raise teachers' salaries, combined with declining donor support, will increase the pressure on parents. In turn, this fact may lead to increased disparities between the rich and the poor. There are inequalities between the urban areas and the rural areas thatare increasing, particularly between women in the rural areas and men in the urban areas (Sida, 2005). The figures and projections differ between the main plan documents but this issue will not be brought up here (World Bank & UNICEF, 2006, p. 30-33).

The Structure and Conditions of Financing

The Ministry of Education has a recurrent and a capital budget for education. Donor contributions, except when it comes to budget support, are part of the capital budget. This division of responsibility between the government and the donors is the traditional one in development cooperation. It is based on the assumption that it is the role of the donors to contribute to "investments" in education, i.e. to such programmes or projects that would improve the quality of education in the longer term. The main role of the Government is to make sure that these investments are sustainable. In practice this has meant that the Government is expected to finance teacher salaries at a reasonable level One consequence has been that it has been difficult for Governments to balance expansion with quality improvements when reallocations between the recurrent and the capital budget cannot be made and donor funds are tied to "investments."

In the case of Cambodia, this general pattern has to be modified in two ways. The first is that the Government has a programme under the recurrent budget, which is called Special Programme Initiatives (PAP). This was introduced to ensure that funds for quality improvements would reach individual schools without being used for teacher salaries. This is a kind of earmarking or targeting that the government has made much like in Sweden when the Government wants the local authoritee to implement a certain policy directive. The other is the shift from donor projects to budget support. In 2002 and 2003, Sector Programme Support (according to the Swedish terminology) amounted to 22 and 18 per cent respectively of total donor funding. This is in contrast to project funding which constituted 59 and 64 per cent for the same two years. Out of this proportion, 7 and 8 percent were "off-budget" i.e. not included in the national budget for education. In addition, the donors financed free-standing Technical Assistance "off-budget" (World Bank and UNICEF, 2006).

In 2005 there were 14 donors in the education sector plus international and national NGOs. The 14 bilateral and multilateral donors funded 38 activities amounting to US dollars 26 million. In addition they financed a total of 80 TA of which 37 were of 6 months duration or more. The total cost could not be estimated. It can be assumed that most if not all of this TA is "off ' the government budget. Figures for earlier years indicate that TA constituted above 20 per cent of total aid (Sida, 2005). This seems reasonable, given that internationally TA overall constitutes 25-30 of total donor contributions.

Analysis of the SWAP-process in Light of the Paris Agenda

Cambodia is one of the 34 countries that have been monitored during the follow up of the Paris Declaration. This follow up covers the entire strategy for Poverty Reduction in the country. Important findings in the Cambodia report are that: a) 79 per cent of donor funds are on budget; b) only 36 per cent of TA is coordinated with sector strategies and there are at least 56 parallel Project Implementation Units; c) only 17 per cent of donor funds use the budget execution and reporting system; and d) 24 per cent of all aid to Cambodia make use of Programme Based Approaches. It should be noted that the RGC including the MoEYS have taken a pragmatic and inclusive approach to change of the aid architecture. It is hoped that improved planning and better communication will build mutual trust, that this will be the basis for internal reform and change of the aid structure. The SWAP-process in the field of education is one of four SWAP-processes in the country.

A lot has happened in the education sector over the five-year period covered in this paper. Communication, dialogue and a shared understanding of the SWAP-concept have evolved. A framework for communication and dialogue has been established. There is, since 2003, a Joint Technical Group on Education at the MoEYS, in which the donors have a voice. The donor group has formed the Education Sector Working Group, ESWG, chaired by UNESCO. Joint annual sector reviews have been carried out since 2001. There seems to be a shared view of the general direction and objectives of the education sector reform. The MoEYS has taken the lead, and there is national ownership of the process and the reform work in the sector. In a general sense, there is trust between the parties. The problems are in the details of implementation. However, the issues that have arisen reflect the tensions that are built into the Paris agenda. In the final analysis, they are related to the conditions for external support and how the different parties understand the conditions under which education systems change.

By 2005, the donors seemed to have come close to a "chicken and egg" situation. Although there was agreement about the importance of capacity strengthening and more flexible funding arrangements, this did not seem to be happening. Nor are there indications that the external funding will increase up to 2010 but rather decrease. The vicious circle or "chicken and egg" situation can be described as follows. The Paris Declaration recognizes that the donors are part of the problems that have arisen in development cooperation. Donor conditions and procedures have undermined the possibilities to strengthen national ownership and hence the implementation of those national strategies that the donors are there to support. It happens then that donors argue that they cannot change until their partners have done "x, y and z" which is difficult to do unless partner countries change some of

their conditions for the cooperation. The solution to this dilemma is dialogue. This is also the formula in Cambodia. The 2005 Education Donor Report reflects this dilemma on some critical points, two of which will be discussed here.

The first is capacity development. Donors provide individual TA in executive positions in order to speed up implementation. In many cases implementation is not integrated into the national programmes. Instead, parallel structures are built up. The needs of the MoEYS, as expressed at the seminar in 2005 is for a comprehensive approach to capacity development. The compromise is that individual TA should spend more time training their counterparts but this has been difficult to implement. This approach to capacity development has been practised for the last 40 years, and it has not worked, for reasons given in the Donors report. The main reason according to the report, is that counterparts are not available when TA is ready to train and TA is not there when the counterparts are ready. The paper from the Development Assistance Committee, DAC, of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD, on capacity development referred to above, takes a much broader view but little of this is reflected in the report from the donors (DAC, 2006; Sida 2005, with the attached report from the Education Sector Working Group in Cambodia).

The questions here, however, are both about the costs for TA in relation to direct financial support but also on the strategy for capacity development in the MoEYS and how donors might support it. For the donor group, the priority seems to be to use TA for project implementation. Or, as expressed in the report from the donors: "The only solution is to achieve some compromise in the interest of the medium to long-term benefits" (Sida, 2005, Education Sector Working Group, p. 4).

It has been noted earlier that education mainly consists of well-defined project activities. Some of these are integrated into the PAP, some are implemented directly in cooperation with the regions, some are implemented by NGOs. Donor targeting of funds reflect the different agendas and mandates of the different donors, particularly the UN specialised agencies. UNICEF, for example implements an innovative programme in six provinces based on UNICEFs concept of "child-friendly schools." The question is how this initiative will be sustained and integrated into the national reform process. However, this issue will not be brought up here. Targeting or earmarking is also the traditional way used by donors to control donor funds.

The situation in the education sector is similar. It is interesting to follow the reasoning of the donor group in education. The donors report that there are serious delays in disbursement of PAP-funds and flaws in

recordkeeping. They also report that there are shortcomings in reporting on achievements in the sector. *"Until these problems have been addressed, donors are not prepared to expand budget support of a common pool mechanism."* It is also noted that: *"different aid modalities have different reporting requirements."* And it is reported that *"virtually all the money which has been disbursed* (by the MoYES, my comment), *had reached the intended beneficiaries* (ibid, p. 4).

The appraisal sent to the FTI secretariat report is more optimistic (World Bank & UNICEF, 2006). It notes that although there have been delays in disbursements, the amount of education PAP funds disbursed have tripled between 2002 and 2004. It is also notes that *"PAP-funds, once released to the Provincial Education Offices (PEOs) by the Treasury, do end up in the schools as intended, with limited leakage."* At the same time, 60 per cent of the schools have reported that they have paid *"facilitation fees"* to officials in return for the disbursement of PAP funds (ibid, p. 35-36).

So, it can be discussed if the glass is half empty or half full i.e. if the national financial system is efficient enough and can be used to channel donor funds in the education sector.

Finally a comment should be made about the FTI in the process and in the aid architecture in Cambodia. It has been noted that, unlike other "vertical initiatives" its main role is not to provide additional funds, except through the catalytic fund. The amounts here are small and will not address the financing gaps in the education sector in the foreseeable future. Rather it is hoped that the catalytic fund will attract other donors to step in who would otherwise not have given support to the education sector directly. So, in practice, it seems that the main role of the FTI is to come in as an additional mechanism for quality control against a very limited set of criteria.

The problem in this respect is that the FTI base been established to speed up implementation of only one of the Dakar goals. This is guiding the analysis. It does not take a broad sector approach to education except when it comes to the financing of education. The report is not a document that can be used for planning purposes nor does it address the issues of implementation discussed above. It is more of a limited appraisal report. There is a risk therefore that the FTI decision-making process will become yet another filter through which the national plan should be sifted without adding much in terms of funding and/or capacity strengthening. It may also focus on only one objective and leave out other important priority issues. This may distort national priorities. At any rate, this illustrates the tension between, on the one hand, the

emphasis on nationally owned and comprehensive plans in the Paris Declaration and the emergence of donor driven vertical initiatives, on the other. What are the possible future scenarios?

5. Possible future scenarios

It seems obvious that there is a tension between the time perspective of the national process and the international objectives. If there ever were a faster track to Education for All in Cambodia, it would have to be matched by additional funds, part of which have to come through aid. There are no indications that this is likely to happen. The focus, as in the FTI reports, on *completion* of primary education for all boys and girls rather than access to primary education seems unrealistic in the context of Cambodia. It would mean 100 per cent enrolment in Standard 1 in 2006 with no drop-out during nine years of basic education up to 2015. Also, the focus of the analysis on primary education leaves out the difficult priority issues relating to secondary and tertiary education when the system expands. This is turn will build in results reporting below targets. First of all there is a need for a sector approach in the donor analysis of the sector. Also, a more realistic assessment would avoid the notion that there is a "fast track" in Cambodia. This would lead to better results almost by definition.

The situation in Cambodia also begs the question of the operational definition of "quality education" in the context of Cambodia. It seems that the main quality issue has to do with the low teachers' salaries and indeed with the civil service as a whole. The low salaries are also likely to explain why schools have to pay "facilitation fees." Unless this vicious circle can be broken, donors may, for good reasons, continue to argue that alignment with national systems is not possible because of leakage. The major share of donor funds are tied to projects or invested in TA on the assumption that this is the best way to promote quality education and to speed up implementation of national plans. No discussion has been found in the documents referred to here in what a more drastic reallocation and untying of donor funds could mean in terms of the time plan for the MDGs. There is a good argument for further untying within the education sector in Cambodia, since there is a programme for quality improvements (PAP) built into the national system and the recurrent education budget for education. Also, substantial funds would be available if the number of TA was reduced and the present strategy for capacity development were reassessed in line within the framework of the DAC, Good Practice Paper on Capacity Development (DAC, 2005).

Is such a drastic reallocation of resources and strategies for capacity realistic in the short term? It is difficult to see as long as the donors

condition untying of funds to substantial improvements of the Public Financial System in Cambodia. Hence, it could be argued that the possibilities to address quality issues in education in Cambodia have little to with educational planning. It has rather to do with the system for budgeting and budget execution. It seems more realistic to expect that the process will continue as before in small steps. A third scenario is that, by 2005, the parties had found a balance between national priorities and donor concerns. A compromise has been reached after five years of dialogue which all the parties can live with. If this is the case, the question that should be asked is what the long term vision of the SWAP-process in Cambodia is? Should it be more or less as is, or should it be 66 per cent under Programmes Based Approaches which should imply more aid provided as General or Sector Budget Support. In principle the PIUs should be closed and replaced by a joint and comprehensive approach to capacity development within the education sector in line with the Paris Declaration.

6. Conclusion

The question posed in the beginning of this paper was how the conditions for educational planning may change with the Paris agenda. The assumption was, and this is in line with the Paris agenda, that a more coherent planning and implementation process under Government leadership will improve education for all. In this chapter, EFA is understood in a broad sense and in line with the Expanded Vision in the Jomtien Declaration and the six Dakar goals. These two frameworks imply balanced growth of the national education system, including early childhood, adult education and education for youth. Such a broad definition is also in line with the Convention of the Rights of the Child.

The underlying assumption of the Paris Agenda is that the main problem has to do with planning and with the capacity of the MoEYS to manage for change. One major problem today is that donors continue to earmark or target their funds, which many not always be in line with national priorities. Another assumption is that the national capacity cannot be strengthened if there are too many separate and autonomous structures for implementation. External TA is partly used for capacity development as in Cambodia but they are costly. Also, there is a tendency to use them more for control of eternal funds and for direct project implementation than for capacity development in the partner country. There are also a myriad of reporting requirements and processes that should be abolished in order to reduce transaction costs.

The solution can be summarized as streamlining of the process. It is a process in which there is agreement about the overall objectives and all parties take a functional rational approach to educational planning. The irony is, and this comes out from the short analysis of the Cambodia case above, that a holistic sector wide approach to education change makes the political dimension more obvious than when the donors saw their role to be to promote education quality through innovative projects, school construction, provision of books and support to teacher training. This is what the majority are doing in practice in Cambodia today but the planning of projects is based on a policy dialogue that is focused on the national strategy for education and the MDGs. Increasingly, it is also expected that the results of the reform should be measure in relation to overall national objectives for the education sector and, in the final analysis, for poverty reduction. This implies that it will be more difficult for donors to attribute their inputs to the overall results of the education sector.

What follows below is an attempt at looking at some of the basic conditions for a process that should lead not only to a more streamlined process but also to a sector wide approach to educational reform work at national level.

1. It can be noted that there are agreed and potentially influential international frameworks that concern education. They comprise two of the Millennium Development Goals and the Dakar Declaration with six goals on basic education. There are also important human rights frameworks, notably the Convention of the Rights of the Child.

2. There is an international structure, or architecture of aid, which consists of multilateral organisations with different agendas, there are bilateral organisations and NGOs which give priority to different parts of these normative frameworks. They implement the international agenda mainly through a) analyses and dialogue, b) earmarking of funds in line with their mandate and/or priorities, c) provision of Technical Assistance in order to control the external fund, speed up implementation and to strengthen the capacity of partner countries. Historically there is also a well-established perception in countries receiving aid and among the donors that this is the proper division of responsibility between the parties. According to this perception, the role of donors is to support innovations and to target funds at the poorest (for which national resources are not available). Partner countries should provide what is required to maintain the education system. In the field of basic education this has meant that countries provide the resources for teachers' salaries and donors finance projects aimed at improving quality defined as better books, buildings and teachers. The Paris Agenda implies

that this perception should change drastically towards a new partnership in which donors pool their funds in support of national strategies for poverty reduction.

3. Any Government and Minister of Education has to take a holistic or Sector Wide Approach to education reform. Managing change is to set priorities and to balance the different needs and interests within the country against each other. The structure of the system is partly a reflection of such a process. If the Minister is highly dependent on external funding and expertise he/she also has to take the different agendas of the agencies into account.

4. What happens to the planning process when these different agendas meet? With the Paris Declaration the parties have an internationally agreed framework for *how* they should change. There are no sanctions when the principles are not followed but there is a system of follow up internationally. Also, and this is perhaps the most interesting part of the Paris Declaration, there is an idea of mutual accountability. A partnership means that the different parties are not only accountable to their different constituencies but also to each other. The mechanism may consist of an independent monitoring report or joint sector reviews as in Cambodia.

5. The rest is process management through dialogue with many parties. A first observation is that a lot will depend on the parties in the country concerned. It is in their dialogue that implementation will take place. In this context, Cambodia is only one example and there are many stories that could be told from other sectors and countries.

6. And yet, the question is if it is it possible at all to say something in general about the conditions for change of agendas for national education reform? It can be noted that little has been written so far about this aspect. The accounts, as in the Cambodia case above, are mainly about the process and the relationships between the parties.

7. According to the Paris Declaration, donors should give up earmarking of external funds. This is seen as a precondition for national ownership. In the field of education, earmarking has not only been a way for donors to control funds and project execution but also to support innovations. The UNICEF programme to promote child friendly schools in Cambodia is a case in point. If this support were to be given as budget support, would it be used for such innovations? Cambodia is an interesting case in that it has created a mechanism for qualitative improvements within the recurrent budget called the PAP. This is a way to ensure that funds are

allocated for qualitative improvements even when teacher salaries are low and there is pressure on the system to expand at all levels.

At the same time, there is a strong signal from the international community that access to basic education should increase. In the Dakar Declaration, this is expected to take place within a framework of balanced growth of early childhood, adult, primary and secondary education. The two MDGs on education focus on primary education, access and completion. Also, there is a strong expectation that implementation should be speeded up. It should be noted that the Dakar meeting took place in an atmosphere of disappointment with the results of the Jomtien Conference. The Fast Track Initiative was established to respond to these concerns. It took on to mobilise more external funds but it is also holding out that there is a general way to speed up implementation at country level that has to do with allocation of resources. It takes the two MDGs as a starting point. Whatever the value of international simulation studies as a base for national planning, it seems clear that the FTI in practice will add to the emphasis on access to primary education as a first step for improved completion rates by 2015. Most countries have 7-9 years of primary education and if the MDGs are to be achieved, access to primary education has to start now. Combined with the more general pressure on donors to show rapid and visible results, there seems to be a risk that the end result will be increased access to primary education at the expense of quality and a balanced or sector wide approach to educational reform work. This may very well also be in line with country priorities as a way for politicians to show results.

8. If partner countries should exercise national ownership, they must have the capacity to do so in reality. On this point, the role of donors in the past has been to provide Technical Assistance. As in the Education Donors Group in Cambodia, the discussion about the role of individual TA has been about TA as "doers" or "'trainers." For the most part this model has not worked very well and it has been criticised by many partner countries for being too costly. On this point there has been an interesting international discussion over the last 10 years, which is manifested in the recent DAC Good Practice Paper on Capacity Development. This discussion about approaches to Capacity Development is now on the Paris agenda. It implies, however, that donors should take a step back, look at the needs for capacity within the education system rather than within donor funded projects. It also implies that donors should be prepared to finance TA from other countries than their own. This is of particular concern to the bilateral donors, who by tradition have done precisely that.

9. If this tradition is changed a question arises on how different national traditions of educational reform work will change as a result. It seems obvious that the external expertise in many cases brings different national traditions with them, be they American, French, Japanese or Swedish. This has also been the intention and has been labeled "transfer of technology." What happens if and when this pattern changes? This is yet to be seen. In practice, the discussion on this point has been fairly limited as in the Education Donor Group in Cambodia.

10. Finally, a comment on the intellectual/analytical base for a Sector Wide Approach to Education Reform. All the sources used for this chapter have been generated within the framework of development cooperation. There are very few if any independent research studies that have looked into the issues from an international perspective. Through the MDGs and the Paris Declaration, the processes at country level and at the international level are more closely linked than before. Also, the Paris Declaration implies a much stronger link in terms of analysis on the impact of education on poverty reduction. There is a need, in the wake of the Paris agenda, to strengthen the capacity of research that is linked to the broad policy and implementation processes that have been touched upon in this paper. So far, these do not seem to be forthcoming with the exception of the Global Monitoring Report on Education for All.

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PART FOUR

CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

Introduction

Capacity development and its interrelationship with education and training was always a prime interest for Ingemar all through his career. At the time of the transformation of the old SIDA to the new *Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency* (Sida) in 1995, Ingemar sets out the main, parameters in the first paper enclosed below: *Building Capacity through Development Cooperation – Some Reflections.* He argues in favour of a broad approach to capacity and institutional development. Supporting efforts in this area should be part of a process towards democracy and good governance. Many countries had at the time gone through major transformations from one-party states to more pluralistic societies and from centrally planned economies towards a market economy. The focus of Swedish assistance, Ingemar argues, should be on improvement of the internal efficiency of the new or transformed organisations, and also support for the evolution of independent organisations outside the public sector. Many of the new needs are centered around well-functioning legal systems, decentralisation and participation in decision-making at local levels.

The second paper included in this chapter is a more recent, elaborate and comprehensive analysis of *Capacity development and the role of external actors,* which was prepared by Ingemar for an IIEP Workshop in Paris in July 2008. Against the background of his own and Sida´s long experience Ingemar demonstrates how the roles of external actors have shifted in change processes, which aimed at strengthening the capacity of individuals, organisations and/or more complex systems such as education. The analysis links up with the framework of the Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness and with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) process. Reference is made to the first DAC Good Practice paper on Capacity Development from 2005. It concluded that capacity development is "necessarily an endogenous process of change"; that capacity "grows from within"; and that the role of external actors is to promote this process, to "unleash what exists," not to seek to engineer change through transfer of knowledge from outside.

Towards the end of the paper Ingemar discusses the challenges posed by the MDGs and the Paris Declaration, which provide new and very different entry points to the whole issue of capacity development. Should the main focus be on promoting change as the result of "unleashed" capacity of poor

people? Or should the main entry point be the lack of efficiency of the public administration of partner governments with capacity development making complex systems work better? The paper also contains a discussion about how knowledge and learning is affected by two new international trends: the globalisation of knowledge and the fact that knowledge is now also out there on a market rather than a free public good that should be provided free to poor countries.

CHAPTER TEN

BUILDING CAPACITY THROUGH DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION – SOME REFLECTIONS

Paper written for Sida Department for Democracy and Social Development (1995)

(The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of Sida)

The importance of well-functioning institutions for political, economic and social development is hardly questioned today. Institutional development is high on the agenda of most agencies, including Sida. Some reflections are made in this paper on how this agenda has been translated into programmes of development cooperation. At the same time an attempt is made to illustrate how the understanding of the concepts of capacity development and institutional development has changed as more experience has been gained.

1. Institutional development in theory and practice

Institutions, in the sense of recurrent patterns of socially valued behaviour, provide the necessary stability of human behaviour. How institutions can support a wider process of development has always been of concern to social scientists and to economists. In some contexts, traditional institutions for social interaction has been seen as necessary for the development process, in others they have been seen as an obstacle to modernization.

Some economists have focused on the importance of institutions in the sense of a stable set of formal and informal rules that regulate economic transactions. For example, it has been argued that property rights and contract arrangements have to be clear, stable and generally accepted. Otherwise there cannot be a functioning market.

Participation in the political process will not come about without clear rules and a normative framework that supports the formation and stability of organizations participation in public life. A culture of democracy has to be created. Hence, it has been argued that institutional development should be part and parcel of a process towards democracy and good

governance. At the practical level, organizations like Sida pay increasing importance to the development of institutions and/or to capacity development within all sectors.

In that context, the two terms are used as almost synonymous with organizational development. The emphasis on organizational development stems mainly from the fact that development cooperation programmes in all sectors have been seriously hampered by weak and deteriorating partner organizations. The agenda for organizational development includes redefinition of the objectives and structure of the organization as well as management and staff development. In most cases the focus is on improvement of the internal efficiency of the organization.

The dramatic changes that have taken place in many countries over the last decade, politically and economically, has affected the role and, function of these partner organizations in a profound way. It is no longer possible to draw a line between improvement of the internal efficiency of the organization and the very role that this organization is expected to play in the process of transformation from one party states to a more pluralistic society or from centrally state planned economy towards a market economy. The agendas of democratization and good governance include issues of the role of key institutions in the public sector i.e. the legal system. There are questions about decentralization and participation in decision making at the local level and the evolution of independent organizations media etc. outside the public sector.

This is reflected also in Sida. A programme of development of key institutions within the public sector has evolved over the last 15 years. It covers support to the development and transformation of key State institutions, including reformation of the legal system, decentralization and support to local government.

It may be useful at this point to look back to see how Sida has arrived at such a wide interpretation of institutional and capacity development.

2. Capacity development as a question of education and training

For a long time, capacity development was synonymous with training. Training was the principal task of Swedish experts. At the same time Sida gave support to vocational training and higher education programmes for staff who would replace the foreign experts.

Sida stated then that *"technical assistance personnel, in addition to carrying out essential functions in developing countries, shall transfer*

knowledge and skills which are lacking at present." Competence was understood as an asset which existed in industrial countries. It could be transferred in the same way as capital.

Experience showed, however, that competence development is a more complex process. First, competence has to be actively acquired rather than passively received. Secondly, the dynamism of the learning process has to come from within the organization rather than from outside. Hence, the concept of "transfer of knowledge" was replaced by "competence development." This new term implied that learning takes place in an exchange process between equals. Both partners have important contributions to make. Swedish experts were asked to act more as catalysts in a process of change. At the same time Sida invested in formal education and training programmes.

It was clear from the outset that this gradual shift of strategy would work only if other basic conditions existed. Experience showed that many experts were placed in closed and hierarchical structures that were not ready for the kind of creative work and exchange of experience that Sida had envisaged. Experience also showed that a group of competent individuals do not necessarily constitute an efficient organization. Hence, the focus shifted towards organizational development. The agenda included administrative practices, management styles and management training. In most cases such programmes are organized as twinning arrangements with a Swedish sister organization.

Twinning arrangements have many advantages in comparison with the recruitment of individual experts. They ensure continuity at the same time as they allow for flexibility within a broad programme for cooperation between the two organizations. Twinning arrangements also have their limitations. In periods of rapid change in the environment of the organization these arrangements may maintain the old structure rather than adjust to it. Also, there has been a tendency for the stronger partner to take over the initiative and to drive the process. Therefore the question of roles and responsibilities of the two partners is crucial to the success of the programmes.

3. Education and democracy

In parallel with the support given to different forms of training, there has been another trend. Priority has been given to basic education and training since the beginning of the 1970s. Such support has been seen as a

cornerstone of long term capacity development in the more narrow sense of the term. The reason is that basic education is necessary as preparation for further education and training. More importantly, education for children and adults is intrinsically linked to the democratization of society, as an end in itself and as a means towards participation in the democratic process. Education has many facets. They are cultural, social and economic. It cannot and should not be reduced to its economic function i.e. to prepare for work in organizations inside or outside the public sector.

Institutional development in the education sector is not only a matter of staff training for the Ministry of Education or improvement of its internal efficiency. Nor can the discussion be confined to a matter of education and training preparing for work in other organizations. In this period of change, it is also a matter of transformation of the education system as an institution in its widest sense i.e. the basic values on which it is based, the policy framework and the capacity of the Ministry of Education to implement the policy. Only when all these aspects are taken into account can it be a vehicle for the democratization of societies. To what extent organizations such as Sida should be involved in the different elements of this process is another question that will be left aside here.

4. Concluding comment

This paper has illustrated the need for a broad approach to capacity and institutional development. The agenda includes basic values and policies, the legal framework and improvement of the internal efficiency of organizations. Training is only one component of a process of organizational development.

This way of reasoning also applies to the strengthening of democratic institutions. Such programmes have all the facets illustrated above. Once, the stage has been set, it is up to Sida to discuss with its partners what supportive role it can play. Some of the approaches and the experiences have been described in the paper. This area of cooperation is receiving increased attention and is evolving fast. It is also very complex. It is important that the experience of others is discussed and shared. It is hoped that this paper can make a contribution to the sharing of experience.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS

Paper prepared for IIEP Workshop, Paris, 1-2 July, 2008

The purpose of this paper is to analyse how the roles of external actors have shifted in change processes which aim at strengthening the capacity of individuals, organisations and/or more complex systems such as education. These roles will be discussed with reference to Swedish aid, provided through the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida[1]

References will also be made to the ongoing international debate about capacity and capacity development within the framework of the Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness. It will be argued that the role of external actors is conditioned on perspectives of knowledge and learning but also on the broader frameworks of international cooperation. Attempts will be made here and there to illustrate how shifting roles of external actors have impacted on the results of the projects. However, this will be done only when evidence is available in the material. No attempt will be made at suggesting that there is a "best way" of contributing to the strengthening of the capacity of, say a Ministry of Education in Africa. On the contrary, ongoing international "good practice studies" seem to suggest that external actors have made lasting contributions to capacity when they have been sensitive to the context. Flexibility and sensitivity to context rather than prescription seem to be the key concepts which have guided success stories. This should not be taken to mean that "anything goes." Certain general conclusions have been drawn within Sida which are consistent with international studies.

A number of questions arise in relation to future approaches to capacity development in relation to poverty reduction. These are raised in the final section.

[1] For the period up to 1995, references are made to the experience of the Swedish International Development Authority, SIDA. In 1995, SIDA was merged with four other Swedish aid agencies. The new organisation was renamed Sida, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

1. Capacity, knowledge and learning

Much has been written about the concept of capacity: what it is or ought to be. It is used in many different fields as an analytical and normative category. Many have argued that it is too wide and too vague to be used for analytical and planning purposes. Some of the failures in the past can be explained by the fact that the parties have not shared the same view of the very notion of capacity and capacity development. "Capacity building" as seen by a foreign expert may be perceived by the counterpart as an attempt at imposing irrelevant solutions from outside. At the same time, capacity is so closely associated with the very notion and objective of aid that aid can hardly be discussed without it.

The etymology of **Capacity** stems from French Capacité (latin *capacitas*) and it has two dimensions. The first has to do with space as in loading capacity of a vessel or the capacity of a person's lungs when breathing deeply. The other has to do with ability or skillfulness: the ability to do or to perform tasks.

The capacity of individuals is closely associated with knowledge and skills. Knowledge and skills are important preconditions for the "the ability to do things" but the concepts are not the same. Capacity is a wider concept. It is closer to Human Development than to Knowledge and Skills. In the day to day work of international cooperation, education and training have often been used as a proxy for Capacity Building, CB or Capacity Development, CD. Also, CD has invariably been associated with Technical Assistance, TA or Technical Cooperation, TC.

In the literature on the **capacity of organizations,** it is common to make a distinction between **capacity** and **capability.** In this context, capacity is a collective endeavor or the ability of individuals to perform tasks together. An organization has different functions and the ability to perform these are usually known as **capabilities.** For example, it has to have the ability to produce, (telephones, schools or educational plans), but also to plan for these activities and to renew itself in preparation for future unknown tasks (Morgan, 2006).

Capacity and capacity development carry with them a general notion about change of individuals, organizations and complex systems, irrespective of field or area of work. It is sufficient, perhaps even desirable, to use the same framework within different areas or sectors. This position is taken in this paper.

Having said this, it should be clear that education has an important contribution to make to the general discourse on CD for a simple reason. It is that CD in practice is about knowledge and learning. This is hardly controversial. The more difficult questions are who should learn from whom and whose knowledge counts?

These issues are controversial and partly unresolved after 50 years of international cooperation. Three perspectives can be identified and they will be illustrated below with reference to Swedish aid. They are:

- Learning as a question of transfer of knowledge and solutions from those in the modern world who have general answers to questions of modernization to those who do not have these answers. This knowledge should be seen as a public good and be provided free of charge.
- Learning as more of an exchange of experience. New solutions to old and common problems will emerge in a process of give and take between the parties. It may take place between individuals, formal organizations or within networks.
- Learning is essentially an internal individual or organizational process necessarily based on own experience. Learning may be stimulated but not engineered from outside.

With hindsight it is also clear that the way learning takes place and is organized is a reflection of the broader frameworks within which it is expected to take place. These frameworks will in turn be the result of many other considerations but promotion of learning and/or capacity development. In the case of individual TA, for example, it is quite common that the main role of external experts is to "get things done" or to control donor funds rather than to train and promote learning.

2. Capacity as education and training

Transfer of knowledge and skills were at the core of Swedish aid, starting in the middle of the 1950s. Financial aid was of less significance then (Swedish Government, 1962). This would change in the early 1970s for reasons that are outside the scope of this paper.

The original formulae that were used to build capacity (although the concept was not used in policy documents at the time) may be summarized as follows:

a) Sweden would provide professionals in areas that were given priority by both parties free of charge to the national governments. Swedish professionals would come and perform tasks until national professionals had been trained.

b) Sweden would also provide individual scholarships for studies in Sweden.

c) When the trained nationals had returned and during a transition period, the Swedish professionals would serve as advisors to their counterparts while they were doing the job. When the national experts could (had the capacity to), manage on their own, the Swedish professionals would return home.

d) In parallel it was also considered important to build up national institutions for skill training to meet the needs for manpower of a growing economy in a longer perspective. Priority was given to vocational training centers. There was a strong belief that skills training would generate economic growth.

e) The needs for Swedish professionals and for skills training would be guided by manpower planning.

Comments

It is evident that the early policy documents were based on the assumption that there is a linear relationship between knowledge, skills, capacity to produce and economic growth. The main issue in the aid relationship was to find a way to transfer this knowledge and skills from those who had it to those who did not have it. Knowledge was seen as a public good which should be provided free to partner countries. Although not stated, it is clear that the official policy documents guiding this approach were strongly influenced by human capital theory.

During preparatory courses for Swedish professionals it was emphasized gradually in the 1970s that learning and training of counterparts should not be based on the notion of transfer of knowledge from those who know to those who do not know. Rather it should be seen as a process of mutual exchange of experience marked by openness and respect for '"local knowledge and experience. The problem was that this process of mutual learning was expected to take place within a context of inequality between the expert and the counterpart, in terms of professional experience, access to and control over SIDAs resources, including vehicles. This created tensions of different kinds during the process of

learning. A major evaluation of Nordic Assistance Personnel summarized and brought these tensions to the fore.

The Nordic Evaluation of Technical Assistance Personnel

The evaluation decided to concentrate on Technical Assistance Personnel (TAP). It made a distinction between agency TAP and consultant TAP. The former would be employed by SIDA on a long term basis (2-4 years). The latter would be hired mostly during shorter periods. The Nordic evaluation team presented its report in 1988 (Fors, 1988). The overall conclusion was that *"the aim of TAP as defined by the Nordic Countries in the ToR for this evaluation has not been fulfilled to a satisfactory degree"* (ibid, p. 43). Many reasons were given and the report suggested that the relationship between the parties, their different agendas and motivations should be analyzed in a holistic perspective.

One important reason given was that TAP appear in control and executive positions rather than as advisers and trainers. Also, TAP often worked in donor funded projects and in the majority of cases within separate structures set up to facilitate the implementation of the project. "TAP are often forced into ad hoc solutions of problems. Implementation of specific project activities become their main preoccupation." Counterparts were not available or when they were, they saw their role to be inferior to that of the expert (ibid, p.75).

These conclusions are to say that priority was given to short term results rather than to training and "institution building." Are there alternative solutions? The report concludes that the good examples are marked by "a combination of a strong national base for the project, and a flexible adjustable advisory technical assistance from a sister institution in the donor country. Therefore, also of cooperation between equals or almost equals" (ibid, p. 75).

The response within SIDA was to look for more flexible forms of support. It was felt that these were to be found in the market for consultants. By engaging consultant TAP it would be possible to combine short term and long term assignments. The outcome of the evaluation should also been seen against the background of broader trends within Swedish aid at the time. Official Development Assistance, ODA had grown fast from the late 1960s. The Management of SIDA was preoccupied with SIDAs capacity to handle increasing volumes of aid. One alternative, discussed in 1985, was to make arrangements with private contractors (SIDA, 1985).

SIDAs capacity was discussed three years later but in a much broader perspective. The memorandum prepared for the discussion noted that the overriding problem is the lack of capacity in "recipient countries." As a result, SIDA and other donors have taken over the implementation of projects more and more. Roles and responsibilities had become unclear and efficiency reduced. Experience had shown that lasting results were contingent on national ownership (SIDA, 1988). The question in the memorandum was how the capacity of "recipient countries" could be strengthened at the same time as SIDAs capacity problems could be eased. There was a strong recommendation to SIDA to encourage countries to take more responsibility for recruitment of TAP and that agency TAP should be reduced. It was further suggested that consultant TAP should take their place. This is also what happened in practice. It was underlined that more emphasis should be given to "transfer of knowledge" and to training (ibid, p. 15). There was no questioning of the fact that learning would continue to take place within well defined, often innovative projects. This is not the whole story however.

3. Capacity as a question of what organizations can do

Already in 1972 a different analysis had appeared. It said that development depends on the efficiency of the Public Administration in "recipient countries" (SIDA, 1972 a). The systemic approach comes out under the section on evaluation in the paper: *"Follow up and reporting shall cover the whole area or sector within the Public Administration of the country in which the Swedish contributions are expected to have an impact"* (ibid, p.7). Indirectly, the paper is critical of earlier contributions for not being integrated into the system of Public Administration. It took the change of structures rather than training of individuals as the starting point.

This paper came at a time when many countries in Africa had gained their independence and intended to modernize and adjust an expanding Public Sector to respond to the political ambitions of the new leadership. This ambition was seen as a priority for SIDA. A side effect was expected to be to reduce the need for expatriate staff. This same year, SIDA had developed its first comprehensive Education Strategy. It had taken a system wide approach to education and to educational planning. According to the strategy, priority should be given to basic education, children and adults and the key to success in the longer term was seen to be to strengthen the national system, particularly the capacity for educational planning (SIDA, 1972 b).

It would take another ten years until SIDA had developed a new modality in response to the analysis. It had emerged in the cooperation with Portugal, starting during the transition to democracy after 1975.

The idea was to link a Swedish public organization (called institutional collaboration or twinning) with a public organization which had a similar mandate. This took place in areas such as Tax Administration, National Auditing and National Statistics. The arrangements were long term and flexible and consisted of a combination of study visits to Sweden training programmes, short and long term consultants (Jones, & Blunt, 1998; Sida, 2000; Sida, 2003).

Comments

A more fundamental shift of focus had taken place with the twinning arrangements in comparison with individual TA or individual training programmes. There is no single comprehensive evaluation of all twinning arrangements within Sida but there are many reports and evaluations about individual projects. The references given above include two thematic evaluations which have tried to look at learning (Jones & Blunt, 1998) and national ownership (Sida, 2003), within the framework of twinning arrangements. The twinning arrangements have to varying degrees sought to address management issues as well as broader structural problems within the partner organization. The cooperation has rested on a notion of professional exchange between equals, close to what the Nordic Evaluation had in mind (ref. above). Hence, notions of knowledge and learning were based more on an idea of exchange and mutual learning than on transfer of knowledge as in the early years of Swedish aid. Also, the contracts have given the parties quite a lot of flexibility to find their way towards a common objective. In many cases this is also how the cooperation has been perceived by the two parties (ibid). The examples used for the stocktaking and the evaluations referred to above, largely confirm that professional cooperation between two organizations will enhance national ownership, promote mutual learning and a more equal relationship between the parties. There is no comprehensive evaluation of all institutional cooperation/twinning arrangements within SIDA/Sida. There is a need to dig deeper into this form of cooperation.

The international perspective

In 1993, the UNDP presented a very critical report entitled "Rethinking Technical Cooperation, Reforms for Capacity Building in Africa" (Berg, 1993). It noted, quite like the Nordic Evaluation five years earlier, that

TA is effective in operational positions. The problems arise when it comes to "capacity building and institutional development." Also the training dimension is weak or non-existent. The reasons are complex and have to do with the way Technical Co-operation (which is the term used) is managed, the project structure within which expatriate personnel works, the working environment and the fact that demand is determined by the donors rather than by the "recipient governments" (ibid, p. 28-32). Different solutions are discussed, including return to the original idea that expatriate personnel should stay in operational positions until the national systems have produced enough qualified people. The report also observe that the problems may be a result of "market distortions" i.e. the fact that TC constitutes 25-30 per cent of the total aid budget to Africa but is free to the line ministries receiving such aid. With Technical Cooperation comes vehicles and equipment which are attractive. Hence, there are no incentives to consider alternative answers to knowledge and capacity needs (ibid, chapter 7).

A UNDP report almost ten years later was to take the analysis a step further. The conclusion was that the old model of TA has rested on two mistaken assumptions.

> *"The first is that it is possible simply to ignore existing capacities in developing countries and replace them with knowledge and systems produced elsewhere ..... The second assumption concerns the asymmetric donor-recipient relationship - the belief that it is possible for donors ultimately to control the process and yet consider the recipients to be equal partners."* It is also concluded that *"technical cooperation is driven more by donor supply than recipient country demand"* (UNDP, 2003, p. 8, 11).

The conclusion is that capacity development needs should be addressed at the individual, Institutional (organisational in the terminology used for this paper) and societal levels.

It is against this background that the emergence of the first DAC Good Practice Paper on Capacity Development should be seen. It was adopted by the DAC in 2005 (DAC, 2005). It is concluded that capacity development is *"necessarily an endogenous process of change"* (ibid, p.18). Capacity *"grows from within"*. The role of external actors is to promote this process, to *"unleash what exists"* not to seek to engineer change through transfer of knowledge from outside.

Comment

The DAC paper, and the underlying analysis of experience, imply a radical shift of the perception of what external actors may do in relation to capacity development. The term used for the donors in the paper is to **promote** capacity development. If their role is to facilitate and to promote capacity rather than to build it, how should this perspective be reflected in concrete modalities for cooperation?

So far, and based on Sida's experience, there have been two main approaches. The first takes existing structures as given but seeks to influence and change them through innovative projects, which are more or less freestanding from the rest of the system. The principal problem of capacity development is to make these projects work and be run by professional staff. The main question in the longer term has been how these projects may impact on and be integrated with the rest of the system. Needless to say there is an abundance of such programmes in the field of education. For example, there are numerous examples (Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe) of in-service training programmes for teachers for a rapidly expanding system of education. There is also a long tradition of donor support for programmes aimed at making basic education better adjusted to the needs of rural areas, including for '"Education with Production". In many cases these have rested on an implied division of work between the partner country and the external actor. The national Government would meet the recurrent costs. The external actors would finance and provide professional inputs for the innovation, which would be recorded on the capital side of the national budget (See for example: ADEA, 2001).

The other approach, starting within SIDA in the early 1970's, has been to focus on improvements of existing organizations/structures/institutions. Issues of management, the culture of cooperation within the organization, its vision and internal efficiency have come to the fore. In short, the focus has been on capacity as a question of organizational development. Institutional Cooperation/Contract Financed Technical Cooperation have replaced individual TA as the main form of cooperation. This cooperation has also included TA, and in the case of SIDA/Sida on a more flexible basis in combination with training, seminars and study visits. So, the question has not been one of TA versus non, TA, but more of professional exchange than transfer of knowledge. Twinning and individual TA may or may not aim at organizational development and individual TA is a component of most twinning arrangements. The difference for Sida is, and has been, that Agency,

TA was provided as individuals on contract with Sida and on long term (2-4 years) contracts. TA within the framework of twinning arrangements was more flexible and integrated into the Swedish organization. It was assumed that the Swedish organization represented a kind of corporate knowledge and experience which would impact on the behaviour and skills of individual TA within such arrangements. In terms of learning the twinning arrangements have provided a framework of cooperation based on professional exchange of experience rather than on transfer of knowledge from the expert to his or her counterpart.

It should be clear from the above that capacity development, as well as knowledge transfer, are normative concepts. They build on certain assumptions about who has capacity and knowledge and who has not. Also, there is no linear relationship between knowledge, skills and "ability to do things." The process is always conditioned on institutional frameworks, here defined as formal and informal rules. It should therefore be important to look at capacity as a normative issue and what it looks like in the present context of aid.

4. Capacity for poverty reduction

Capacity, like knowledge and learning, has positive connotations. It is worthwhile to improve capacity. Knowledge is generally considered to be a good thing, something worth striving for. But capacity and knowledge in the wrong hands may be misused. Improvement of the capacity of those in power may be used to undermine the capacity of the poor. Knowledge can be used for suppression as well as for liberation. The current debate on "good practice" of capacity development has to be placed within the broader context of international cooperation and the frameworks guiding it.

It should be remembered then, that the second half of the 1990s was a period of review and rethinking of development and of international cooperation. It was also a period of declining support among taxpayers in countries providing aid. The broader political context is outside the scope of this paper. It is sufficient to note that a series of UN-Conferences were part of a consensus building process that resulted in the Millennium Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), in 2000. These were followed by an international conference in Monterrey in 2002, aimed at mobilizing resources for poverty reduction, the overriding goal of the MDGs, and a conference in Rome,

in 2003 on the need to change the modes of cooperation. Another meeting was held that same year in Marrakech on management for development results.

The question in the international community was how all these good intentions would be translated into action at the country level. The outcome was the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness - Ownership, Harmonization, Alignment, Results and Mutual Accountability (DAC, 2005). The key to its implementation is that the power of planning and implementation will shift from the donors and more or less donor driven projects to nationally owned and implemented strategies for poverty reduction. It is also recognized that ownership is not only about good intentions and good policies. It is also about the ability to plan and to implement, i.e. the key to success hinges on national capacity. In this perspective, it is only logical that capacity development will be very high on the agenda at the follow up meeting of the Paris Declaration in September this year.

The DAC follow up report illustrates the complexity of the aid architecture. For example, in 2005, donors fielded 10 453 missions in the 34 countries that have been reported. There was a total of 1 832 parallel Project Implementation Units (to be reduced to 611 by 2010). One third of all external funds are spent on TA (DAC, 2007).

So the questions are: What is it to develop capacity for poverty reduction in the context of the Paris Declaration? What is the role of external actors?

A group of some 30 Sida staff discussed this issue at a seminar in March 2006. (Sida, 2006). This is a summary of some of the main observations:

a) In a broader perspective of development and the many initiatives that led up to the MDGs, there was more emphasis on the "voices of the poor", than in the past. (Patel, R. et al. 2000). The Swedish policy for Global Development of 2003 takes this perspective as the point of departure. "*Contributions to increased knowledge and the development of sustainable institutions are the core of development cooperation. The aim is to enable poor people and countries to take control over their own development."* Sweden can contribute to this *"Cooperation can take the form of support for central government administration, universities, the private sector and popular*

institutions and movements" (Swedish Government, 2003, p. 58).

b) The potential or capacity of national (public) systems to manage the national budget and to deliver services (including for education, my comment) are central to the Paris Declaration. It highlights the need to improve the financial management and procurement systems in partner countries as a condition for increased financial flows from the donor community.

c) Hence, capacity development should focus more on knowledge and empowerment of poor people. Capacity development efforts should focus on human resource development, the capacity of civil society and the identification of institutional constraints that poor people face (defined as formal and informal rules, my comment). Some areas of capacity development are more important than others in relation to the overall objective (read '"poverty reduction", my comment) (Sida, 2006, p. 7).

Comments

The MDGs and the Paris Declaration provide two very different entry points to the issue of capacity development, both of which can be found also in the Swedish Policy for Global Development. The tension between the two perspectives can also be found in earlier policy discussions as mentioned above. In practice a balance has been and will have to be found. It should be important however to be clear about the differences.

The first revolves around the idea that change is the result of the capacity of poor people. This capacity is there, but it needs to be "unleashed". This process will be facilitated through education and training. Equally important is to remove barriers that prevent poor people from using their capacity. In this perspective knowledge has the potential to liberate the mind. The role of external actors, be they volunteers, adult education coordinators or extension workers is problematic. They should be seen more as facilitators than providers of knowledge or those who build capacity.

The other entry point is the lack of efficiency of the Public Administration of partner governments. Capacity development means to make complex systems work better. This opens up for a discussion that goes beyond the models of twinning that have been typical of Swedish aid. The focus will not be on single organizations but on complex systems of organizations such as the education, health and financial

management systems. The implication of the Paris Declaration of increasing financial aid in return for Good Governance, clearly puts emphasis on the second entry point.

Both perspectives are important. In practice however, the Paris Declaration has a heavy emphasis on external budget support in return for national poverty strategies that can "deliver" for the poor. Also, in the spirit of the Paris agenda, the role of donors should be to provide coordinated financial and professional support to national systems rather than capacity for donor driven and uncoordinated projects. What can be the role of external agents in capacity development processes which focus on strengthening of national systems which by necessity have to be driven by partner governments?

What is the implication for the external actors if and when the focus would shift towards the capacity of poor people? Whatever the answers, the questions illustrate that capacity development within the broad context of the MDGs and the Paris Declaration has to address the capacity **for what and for whom** as well as the capacity **how** questions.

The report from the Sida seminar (Sida, 2006) notes that,

> *"The challenge for Sida will be to combine these two perspectives and to adopt its approach accordingly. The first perspective will mean an emphasis on human resource development; from adult literacy to research capacity as well on the capacity of the civil society. It will also require a better understanding of how formal and informal institutional frameworks provide opportunities or create constraints for poor people….The challenges in the second perspective will be to find ways to support complex reforms of public sector systems in a coordinated way. These efforts have to balance flexibility with planning, and expectations of short term gains against well- documented evidence that complex reforms take time" (ibid. p. 7).*

It should only be added that these observations seem to be relevant for international cooperation in general.

5. Evaluation of capacity

Evaluation of capacity development is at the crossroads of the considerations analyzed above. It has come up as a thorny methodological question in the follow up of the DAC Good Practice

Paper referred to above. It can be noted that the Sida seminar in March 2006 concluded i.a. that *"Methods for monitoring and evaluation in order to promote learning and formative decisions in the development programmes should be looked into"* (ibid, p. 7).

A Danida review of 18 sector programmes, starting in 2002, illustrates a well-known experience also within Sida. It is that result-chains like: Training leads to better skills, which lead to better performance of tasks, which leads to improved efficiency, which leads to better results in terms of delivery, simply do not work. Nor do they explain why training programme seldom lead to the expected improvements of the performance of organizations.

Also, there is an almost inherent tension between capacity development as a long term process and donors' quest for immediate and tangible results (Boesen & Therkildsen, 2004). The conclusion is that there is a need to develop alternative frameworks for analysis and evaluation of change to the traditional log frames as a basis for evaluations of capacity. One example of a framework for analysis of organisational change is given in the ECDPM study on Capacity, Change and Performance (Zinke, 2006). It seeks to answer what it is that efficient organizations should be capable of doing. It defines five capabilities or characteristics of efficient organizations. These are:

a) The capability to self-organize and act
b) The capability to relate and to uphold operation space
c) The capability to generate development results
d) The capability to adapt and self-renew
e) The capability to achieve and maintain coherence

The example below is meant to illustrate what the implications might be of an evaluation of the five capabilities of an organization.

Comments

It should be noted that the capability to generate development results is one out of five dimensions of capacity. Why is this?

Consider the following: A customer who wants to buy a mobile phone will probably measure the capacity of Ericson or Nokia by using the phone. If one works better than the other, this will be taken as an indication that the companies have different capacities to make good telephones. How they have created this capacity is not important. An investor who wants to buy shares in either of the two companies will

want to know something about the capacity in the long term. He/she will assume that both companies produce excellent telephones. Otherwise the companies would not have been on the market for so long. The question that the investor is likely to pose is if they have the capability to "adapt and self-renew" and "to relate to and uphold space" i.e. to be sensitive to the needs of the customers.

A manager of the company would probably like to know all this but also if the organization has the capability to self-organize and act and to "achieve and maintain coherence."

When applied to the field of aid it is easy to see why there are tensions between those who want to evaluate capacity on account of what has been actually produced and those who want to measure the sustainability and capability of organizations (cf. the capacity for educational planning within Ministries of Education) in the longer term.

The purpose here is not to propose a good practice for the evaluation of capacity development. The examples are given to underline that evaluation of capacity in the broader context of aid is a contested issue. One reason is that the simple result chain that has been frequently used to measure the impact of education and training of individuals is insufficient in the new context of international cooperation.

6. Concluding comments

The success of capacity development and learning are contingent upon the institutional frameworks within which they take place.

In the history of Swedish aid, the dominating notion about change has been that it takes place through innovative projects. It is the role of the external actor to support such projects and make them work well. The principal problem has been how these projects may impact on the capacity of those bigger structures and organizations of which they are a part. In many cases, the projects have never been integrated into national structures i.e. they have not been sustainable in the long term.

However, there is also another notion of change early on in Swedish aid. It has taken existing systems as the starting point and the main objective has been to strengthen existing systems for Financial Management, Tax Administration, Statistics and Education. This approach may be described as strengthening the capacity of systems from within. In this latter case, the role of SIDA/Sida as the external actor has been seen to be to provide the framework and financing of mainly Swedish expertise.

Within this framework, the parties have worked fairly freely as professionals.

There has been a shift from training of individual capacity towards organizational capacity and this has been matched by a change of focus from individual experts towards twinning arrangements of different kinds. Not that one has totally replaced the other. They have coexisted since the early 1980s. What has changed is that virtually all Swedish TA is provided as consultant TAP (in the words of the Nordic Evaluation of TAP) and/or as professional inputs within the framework of institutional cooperation. There are examples of Sida support to professional networks in different fields (research, auditing, education).

It has been emphasized from the early 1970s that capacity development should be seen as a process of mutual learning. However, the frameworks of projects and the expert-counterpart relationship have worked against such ambitions. The introduction of twinning or institutional cooperation as an approach to the strengthening of the capacity of organizations has been a way to bring frameworks more in line with the view on knowledge and learning.

A number of other factors which are more a result of the general dynamics of aid have impacted on the role of SIDA/Sida as an external actor when it comes to capacity development. Sida's capacity has been seen as a constraint which was important for the shift from agency TAP to consultant TAP in the late 1980s.

So, what might be the role of Sida and other external partners in the new context of aid?

One observation is that the old discussion on knowledge and learning is affected by two international trends. One is the globalization of knowledge and the fact that knowledge is available to all in a way that the policy makers in the early 1960s could not have foreseen. Knowledge is also out there on a market rather than as a free public good that should be provided free to poor countries.

The other trend is the so called new architecture of aid. It is driving the agenda for capacity development towards the capability of national systems to deliver for the poor. Also there is pressure for results that are in line with the MDGs. The donors are expected to work together to promote capacity development in a coordinated way and in a way that facilitates the achievement of the MDGs. There is an obvious need for rethinking and review of existing approaches to capacity development.

The end result is difficult to predict and will probably vary from country to country. Only questions can be asked at this stage.

1. One is how a balance is going to be struck between the need to strengthen structures and systems in the long term versus the pressure to deliver and show results in relation to the MDGs?

2. A second question is how a possible change of the original perception of knowledge as a public good towards knowledge that should be made available to poor countries on an international market may impact on the present pattern of TA? In the UN system, TA is provided on the basis of international competitive tender and the bilateral seek to attract students in ways that are different for the scholarship programmes provided as part of aid-funded projects.

3. The original notion of knowledge as a public good has not changed much in Sweden or among other bilateral donors. Knowledge and expertise is provided from the country concerned and it is more often than not provided free of charge to partner countries. It is not part of the national budget or subject to national priority setting. It has been noted earlier in this paper that one undesirable consequence has been that TA has been supply driven rather than demand driven. One way to meet this criticism has been that partner countries are provided with funds for procurement of TA on the international market. Hence, the present emphasis on national ownership, may drive the international system towards market rather than "public good" solutions to knowledge transfer and knowledge exchange.

One way to combine the best of two traditions may be reinforced. This is for external actors to facilitate learning and exchange of experience through professional networks.

4. A third question is how the project tradition may find a place in broader processes of sector reform or Public Sector Reforms. There is a strong tendency in the Paris process to move from projects to a programme approach to planning for reasons that have little to do with considerations of the conditions for capacity development as mutual learning.

5. A fourth question is if there will be room for strengthening the capacity of poor people? If there is, this may lead to a revival of adult education as a way to the empowerment of poor people.

6. When will "education for liberation" be the main theme for a world conference on capacity development?

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PART FIVE

ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA (ADEA)

Introduction

Ingemar was actively involved in the process of creating ADEA and developing it into a model of partnership between aid agencies and African partners at the highest level. He played a crucial role not the least as he was chairing ADEA for several years. He participated in professional and collegial dialogues with a number of committed African ministers of education on education policies and technicalities, as well as education aid approaches. Furthermore, Ingemar established and led one of ADEA´s most useful working groups, the one on educational statistics. After him, his successor as head of the education sector at Sida took over the leadership of the group. It became a hub of capacity development among education ministry staff in many African countries.

In the following two papers Ingemar describes the vision, mission and functioning of ADEA. He also presents his personal reflections on its process and function.

ADEA was originally established, in 1988, as a forum for dialogue between donors, international agencies and Ministers of Education from African countries. The agenda was education reform processes and education aid effectiveness. At that time it was called "Donors to African Education" (DAE). In the spirit of partnership and ownership in Africa, DAE changed, in 1997, to the current name ADEA. The informal discussions and the professional development and networking provided by the technical working groups (on education statistics, girl´s education, teacher education etc) were special traits of ADEA.

In the two papers, it is pointed out that ADEA represented something new and different in that not only civil society, but also multilateral and bilateral agencies "use these informal structures in an attempt to develop new and genuine partnerships." As Ingemar concludes in his reflections on ADEA's 20 years of existence: Nowhere else is such a well-structured "informality" available to help create conditions for the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals and the Dakar Education For All Framework for Action.

Ingemar´s active contribution to ADEA´s positive role, especially in the 1990's, can be seen as representing the crown of Ingemar's international achievements in the field of aid to education policy development. Dialogue and capacity development were key factors, as well as the shared vision of country-led and holistic aid approaches based on genuine partnerships.

CHAPTER TWELVE

TOWARDS A NEW PARTNERSHIP: REFLECTIONS ON THE ROLE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA, ADEA

Paper presented at the University of Oslo "Education in Africa Seminar series, seminar on Globalization – on whose terms? May 1998

Education is the key to development and to nation building. This conviction was shared by the first generation of African leaders of the newly independent states of Africa. These were the main objectives driving the process at the national political level. From the point of view of parents and students, formal schooling was mainly seen as a route to a better life. As a result there was an unprecedented expansion of all levels of the education systems in Africa in the 1960s and 1970s.

This development came to a halt in the wake of the economic crisis of the 1980s. The subsequent short term austerity measures hit the education sector hard. Declining systems of education combined with increasing costs to parents reduced their interest and possibilities to send their children to school. This was the dominant perspective when Donors to African Education, DAE, was established in 1988.

How countries responded and how the education sector was affected by the long term structural adjustment programmes that followed is a more complex story, as later analyses have shown. (1) These issues are outside of the scope of this paper. The focus of the paper is on funding agencies working in the field of education. One of their responses to the crises of the 1980s was an attempt to build new and more equal partnerships with African Ministers of Education.

It is important then to recognize another basic fact. The negative economic and social trends of the 1980s had also made African countries more and not less dependent upon foreign aid. Structural adjustment had also meant, in terms of relations and terms of cooperation, that notions about aid as *development cooperation* had been replaced by *transfer of financial resources on certain and very strict macroeconomic conditions.* At the same time there was growing realization within funding agencies that the crisis situation had created more aid dependency, not less. Some of the basic economic and political conditions for reform were in the hands of outside agencies. In the late 1980s, a discussion was beginning

to emerge in the Nordic countries and elsewhere about the possibilities to reverse this negative trend. Terms like *ownership and partnership* were used to describe this process.

This was broadly speaking the context when the World Bank presented a comprehensive study of education in Sub-Saharan Africa. (2)

The World Bank study

The study carried two important messages. One was that there is a crisis. African Governments cannot continue as before. Action is required at the political level. The other was that outside support had to be re-thought. Working relations had to be changed and the fragmented project by project approach had to be replaced by coordinated action at the country level. Part of this process should include a dialogue about overall policy issues.

The report outlined a programme of structural adjustments within the education sector, but on more equal terms of cooperation. Aid should be replaced by development cooperation in a spirit of partnership. The report ends by a Call for Action:

> *"The new era of international assistance for African education and training should commence without delay. Donors and African Governments need now to come together to determine what concrete steps should be taken to support the adjustment, revitalization and selective expansion of African education. This study will have served its purpose if it stimulates African Governments to rethink policies for education development, encourages international agencies to improve and enlarge their aid, and helps all partners form a new partnership to provide Africa with the stock of human skills indispensable for development in the next decades and beyond."* (World Bank, 1988, p. 112).

One of the results of this call for action was the formation of Donors to African Education, in 1997 renamed Association for the Development of Education in Africa, ADEA.

From Donors to African Education to the Association for the Development of Education in Africa

"Donors to African Education" (DAE) was formed as an informal network in 1988 at the initiative of the World Bank, following the publication of the report. The presentation of the report in Paris brought together 25

funding agencies and 12 African Ministers of Education. There was a beginning of a dialogue about policy issues but more importantly a decision to meet regularly.

At a subsequent meeting in London, the donors decided to form a number of working groups to deal with cross-cutting themes such as teacher training, book policies and education statistics. The DAE had no formal structure and the necessary administrative coordination was carried out by a World Bank official in Washington, part-time. During the first years, it was a donor driven process at the initiative of the World Bank. From its inception the DAE has held regular meetings, initially as a Task Force or in working groups led by agencies.

Three years later, a small Secretariat had been established at the International Institute for Educational Planning, IIEP, in Paris. DAE had got more of a formal structure with Principles of Association and three Ministers on the Steering Committee. Ministers had their own fora called Caucus and Bureau of Ministers. Participating agencies had to pay an annual membership fee of US dollars 50,000.

In 1994, the Association was evaluated by an independent team, and the Principles of Association were revised. (3). Members on the agency side had increased to 15 and the number of Ministers on the Steering Committee was enlarged to seven. Last year, the number of Ministers was increased to ten. In 1997 the name was changed at the request from the Bureau of Ministers, from Donors to African Education to the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, ADEA.

The name shift and the increase of the number of Ministers on the Steering Committee is more than cosmetics. Behind these seemingly minor shifts of the structure there is an intensive process of discussion about the meaning of partnership. The concept has been concretized in three important ways.

Partnership as a code of conduct

The first step in the building of genuine partnerships was to convince the Ministers that agencies were prepared to review their attitudes and work practices. This shift has taken place gradually in intensive informal contacts in an atmosphere of professionalism and collegiality.(4) As a result, the ADEA has seen an increasing interest and initiative on the part of Ministers of Education. This has meant the beginning of a change of the agenda with most meetings taking place in Africa instead of Paris or London.

This in turn has paved the way for discussions about difficult policy issues and conflicting agendas and interests. Also, the ADEA has provided a forum for Ministers of Education to meet regularly outside the formal setting of traditional international meetings. Some of the working groups have established national teams in different African countries which has facilitated contacts and cooperation between countries but also within the countries. The ADEA budget also provides funds for contacts between African countries. The informal and flexible structure of the Association, in which the ceremonial parts have been kept to a minimum, has been vital in this context. In this work the ADEA has tried to spearhead a new and different code of conduct based on openness and mutual respect.

Capacity building through the formation of new partnerships

The traditional model of technical assistance has been subject to much criticism, not least in discussions within the ADEA. Ministers have argued that existing capacity in Africa has been constantly underestimated and that the number of experts from the North could be reduced.

Some of the working groups within the ADEA have developed new and interesting approaches to capacity development which builds on cooperation within and between countries with outside expertise serving mainly as catalysts. Two examples may illustrate these approaches:

(i) The working group on Education Statistics aims to build up better information systems for policy making and planning at all levels of the education system. It works in partnership with a small team of professional experts at UNESCO, with country teams and with a group of funding agencies. The professional UNESCO experts provide tools for diagnosis of the information system and how it could be strengthened. The team also serves as a catalyst for the formation of country teams of professional statisticians and the users of the data. These teams form the backbone of the activities. Since 1994, 13 countries are directly participating in the development of technical modules having completed the pilot/test projects in school records management, annual school census, basic indicators and database. Over 20 countries out the 35 that had requested to participate have applied the diagnostic module to their system. The role of the agencies is to mobilise and coordinate financial support. The meetings of the Working group and the regional seminars also provide fora for sharing of experience. The group has also been a place for harmonization of agency requirements and formats for information. (5)

Experience so far shows that there is capacity and expertise in participating countries. What matters most is the framework not the competence of individuals. Competence existed but has not been used. The dynamics of the country teams has come through their informal character and the fact that they bring together the producers and the users of information. Once this framework was in place, there was a partner who could begin to share experience with others and to draw on the expertise that was available from outside. Another important feature was that the teams have been active partners in the development of the diagnostic tools that are used in the process. They have not been presented as ready-made solutions developed in Paris or Stockholm. (6a).

(ii) A similar working practice has been developed by the working group on Female Participation. It has established so called National Chapters for advocacy and analytical work. Study teams are formed in the country, including researchers and policy makers. Diagnostic tools and some limited professional support has come from outside. The diagnosis on the barriers to girls' education is followed by discussions and analysis. As the teams include researchers and policy makers there is a direct link between research and action. Outside expertise have been kept at a minimum. Also, the working group serves as a forum for dialogue and mobilization of political and financial support. As a result of this work it was decided to establish an NGO, called Forum for African Women Educationalists, FAWE. In 1998 it had a membership of 44 high-level women policy makers in 27 countries and 18 associated male ministers of education. There are national chapters in formation in 22 countries. (6b).

The point here is that these new forms of partnership have made it possible to build on capacity that exists and to learn mainly through a mutual sharing of experience. This does not exclude the need for support from outside expertise but it has been kept low. It has had a supportive and catalytic role rather than being a provider of solutions. The small team of UNESCO experts on statistics and the researchers from IDS, Sussex, who have supported the working group on female participation are marginal in relation to a conventional project of technical assistance. At the same time, it should be recognized that their role as catalysts and as providers of analytical tools has been critical.

Partnerships in support of national reform processes

The need for coordination at the country level is one of the main themes of the World Bank report mentioned above. It was also one of the early themes of the policy dialogue within the DAE. The challenge has been to move from well-meaning declarations about the need for coordination

towards a genuine partnership in support of national reform processes. Again, the role of the ADEA has been to serve as a catalyst for such processes.

Policy formulation was the main theme of the (then) DAE biennial meeting at Tour in 1995. Discussions were based on a study of six country case studies. It looked at the process of policy formation but also at donor support and coordination. (7). On the latter point, the conclusions from Tour were:

- Government must be a leading player
- Cohesive, prioritized, viable plans empower the Government
- Funding agencies can learn to be supportive partners in the policy process.

Mechanisms for such cooperation are in the making and the ADEA has been a catalyst in this process. A further contribution was made by the former Minister of Education of Ghana Harry Sawyer, when he presented his experience from country-led Aid Coordination in Ghana at the biennial meeting of the ADEA at Dakar in October 1997. (8).

So far the ADEA has not played an active role at the country level although a door was opened for this in the new Principles of Association of 1994. It should be noted however that development is going on within some agencies to adjust their procedures and work practices to Ministers calls for a sector wide approach to education. (9). Ministers have repeatedly emphasised that agencies should look at education as a system, not as discrete projects.

On the concept of partnership

The ADEA has also tried to contribute to the conceptual discussion of the meaning of partnership i.a. at the biannual meeting at Dakar in 1997. In order to put that discussion in the broad context of partnership between countries, reference will be made to attempts made in support of the formulation of a new overall Swedish policy in relation to Africa. It provides a useful framework for reflections about the political and practical possibilities that exist to form new and more genuine partnerships. (10).

According to the report, the partnership *"in a new Swedish policy should denote a Swedish endeavour, in co-operation with African partners, to establish a more equal and respectful relationship. In this partnership,*

*both African and Swedish resources should be utilized so that the African parties become the subjects of their own reform measures rather than the objects of external decisions" (*p.19).

The key words here are "equal" and "respectful." Partnership in relation to the latter is a moral code of conduct which relates to values and attitudes more than to the structural problems of inequality that are typical of the aid-relationship. It seeks to set up a code of conduct marked by an endeavour to listen and by openness but also by clarity as regards the objectives of the cooperation.

It should be noted, then, that this code of conduct does not apply only to development co-operation. The whole report is an attempt to shape and widen Sweden's overall relationship with Africa in the commercial, scientific and cultural fields. This is where the term "equal" comes in. The analysis of the aid relationship recognises that aid dependency has increased rather than decreased. One way out, the report suggests, is to widen relationships to include areas where equality and mutual learning can take place, such as cultural exchange.

The report suggests that special funds should be set aside for cultural exchange and cooperation within the aid budget. It is also hoped that many of the Sida-funded activities e.g. between universities, can be gradually transformed to regular forms of cooperation driven by the interests that both parties have to learn from each other. Whether this is a viable proposition remains to be seen. But even if new relationships are being established, the report also shows that aid is the dominant part of Sweden's relations with Africa. The challenge of the practice of partnership, therefore, is to deal with it within the framework of development cooperation. What are the lessons and the significance of the ADEA if placed in such a broad context?

Concluding comment

A lot of the work within the ADEA has been to develop a new code of conduct as referred to above. This term has not been used within the ADEA and a code has not been formalised. What has been achieved is more to set the stage for a new "culture" marked by openness, collegiality and professionalism. It may be argued that this is less important as long as the structural problems are not addressed. The experience so far shows, however, that personal relationships are important. New channels of communication and contact have been opened up between countries and also within countries. The new signals that have come from the agencies have been demonstrated in practice within the ADEA. Attempts

to move away from patronising attitudes and "top-down" notions of technical assistance have been appreciated by the Ministers of Education. Ministers have demonstrated that this is an important step towards a new partnership.

The ADEA has a formal structure but functions more like a network than a traditional and hierarchical international organisation. Its flexibility and informality have been vital, perhaps a precondition for the development of a new and different "culture of cooperation." It is obvious that there is a need for such networks in order to facilitate cooperation between the complex and often hierarchical structures of international and bilateral funding agencies.

It should be noted then that similar forms of cooperation exist in other areas. Sida is presently hosting the secretariats of a network that facilitates new partnerships and consensus building on the use of water resources. It is called Global Water Partnership. Club de Sahel with its Secretariat at the OECD is another example from which the ADEA has learnt (11). The idea of networking is not new of course. It has for many years been developed and practised by groups and associations in the civil society, for advocacy work and for professional exchange.

Notes and References

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3. Woodhall, M. et al. (1994). Evaluation of Donors to African Education, Paris: UNESCO/IIEP, Mimeo.
4. See DAE/ADEA Newsletters, for example Vol 9, number 3, July-September 1997.
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8. Sawyer, H. (1997). Country-Led Aid Coordination in Ghana. Paris: ADEA.

9. See for example, Seminar held in Stockholm, March 1998 with participants from Sida, Danida, Norad, Finnida, Irish and Dutch Ministries of Development Cooperation (report forthcoming).
10. Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. (1997). Partnership with Africa- proposals for a New Swedish Policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa, Stockholm. Partnership Africa/Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
11. See for example: OECD. (1997). Club de Sahel, Newsletter No 17, Paris.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ADEAS TWENTY YEARS - A PERSONAL REFLECTION

February 2008. Short mail from Aicha Bah-Diallo. *"Dear Ingemar. .... ADEA 20 years …. write something about its philosophy, orientation and effectiveness. Maximum 500 words."* Oh, gosh. Twenty years and 500 words.

September, 1988. The World Bank launches its report on Education in Sub-Saharan Africa; Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion, in Paris. Message is that the education systems are in crisis. Governments cannot continue as before. Action is required at the political level. Also, the forms of donor support have to be rethought.

November 1988. World Bank Office in London. There is a need for a forum between African Ministers and between them and the donors to discuss education reform processes and how donors can best support them. Should not just be talk but also action. Ten working groups are formed. Aklilu Habte, World Bank Head of Education pushes me into a corner. Education Statistics is vital but nobody wants to coordinate the group. Sida must take this on. I do. Two important lessons. Education Statistics is not about the yearbook. It is a tool for management. It is when the users of statistics meet the producers that the tables mean something in reality. Users and "producers" do meet in this Working Group. UNESCO:llEP offers to host the Secretariat.

First biennial meeting in Manchester is about book policies in Africa. Who is to decide? The international publishing companies or the national Governments of Africa? Quite a lot of tension in the corridors but a very open dialogue during the plenaries. I am invited to an informal lunch with Fay Chung (then Minister of Education in Zimbabwe), a group of Ministers and University Chancellors and some donors. It is high time to do something about the participation of girls in education. And to the donors: Are you ready to support the initiative? Next step: Rockefeller invites the group to its Conference Centre in Bellagio, Italy. This marks the beginning of the Working Group on Female Participation and FAWE.

Next biennial 1993 for me is in Anger. I appear on stage with Aicha (then Minister of Education in Guinea). I am the chair and she is the co-chair of what is the Donors to African Education, still. We want to signal that cooperation and change is about trust, openness and partnership. It becomes clear to me that my role as chair is to "nurture" such a culture.

Ministers sit in working groups early in the morning. It is obvious that DAE now rests on a solid professional base and commitment. It will have a role to play in the wider context of education reform in Africa. I ask one of the Ministers at coffee break how she likes the meeting. "Very good." What is so good about it? "No official speeches." Richard Sack, the Executive Secretary, captures it. DEA is about "structured informality." And so it should be. This has been its strength throughout.

In 1997, the DEA becomes the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, ADEA and from now on, all major meetings take place in Africa. These first ten years were the initial phases of enthusiasm and improvisation, or charisma as Max Weber called it, 100 years earlier. Questions begin to arise. What next, what is ADEA going to be? A well functioning bureaucracy for "delivery" of certain quantifiable "products" or what? All those who want to see results "on the ground" begin to ask questions. Meetings, studies, meetings, but where are the results?

February 2008. I have lost touch with the daily work of ADEA but I have learnt quite a lot about the importance of political will and capacity for social change. "Capacity grows from within." Development is not going to be fixed by external experts however qualified and efficient they are. The Paris Declaration (which ought to be renamed "for Development Effectiveness", cf DAE/ADEA above), talks about the importance of political will and about managing for development results together. It is apparent how it echoes themes that have been discussed at length within ADEA from the very start.

I browse through the website of ADEA. There is an impressive body of knowledge about education in Africa based on direct experience of those who have lived it. It occurs to me that the Paris agenda is fine as a framework for change and cooperation, but it does not say e.g. how the Dakar goals should be reached in Africa. It needs a "soul" in each professional area. In Africa, ADEA is there in the field of education. It stands firmly on a collective body of knowledge and it has 20 years of experience of how to work together around difficult professional issues. Nowhere else is such a well-structured "informality" available to "help create conditions for" (as the Swedish Policy for Global Policy has it) the implementation of the MDGs and the Dakar Framework of Action. Implementation "on the ground" has to take place in national political processes in each country but cooperation will not take place without a rainbow of professional partnerships.

PART SIX

KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES

Introduction

A lifetime of working with education for development and with the nuts and bolts of development cooperation led Ingemar to such questions as education for whom, with what content and with what roots in local society or in a rapidly globalising world. In particular the latter question led Ingemar further, to a consideration of what is the knowledge that we somehow assume is part of an education system, and how does it fit in with everything else in society. Can we talk about knowledge societies, and if so, what are the implications for how we work with education and development? This question was of interest to Sida, for whom Ingemar had worked from 1971 to 2007, and he was asked to write, as a consultant, a background paper for Sida's Knowledge Society Project.

In the paper below, Ingemar ranges over a number of aspects of knowledge and he linked traditional approaches to knowledge to the rapidly expanding information and communication technologies that could potentially change how we view knowledge, and how knowledge is addressed in education systems. He first addresses what might be meant by knowledge societies, and then goes on to consider knowledge and learning from a historical perspective, including the linkages to technology and innovation, and to action. Ingemar then reconsiders what is meant by knowledge society and links the discussion back to knowledge, learning and capacity as central to development cooperation, and specifically the topic of capacity development, a topic that is at the heart of other papers in this collection.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

KNOWLEDGE AND KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES

A background paper prepared for Sida's Knowledge Society Project, December 2009

The purpose of the paper is to identify issues that arise when the concept of Knowledge Society (-ies) is used as a lens for the analysis of the importance of knowledge and learning in present day modern societies. It will also make some references to the central role of Knowledge, Learning and Capacity in Development Cooperation.

It will be illustrated below that the concept also opens up for and is closely related to some underlying structural changes in which information sharing across borders and in a myriad of networks is an integral part of the understanding of the concept of Knowledge Society. Information and Communication Technologies, ICTs, are both a precondition for and a driver of these changes. The concept of Knowledge Society is therefore best understood as a process of change. The concept also rests on and has its roots in different traditions and thinking about knowledge, education and development which date back to the beginning of the modernisation process in Europe when ideas about research and learning without religious or other ideological restrictions were beginning to evolve. It has therefore been found important to place the current discussions of the different dimensions of the modern Knowledge Society in a broader historical perspective of educational thought.

Over the years, many of these ideas and traditions of knowledge, education and learning have been transferred to other countries and settings, for example when formal schooling was introduced by European missionaries and later by colonial states in Africa, Asia and Latin America. This process has given rise to a specific discussion about the relevance of concepts about knowledge and learning that have evolved in a specific historical situation and in a specific setting in Europe. It has been argued that it should be necessary that these concepts be adjusted to the particular context that exists in other parts of the world. It is also suggested in this paper that the discussion about the need for adjustment does not belong to a distant historical past, but is relevant for the discussion about knowledge societies, despite increasing globalisation.

1. The concept of Knowledge Society

The concept of Knowledge Society has arisen to mark that modern societies depend on knowledge for their continued development, perhaps more on knowledge than on other resources. All production processes, understood in a wide sense, depend on knowledge. They will be renewed through a strong link between research, education and innovations. Knowledge and Information are also closely related to the democratisation process of modern societies. Everybody has the right to education and to information without restrictions and throughout life. Those who have missed out on education in the early phases of life should always be given a possibility to come back.

In more concrete terms, the concept of Knowledge Society includes the following dimensions:

- The concept can be and has been used as an analytical tool in order to understand the ongoing process of modernisation in which unrestricted access to information and knowledge as well as information sharing and learning are seen as crucial to societal development.
- One observation made in such analyses has been that these knowledge societies are marked by a myriad of formal and informal networks for information sharing, mutual learning and action. Many of these networks cut across national borders and other formal structures. These networks are also powerful drivers of social and political change. The use of Information and Communication Technologies, ICTs, is a precondition for and an integral part of these processes of change.
- The networks encourage information sharing and mutual learning between people who set their own rules. These are often at odds with more traditional and hierarchical structures of education and research.
- Creativity at the individual, organisational and societal levels is an integral part of the concept. It is expected that this creativity will result in innovations that can demonstrate how economic, social and political processes can be renewed in practice.
- The concept implies a wide definition and understanding of concepts such as education and learning. The Knowledge Society would value individuals who are ready to learn throughout life. They should be prepared to acquire new skills as the needs at the workplace and in society at large change.
- For existing systems of education and research, the concept implies that they should be organised according to the principles of Life

> Long Education and Life Long Learning. This means i.a. that the formal systems should have as few "dead ends" as possible. Priority should also be given to adult education and to non-formal education.

It can be seen from the above that the concept of Knowledge Society is both a normative concept. i.e. something worth striving for, and an analytical concept, i.e. something that can be used to understand important trends in existing information and knowledge societies. Hence, it should be important to place the discussion about it in a wider historical context. This will help the reader or user of the concept to understand the potential tensions in it as well as the different dimensions of it.

2. Perceptions about knowledge and learning in a historical perspective

Three perspectives have been identified which run through much of the modernisation process of the Western World. They have been and continue to be contested and tensions have arisen. The discussion about the balance between them is by no means over, as will be illustrated below.

2.1 Search for new knowledge as an open ended and unrestricted process

When the search process is organised and carried out with rigour, it is referred to as research or basic research. The search for knowledge can also be more informal and reflect a general attitude to a life marked by curiosity. The idea that the search for knowledge and new insights should be carried out without political and religious restrictions is fairly recent in European history. For example, it was only in the late 18th century that research became an integral part of universities. Up to then, the main role of universities was to transfer a fairly fixed body of classical knowledge from one generation to the other. The church argued for many hundreds of years that the debate about and search for knowledge should take place within the overall framework of religious perceptions about man, nature and the world beyond this world.

This is an issue still in some other cultures but it is no longer seen as an overall framework that restricts or directs the research process or colours its findings in the Western world. The question that arises is if there are other frameworks today which direct or restrain the search for knowledge? A partial answer would be that the natural sciences today operate within a framework which can be summarized as:

Natural science + technology + innovation = increased production

This research process has priority over other more open ended processes i.e. in the humanities and the social sciences. It could be argued that it is the use of the research results that is the ultimate indicator of the value of new knowledge rather than the new insight itself. A similar equation for the social sciences would probably look different, but it is certainly true that no research activity financed out of public funds can be carried out without reference to results which are defined outside the logic of the search process itself. Hence, there is an unfinished discussion about the balance between basic and applied research.

2.2 Learning should mainly take place in schools and in the early years

The idea that learning should take place in schools and in the early years is so well established over the whole world today that it is taken for granted. As a result primary, secondary and tertiary education for young people has been given priority over education for adults.

When this has been said, it should be important to recall that the late 1960s and the 1970s was marked by serious criticism of the school as an institution and the secondary school in particular. In 1968, Philip Coombs published his by now, classic study of the world crisis in education. He argued that a continued expansion of the formal school system in poor countries, coupled with continued population growth, would be too costly for national governments. Since formal education is labour intensive with few possibilities to replace teachers with new technologies (as has been done in industry to lower the costs), poor countries are caught in a trap. The result would be quantity or increasing access at the expense of quality. Coombe´s analysis was followed by ideologically based criticism. It came from different perspectives. Or, as summarized by the late Professor Husén in a study published in 1979:

> *"The former consensus about the benefits of traditional schooling and the conviction that education always represented an intrinsic good were gone. …. The conservatives blamed the school for its low academic standards, its lack of discipline and for neglecting the talented students. The radical left accused the schools for being joyless, oppressive and autocratic. A new breed of Marxist educators perceived schools as instruments of capitalist society. Schools were there to produce a work-force that would fit the hierarchical and oppressive working life in that type of society"* (Coombs, 1968; Husén, 1979, p. 11).

In practice the formal systems of education all over the world have expanded at all levels. In some countries such as Sweden, this expansion has been accompanied by a system of adult education, both formal and non-formal. Adult education is strongly associated with the process of democratization in the Nordic countries.

However, in most countries, particularly the poorer countries, the expansion of the formal system has been to the detriment of adult education as can be seen from the persistent high rate of adult illiteracy, particularly in Africa (UNESCO, 2005). Hence, it is fair to say that in a global perspective, formal education is primarily for young people. The gaps that exist between rich and poor countries with respect to formal schooling are explained more by access to resources than by differing political priorities. Virtually all governments believe in formal schooling and give priority to a continued expansion of the formal system of education. What can be seen are restrictions for girls and women in many countries. The discussion about the gender gap will be left aside here but it is a reality, still.

It should be remembered then, that the idea of basic formal schooling for all arose in a specific historical context of 18th century Europe. It was mainly driven by religious objectives at that time. Schools were seen as a way to transfer a fixed body of knowledge, including religious dogmas from one generation to the other and to inculcate discipline and other virtues. In later years formal schooling has come to be seen as an important tool for the democratization process. There is also a long research tradition which argues that there is a strong relationship between formal education, productivity and economic growth (Psacharopoulos & Woodhall, 1985).

The question of adjustment of formal schooling to different contexts is an unfinished issue. For example, in Africa, there is a tradition of "adjustment" to the perceived needs of Africa and Africans that was introduced by Britain in its colonies in the 1920s (Gustafsson, 1987). This policy was contested by the emerging movements for national independence. The adjustment was seen as oppression in disguise of the African population, since it denied them access to education beyond the elementary stage. There is also another discussion about the importance of the knowledge in traditional African societies. Many African scholars since independence have argued that the English school system was simply exported to Africa. It downplayed or disregarded knowledge and experience of African societies (Odora-Hoppers, 1998).

This discussion is an example of what was said in the introduction about the problematic of adjustment of knowledge systems which have arisen in one context to another specific social and political context. It is important to note

that the concept of Knowledge Society has arisen in a particular context and during a particular phase of development of modern societies. Some of its features are part of the globalisation process made possible by the use of ICTs. Hence, there seems to be an unfinished discussion about "adjustment" or "adaptation" also today.

2.3 The linkage between knowledge and action

The search for and acquisition of knowledge through different systems of learning is there for a purpose. Today, the objectives of this process are mainly defined outside the process of learning itself. Education is there to spearhead democratisation, citizenship and to meet the needs of the labour market. This observation would hardly be controversial today. Hence, it is to be expected that there is or should be a strong relationship between knowledge and action. Individuals who learn are expected to use their knowledge and skills in order to do things, be it as citizens, family members or professionals. Knowledge and learning for its own sake, what value does it have today? Perhaps not very high.

In the evolution of European and American educational thought, however, there is a strong tradition which says that the main purpose of education, at least at the higher levels, should be character formation of the student. It is there to enrich your life and personality. Education should reward learning how to learn. The process of learning is seen as an unfinished process. In this way, education is to be understood as an open ended process of learning without specific objectives that are defined by the immediate needs of society. At the same time, learning is there to provide insights and a broad overview of the totality of knowledge about man and nature. It has been strongly believed that such education should have the transfer of a fixed body of classical knowledge as its core. Access to such knowledge would help the individual to reflect, mature and to meet new challenges in life. It would be a way to avoid fragmentation of knowledge.

In the German tradition this tradition is known as *"Bildung."* It is also known as liberal education. It is close to the idea of knowledge and learning for its own sake. From the point of view of the individual, education is both an open ended process of learning and very clear requirements based on a notion of a classical and fairly stable body of knowledge (Thavenius, 1995). This idea about *Bildung* was the base for Swedish Secondary Education at least up to the Second World War. It can be noted that the term *Bildung* was also used in Swedish adult education. There was a reason for this. The Swedish Folk High Schools had a strong element of search for knowledge and learning as a never-ending process. It was important to learn how to learn. At the same time it was considered important to carry forward

elements of "classical knowledge" or *Bildung* in this sense. Hence, the term *folkbildning* arose.

In later years however, there has been an equally strong element of "learning by doing" or learning for a specific purpose or task in Swedish school reforms. This more instrumental view on knowledge and learning has influenced Swedish school reforms since the 1920s. It came mainly from the US. It says that knowledge arises in contacts between people and when problems should be solved. Learning is not primarily to transfer a fixed body of historically determined knowledge from one generation to the next. Students should be encouraged to look for new knowledge and for new solutions. John Dewey´s "learning by doing" is often quoted in this context. It has been argued that he himself never used this expression. In fact, Dewey took a much wider position. He tried to make a synthesis between individual needs for personal growth and economic and democratic objectives at the societal level (Dewey, 1916; 1966).

Finally, there is a long tradition of formal skills training and vocational education, the purpose of which is to prepare the students for a particular task. In this tradition there should be a close link between education, training and future tasks. In other words, there should be a direct link between knowledge, skills and action.

These different traditions are all concerned with the relationship between knowledge and action as well as the needs of the individual and those of society. They also carry with them basic ideas of what counts as valid knowledge or in a more general sense, what knowledge **really is.** This latter discussion which has lasted for the last 2,500 years in the Western World, will be left there with this observation. However, the relationship between knowledge and action is a recurring issue. It is important to bear it in mind when this paper turns to the concept of Knowledge Societies.

3. The notion of Knowledge Society in light of the above

The literature review of the Sida project on knowledge societies reflects the evolution of this concept since the 1960s (Svedén, 2009, unpublished mimeo). It notes that many definitions exist. The terms Information Society and Knowledge Society are sometimes used interchangeably. The following comment about the characteristics of a Knowledge Society comes from the OECD:

> "*In the coming decades there is a good chance that four simultaneous and powerful societal transformations will give rise to more variety and interdependence; from the uniformity and obedience of the mass era to the uniqueness and creativity of a knowledge economy and*

> *society; from rigid and isolated common planning to flexible, open and rule-based markets; from predominantly agricultural structures to industrial urbanisation; and lastly, from a relatively fragmented world of autonomous societies and regions to the dense and indispensable interdependencies of an integrated planet. Policy choices will be the determining factor in encouraging the potential synergies and minimising the friction and risks of conflict that these changes may bring.*
>
> *The complexity and knowledge intensity of a society in which learning is one of the principal activities have led to concern that people will not possess adequate skill levels. Some analysts worry that the knowledge economy will lead to polarisation that reflects the unequal distribution of skills"* (ibid, p. 5).

3.1 Comment

It can be seen that the notion of Knowledge Society is inspired by the different traditions on knowledge and learning which have been sketched in section 2 above.

In one sense, there is emphasis on the fact that the needs of society will change very fast. New skills are required. It is essential for all people in working life to acquire these new skills. This in turn may lead to an "unequal distribution" of these skills. In another sense it talks about "uniqueness and creativity" of the knowledge economy and society. The implication is that the Knowledge Society should encourage an unrestricted search for new knowledge and innovations. It also refers to the transformation of economies from agriculture to industrialization and urbanisation. A crucial question for the formal systems of education has been and will be: What kind of education for what kind of development? Will there be such a thing as "rural education" or "education for rural people" which is different from mainstream primary and secondary education? If there is, this will be the old "adjustment" or "adaptation" issue in new shape.

It can also be seen that there is an underlying expectation of a close connection between knowledge and action. Innovations are part of the concept. The underlying structural changes referred to in the introduction of this paper are not mentioned. They can be found in other parts of the background material and they are of two kinds. One enters the discussion from the perspective of information and information flows and the right to information. Another starts from the notion of learning societies and takes the right to education as the starting point. In this perspective it is both a right to get access to the collective body of knowledge that exists in the

world. At the same time, and in an emerging Knowledge Society, the most important aspect of knowledge and learning is to "learn to learn." The implication from a societal perspective is that learning throughout life should be encouraged. Formal systems of education should be adjusted to this idea. But the notion of learning should be widened to include learning that takes place in all other settings, be it the family, the workplace and the myriad of networks that are typical for the Knowledge Society. The discussion could be taken further and be made more detailed. Interested readers are referred to the references.

The above may be sufficient to show that the concept of Knowledge Society has elements of all of the traditions of thinking about knowledge and learning mentioned in Section Two above. The new and underlying feature has to do with the introduction of ICTs and what they mean for information sharing and learning. If it is true, as some analysts have suggested, that horizontal networks are important drivers of political, economic and social change today, these networks also provide new frameworks for learning. These are many times at odds with more traditional structures which are based on a notion of fixed and fairly stable knowledge areas, curricula and examination requirements. But even if elements from different traditions of thinking about knowledge and learning can be found in the concept of Knowledge Society, some features appear to have more weight than others:

The following aspects stand out as essential:

- There should be a strong relationship between knowledge and action.

- There should be a stronger link between research, technology and innovation.

- Learning should be based on a notion about knowledge, which implies that knowledge is created in response to concrete problems rather than in a process of transfer of a historically determined body of knowledge (cf comments relating to *Bildung* above).

- Learning should not be restricted by overall frameworks or general examination requirements. It should be seen as part of a democratic and open-ended process.

- Learning and information sharing should take place as much after school as during school age. It may take place in schools, in the workplace, in the family and in all other social settings. It is implied that a big part of the learning will be informal, i.e. it will not be planned or structured. Informal learning is rather associated with

transfer and exchange of information as it takes place in social contacts i.e. in the myriad of networks that are typical of knowledge societies.

- The use of ICTs is an integral part of the concept.

4. Knowledge, learning and capacity as central to development cooperation

The Swedish Policy for Global Development (Swedish Government, 2003), states that: *"the transfer of knowledge and building up of sustainable institutions is at the core of development cooperation. The aim is to enable poor people and countries to take control of their own development"* (ibid, p. 59). It echoes statements that can be found in the main policy document for Swedish Aid in 1962 (Swedish Government, 1962). This early document makes "technical and humanitarian aid" the core of Swedish aid. It is taken for granted that Swedish knowledge and experience is important and relevant and that Swedish expertise will be used.

When the new Sida was formed in 1995, knowledge was placed high on its agenda. The vision statement entitled "Sida vid sida (Side by Side) - A Programme for Global Development" has this to say about the importance of knowledge for development.

> *"Sida´s task is to make sustainable development possible and thus make development cooperation superfluous in the long run. Our principle method is capacity and institution development. Knowledge is our most important resource. Over the next five years we shall carry out an investment programme in countries of cooperation, for Swedish partners and for Sida" (*Sida, 1997 p. 9).

Similar statements can be found also in other organisations during this period. It should be important to recall that it was in 1996 that the incoming President of the World Bank, James Wolfensohn, declared that he wanted to turn the World Bank into a "Knowledge Bank," (King, 2004). This statement was followed by the World Development Report in 1998 on Knowledge. Its opening paragraph reads:

> *"Knowledge is like light. Weightless and intangible, it can easily travel the world, enlightening the lives of people everywhere."* It goes on to observe that there is *"knowledge how to solve day to day problems in poor countries like diarrhoea but "millions of children continue to die from it because their parents do not know how to save them"* (World Bank, 1998, p. 1).

According to this analysis, the principal problem is to bridge gaps of information between those who know and those who do not know. It should be a main task of Development Cooperation Agencies to reduce information and knowledge gaps between rich and poor. There should be no doubt that knowledge transfer and knowledge sharing has been and continues to be seen to be at the core of Development Cooperation. The more controversial and difficult part continues to be how these general statements should be translated into action.

It is in this context that the concepts of Capacity and Capacity Development are useful to analyse and understand the linkages between knowledge, learning and action. Capacity in its simplest definition is the ability of individuals, organisations and societies to **do things** or to "manage their affairs successfully" as said in a recent DAC-document on Capacity Development (DAC, 2006, p. 12). The question in the international community in recent years has been how capacity develops and what agencies can do to promote national capacity. The issue is seen as one of the keys to the implementation of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness.

4.1 Knowledge, learning and capacity development

Already the World Bank Report referred to above has a self-critical tone.

> *"People who work for donor governments, multilateral institutions, and developing-country governments recognize that there is much knowledge that the poor do not possess. But in their eagerness to give them this knowledge, they forget that the poor know a great deal that (the donor representatives, my comment), do not. Like all people, the poor know their own circumstances, their own needs, and their own worries and aspirations better than anybody else"* (World Bank, 1998, p. 117).

This discussion was followed by a review of current work practices during the first half of the the new millennium. These reviews resulted in the DAC Good Practice Paper on Capacity Development in 2006 (DAC, 2006). This wider debate is outside the scope of this paper.

What is essential from the point of view of Knowledge and Knowledge Societies is that the redefinition and widening of the concept of Capacity Development that took place in this review process is a way to try to redefine the linkages between **knowledge and action.** The background was that the many training programmes that had been financed out of aid had not given the expected results. The linkages between skills and action were both

longer and more complex than had been anticipated. The concept of Capacity as reflected in the documents above opens up for an analysis that takes institutions, understood as policy and other frameworks, information flows and incentives into account.

Having noted this, these documents have reiterated that **learning** is at the core of capacity development. It is implied in the analysis that it should be placed in a broader context and be given a wider meaning than skills training for a particular task as had often been the case in the past.

A challenge ahead would be to try to link the analyses of the concept of Knowledge Society with the wider understanding of the concept of Capacity that has emerged in the review process referred to above and the DAC good practice paper that has been agreed as a result.

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