

CHANGES IN DONOR SUPPORT FOR HIGHER EDUCATION IN KENYA

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ABSTRACT

For decades donors have played an important role in supporting higher education the world over. Kenya has not been an exception. There have been changes in donor investments in Kenyan higher education over the past 30 years. These changes have impacted the sector in various ways. From independence the responsibility for higher education in Kenya was borne by the state. This changed when two decades later the government introduced cost sharing, due to the influence of donors.

This study discusses the changes that have taken place in the higher education sector in Kenya with regard to donor support. It focuses on two important donors in Kenya, the World Bank and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). From 1985 to 1989, 17 percent of the World Bank's worldwide education-sector spending was on higher education. But from 1995 to 1999, the proportion allotted to higher education declined to just 7 percent. The technical and financial aspects of donor support are highlighted to draw out their contribution to Kenyan higher education.

Higher education is identified as one of the sectors to advance the objectives of donors through development of skills. This study finds that in the late 1980's and early 1990's, donors recommended reductions in support for higher education based on the assumption that it produced low returns on investment. Recent evidence suggests that higher education can produce both public and private benefits (Bloom et al 2006).

Donors have now changed to acknowledge higher education as an important contributor to development. In the recent past there has been a general consensus in the donor arena that higher education in developing countries has been neglected for long enough (Mamdani 2006). Supporting higher education has been proposed by donors, but the resources to back up their commitment are still not in tandem with their recommendation.

Keywords: Changes, Higher Education (HE), Kenya, Donors

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DEDICATION

To Kimberley, Brandon and Kelsey.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own research work except for the duly acknowledged literature, which is cited. I have not submitted this work in whole or in part for the award of a degree or diploma in any other institution.

MATILDA KHATOVONJE MASENO

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

HE	Higher Education
WB	World Bank
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
PHEA	Partnership for Higher Education in Africa
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
HEI	Higher Education Institution
ACU	African Colleges Union
JBIC	Japan Bank of International Cooperation
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
GOK	Government of Kenya
JKUAT	Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology
KESSP	Kenya Education Sector Support Program
CHET	Center for Higher Education T
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IDA	International Development Association
IFC	International Finance Corporation
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
AVU	African Virtual University
MIGA	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency
ICSID	International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IMF	International Monetary Fund
CAS	Country Assistance Strategy
PR	Progress Report
GSPK	Governance Strategy for Building a Prosperous Kenya

GAP	Governance Action Plan
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programs
EFA	Education for All
SWAP	Sector Wide Approach
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nations
AICAD	African Institute for Capacity Development
SMASSE	Strengthening of Mathematics and Science in Secondary Education
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
JOVC	Japan Overseas Volunteer Cooperation
SSA	Sub-Sahara Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
TFHES	Task Force on Higher Education and Society
JKCAT	Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
SADC	Southern African Development Community
ACU	Association of Commonwealth Universities
AUF	Association of Francophone Universities
AAU	African Association of Universities
EUA	European University Association
FY	Fiscal Year
MU	Moderately Unsatisfactory
DFID	Department for International Development
NER	Net Enrolment Rate

PDO Project Development Objective

WW II Second World War /World War Two

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study is on the changes that have taken place in higher education in Kenya with regard to donor support. The period covered is between the 1980's to date. This study will focus on two specific donors in Kenyan higher education, namely, the World Bank and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). It will shed light on their contribution with regard to the funding and technical assistance parameters. The study will investigate, analyze and assess the support donors have extended to higher education.

According to the Oxford dictionary the word change means to make or become different. Change occurs progressively and is intended to lead to transformation. Transformation is a marked change in form, nature, or appearance. Change often precedes transformation and may bring about complexities which impact on how to cope with it. For this study the word change will be used to imply the process of becoming different. Donor involvement in higher education has not remained constant but has developed over time. This study sets out to examine the changes that have taken place.

The environment in which higher education operates has been changing over the years, though some prioritized aspects for its improvement have remained constant. These include human resource and capacity building (CHET 2007:5). Higher education institutions have had to adjust rapidly in adopting to various changes. Some of these have been internal while others are external. As a system develops, it builds its own sources of continuity and change (Clark 1983:183). An increase in the actors involved in the sector, over the years, has prompted even more change.

There are various actors involved in higher education (Teferra 2008), but this study specifically looks at donors. Donors play an important role in various public policy formulation and implementation processes. They can be individuals, organizations or countries that contribute in kind, such as money or some form of assistance, to a cause (www.britannica.com). Donors may sustain the public policy formulation and implementation process with funds and technical assistance, provide international recommendations and guidelines, and have significant influence on implementation through their decisions (Mwega

2008). This study focuses on country and organization donors as external actors who sustain higher education through funding and technical assistance.

The World Bank mission statement, clearly expresses, as its general starting point, “... to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results and to help people help themselves and their environment by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors.”(World Bank 2010)¹. The basis for most donor involvement in developing countries is to improve livelihood through various interventions (JICA 2009). These interventions are directed through sectors such as education, agriculture and health. Over the years donors have positioned themselves variedly, mainly through involvement in the national policy process. By exploring how they have done this, we may be able to understand the changes in their role and contribution to the higher education sector in Kenya.

1.1 BACKGROUND

Since independence in 1963 the provision of higher education in Kenya, as in other African countries, has been subject to the dynamics of a fast-changing society. Higher education development was treated as an anomaly, until the mid-1990s, with the majority of education development projects focused on the level of primary schooling. The government has had to demonstrate some commitment to the development of higher education, because of the latter’s significance in the production of skilled manpower, including manpower for other levels of education (Mwiria et al 2007:15). National policy development plans include the social, political and economic pillars with education in Kenya being viewed as essential for the development of all three².

As an inclusion in national planning, higher education has undergone various changes that have impacted it in different ways. Over the past three decades, the boundaries of international development co-operation have changed both because its scope has been constantly enlarged and because dramatic changes have occurred in the distribution of roles among donors and recipients of official development assistance, particularly since the

¹

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,pagePK:50004410~piPK:36602~theSitePK:29708,00.html> – Visited 25.11.10

² <http://www.planning.go.ke/> Visited 10.12.10

beginning of the 1990's decade (Forster 1999:33). The current state of higher education is a result of the decisions previously made by actors involved in trying to implement an effective and efficient system. By reviewing the changes that have shaped higher education in Kenya over the years, in relation to donor involvement, we are better able to understand their objectives.

The involvement of donors as external actors in higher education has clearly had an impact on the sector (Aina et al 2004; Aseka 2005). Donors come on board as investors and development partners, with funding and technical assistance. Their support is critical for the development of higher education (Wangenge-Ouma 2008) and in a broader sense the general national policy development. Their presence can therefore not be ignored; neither can their terms of involvement or conditionalities, which in effect impact higher education variedly.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Higher education policy suggests the importance of this sector to national development, especially in skills development (Olaniyan et al 2008) and capacity building. Donor agencies choose to support higher education in different ways (Banya et al 2001; Brock-Utne 2003; Aina et al 2004). The problem this study seeks to address is the changing role of donor support in higher education in Kenya.

The main research question for this study is:

How has donor support for higher education in Kenya changed over the last 30 years?

Keywords: *Changes, Higher Education (HE), Kenya, Donors.*

In exploring how donors have been involved in higher education, over the years, and how they try to use it to achieve their intended goals, the following sub-questions shall be addressed based on the overall research question:

- Who are the actors involved in supporting higher education?
- What has the involvement of the World Bank and JICA been in Kenya and in Kenyan higher education for the last 30 years?
- What developments have taken place in the World Bank and JICA support for Kenyan higher education?

- What are the notable changes in the World Bank and JICA support for Kenyan higher education?
- What are the main similarities and differences between the World Bank, a multilateral donor and JICA, a national donor in Kenyan higher education?

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Since higher education is a growing activity more and more people not only have an interest in it, but wish to research it (Tight 2003:210). This study is significant since it explores the involvement of donors in higher education which is of importance to the sector as well as national development. In the national policy development process, donors as external actors' have had divergent views on the importance of higher education (TFHES 2000) and how to manage it. Their involvement in supporting higher education has impacted it. Developments in donor support are reflected in terms of changing emphasis, direction, or focus in their contribution to higher education.

This study will analyse and further highlight developments that have occurred in donor support for higher education. Hence, this study intends to add to knowledge and understanding of the changes in donor involvement in higher education. The outcome of this study shall be of importance to higher education, policy analysts, donors and policy makers and can further be used for comparative purposes in Kenya, across nations in Africa and the world at large.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

This study started with the choice of techniques to carry it out. It employed the use of both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Qualitative research may be typified as being concerned with exploring a particular phenomenon of interest in depth and in context (Tight 2003:185). Quantitative tools entail the collection of numerical data and as exhibiting a view of the relationship between theory and research as deductive, a tendency for a natural science approach (and of positivism in particular), and as having an objectivist conception of social reality (Bryman 2004:62). My choice of these two methods stems from the intention to bring forth the interaction between donors and higher education by exploring the way in which the former relates with and impacts the latter.

According to Bryman, qualitative research is an inductive research which is generated by theories (2008). On the one hand, it has an epistemological position regarded as interpretivist that attempts to interpret the world and stress the understanding of the world; on the other hand, it has an ontological position regarded as constructivist that indicates outcome of interactions between individuals (Bryman, 2008:366). This study fulfilled the nature of qualitative research since it investigated donor involvement in higher education; it clarified the developments in donor support for higher education and analyzed the impact rather than simply describe a phenomenon of donor support.

Qualitative approach is focused on in-depth investigation which may neglect some other aspects of the full picture. To overcome this hurdle the study also selectively employed the quantitative approach. It can be interpreted as a research strategy that emphasizes quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman 2004:19). By reviewing the documents on the financial support given to higher education, those that were within the time frame of the study (1980 to date) and specific to the context of the study were selected. This enabled the quantification of the support given to the sector by donors, over a given period of time. It then aided in the analysis of developments that have taken place, thereby complementing the qualitative approach.

The study also adopted a case study approach. It specifies two donor agencies which are the case studies. A case study entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a case, which could be a community or organization (Bryman 2004:48-49). The two donor agencies selected for this study provided a good basis for a case study approach due to their diversity in structure and uniformity in function. The case study approach was appropriate for this study because by selecting the two cases, it was possible to carry out a thorough investigation on them and their involvement in Kenyan higher education. The World Bank is a multilateral agency while JICA is a national agency. They represent two important classifications of donor agencies involved in higher education in Kenya.

1.4.1 Data Collection

The study involved an in-depth documentary analysis in order to collect data. The data collection process entailed classifying and finding themes from the data reviewed, as this was an important step in analyzing data. According to Patton “developing some manageable

classification or coding scheme is the first step of analysis” (Patton 2002: 463). Coding is the process where the raw data are broken down to themes, categories and sub topics (Bryman 2008). The data was categorized into three categories based on the themes that emerged from the research questions. They are: *donors, higher education and support*. Under the donor theme, donor agency documents reviewed were further broadly categorized as documents reflecting the policies and strategies of the agencies, and documents that presented the proposed and actual financial investments made by donors in higher education projects.

The study paid close attention to stories, accounts and context. The account of events was useful in analysing the developments that have taken place with relation to donor involvement in supporting HE in Kenya. The review of some historical documents was employed in this study. Studies on earlier historical periods have to rely primarily on documentary sources (Tight 2003:127). The review of historical documents was important because this study explored changes that occurred over several decades.

1.4.2 Data Assessment

Documents were read thoroughly, several times, and while reading important points were highlighted. The term ‘documents’, covers a very wide range of different kinds of sources (Bryman 2004:380). J. Scott distinguishes between the two kinds of documents used in social sciences as personal and official (1990). This study reviewed official documents. Scott further suggests four criteria for assessing the quality of documents, namely, authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (1990:6). *Authenticity* refers to authorship, whether the author can be identified and verified, plus soundness, whether a document is an original or technically sound copy.

Credibility is concerned with accuracy, whether a document is free from error and distortion, plus sincerity, whether the author actually believed what they recorded and why they chose to produce the document. *Representation* relates to availability, whether complete records have been maintained, plus sampling, whether the documents consulted are representative of the totality of relevant documents. *Meaning* is concerned with the literal and interpretative dimensions of understanding. The former refers to the ability of researchers to actually read the documents and understand its linguistic forms. The latter concerns the ‘hermeneutic

process in which the researcher relates the literal meanings to the contexts in which they were produced in order to assess the meaning of the text as a whole' (Scott, 1990, p.30).

In examining government and donor documents I used Scott's approach in order to give validity to my study. Methodologically, these documents fulfilled the authenticity and credibility criteria because they were official publications. Donor agency and government documents reviewed were publications retrieved from the specific organizations. Online versions were viewed from the organizations specific websites. The documents met the representation criterion, being published on a regular, usually annual, basis, and they passed the literal part of the meaning criterion, being written with the membership, and wider public, in mind. Practically, most of the documents required were publicly available.

It would not have been enough to draw out the significance of donor involvement without looking at their financial output. Donor documents extensively reviewed were World Bank, Kenya country reports and JICA, Kenya reports. The Kenya government documents included ministerial reports from vital ministries like the Ministries of Education, Finance, Foreign Affairs, National Planning, Higher Education Science and Technology and the Kenya Commission for Higher education reports. Other relevant sources were widely used such as books, journal articles, reports on donors and their changing roles and internet sources.

1.4.3 Study Selection

This study is limited to the public universities in Kenya, which are direct beneficiaries of government funding. Most donor assistance is channeled through the government, which implies that these universities are the most likely to benefit from it. For this study, I chose to look at two major donors in Kenya due to their financial investments and development assistance to higher education in Kenya. The two donors examined in this study, were selected because of their long standing impact and influence in Kenyan higher education. Owing to their long presence in Kenya a lot of information is available on their activities. A closer analysis of these donors' objectives and the normative basis of their involvement provided significant information on their support for higher education.

One is the World Bank (WB), a multilateral donor agency, which has been called one of the world's most "influential actors in the education policy arena," thus prompting new initiatives

of support for higher education among other international actors (CHET 2007:6). The term multilateral, means agreed upon or participated in by three or more parties, especially the governments of different countries. My choice of the World Bank was due to their extensive involvement in development in Africa and in Kenya coupled with the amount of influence they wield in the donor arena. From the WB documents this study drew out their general involvement in Kenya and then examined their support for higher education.

An analysis was then carried out of their funding towards higher education over the period 1981 to 2006. This data was readily available online and in WB reports and was specific to higher education. These reports were selected based on the period within which this study was intended to cover. From the data collected the study further explored two projects, the university investment project and the Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP), and examined their outcomes. This further shed light on the lessons learnt from these investments.

The second donor is Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), a national donor agency, which comparatively speaking, ranked second (only after the World Bank) in the ranking of major financial donors of HE in Africa (period 2000/04) (CHET 2007:97). As a national donor it is a single country entity. JICA was also directly involved in the inception of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT), now a public university in Kenya. It was started in 1981 as a Middle Level College (Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology (JKCAT)) by the Government of Kenya with the generous assistance of the Japanese Government³.

This study reviewed JICA's general involvement in Kenya and then examined its contribution to higher education. The distribution of JICA funding may not have been very specific to higher education in Kenya, but this was extracted from other reports. Reports on JICA's support before year 2000 were not easily available therefore other materials were used to obtain this information. These materials included books, reports and articles on JICA's involvement in Kenyan higher education. The study further examined JICA's involvement in the initiation of JKUAT by analyzing their funding and technical assistance towards this institution.

³ www.jkuat.ac.ke – Visited 11.01.11

1.5 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Higher education in Kenya comprises university education, technical and vocational education and training, teacher education and training, non-formal education and adult education. This study was limited to public universities in Kenya because they are the main recipients of government grants. Donor funds are mostly channelled through the government which then allocates it to public universities. The study is also limited to two donor agencies, the World Bank and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) because of their longstanding presence in Kenya.

Two problems confronted in realizing the objectives of this study were, one; change is a complex process that often crosses sectoral, disciplinary and organisational boundaries, therefore it is evasive and the outcomes are invariable (Clark 1983). In order to understand changes in positions taken by donors, the context in which it took place has to be evaluated. This was done by reviewing the context and time frame within which the changes took place and the factors affecting the decisions at that specific time. By reviewing the Kenya country reports the study was able to draw out the aspects that advised donor decisions within the time frame of the study.

Two, getting reliable information on the variables that caused the changes in donor involvement over the years was difficult since decisions were made at a very high level. As a result, it was not easy to get in-depth information on the considerations that eventually informed the donor decisions. Access to details on events and discussions within the Kenyan cabinet or its equivalent was not easy. A significant constraint was inadequate resources in terms of funds and time. To address the funding limitation a thorough document analysis was carried out instead of interviews in Kenya. The time constraint was addressed through stringent time planning.

1.6 THESIS OUTLINE IN CHAPTERS

Chapter one gives an introduction to the study, elucidates the background and explains the reason for researching donor involvement in higher education in Kenya. This chapter highlights the approach taken in carrying out this study by outlining the statement of the problem, research questions and the methodology used in data collection, presentation and analysis. It then outlines the entire layout of the thesis.

Chapter two presents a review of literature by introducing various perspectives within which this study is set. I will review the relevant literature to draw out the changes that have taken place in the higher education sector over time. It then introduces the analytical framework which will assist in analyzing the data.

Chapter three introduces higher education in Kenya. It outlines the reforms specified for the higher education sector and explores the financing of Kenyan university education. It then expounds on the roles of the two donor agencies specified in this study, the World Bank and JICA, by first exploring their general functions. It further investigates the World Bank and JICA's involvement in Kenya then narrows down to their support for Kenyan higher education.

Chapter four highlights donor support in Kenyan higher education by drawing out the financial contribution of the World Bank and JICA, for the past thirty years. By presenting and analyzing the data collected, this chapter underscores the notable changes that have occurred in the donor support for higher education in Kenya. It explores some of the rationales that have influenced the changing positions for donor involvement in Kenyan higher education over the last thirty years. It then examines the similarities and differences between the two donors in this study.

Chapter five sums up by presenting my concluding remarks. It entails the consequences for higher education in Kenya. It also puts forth recommendations for further research related to this study.

1.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter provides an overview from which I will examine the main research question. The aim of the study is clarified, which is to explore the changes that have taken place with regard to donor involvement in Kenyan higher education over the last thirty years.

It introduces the donor agencies specific to this study. The chapter then elaborates the study design and methodology. Such a study is distinctive in higher education in Kenya since it endeavors to expound on the developments that have taken place in donor support for higher education. The next chapter introduces to us the literature relevant to this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the analysis and critical views on issues that have been put forth by various scholars and academicians on changes that have occurred in donor support for higher education (HE) over the years. Different scholars have put forth discussions on developments in donor support towards higher education. This chapter discusses literature relevant to this study and presents a general description of the changes that have taken place in donor involvement in higher education from the 1980's to date.

The first part portrays literature on the higher education system. This study is focused on donor involvement in higher education in Kenya. It draws attention to higher education systems, which are distinctive in themselves. An elaboration of literature on the higher education system by scholars helps us understand its significance in national policy planning.

The second part reviews discourses on actors involved in higher education. Their involvement in higher education is crucial. It is therefore of great importance to understand the role they play in higher education and the purpose for their contribution therein. Further, this part expounds on the influence they are likely to have on the higher education sector.

Part three focuses the discussion on donors as external actors in higher education. They can be bilateral or multilateral development partners. Their goal is to achieve a wider objective and they support higher education as investors with the view to improve it. Their investment, is not only limited to funding but also involves development assistance, technical assistance and advice.

Donor involvement in higher education and their changing roles, over the past thirty years, are put forth so as to clarify their intended objectives. The changes in their position in relating to higher education can be understood through the actions they have taken over a long period of time. These changes are varied and therefore require further analysis which will be presented in chapter four. Part four introduces the analytical framework which is a lens used to analyze this study. The analysis is carried out in chapter four. The fifth part provides the conclusion.

2.1 HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education (HE) includes education carried out after secondary education i.e. post-secondary and tertiary education. Its emphasis is on knowledge transfer and production. Higher education is composed of knowledge as the prime material around which activity is organised (Clark 1983:6). Higher education systems are the products of successive, often unarticulated government and private initiatives over a fairly long period of time (Banya et al 2001). Some of the functions of higher education include the creation of new knowledge through scholarship; the selection, formation and certification of elite groups; and the transmission of the “high culture” thought to make men truly civilized by shaping of mind and character (Castells 2001:60; Trow 1970:2-3).

"It is impossible to have a complete education system without an appropriate and strong higher education system... I am not for a moment suggesting that primary education and secondary education are not at the very essence of development... [but that is] not enough. You have to have centers of excellence and learning and training if you are going to advance the issue of poverty and development in developing countries... the key... is higher education, not just on the technological side, but to create people with enough wisdom to be able to use it." James D. Wolfensohn, 2000

When studying universities and colleges it is important to view them as systems rather than organizations. Systems tend to be a lot more complex in nature than organizations. In an organization groups of people work in a formal social structure to achieve common goals. “When we view higher education institutions as systems, particular roles and structures seem less important, and our concern is focused on the dynamics through which the whole and its parts interact” (Birnbaum 1989:1).

National systems of higher education gather together a good share of those individuals who develop and disseminate the intellectual heritage of the world. The main professional orientation in higher education systems is the academics who handle the knowledge. Important through the centuries in training professionals and political elites, these centres of knowledge, growing many times over and multiplying their activities, occupy an ever more crucial place in the twentieth century (Clark 1983). The changes that take place in a university or college have to take into account their interactions with their environment.

Universities and colleges are constantly subject to changes due to public, regional, international, government and policy changes. “It is argued that for examining changes in universities and colleges both the relationship between these organisations and the government, as well as their internal dynamics are of importance” (Gornitzka 1999:5). These discourses indicate the importance of the interaction between universities and their environment.

2.2 ACTORS INVOLVED IN HIGHER EDUCATION

With the growth and diversity of higher education, actors interested and involved are varied. Actors can also be referred to as stakeholders since they are seen as having a stake in higher education. A stakeholder may be referred to as a person, group, organization, or system that affects or can be affected by an organization's actions⁴ while an actor is an entity that enacts a certain policy action⁵. The distinction between the two groups is still vague. Indeed, actors are likely to also be stakeholders. Actors think and/or act strategically to fulfill personal goals and are primarily utility-maximizing individuals (Boston et al 1996; Hood 1998). This study will adopt the term ‘actors’ rather than ‘stakeholders’ to refer to donors involved in higher education. This is due to their involvement and influence in the higher education policy process.

Since higher education falls under the national policy framework, the process of policy making is depicted as taking place in an action arena, consisting of action situations and actors (Ostrom 1999:37). Policy formulation and policy implementation are inevitably the result of interactions among a plurality of separate actors with separate interests, goals and strategies (Hanf et al 1978:347). In any policy formulation process, there are actors who enact policy action and stakeholders (including the actors) who may be affected by those actions.

In analyzing higher education it is important to explore how actors interact for the betterment of the higher education system. It is well known that higher education is supported by a variety of actors. In his triangle of coordination, Burton Clark describes the integration between the state, market and academic oligarchy (see Clark 1983:143). This triangle

⁴ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stakeholder> - Visited 25.04.10

⁵ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Actor_\(policy_debate\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Actor_(policy_debate)) – Visited 25.04.10

conceptualizes types of national HE systems integration and thus gives us a basic understanding of the actors involved in higher education systems.

Actors involved in higher education (HE) policy can be analyzed as internal and external. The actors involved in the HE policy process are multiple and include; the state, academics, students, donors and international agencies, private investors and the community. Table 2.1 gives examples to illustrate the growing number and diversity of actors that are increasing global connectivity and who are involved in the promotion, provision and policymaking related to higher education (Teferra 2008).

Table 2.1: Actors Involved in Higher Education

	National	Bilateral	Sub regional, Regional, Interregional	International
Government Departments or Agencies	<p>National Ministries</p> <p>For example: education, culture, science and technology, foreign affairs, immigration, trade, industry, economic development.</p>	<p>International Development Agencies</p> <p>For example: JICA (Japan), USAID (USA), SIDA (Sweden), CIDA (Canada)</p>	<p>Intergovernme ntal Organizations</p> <p>For example: European Commission, African Development Bank, NEPAD, SADC, African Union</p>	<p>Intergovernmenta l Organizations</p> <p>For example: UNESCO, World Bank, UNDP, OECD, WTO, UNICEF</p>
Non Governmental or Semi Governmental Organizations	<p>Professional or Service Organizations</p> <p>For example: University</p>	<p>International Cooperation Organizations</p> <p>For example: DAAD, British</p>	<p>University Associations</p> <p>For example: African</p>	<p>University Associations</p> <p>For example: International Assn.</p>

	associations, quality assurance and accreditation agencies, granting councils, scholarships organizations, science councils, export agencies, student groups	Council, NUFFIC	Association of Universities (AAU), European University Association (EUA) Quality Assurance and Accreditation Agencies For example: Africa Network for Quality Assurance	of Universities, Assn. of Commonwealth Universities (ACU), Assn. of Francophone Universities (AUF)
Foundations	Private and public foundations (for example, Ford, Aga Khan, Japan, Carnegie) supporting different activities such as student/professor mobility, scholarships, research/publications, science, conferences/workshops			
Education Providers	Public nonprofit HEIs, public for-profit HEIs Private nonprofit HEIs, private for-profit HEIs Corporate universities (for example, Motorola) Commercial companies (for example, Aptech, Apollo, Sylvan, Informatics) Networks (For example, Universitas 21) Media/publishing companies (Pearson, Thomson) Private virtual universities (Jones International University)			

Source: Knight (2006a)

Though the actors involved in higher education are varied they can be categorized as internal and external actors. Internal actors are directly involved in the sector and they governmental authorities responsible for regulating HE, academics, students and administrative staff.

External actors are indirectly involved in HE and include donors, private investors and communities. All the actors involved are important for the overall effectiveness and efficiency of higher education.

INTERNAL ACTORS

These are actors directly involved in higher education. They are seen as stakeholders whose contribution to higher education is of utmost importance. They are mainly involved in decision making and running the affairs of higher education institutions. Their role is recognized and seen as crucial in higher education. Their support for the sector is therefore very important. They include:

2.2.1 The State

Policy formulation is a central function of government and the effectiveness of policies concerning higher education depend on the government's capacity to manage effective policymaking processes. Adequate financing is also necessary for the facilitation of a successful policy process. Good policies are fundamental to progress in national development and in higher education. In various countries the government still plays major roles in financing their higher education institutions (Banya et al 2001). The main source of higher education funding for most countries has been central government grants.

As indicated by the Task Force on Higher Education in Developing Countries (TFHES 2000): "Most public universities are highly dependent on central governments for their financial resources" (Banya et al 2001). The widespread acceptance of political authority is also rooted in a belief in the rightful power of the purse, a version of the golden rule in which he who has the gold has the rule. If higher education is a private matter, then government may possibly be denied influence. But if it is a public good, then "government" cannot be denied some voice. There is no national system today in which this form of authority is absent (Clark 1983:121).

Typically, each year universities in Kenya, along with other tertiary institutions such as diploma, and certificate awarding colleges, submit their estimates to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education, after consultations, then forwards the estimates to the Ministries of Finance and Economic Planning. This then becomes part of the government budget estimates and expenditures for the year. Government budgets, though, have been

overstretched over the years due to the increase in demand for higher education. In response to this challenge the government has participated in the formation of partnerships with parents and communities, individual investors, civil society and donors.

2.2.2 Academics

The primary source of authority in HE is the professional expertise (Clark 1983). The function and objectives of universities and colleges are best served in an environment of academic freedom. This implies that such organizations are “bottom-heavy” (Gornitzka 1999). The academic staff within institutions play the vital role of transmitting knowledge and thereby influence policy by virtue of their contribution to the institution’s development. Higher education institutions are marked by professional autonomy (Minzberg 1983). Academic authority is extreme in its complexity, diffusion, bottom-up nature, and decision making by accretion (Clark 1983:134).

2.2.3 Students

As direct beneficiaries of higher education, students are very important stakeholders. Their input in policy decisions is important because they are affected by the numerous policies undertaken by HEI’s. Students are expected to play an important role in the management of the University and have input in decision making especially in matters that affect them (Egerton University 2011⁶).

Various guilds and student unions are formed within higher education institutions to represent the student fraternity in different matters concerning their welfare. In Kenya the students elect those who represent them in the student unions and/or guilds. Student involvement in higher education policy processes is mainly through these kinds of guilds.

2.2.4 Institutional Leadership and Management/Administration

These are responsible for the running of the institution and therefore are very vital in the daily operations of higher education institutions (University of Nairobi 2005). They manage the affairs of the university and implement the necessary policy in line with the laid out guidelines (Moi University 2007). Their contributions to institutional affairs are very important.

⁶ <http://www.egerton.ac.ke/index.php/stuents-union.html> - Visited on 02.01.11

EXTERNAL ACTORS

These are actors with whom higher education interacts externally. They play the important role of advising, investing in and offering technical assistance to higher education. They have become more prominent in recent years and their input is now seen as vital for the success of the higher education sector. They comprise:

2.2.5 Donors

Donors are individuals, organizations and/or nations that make contribution through aid, which is the transfer of capital, goods, or services for the benefit of the recipient⁷. Aid can therefore be economic, military, or emergency humanitarian (e.g. aid given following natural disasters)⁸. Donors often play an important role in the policy process of a recipient nation. They can be classified as multilateral or bilateral (see Chapter 1). The terms multilateral and bi-lateral signify in part the number of partners who agree on specific aims, deliberate upon them and effect them towards the goal of development (CHET 2007).

The most common type of foreign aid is official development assistance (ODA), which is assistance given to promote development and to combat poverty (JICA 2009). The primary source of ODA—which for some countries represents only a small portion of their assistance—is bilateral grants from one country to another, though some of the aid is in the form of loans.

Many governments and private foundations currently invest large sums of money to boost HE in the developing world. Support for HE in developing countries is by no means limited to government aid — private foundations also play a large role (Teferra 2008). Table 2.2 illustrates the specific types of aid and the major donors involved in giving them. Part 2.3 further discusses donors in higher education.

⁷ www.britannica.com – Visited on 10.05.10

⁸ *ibid*

Table 2.2 Types of Aid and Major Donors Involved⁹

Type of aid	Definition	Major donors
Bilateral aid	Aid given by the government of one country directly to another	France (<u>AFD</u>), Germany (<u>GTZ</u>), Japan (<u>JICA</u>), the Netherlands (<u>Nuffic</u>), Spain (<u>AECID</u>), Sweden (<u>SIDA</u>), UK (<u>DFID</u>), United States (<u>USAID</u>)
Multilateral aid	Aid or loans given from the government of a country to an international agency	World Bank, European Commission, regional development banks (<u>ADB</u> , <u>ADB</u> , <u>IADB</u>)
Private foundations	Charities that distribute private rather than government/public funds	<u>Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation</u> , <u>Carnegie Corporation</u> , <u>Rockefeller Foundation</u> , <u>Ford Foundation</u> , <u>John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation</u> , <u>William and Flora Hewlett Foundation</u> , <u>Andrew W. Mellon Foundation</u> , <u>Kresge Foundation</u> .

Source: ACU 2005¹⁰

2.2.6 Private Investors

These may include industry and establishments that work in collaboration with HEI's in order to achieve the overall objectives of the institution which include quality education and research. They too are external actors and their contribution to policy issues in HE may vary widely but is nevertheless important. They form partnerships which provide an interface and networking between the University and other stakeholders for the shared benefits to staff, students, participating institutions, and the larger society¹¹. Their goal is to develop and maintain good working relationships with higher education institutions. By recognizing the

⁹ Principal types of aid received for supporting HE and major donors. Acronyms: Agence Française de Développement (AFD), UK Department for International Development (DFID), Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education (Nuffic), Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), US Agency for International Development (USAID), Asian Development Bank (ADB), African Development Bank (ADB), Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID) (Shanahan 2005)

¹⁰ <http://www.scidev.net/en/key-documents/african-higher-education-development-and-the-inter.html> - Visited 20.01.11

¹¹ www.mu.ac.ke - Visited 20.11.10

importance of linking researchers and producers, universities can relate better with private investors, who can in turn provide an important information and financial resource base.

2.2.7 Communities

The communities within which the institutions operate determine the policy instruments employed by the institutions since they contribute to and benefit from some of the services the higher education institutions' have to offer. Higher education institutions are encouraged to reinforce their role of service to society, especially activities aimed at eliminating poverty, intolerance, violence, illiteracy, hunger, and environmental degradation.

Communities form the environment in which the institutions operate, therefore their contribution to policy issues is vital. Universities aim to engage in priority areas of community development through various programmes¹². This helps to improve the University-community relationship while enhancing national development goals. Communities may also include investors.

We now focus our discussion on the donors involved in higher education in order to understand their contribution towards the sector.

2.3 DONORS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Donors play an important role in HE in many countries (Clark 1983). They are development partners who support countries, projects and/or programs through funding, technical assistance and recommendations. There is a general entry point, skills development, for donors in the higher education sector though their basic outlook on development assistance to Africa has been more or less uniform for all African countries (Banya et al 2001). Donor spending on education may be at national level or at institutional level (Foster 2004). In the sector the World Bank supports quality assurance initiatives, policy directions on privatization of higher education and provision of private higher education, distance and virtual education, and ICT development (World Bank 2010).

¹² <http://www.egerton.ac.ke/images/stories/pdfs/finalstrategicplan2010final.pdf> – Visited 15.12.10

Other priority areas for donor investment in higher education include: human resources development for economic and social development; creation and diffusion of knowledge; development of a healthy civil society and the cultivation of social cohesion; and, means of self-realisation (empowerment) (JICA 2009). USAID prioritizes promoting equitable access to quality basic education, and beyond basic education, enhancing knowledge and skills for productivity (2009). Table 2.3 below, shows a list of some major donor agencies involved in higher education and their contribution to the sector, as per the 2005 African Commonwealth Universities (ACU) report.

Table 2.3: Agency Contributions to Higher Education (US\$)

Organisation	Funding (US\$)	No. Projects
World Bank	259 200 000	28
Japanese International Cooperation Agency	85 555 638	7
Canadian International Development Agency	72 366 707	32
Swedish International Development Agency	57 536 409	7
Norwegian Office of Foreign Affairs	33 607 720	42
European Union	17 833 680	7
US Aid	17 220 000	84
African Capacity Building Foundation	12 742 365	1
Netherlands Programme for Post Secondary Education and Training	11 173 109	14
UK Department for International Development	10 000 000	5
Germany (DAAD)	10 000 000	12
Total	587 232 000	239

Source: Adapted from ACU (2005B, pp. 15)¹³

The table above shows a strong commitment of donors in HE. Their contributions are varied and they target various countries. They choose to invest in various projects for diverse reasons. Donors also prefer to involve the recipient countries in their project planning processes for purposes of shared responsibility.

¹³ Taking the original version of the 2005 report as a starting-point the ACU has extrapolated the proportion spent on higher education in the 28 projects listed; previously total funding amounts were given for the projects and this included all education sector, not just higher education (CHET 2007).

2.4. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

In considering potential changes in donor involvement in higher education a lens through which to analyze this is needful. The aim of donors, among others, is poverty reduction for development (SIDA 2011; USAID 2011); therefore they use previous developed country models to assist in developing their strategies for recipient developing countries. The practicality of donor support, however, highly depends on how they integrate higher education and its core functions into their plans. The relationship between donors and higher education can best be viewed as a partnership, since it involves various actors working together to achieve a common objective.

What is the donor perspective on supporting higher education? This question cannot be answered in seclusion. Donors do not specifically aim to develop higher education as a sector. Their broader aim is poverty reduction for economic development of countries; therefore they invest in various sectors to achieve this. Higher education is one of these sectors. The donor perception on supporting higher education is to invest in it for development purposes. An important objective for donor support in higher education has been building skills for growth and competitiveness (Bloom et al 2006).

How then do donors intend to achieve their poverty reduction goals through higher education? A good starting point would be their constant emphasis on the importance of higher education for human skills development (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). Human capital is viewed as a critical input for innovations, research and development activities (Olaniyan et al 2008). There is increasing evidence that high levels of education in general are essential for the design and productive use of new technologies, while they also provide the foundations for any nation's innovative capacity (Carnoy et al 1993; Serageldin 2000). By using higher education as an avenue through which skilled labor can be developed, donors anticipate to reduce the gap between wealthy and poor nations in order to improve livelihoods and promote equity (JICA Kenya Country Report 2009).

What is the basis for donor support towards development? By basing on models of developed economies, donors have targeted their support towards specific initiatives with development in mind. According to Giddens modernization means the appearance of 'modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and

which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence' (Giddens 1991). The modernization theory highlights how development can be achieved by modeling after other developed countries, through the processes of transformation from traditional or underdeveloped societies to modern societies.

Modernization emerged in the late 19th century and was especially popular among scholars in the mid-20th century. Modernization visualizes development in terms of progressive movement towards technologically and institutionally more complex and integrated forms of society (Long 2001:10). Among the scientists who contributed much to this theory was Walt Rostow, who in his *The Story of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1960) concentrates on the economic system side of the modernization. Another advocate was Harvard sociologist Talcot Parsons. The theory stressed the importance of societies being open to change and saw reactionary forces as restricting development (Parsons 1972).

According to modernization, each society can develop from traditionalism to modernity, and that those that make this transition follow similar paths. In this way 'traditional' society is propelled into the modern world, and gradually its economy and social patterns acquire the accoutrements of 'modernity' (Long 2001). This conceptualization assumes that more modern states are wealthier and more powerful, and their citizens freer, with a higher standard of living. According to the social theorist Peter Wagner, modernization can be seen as processes, and as offensives (Wagner 2008). In general, modernization is concerned with economic growth within societies as indicated, for example, by measures of gross national product. Mechanization and/or industrialization are ingredients in the process of economic growth.

Primary attention has focused on ways in which past and present pre-modern societies become modern (i.e., Westernized) through processes of economic growth and change in social, political, and cultural structures. Maintaining tradition for tradition's sake was thought to be harmful to progress and development. Modernization theory has been criticized, mainly because it conflated modernization with westernization. In this model, the modernization of a society required the destruction of the indigenous culture and its replacement by a more westernized one. Technically modernity simply refers to the present, and any society still in existence is therefore modern.

There has been a strong emphasis by donors on developing countries to achieve industrialization by a specified time. The introduction of millennium development goals (MDGs) lays emphasis on eradicating poverty by 2015¹⁴. Some of the goals laid out in the MDGs are skills development for the knowledge economy and technological advancement, both of which are proposed to be achieved through higher education.

In retrospect, were there other examples that would have aided in the development of higher education in developing countries? Studies show that the development model of the East Asian countries in the 1970s and 1980s, in particular that of South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, and to a lesser extent Malaysia, was a product of the massive investments made in education in general and in higher education in particular. The latter became especially important when some of these countries decided to shift the emphasis in their economic development strategy to high value-added production (CHET 2007:8).

2.5 CONCLUSION

The literary background presented explains previously documented evidence in this study. Higher education is still significantly supported by the government, thus the state is still a very important actor within the sector. The numerous actors involved in higher education signify the varied interests in the sector thus creating complexities. The external actors involved in the sector have also increased.

The contributions of donors in higher education are notable. Most donors target their support for higher education towards areas such as human resource development, ICT, research and capacity building. By laying out their priority areas donors then come up with the programs that would best be used to channel their support for higher education's benefit. Though specific donors may highly support higher education their sectoral support varies widely.

The analysis of donor support for higher education involves their conceptualization of higher education as an instrument for development. The modernization theory assists in understanding the entry point of donors into supporting higher education. It also lends to expound on how donors have incorporated higher education in their strategies with the aim to achieve their overall goal.

¹⁴ <http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm> - Visited 15.01.11

The next chapter will introduce us to the two donors specific to this study, the World Bank and JICA. It will extensively review their role in Kenya. It will then outline the similarities and differences between the two donor agencies.

CHAPTER THREE: HIGHER EDUCATION AND DONORS IN KENYA

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Having set a background of the literature relevant for this study it is now important to look at the specific case of Kenya more exhaustively and the two donor agencies selected. By reviewing the aims and activities of donors we can better understand how they are involved in higher education. A closer look at donors as actors in higher education enables us to understand their role and highlight their involvement in higher education in Kenya.

The first part sets out by explaining what constitutes higher education in Kenya. It then explores some of the reforms undergone by the sector and expounds on its financing. The second part goes on to expound on donors as actors involved in Kenyan higher education. There are many donors involved in higher education in Kenya, but the World Bank and JICA have been selected because they have a longer presence in the donor arena and in Kenya as a country.

The third part introduces the World Bank and its general function in Kenya then narrows down to its role in Kenyan higher education. Part four looks at Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and its involvement in Kenya in general, then in higher education. JICA is credited with involvement in the inception of Jomo Kenyatta University of Culture, Agriculture and Technology (JKUCAT), as discussed in chapter four. The fifth part concludes this chapter.

3.1 HIGHER EDUCATION IN KENYA

The structure of Kenya's higher education system consists of the education and training sector. This includes university education, technical and vocational education and training, teacher education and training, non-formal education and adult education (Commission for Higher Education 2007).

The main decrees governing higher education in Kenya were set up after concerns as follows: In 1985, the concern was the Coordination and Accreditation of Universities which led to the creation of the Universities Act. Later on in 1989, following a concern on Standards and Procedures of Accreditation a decree concerning the Establishment of Universities was set up.

Undergraduate education takes a minimum of 4 academic years in Kenya. The total number of undergraduates enrolled in the six public universities in 2005, including privately sponsored students, stood at 77,000 (Mwiria et al 2007:23). Kenya currently has 7 accredited public universities with constituent colleges and 17 private universities¹⁵.

3.1.1 Higher Education Reforms

In the late 1970's there was a clear need for expansion of higher education due to the large number of students in need of higher education (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). In the 1980's the reforms on financing higher education and how to cope with the student increase in Kenya were still unclear. The context in which to understand the motivation for reforms in public universities in Kenya is within the setting of financial constraints they have faced from the mid 1980s onwards (Mwiria et al 2007). The sector has experienced changes over a long period of time, therefore necessitating these reforms.

In the 1990's, higher education was the fastest growing segment of the education sector, averaging 6.2% each year (Republic of Kenya 1998). The implementation of respective reforms has profoundly modified the relationship between government and universities and rests, at the same time, upon significant reinforcement of the external ties of universities with their environment as well as reorganizations in their internal governance (Enders et al 2003). In the 1990's there was a clear move of shifting the financing burden from state to other stakeholders in the sector, due to what was proposed as a low rate of return on investment in higher education (World Bank 1988; 1994).

At the beginning of the 21st Century, the government of Kenya (GoK) and other stakeholders realized that there was urgent need to review and evaluate the then system of education (Abagi et al 1999; GoK 2006). Due to the centrality of the knowledge economy to 21st-century development, higher education has assumed unprecedented importance both within Kenya and internationally because of its roles in educating people for the new economy and in creating new knowledge (Altbach 1998).

According to Gornitzka, implementation of higher education reforms may be more difficult to accomplish than reforms within other sectors of society (2005). In 2003 the government of

¹⁵<http://che.or.ke/status.html> - Visited 02.05.10

Kenya constituted a team of experts to review required changes for higher education. The team's report outlined six key reform areas: (i) governance/management, (ii) quality/relevance, (iii) expansion/integration, (iv) access/ equity, (v) finance/financial management and (vi) community service and engagement with society. In addition, the proposed reforms would promote the creation of a broader, national system that will integrate the increasing number of private institutions with the more established public ones. (Mwiria et al 2007).

Numerous factors are incorporated in the reforms currently being implemented by the public universities in Kenya. They include the need to survive the face of adversity, growth in primary and secondary schooling, competition from the private universities, prompting by foreign universities and the private sector, pressure from the government and from development partners and some dynamic leadership in some public universities (Mwiria et al 2007). The GoK is determined to improve the state of higher education through the reforms that have been outlined.

3.1.2 Financing University Education

According to Wangenge-Ouma, higher education financing in Kenya can be located in three distinct, but overlapping eras (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). These are the era of free public higher education, the era of cost sharing and the era of income generation. Expenses were covered by the government during the era of free public higher education. In the welfare-dominated post-colonial period, it was argued that unless the state subsidized the highly expensive higher education system, many students would be unable to benefit from it (Weidman 1995). Therefore, higher education funding was the responsibility of the government from the post-colonial period, at least up to 1974.

Cost sharing was introduced in the 1980's. Johnstone defines cost sharing as 'the assumption by parents and students of a proportion of the costs of higher education' (Johnstone 2003:351). In this era the government subsidized the cost of higher education while the students and parents bore a part of it. A loans scheme was subsequently introduced by the government of Kenya in a bid to reduce the cost to the student. In 1994, the government of Kenya decreased the education budget from 37 percent of its total annual recurrent budget to

about 30 percent stating that it was not possible to allocate additional funding to higher education (Kiamba 2004).

After 1998, the next two years saw a significant reduction in the level of funding, before picking up in 2000/2001 with a consistent increase afterwards. The highest level of government funding was in 1997/1998. Despite an increase in the absolute level of government funding, it declined as a proportion of total university expenditures. The decline of government funding in higher education was a result of slow economic growth, competing public needs (such as health, elementary education, and infrastructure), and pressure to reduce funding by international donors (Ngolovoi 2008).

The highest level of external support for university education in Kenya was in 1991/1992, since when it declined. The diminished external support for higher education in the period after 2003 was associated with two principal factors. First, the increased revenues from Module II programmes meant that even with constant funding from the state and donors, their share would reduce. Second, the country adopted a sector wide approach (SWAp), which initially excluded university education as a sector for external support. The SWAp - Kenya Education Sector Support Programme (KESSP) (see 4.1.2) – was established in 2005 following a major education conference in 2003 and the publication of a new sector policy paper¹⁶.

The era of income generation was marked with the shifting of universities' resource dependence from state to the market (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). Through several policy papers, the government of Kenya exhorted public universities to seek more funding from market sources (Kiamba 2004; Nafukho 2004). The decline in government funding to higher education resulted in the launch of dual track admission system (Module II programs/Parallel degree programs/Self-sponsored) in the public universities (University of Nairobi 2005; JKUAT 2006; Mwiria et al 2007; Wangenge-Ouma 2008). The programmes increased the financial wellbeing of public universities tremendously (Mwiria et al 2007:68). Universities have used the proceeds from these programs to settle outstanding debts and complete stalled projects.

¹⁶ Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005 on Education Training and Research
<http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Kenya/KenyaPolicyFrameworkEducationTraining.pdf> Visited 20.01.11

3.2 DONORS INVOLVED IN KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education has been influenced by donors to rethink their methods of operation with regard to education provision in a context of changing trends and new challenges. Donors such as the German academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the US agency for International Development (USAID), Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Pathfinder International, the Joint Financing Program for Co-operation in Higher Education (MHO, Netherlands), the International Centre for Insect Physiology and Ecology and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations have all played a significant role in supporting the public universities in capital development, human resource development, research and in some specific school- or faculty-based projects (Mwiria et al 2007:84-85).

In 1990, the World Bank required a basic condition for funding which implied that the public universities formulate development plans to articulate their direction. Since the preparation of the initial development plans based on World Bank guidelines, the design of such plans as a way of taking stock of the past and charting the future has now become standard practice. Similarly, the World Bank's displeasure at failure to forward audited accounts in time has been instrumental in the evolution of improved accounting practices. Donors also prompted the line-budget system and accountability in financial management. These were positive initiatives for the universities (Mwiria et al 2007:84).

This study focuses on two main donors in Kenyan higher education, namely the World Bank and JICA. In terms of funding and supporting higher education in Kenya the World Bank is the largest international organization while JICA follows suite (see Table 2.2), thus they have had significant influence on higher education in Kenya over the years. Since this study looks at changes in higher education over the period of time between the 1980's to date it is relevant to note that these two donor agencies have been working in cooperation with Kenya since the 1960's. We now look more closely at the roles of these two donors as a whole and their specific contributions to Kenya.

3.3 CASE STUDY 1: THE WORLD BANK

The World Bank, established in 1944, is headquartered in Washington, D.C.¹⁷. They have more than 10,000 employees in more than 100 offices worldwide. The World Bank is an international organization which was originally designed to aid in the reconstruction of countries after world war two (WWII). Its purpose has expanded to “fight poverty” through loans to developing countries (McLellan 2003; Hancock 1989). The World Bank is part of the United Nations (UN¹⁸) system and together with its sister organization, the International Monetary Fund (IMF¹⁹), are controlled primarily by developed countries, even though loans are now almost always granted to developing countries.

The World Banks’ vision is, “a world free of poverty and the achievement of the millennium development goals”²⁰. It is a development Bank which provides loans, policy advice, technical assistance and knowledge sharing services to low and middle income countries to reduce poverty. The Bank promotes growth to create jobs and to empower poor people to take advantage of these opportunities. In addition, the Bank supports education, HIV/AIDS programs, gender equity, community-driven development, basic social services, anti-corruption effort, debt relief, biodiversity, development partnership, civil society development and conflict resolution.

The Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world.²¹ It is made up of two unique development institutions owned by 186 member countries: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD²²) and the International Development Association (IDA²³). Each institution plays a different but collaborative role in advancing the vision of inclusive and sustainable globalization. The

¹⁷

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/0,,pagePK:50004410~piPK:36602~theSitePK:29708,00.html> – Visited 20.09.10

¹⁸ <http://www.un.org/en/> - Visited 20.09.10

¹⁹ <http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm> - Visited 21.09.10

²⁰ www.worldbank.org Visited 20.09.10

²¹ *ibid*

²²

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/EXTIBRD/0,,menuPK:3046081~pagePK:64168427~piPK:64168435~theSitePK:3046012,00.html> – Visited 20.10.10

²³

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTABOUTUS/IDA/0,,contentMDK:21206704~menuPK:83991~pagePK:51236175~piPK:437394~theSitePK:73154,00.html> – Visited 20.10.10

IBRD aims to reduce poverty in middle-income and creditworthy poorer countries, while IDA focuses on the world's poorest countries.

Their work is complemented by that of the International Finance Corporation (IFC²⁴), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA²⁵) and the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID²⁶). Together, they provide low-interest loans, interest-free credits and grants to developing countries for a wide array of purposes that include investments in education, health, public administration, infrastructure, financial and private sector development, agriculture, and environmental and natural resource management.

The Bank is like a cooperative, where its member countries, who are the main shareholders are represented by a Board of Governors, who are the ultimate policy makers at the World Bank. Generally, the governors are member countries' ministers of finance or ministers of development. They meet once a year at the Annual Meetings of the Boards of Governors of the World Bank Group and the International Monetary Fund. Because the governors only meet annually, they delegate specific duties to 24 Executive Directors, who work on-site at the Bank. The five largest shareholders, France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States appoint an executive director, while other member countries are represented by 19 executive directors.

The President of the World Bank chairs meetings of the Boards of Directors and is responsible for overall management of the Bank. By tradition, the Bank president is a U.S. national and is nominated by the United States, the Bank's largest shareholder. The President is elected by the Board of Governors for a five-year, renewable term. The Executive Directors make up the Board of Directors of the World Bank. They normally meet at least twice a week to oversee the Bank's business, including approval of loans and guarantees, new policies, the administrative budget, country assistance strategies and borrowing and financial decisions. The World Bank operates day-to-day under the leadership and direction of the president, management and senior staff, and the vice presidents in charge of regions, sectors, networks and functions.

²⁴ <http://www.ifc.org/about> - Visited 20.10.10

²⁵ http://www.miga.org/about/index_sv.cfm?stid=1736 - Visited 20.10.10

²⁶ <http://icsid.worldbank.org/ICSID/Index.jsp> - Visited 20.10.10

3.3.1 The World Bank in Kenya

The first loan by the World Bank to Kenya was in 1960 for an agriculture project. Since then there have been close to one hundred credits and grants by the International Development Association (IDA) with a total net commitment of about US\$ 4.5 billion. Due to the slow pace in which Kenya was implementing the conditionalities imposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions²⁷ there was a dramatic reduction in lending to the country in the 1990's. In the year 2000, the IMF resumed lending to Kenya with a US\$198 million loan²⁸. The loan was in recognition of the Government's renewed programme to address the causes of financial instability and low growth, namely "stop-go macroeconomic policies [and] slow structural reform". These policies include "macroeconomic and structural reforms, civil service reform [and] privatization".

The Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) is an important World Bank country document that is tailored to the needs and circumstances of each country and lays down the World Bank Group's development priorities, as well as the level and type of assistance the Bank will provide for a period of three years. The World Bank prepared a Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) in May 2004 and a CAS Progress Report (PR)²⁹ that was endorsed by the Bank's Board in March 2007 to guide the Bank's relationship with Kenya through June 2008. According to both strategies, the priority themes for the Bank's engagement in Kenya include:

- Strengthening public sector management and accountability.
- Reducing the cost of doing business, and improving the investment climate.
- Reducing vulnerability and strengthening communities including support to agriculture and the environment, local governments, and reducing poverty the poorest urban and rural areas.
- Investing in people through support to social services, such as health, education and the fight against HIV/AIDS.

The CAS PR also reflects greater attention to governance and supports the Government's Governance Strategy for Building a Prosperous Kenya (GSPK) and Governance Action Plan (GAP). The Bank focuses on transparency initiatives (including transparency in the judiciary,

²⁷ <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/background/index.shtml> - Visited 15.09.10

²⁸ <http://www.imf.org/external/np/sec/nb/2000/nb0068.htm> - Visited 12.12.10

²⁹ http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2007/03/06/000090341_20070306092852/Rendered/PDF/38055.pdf - Visited 20.09.10

and capacity building in the prosecutorial and judicial services); broadening stakeholder involvement, including additional private participation in infrastructure services (e.g. transport corridors and ports); accelerating public financial management reforms; and improving governance in high-priority sectors (e.g. education, HIV/AIDS, health, and roads).

Analytic work in such areas as media development, parliamentary and judicial capacity, and police oversight mechanisms will help lay the foundation for the development and governance agenda beyond this GSPK/GAP and for the next CAS. As of September 2009, the World Bank’s portfolio in Kenya (Table 3.1) consisted of 16 active operations (including a grant from the Global Environment Facility), with total commitments of over US\$1.4 billion.

Table 3.1: World Bank Portfolio in Kenya, 2009

Operation/Project	Amount in US\$
Infrastructure	770
Transport	460
Energy	160
Water and Sanitation	150
Agriculture and Rural Development	360

Source: World Bank Kenya, 2009

In addition to the sectors shown in table 3.1, other project sectors include education, health, private sector development, public sector governance, and economic policy. In addition, the Bank is financing five regional projects with a total commitment of US\$320 million for Kenya, including the Telecommunications Infrastructure Project (US\$114.4 million), the East Africa Trade and Transport Facilitation Project (US\$120.6 million), Lake Victoria Environmental Management Project (US\$30 million), East Africa Agricultural Productivity Program (US\$30 million) and the Regional Trade Facilitation Project (US\$25 million).

In fiscal year 2009 (June to July), the Bank’s Executive Board of Directors approved four projects, the Northern Corridor Transport Improvement Project additional financing, Energy Sector Recovery Project additional financing, the Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Project and the Kenya Agricultural Productivity and Agribusiness Project. Due to the post-

election violence in late 2007 and early 2008, the Bank only approved one project in fiscal year 2008, the Water and Sanitation Service Improvement Project (US\$150 million)³⁰.

It is important to note that World Bank documents categorize Kenya under the Sub-Saharan Africa region; therefore most recommendations pertaining to the region have an impact on Kenya as a country. They, however, also have specific Kenya Country Reports. Having reviewed the World Bank's general involvement in Kenya we now focus on their support for Kenyan higher education.

3.3.2 The World Bank in Kenyan Higher Education

The World Bank, IMF and other supranational agencies, acting as institutional carriers, have been pivotal in developing a general and common framework defining the new context, imperatives, ends and means in which higher education institutions have to operate (Vaira 2004). In other words, they define the appropriate (effective and efficient) and legitimate form for higher education in the global age. They have a major role in defining and promulgating particular strategies, recipes, and archetypes for higher education policy, organization and curricular structures (Vaira 2004:488–489).

Following the granting of an emergency loan of US\$55million (see 4.1.1) to finance public universities in Kenya, the Bank pushed through cost-sharing (Johnstone 2003) policies in higher education in the early 1990's (Kiamba 2005; Wandiga 1997). Conditionalities attached to this loan, as is characteristic to WB loans to developing countries, included the institution of new financing strategies for higher education, referring to cost sharing (Kiamba 2005; Nafukho 2004; Wandiga 1997). Thus they recommended a reduction in the public financing of higher education and the introduction of cost sharing (World Bank 1988; 1994).

The African Virtual University (AVU³¹) was established in 1997 with original funding from the World Bank. It was intended to provide access to high-quality tertiary education across the continent of Africa, harnessing the potential of ICTs (e.g., satellite television, internet, videoconferencing etc). The World Bank invested US\$0.2million (Juma 2006) in the project

³⁰ For information on the World Bank's portfolio in Kenya, including a full listing of the current active projects, refer to Projects and Programs. (www.worldbankkenya.org) – Visited 20.09.10

³¹ www.avu.org – Visited 25.09.10

in Kenya which was launched at Kenyatta University before being adopted by other public universities.

In 2006 the World Bank invested US\$80million in the Kenya Education Sector Support (KESSP). This was mainly for primary and secondary education. Higher education was allocated 15% (see table 4.1; 4.1.2) of the total but it was not disbursed until 2007, after universities met the Bank's condition of putting in place strategic development plans. Chapter four further discusses the World Bank's involvement in Kenyan higher education.

3.4 CASE STUDY 2: JAPAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGENCY (JICA)

Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)³² is responsible for setting and implementing the country's developmental (aid) strategy. Its mission reads: "We, as a bridge between the people of Japan and developing countries, will advance international cooperation through the sharing of knowledge and experience and will work to build a more peaceful and prosperous world". *Peace* and *sustainable development* are stressed as two core goals. Specific global issues addressed by the agency include: governance, peace-building, poverty reduction, education, health, ICT, private sector development, amongst others³³.

Assistance is provided to private sector companies because economic growth in developing countries is not only dependent on direct aid from governments, but also derives from projects undertaken by the private sector in developing economies; that is, the benefits of economic development that arise from the transfer of capital, acquisition of foreign exchange, creation of employment opportunities, and the transfer of technology³⁴.

Comparatively speaking, Japan ranked second (only after the World Bank) in the ranking of major financial donations (period 2000/04)³⁵. JICA acknowledges that development is a process of never-ending challenges which directly involve the construction of the daily lives of the ordinary citizens of the society. As their name, Japan International Cooperation Agency suggests, they put a core value on cooperation rather than development at every stage of their intervention. In this context, the master or owner of a development initiative is the

³² <http://www.jica.go.jp/english/index.html> - Visited 26.09.10

³³ <http://www.jica.go.jp/english/global/index.html> - Visited 26.09.10

³⁴ <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/guide/1998/3-2.html> - Visited 26.09.10

³⁵ <http://www.acu.ac.uk/policyandresearch/publications/aheadpaper.pdf> (pp. 15) - Visited 29.09.10

government and the people of the recipient country, who are supposed to recognize the challenges they face and be the driving force behind overcoming these challenges.

In line with the Tokyo Agenda for Action presented at Tokyo International Conference for African Development (TICAD) II (1998), and the common goals of international society, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), JICA is providing the African continent with support for *human resources development* and *capacity building* in order to achieve the ultimate goal of poverty alleviation. The regions covered include regions of West, East and Southern Africa³⁶.

There have been two other follow up conferences since then, TICAD III (2003) and TICAD IV (2008)³⁷. The TICAD IV conference was organized in collaboration with the World Bank, UN and UNDP. The main objectives of the conference were; to promote high level policy dialogue between African leaders and development partners; and to facilitate the implementation of initiatives for promoting African Development under the dual principles of Africa's "ownership" and international "partnership".

JICA's priority areas are; social development with emphasis on education, health, and water supply, agricultural and rural development for food security and pro-poor growth, development of the private sector by strengthening market functions and promoting small and medium-sized enterprises and democratization, prevention of conflict, and post-conflict recovery as the foundation for development³⁸.

Japanese aid comes in the form of:

1. Technical Cooperation

This involves Japan and a developing country pooling their knowledge, experience, and skills to resolve specific issues within a certain time-frame. The projects may involve the dispatching of experts from Japan to provide technical support, invitation of personnel from developing countries for training, or the provision of necessary equipment.

³⁶ <http://www.jica.go.jp/english/countries/af/index.html> - Visited 26.09.10

³⁷ <http://www.ticad.net/about/objectives.shtml> - Visited 10.10.10

³⁸ *ibid*

2. Grant Aid

Grant Aid is a form of ODA involving the provision of funds to the governments of developing countries like Kenya without the obligation of repayment.

3. Japanese ODA Loan Scheme

Beginning October 2008, JICA undertook administration of the Japanese ODA loan scheme following its merger with the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). Japanese ODA loans support developing countries by providing low-interest, long-term and concessionary funds to finance their development efforts.

4. Training Programs

These programs geared towards government officials, range from short courses of a few weeks to long-term Master's degree programs lasting at least 2 years. The aim of JICA training is to transfer specialized knowledge and technologies as well as increase cultural understanding between Japan and the recipient country.

Japan believes that one of the most productive ways to use Japanese ODA in Sub-Saharan Africa is to invest it in activities that create opportunities for the development of human resources. Such investments would benefit the poor directly, because as T. W. Schultz (1960) argued, they are part and parcel of human beings. Moreover, improvements in health, education, and nutrition of the poor have feedback effects on labor productivity in industry and in other sectors of the economy (JBIC 2005).

3.4.1 JICA in Kenya

Kenya has had over 32 projects funded through the Japanese ODA loan scheme. The areas in which they are involved in Kenya include agriculture, infrastructure, education etc. The First Japanese ODA Loan to Kenya was disbursed in 1973. Some of the projects initiated by JICA include JKUAT (1980), SMASSE (1998) and AICAD (2000). Japan's focus areas tally with Kenya's priorities of human resource development, agriculture, economic infrastructure, health, water and environment.

JICA emphasizes capacity building in majority of its programs in order to ensure their sustainability. Following the success of the TICAD IV Conference and related activities such

as the trade fair and business symposium, the Kenya Government is expected to benefit from the goodwill of Japan³⁹. JICA supports agricultural development through various initiatives in Kenya's agricultural sector with a focus on promotion of market oriented agricultural development⁴⁰. JICA's support to economic infrastructure development in Kenya under the economic sector focuses on areas relating to trade and investment, private sector development and capacity development for administrative governance. Support to infrastructure development features here too.

Through environmental conservation, JICA's support in the environment sector targets environmental conservation and management and the development, and management of water resources. JICA's health sector support in Kenya places emphasis on two priority programs - HIV/AIDS prevention and health system improvement as the pillars of cooperation. JICA has since 1974 been supporting development of education and training in Kenya through various initiatives by focusing on human resource development. JICA also conducts human resource development training programs for Kenyans both locally and overseas under different training schemes⁴¹.

Over 1,327 volunteers have been dispatched to Kenya under the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV'S) program, since 1966. As at 2008, there are 49 JOCV Volunteers attached to various government ministries. Volunteers promote and assist the overseas activities of the youths whose purposes are to cooperate, in unity with the people of developing areas, in the economic and social development activities. The volunteers live and work with the people directly engaged in developing their own countries. Their assignments are based strictly on the specific requests forwarded by Kenya⁴².

3.4.2 JICA in Kenyan Higher Education

Rooted in Japan's own experience is the belief that education is at the core of all development issues. Recognizing the importance of education as the base for its development, Japan advanced scientific and technological development and industrial growth by enhancing

³⁹ Report on the fourth Tokyo International Conference on African development (TICAD IV), held in Yokohama, Japan, 28 - 30th may, 2008

⁴⁰ <http://www.jica.go.jp/kenya/english/activities/activity01.html> - Visited 20.09.10

⁴¹ ibid

⁴² ibid

people's capacity through education – especially during the process of modernization from the mid-19th century. The agency recognises *four* main roles undertaken by HE in society: (1) human resources development for economic and social development; (2) creation and diffusion of knowledge; (3) development of a healthy civil society and the cultivation of social cohesion; and, (4) means of self-realisation (empowerment)⁴³.

Until the 1980s, the main area of aid was directed to the establishment and expansion of faculties /departments in technological and scientific fields. This was the case with the inception of JKUAT (see 4.2.1). However, towards the latter half of the 1980s, assistance for improving the *research capacity* of graduate schools and research centres in a wider array of fields began to be implemented. Recently, the target of the aid has widened to include *university management* (and the field of HE administration).

Under the motto “Developing a country means developing its people,” the main priority of Japan’s official development assistance (ODA) has been placed on *human resource development* and *technical education* areas because they are thought to contribute directly to economic activity and technological progress. JICA disbursed 15million Yen for the implementation of the applied electrical and electronic engineering project in fiscal year 1998-2000. This was organized at JKUAT, under JICA’s third country training program. Participants came from several African countries and the objective of the training was industrial development. Chapter four further discusses JICA’s involvement in Kenyan higher education.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Among other factors, the financial strain on higher education has triggered reforms which are ongoing. On examining the two donors specified for this study we understand the extent of their role in Kenya and in Kenyan higher education. They play important roles in the modeling of decisions within national planning and in higher education. Their technical support is also noteworthy.

⁴³http://www.jica.go.jp/english/publication/studyreport/topical/approaches/pdf/higher_02.pdf (pp.6) - Visited 20.09.10

An investigation into their role in Kenyan higher education indicates changes in their investments to the sector from the 1980's to date. The World Bank support for Kenyan higher education is spread within five or more year timeframes. Their technical support is notable in ICT under the AVU project. They have varied in their advice to the Kenyan government but indications are that they seem to favor a reduction on public expenditure in the sector.

JICA takes a more project oriented approach in investing in Kenyan higher education. Through JKUAT (1981) they have initiated other programs like the third country training in electrical and electronic engineering (1998) and AICAD (2000). JICA's strong belief in cooperation implies that they involve Kenya in their investment plans for the country. Despite the emphasis of donors on the importance of higher education in human resource development, their support towards the sector is still not very clear.

The next chapter will present and analyze the financial support given to higher education in Kenya by the World Bank and JICA. It will further elaborate on the notable changes that have taken place in the sector with regard to donor involvement. The data presented will then be discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR: DEVELOPMENTS IN DONOR SUPPORT

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter two reviewed literature related to this study by highlighting the general involvement of donors as actors in higher education. Chapter three underscored the donors specified for this study and expounded on their involvement in Kenya and Kenyan higher education. This gives us a background on their support for higher education in Kenya.

Chapter four will present to us the data collected. It will then offer an analysis of the changes that have occurred in the involvement of donors in the higher education sector in Kenya. The World Bank and Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) are the two donor agencies in focus. The data presented does not necessarily show donor support in the same years because the donors selected are autonomous and their support varies. Their support is not given out in the same pattern or in similar years as the study shows.

Part one explores the World Bank's support for Kenyan higher education. It further examines the University Investment Project and KESSP project to illustrate the WB support. It then expounds on the notable changes that have taken place over the past thirty years. The second part highlights JICA's support for higher education in Kenya. It examines the role of JICA in the inception of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT). Finally it reflects on notable changes in JICA's involvement in Kenyan higher education.

Part three sheds light on the changes highlighted in parts one and two. The fourth offers an analysis and discussion of the data presented. It explores the developments in donor involvement in higher education for the last 30 years. It further expounds on how donors have changed in their investment in higher education over the past three decades. It will draw out the rationale for changes in donor support for higher education. Part five sets out to explore the similarities and differences between the World Bank and JICA. The sixth part presents the conclusion.

4.1 WORLD BANK SUPPORT FOR KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The World Bank as the major ‘sponsor’ of higher education in developing countries, has since 1991 provided over half a billion US dollars in loans to higher education development in Africa (CHET 2007:14). Approximately fourteen countries have benefited from this funding. While the support extended to benefiting countries is presumably based on their own needs and includes virtually all higher education issues, the Bank seems to have favored quality assurance initiatives, policy directions on privatization of higher education and provision of private higher education, distance and virtual education, and ICT development.

There are specifically two types of World Bank lending, namely standard International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) loans to client countries at commercial rates of interest and soft loans on highly concessional terms from the International Development Association (IDA) to low-income developing countries. Countries that borrow on commercial terms from the Bank have a much higher degree of control over the projects that are eventually funded, compared with those that receive IDA loans.

The education sector’s share of IBRD (i.e. commercial) lending has been approximately half of the percentage share for IDA lending. Thus, in the case of IDA resources, where the Bank has been able to largely control what projects it is prepared to fund and which therefore conform more to lending policy pronouncements emanating from Washington, the Bank is clearly taking the lead in giving “greater attention” to education.

The problem of translating this objective into practice has however been much greater with respect to IBRD loans (which comprise the bulk of total Bank lending) where it would appear that client governments are considerably less enthusiastic about borrowing for projects in the education sector at commercial rates of interest. Even where a high social rate of return can be projected for an education project, many governments still prefer to borrow for investments that have more tangible outputs that generate revenues that can be used to repay the loan (Bennel 1996).

The World Bank plays an important role in supporting the higher education sector in Kenya. In practice the World Bank negotiates with the government in place and reaches an agreement

on how they intend to support education programs. Table 4.1⁴⁴ specifies education related projects and shows what percentage of the support was allocated to higher education.

Table 4.1: World Bank Kenya, Education Projects and Programs⁴⁵

Program	Amount (\$million)	Year	% to HE
Education Project (05)	40	1981	Not specified
Education Project (06)	37.5	1986	Not specified
Universities Investment Project	55	1991	100
Education Sector Adjustment Credit Project (01)	100	1991	50
Education Sector ADJ	52.1	1992	50
Education Sector ADJ Credit	42.2	1994	50
Education Sector Program	80	2006	15

Source: <http://www.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK>

Table 4.1 shows the World Banks' commitment to investment in higher education decreasing dramatically. In 1991 the University investment project received \$55million which was fully to be utilized for higher education (see 4.1.1). The subsequent years show the WB releasing a lump sum for education with a specified percentage allocated to higher education. In 2006 we note tertiary education received 15% of \$80million (see 4.1.2). This may be in view of the emphasis placed on basic education, whereby most of the support was diverted to primary education.

⁴⁴

<http://web.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=141143&piPK=399272&theSitePK=356509&menuPK=356545&pagenumber=3&pagesize=20&sortby=BOARDSORTDATE&sortorder=DESC&category=advsearch&query=ALL&status=ALL®ioncode=ALL&countrycode=KE§or=ALL&majorsector=ALL§orboard=ALL&majorthemeid=ALL&themeid=ALL&network=ALL&prodline=ALL&prodlinetype=ALL&lendinstrtype=ALL&lendinstr=ALL&goalid=ALL&metathemeid=ALL&startyr=ALL&endyr=ALL&env=ALL&match=null>. – Visited 20.10.10

⁴⁵ *ibid*

The Bank's progressive support for higher education has since then declined considerably. The changing trends in higher education support have impacted it tremendously due to the resource implications. After 2006 World Bank support to higher education became more project specific and directly targeted specific higher education institutions. The World Bank is a major promoter of the role of higher education in development, and the importance of creating 'knowledge societies', but there has been no evidence of supporting that in past funding commitments nor even through intent (CHET 2007). With the changes in commitment by donors in supporting higher education, the government of Kenya has had to find ways to sustain the sector, despite strained resources.

4.1.1 The University Investment Project (1991)

The project was initiated in 1991 by the World Bank and was scheduled to close in 1999. The total IDA commitment was US\$ 55 million⁴⁶. The objectives of the project were to support the government's program to consolidate and develop the universities by: (a) rationalizing and strengthening the institutional framework for higher education, in both the public and the private sectors; (b) limiting the growth of government budgetary resources devoted to the public universities by promoting cost sharing and improved investment planning; and (c) improving the quality of the teaching and research delivered at the public universities.

The project consisted of two major components. At the central level, it would strengthen the Commission for Higher Education, reform the Student Loan Scheme, carry out relevant studies, support applied research, and implement the project. At the six public university institutions, the project was to support subprojects concerned with institutional development, staff development in key areas, and the supply of teaching and related equipment, especially for science and engineering⁴⁷.

The outcome of the project was rated as unsatisfactory, due mostly to the continued financial ineffectiveness of public universities, coupled with the lack of revision of the legal framework, and the failure of some planned tenders⁴⁸. Nonetheless, the institutional

⁴⁶ http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/main?pagePK=64193027&piPK=64187937&theSitePK=523679&menuPK=64187510&searchMenuPK=64187283&siteName=WDS&entityID=000094946_00010705302624 – Visited 20.10.10

⁴⁷ *ibid*

⁴⁸ *ibid*

innovation, represented by the Higher Education Loans Board, showed a steady improvement in loan recovery performance, and, greater coordination of public universities, with the creation of a culture planning, were positive aspects. The uncertain sustainability needs to be addressed, namely, at financing policies, and, at departmental levels, where equipment, and library materials were delivered⁴⁹.

4.1.2 Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP)

The KESSP⁵⁰, established by the World Bank in 2005, consisted of 23 thematic areas in education, termed investment programs (IPs), which had to meet specific requirements before being eligible for donor funding from the pooled account. The sectors targeted were primary education (48%), central government administration (21%), tertiary education (15%), secondary education (8%), adult literacy/ non-formal education (8%).

In 2006, the Kenya Education Sector Support Project (KESSP) was approved by the World Bank's Board of Executive Directors. The objective of the Education Sector Support Project is to support the Kenyan Government's program to provide basic education and improve the quality of education for all children by 2010. The International Development Association (IDA) Credit was worth US\$80 million. IDA financing for the KESSP was provided through "project" support⁵¹. The end-program targets were set out by the government.

The goal of the KESSP was to provide basic education and improve the quality of education to all children by 2010. There were four program objectives of the KESSP including: (i) ensuring equity of access to basic education; (ii) enhancing quality and learning achievement; (iii) providing opportunities for further education and training; and (iv) strengthening education sector management. The KESSP was part of a multi-donor sector wide approach supporting Kenya in its efforts to reach the Education Millennium Development Goal by 2015⁵². Figure 4.1 shows the projected amounts invested in the KESSP project in comparison to the actual amounts in US\$.

⁴⁹ *ibid*

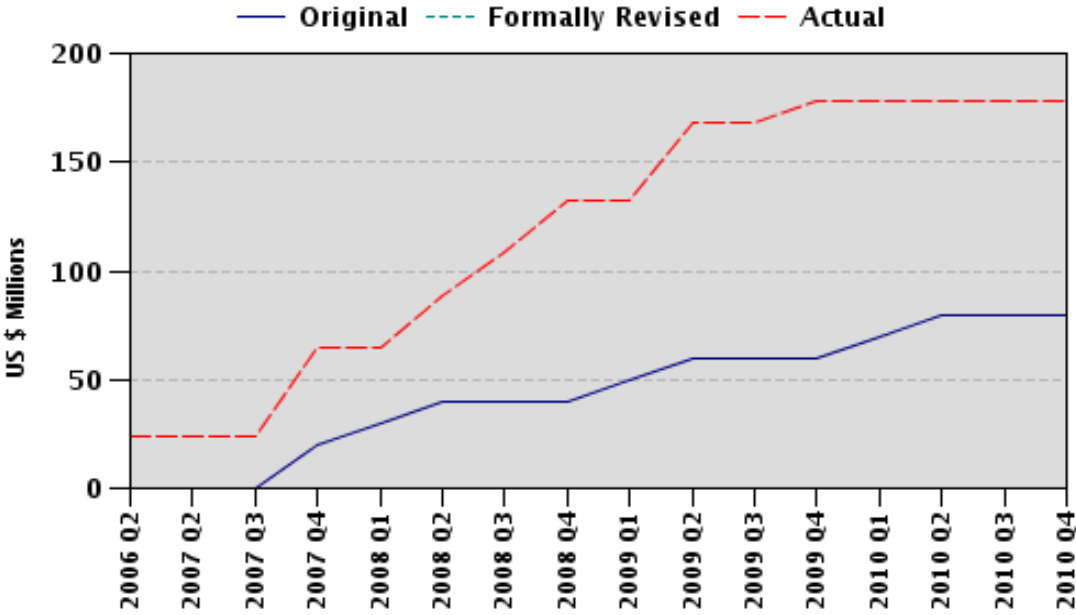
⁵⁰

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:21119874~menuPK:282391~pagePK:64020865~piPK:149114~theSitePK:282386,00.html> – Visited 20.10.10

⁵¹ *ibid*

⁵² *ibid*

Figure 4.1: KESSP Investment Projections (2006-2010)



University education remained one of the ineligible expenditure items for pooled funds (along with seven others) owing to there being no strategy for university development. A strategy was then developed and it was expected that, following ratification by stakeholders, university education would be included in the eligible expenditure list for the KESSP from financial year (FY) 2008/09 to future fiscal years.

The progress towards the project development objective (PDO) was rated as moderately unsatisfactory (MU). The Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP) is the government's 10-year development program for the education sector. Phase I of the KESSP was from 2005-2010, and Phase II was intended to become effective from 2011-2015. The year 2010 marked the mid-term of the program. Development Partners (the International Development Association (IDA) of the World Bank Group, UK DFID, Canadian CIDA and UNICEF) provided pooled financing support to the KESSP from 2007⁵³.

The IDA project targets were pegged to the government's program. Kenya was reported as being on track to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for education. Net enrollment rate (NER) increased although the mid-program target of 96% could not be reached. On average, at country level gender parity was achieved although regional variations

⁵³ ibid

persisted. Primary completion rate (PCR) increased over the program period (2005-2010) although the ambitious target of 92% could not be reached. The project closed in December 2010⁵⁴.

4.1.3 NOTABLE CHANGES IN THE WORLD BANK SUPPORT FOR KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

While the overall level of Bank support for education increased significantly for developing countries as a whole, lending for education projects in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) declined markedly—from around US\$400 million per year in 1992 and 1993 to one-third of this level by 1996. This is barely 5% of total Bank lending to SSA and less than 10% of total Bank lending for education (Bloom et al 2006). The reasons for this drop in education lending for SSA are not altogether clear.

In the 1990's the WB support for education in Kenya was inclusive of primary, secondary and higher education. In 1991 a sum of US\$55million was invested in the universities investment project and later on specified percentages were disbursed for university funding. One of the aims of the project was to limit the growth of government budgetary resources devoted to the public universities by promoting cost sharing and improved investment planning (Wangenge-Ouma 2008).

In the following years' higher education in Kenya witnessed reductions in WB financing. In 2006 a disbursement of US\$80 was made for the KESSP (see 4.1.2), which originally was intended for fortification of free primary education. From the funds awarded only 15% was allocated to tertiary education. According to the World Bank in 2006, the KESSP reflected the commitment of the Kenya Government to a set of education policy goals that were well justified, supported broader national development goals and provided ample justification for assistance from external partners.

4.2 JICA SUPPORT FOR KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Kenya remains one of the major recipients of Japanese aid in Sub-Saharan Africa and to date, cumulative assistance stands at J¥ 403.36 billion (About KShs. 298.79 billion). In 2007,

⁵⁴ http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/AFR/2011/01/11/DB6D9A4C20E1A2CB85257815007CD441/1_0/Rendered/PDF/P0874790ISR0Di011120111294785807852.pdf - 21.10.10

Kenya was the top recipient country of Japanese overseas development assistance (ODA) in sub-Saharan Africa receiving aid amounting to approximately US\$ 90 million. JICA has for decades been supporting development of education and training in Kenya through various initiatives. The Japanese, will always stand by as partners or facilitators to back development initiatives (Mr. Yoshiyuki Takahashi Chief Representative, JICA Kenya 2009).

JICA provides high quality international cooperation to meet the needs of people living in developing countries (JICA Kenya Country Report 2009:4). JICA also conducts human resource development training programs for Kenyans both locally and overseas under different training schemes⁵⁵. Table 4.2 below shows the type of aid JICA gives to Kenya and the amounts disbursed between the years 2000-2007⁵⁶. The types of aid extended by JICA are explained in part 3.3 of this study.

Table 4.2: JICA Aid Distribution in Kenya

TYPE OF AID	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Technical Cooperation (in US\$ Million)	31.08	29.15	23.25	26.25	27.9	26.2	26.2	26.49
Grant Aid (in US\$ Million)	13.11	14.98	28.52	17.19	14.4	23.39	17.46	28.65
ODA Loans (in Yen ¥ Billion)						0	5	26.71
Kenyans Trained					236	212	337	293
Japanese Experts Dispatched to Kenya					47	87	98	105

⁵⁵ <http://www.jica.go.jp/kenya/english/activities/activitiy01.html#a05> – Visited 24.10.10

⁵⁶ <http://www.jica.go.jp/kenya/english/activities/> - Visited 24.10.10

Japanese Volunteers Dispatched to Kenya					47	63	36	28
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Source: JICA Kenya Country Report 2002, 2007 & 2009

The table above shows considerable increase in technical cooperation, grant aid, ODA loans and Japanese experts dispatched to Kenya. The increase in ODA loans between fiscal year 2006/7 is most notable. Training and expert/volunteer dispatch programs were introduced in 2004. There was a decrease in volunteers dispatched to Kenya through the period 2005-2007 and a decrease in Kenyans trained between years 2006-2007.

JICA actively introduced training, dispatch of experts and volunteers after 2003. Training was however ongoing from 1998 at JKUAT. These changes may have occurred due to the reviews by JICA in the areas that they deemed needed more support. There was also organizational restructuring taking place within JICA, culminating with a merger in 2008. JICA's support for Kenya is given out annually with as much involvement of country officials in the planning as possible.

4.2.1 JOMO KENYATTA UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY (JKUAT)

Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology is situated in Juja, 36 kilometers North East of Nairobi, along Nairobi-Thika Highway. Plans for the establishment of Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology (JKCAT) started in 1977. In early 1978, the founding father of the nation, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta donated two hundred hectares of farmland for the establishment of the college. In 1979 President Daniel T. Arap Moi laid the foundation stone for the College (July 30th).

The first group of students was admitted on 4th May 1981. H.E. Daniel Arap Moi formally opened JKCAT on 17th March 1982. The first graduation ceremony was held in April 1984 with Diploma Certificates presented to graduates in Agricultural Engineering, Food Technology and Horticulture. On 1st September 1988, the then Kenyan president, declared JKCAT a constituent College of Kenyatta University through a legal Notice, under the

Kenyatta University Act (CAP 210C). The name of JKCAT officially changed to Jomo Kenyatta University College of Agriculture and Technology (JKUCAT). In 1989 JKUCAT admitted its first degree students. It was finally established as a University through the JKUAT Act, 1994 and inaugurated on 7th December 1994.

In 1999 the Government of Japan handed over JKUAT to the Government of Kenya signifying the end of Japan Technical Cooperation to JKUAT. The vision of the university is to be a global institution of excellence in Training, Research and Innovation for development. The mission is to offer accessible quality, training, research and innovation in order to produce leaders in the fields of Agriculture, Engineering, Technology, and Enterprise development, Built Environment, Health and other Applied Sciences to suit the needs of a dynamic world. The university established a research fund with the objective to enable the staff members to participate in research and innovation alongside teaching⁵⁷.

The Government of Japan through JKUAT has been cooperating with the government of Kenya in the area of electrical and electronic engineering since the late 1980's. This was a change from supporting agriculture as a way to diversify from dependency on one industry due to the realization that unemployment was on the increase and it was urgent to reform the country structure. The result has been the adjustment of personnel and facilities in Kenya and the organization of facilities for cutting-edge educational research in the field of electrical and electronic engineering techniques⁵⁸.

4.2.2 NOTABLE CHANGES IN JAPAN INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AGENCY (JICA) SUPPORT FOR KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the period 1997-2001 the main areas composing HE aid efforts were: 'technical cooperation' (e.g. training of personnel, strengthening of science and technology capacity, educational administration, etc.); 'grant aid' (i.e., support to physical infrastructure); and, 'loan aid' (financial assistance to specific countries). In 2001, 19% of all JICA's educational assistance to development countries was allocated to the HE sector⁵⁹.

⁵⁷ <http://www.jkuat.ac.ke/article.php?id=169> – Visited 26.10.10

⁵⁸ *ibid*

⁵⁹ http://www.jica.go.jp/english/publication/studyreport/topical/approaches/pdf/higher_05.pdf (pp.15) - Visited 24.10.10

The promotion of student exchange, bilateral cooperation in scientific and academic research, and the development of institutional (regional) networks also ranked high in the agenda. A 2002 report of the national committee for educational cooperation stresses the, “shifting from the ‘individual’ cooperation by university experts to the ‘organizational’ cooperation in order to promote international development cooperation through universities”⁶⁰.

JICA’s support in launching JKUAT was followed by a more project focused orientation in their investments in Kenyan higher education. In the period 2000/04 few projects were dedicated to the development of regional networks, with the exception being the ‘African Institute of Capacity Development’ (AICAD) based in Kenya which received JICA’s support from 2000 to 2002. Diffusion of research results was the project’s major goal including; joint research, dissemination of research and information networks. The project was also aimed to use third-country training, local training, grant aid, and development survey schemes together to promote a network among African universities in the East Africa region.

As outlined in Japan’s strategic framework⁶¹ (objectives), the development of collaborative partnerships between South-South, as well as amongst local partners, is growing in importance (Njinkeu et al 2005). Particularly when it relates to the enhancement of HE’s contributions to society (e.g. via stronger links with industry). The challenges and opportunities now facing Kenya, like other African countries, require that developing relevant capacities becomes one of their highest priorities. Capacity building is a comprehensive process, which includes the ability to identify constraints, and to plan and manage development (JICA Kenya Country Report 2009).

This involves not only creating the right human capacity for development management in the 21st Century but also putting in place a proper institutional framework for effective utilization of the created capacities (JICA Kenya Country Report 2009)⁶². It involves both the development of human resources and institutions and a supportive policy environment. JICA continues to align their support to those of Kenya’s development priorities, assisting the

⁶⁰ *ibid.* pp. 18

⁶¹ http://www.jbic.go.jp/en/research/report/research-paper/pdf/rp16_e05.pdf - Visited 14.01.11

⁶² <http://www.jica.go.jp/kenya/english/activities/> - Visited 23.10.10

government of Kenya to formulate quality development projects and to implement them effectively.

4.3 HIGHLIGHTS OF CHANGES IN DONOR SUPPORT FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Donor involvement in higher education has influenced the sector in various ways as displayed in their contribution in tables 4.1 and 4.2 above. Their financial contribution is seen as influential because, for effective and efficient running of higher education there needs to be sufficient funding. HE support has changed dynamically over the years especially due to the evaluation of previous projects and reviews of strategies and achievements by the actors involved in the sector. Recent years have seen a dramatic, albeit uneven and still contested, shift in the burden of higher education costs from being borne predominately by government, or taxpayers, to being shared with parents and students (Johnstone 2003).

Many lessons have been drawn from previous investments in higher education. These include the realization by donors that some of the recipient countries do not have the capacity for accountability to the assistance they get. This brought about the assertion of conditionalities by donors. Conditions are attached to the aid donors give and even sometimes require that it is taken as a loan and paid back. To facilitate the accountability agenda, Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were introduced by donors in the 1960's and adopted by African countries (Enos 2003). They were still ongoing in the 1980's.

The 1980's ushered in an era where emphasis was laid on education as important for human resource development especially in developing countries. During this period higher education was undergoing strain due to the demand for it being higher than supply. This in effect triggered the introduction of cost sharing in Kenya (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). In 1980 Kenya spent around US\$3,402 per student; in 1983 this amount dropped to US\$1,521, and by 1988 it had dropped to around US\$1,000 in recurrent expenditure (World Bank 1988).

Later, two main policy documents by the World Bank capture the bank's shift in investment priority from higher education to basic education. These are: *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion* (1988) and *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience* (1994). These policy papers are important as they formed the

basis for the Bank's coercive influence on the higher education funding policies in Africa (Wangenge-Ouma 2008).

From 2000 onward the trend has been changing towards an emphasis on science, technology and innovation as drivers of economic development thus the necessity to train more people at higher levels in order to equip them with skills to help them meet these immediate skills deficiency. Because of the centrality of the knowledge economy to 21st-century development, higher education has assumed unprecedented importance both within Kenya and internationally because of its roles in educating people for the new economy and in creating new knowledge (Altbach 1998). In the World Bank strategy paper, *Constructing knowledge societies*, (World Bank 2002), there is a shift of focus to the benefits of higher education which had been downplayed in 1995.

4.4 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

In order to investigate the developments that have taken place in donor involvement in Kenyan higher education, a review of documents was carried out. An assessment of the data collected indicates changes in donor support for higher education over the past 30 decades. Change is an inherent theme in institutions and this affects their interaction with the external environment. The relationship between donors and higher education is not an exception to these changes. Change can be triggered from within or without.

The internal changes that have influenced donor relations with their external environment include; 'flavor of the month' syndrome (a situation where organizations are constantly introducing and abandoning initiatives - in essence they have a short attention span), experience with adjusted lending (lending made upon the countries' general economic policies as well as the quality of the project), internal factors and academic influences. These internal changes are noted in the World Bank's move from a narrowly economic notion of development to a concern with 'good governance' (Williamson 1994).

The documentary review clearly shows the involvement of the World Bank in Kenyan higher education. The Bank does not give financial support to Kenya on an annual basis. The Bank invests a lump-sum amount over a period of 5 years or more. The JICA case indicates an annual investment in projects, but they are not very specific to higher education. Their

involvement in the inception of JKUAT is an example of their investment in higher education. Apart from that the study finds that they take a more project oriented approach in supporting higher education, for example through their third country training programs.

By analyzing the funding contributed by donors in higher education in Kenya it is clear that the intention to support higher education is embedded in donor agency plans but the actual commitment is still wanting. Donors, like many other stakeholders have an intentional structure of feelings, ideas, experiences, thoughts and concepts, which are activated when they regard an issue as significant in their formulation of the problem (Brunsson et al 1993:35). JICA has shifted its emphasis from taking control of projects to a more partnership oriented arrangement (JICA Kenya Country Report 2009). To a large extent, how World Bank controlled resources are allocated among different sectors is a reflection of the relative priorities attached to these activities by the Bank (Bennel 1996).

4.4.1 Developments in Donor Involvement in Higher Education for the Past 30 Years

Donor support for higher education is rooted back to the post-colonial period (Leslie et al 1988)⁶³. Colonial governments used aid to support their former colonies after independence. Education was a handy way to retain colonial ties by integrating new elites into political, economic and cultural practices and policies of the former colonial power (Altbach 1971).

With time more donors got involved in supporting HE. Donor investment in higher education has evolved a lot since then. Though donor agencies differ in the extent to which they are involved in HE their underlying aim is to strengthen the sector and make it more sustainable. Support extended to higher education by donors has spurred changes in the sector and has also to some extent compelled it to a more market oriented focus (Wangenge-Ouma 2008).

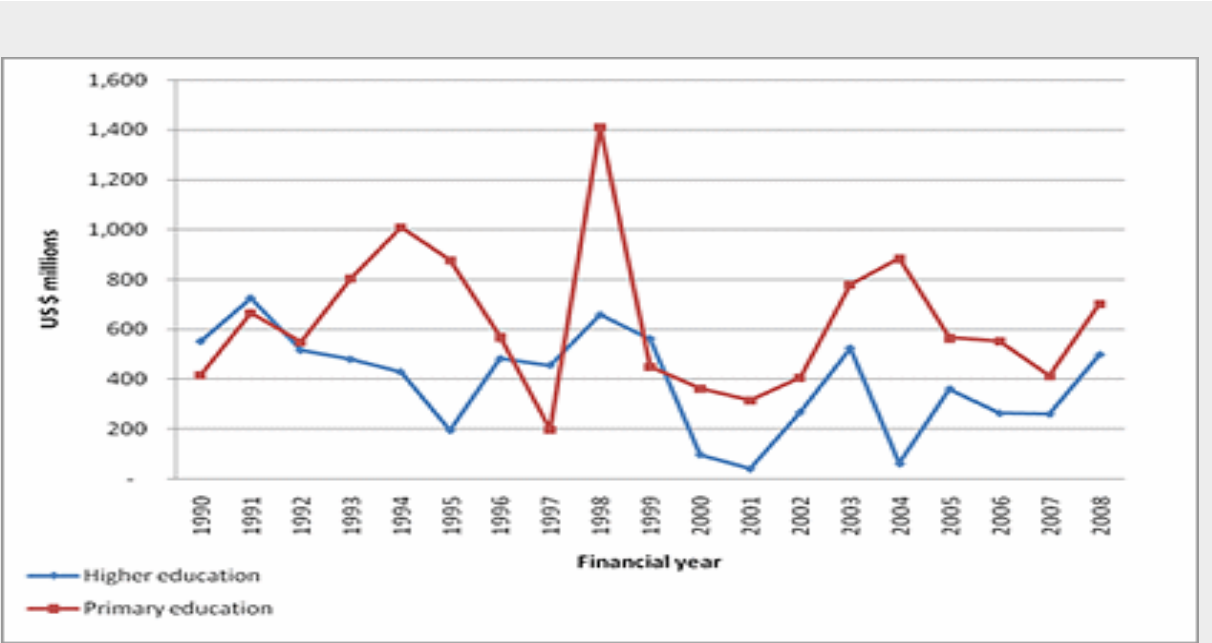
The 1980s and 1990s saw increasing importance placed on 'return-on-investment' by many large funding agencies. A 1986 World Bank study⁶⁴ estimated that the social rate of return — the increase in national income resulting from an additional year of education — for HE was on average 13 per cent lower than returns from basic education in developing countries (World Bank 1986). The World Banks' (1988) policy paper proffered several policy

⁶³ World Bank 1986 (<http://eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED281800.pdf>) – Visited 26.02.10

recommendations that were aimed at improving both the internal and external efficiency of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. The most significant was cost sharing (cost recovery).

African governments were called upon to ‘relieve the burden of public sources of financing higher education by increasing the participation of beneficiaries and their families’ (World Bank 1988:77). A later review of 98 countries from 1960–1997 found that the typical social rate of return from primary schooling was 18.9 per cent, compared to just 10.8 per cent from HE (World Bank 2002). Donors based their decision to invest in HE on its return-on-investment in comparison to other levels of education. Figure 2.1 shows the trend in the World Bank lending to higher education from 1990 to 2008. The Bank’s lending to HE dipped in 1994 (when they advocated for reduction in spending on HE) and 2000 (Fig 2.1).

Fig 4.2 World Bank Lending to Higher Education



Source: [World Bank education historical lending figures](#)

In 1994, the World Bank stressed that HE should not be prioritized in development strategies and cut its HE spending — from 17 per cent of its education funding in 1985–1989 to just seven per cent in 1995–1999 (See Fig 4.2). Other donors followed suit. The 2000 World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, confirmed the international community's neglect of HE in the developing world, advocating only primary education as a driver of broad social

welfare improvements. The policies adopted by developing country governments reflected the donors' disregard for HE (Mamdani 2006; Bloom et al 2006). A 2005 review by Harvard University found HE was missing from most African countries' poverty reduction strategies (Bloom et al 2006).

HE institutions in several African countries struggled to maintain even low student enrolment rates (which in 2003 stood at less than one per cent of school leavers for many countries) (Bloom et al 2006). Countless HE facilities, including research laboratories and university libraries, fell into disrepair because of a lack of funding. Research too was hard-hit (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). African research output declined in the 1990s — when the rest of the world was moving ahead — and remains among the world's lowest to date. In view of the developments in donor involvement in HE the sector is still trying to recover from the neglect it has had to undergo through the years. A lot is recommended in trying to improve the current state of HE, but not much has been achieved.

4.4.2 Return of Donor Investment in Higher Education

Over the last couple of years, several factors have combined to get HE back on the agendas of major donors. A growing body of literature suggests conventional economic measures of returns on educational investment do not accurately reflect the social value added by HE (Psacharopoulos et al 2002; Bloom et al 2006; Olaniyan et al 2008), which includes job creation and enhanced entrepreneurship and mobility (the ability to move across job sectors). Moreover, they ignore the positive effects of research — a core HE activity — on countries' economies.

The development community is now more accepting of HE's economic benefits, realizing that these include creating public knowledge, exchanging skills between industry and academia and better technology (CHET 2007). Some academics attribute India's emergence on the world's economic stage to its decades-long efforts to provide high-quality, technically-oriented HE. This was largely achieved through the Indian Institutes of Technology, which were set up with donor money upon India's independence in 1947.

In a globalised world where knowledge equals power, 'falling behind the knowledge curve' can have severe consequences. In such a global knowledge economy, HE can help developing

countries compete with more technologically-advanced societies⁶⁵. With intellectual property restrictions limiting technology transfer, developing countries can no longer rely on trickle-down effects to address their development problems⁶⁶.

A 2000 report published by the World Bank and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), confirms the shift in thinking. It argued that HE in developing countries was in a "perilous" state and while HE couldn't guarantee rapid development, sustained progress would be impossible without it⁶⁷. In 2005 the Commission for Africa, set up by the UK government, clearly suggested that the international community should recognize the value of HE for development. It recommended donors increase investments in Africa's HE capacity and urged them to provide US\$500 million a year (and up to US\$3 billion over ten years) for centers of excellence in science and technology.

In 2008, the World Bank went further, acknowledging the need for "a more knowledge-intensive approach to development" in Africa and admitting that such an approach requires more focus on HE⁶⁸. The Bank already works with multiple partners in its HE development projects, lending an average of US\$327 million per year — mostly to projects in Latin America and the Caribbean (43 per cent) and East Asia and the Pacific (21 per cent), including projects to increase access to, and management of, HE in Chile, Nepal and Vietnam.

4.4.3 Analysis

The entry point for donors in higher education is embedded in their overarching objective of poverty reduction. Their motivation is therefore clearly defined from the onset in their mission (World Bank 2011; JICA 2009). The donor development agenda has greatly been influenced by the modernization theory. The use of previous models to advance future industrialization is a common phenomenon. By assessing how the World Bank assisted the Western countries to achieve development after the Second World War (WWII), it is presumed that developing countries can borrow a leaf from these experiences. From this perspective, Western paradigms have shaped and influenced educational systems in developing countries (Watson 1994).

⁶⁵ <http://www.cgdev.org/content/general/detail/15310?print=1&id=15310&datatype=5/> - Visited 07.03.10

⁶⁶ <http://www.tfhe.net/index.htm> - Visited 10.03.10

⁶⁷ *ibid*

⁶⁸ http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTAFRICA/Resources/e-book_ACU.pdf - Visited 08.03.10

Stemming from Kenya's colonial past, not only did colonial powers leave behind a legacy of government, administration and education, which in many cases has continued, but also Western thinking, especially from multilateral and bilateral aid agencies has continued to influence educational thinking in many developing countries (Watson 1994). The rush for economic growth, urbanization and modernization in the 1960s and 1970s was based on economic theories developed in the West (Schultz 1960; Rostow 1971; Inkeles et al 1974) while the concepts of planning, whether educational or economic, also had their roots in organizations such as UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and the World Bank.

By way of using developed country models to achieve poverty reduction in developing countries, donors have mostly supported higher education by emphasizing training, research, capacity building and technological advancement, through human resource development (JICA 2009). Human resources constitutes the ultimate basis of wealth of nations (Psacharopoulos et al 2002) and formal education at higher levels is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a nation (Olaniyan et al 2008). One of the major functions of higher education is skills development for the labour market (Castells 2001).

According to the World Bank, investment in higher education is a necessary but not sufficient condition for development (2002). As important as the investment made in higher education is, attention must be paid to the efficiency and effectiveness of that investment which includes ensuring that there are appropriate linkages with the labor market needs of the economy. Education increases the productivity and efficiency of workers by increasing the level of cognitive stock of economically productive human capability which is a product of innate abilities and investment in human beings (Olaniyan et al 2008).

The decision to reduce funding for higher education in the 1980's was based on per student public expenditure. This was 30 times greater at the university level than at the primary level (World Bank 1995; Bloom et al 2006). Budgetary allocations to higher education were significantly slashed in favor of basic education (Banya et al 2001; Brock-Utne 2003; TFHES 2000); cost sharing and other market-related reforms were also introduced. As propagators of

higher education reform, donors have been at the forefront of emphasizing “modernization,” the economic functions of the university, necessary adaptations to economic and technological change, and economy and efficiency (Olsen et al 2007).

The changes in higher education funding by donors in Kenya between the 1980s and 1990s also signified a reduction in government funding of the sector (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). Donors felt that returns on investment in higher education were not significant enough to warrant the continued full financing of the sector. In other countries though, emphasis on investment in higher education showed different results. Countries such as Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan have achieved unprecedented rates of economic growth while making large investments in education. In the statistical analysis that accompanied this study, the World Bank found that improvement in education is a very significant explanatory variable for East Asian economic growth (1993).

Human capital is viewed as a critical input for innovations, research and development activities (Olaniyan et al 2008). From this perspective, education is seen as an intentional effort to increase the resources needed for creating new ideas, and thus, any increase in education will directly accelerate technological progress. This approach adopts the Schumpeter (1973) assumptions of imperfectly competitive product markets and competitive innovation, which permit the process of generating technological progress (JICA 2009). Though the research output is low for Kenya, it is highly emphasized in both donor and government documents together with ICT (Wangenge-Ouma 2008).

The decade of the 1990's has seen a remarkably consistent worldwide reform agenda for the finance and management of universities and other institutions of higher education. What is remarkable about the consistency is that there are very similar patterns in countries with dissimilar political-economic systems and higher educational traditions, and at extremely dissimilar stages of industrial and technological development (Johnstone et al 1998)⁶⁹. For many African countries, Kenya included, the implementation of the World Bank proffered policies of higher education funding was not a matter of choice. These policies were to be

⁶⁹ The Financing and Management of Higher Education: A Status Report on Worldwide Reforms (D. Bruce Johnstone, Alka Arora and William Experton) The World Bank 1998

implemented as part of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) imposed by the Bank and IMF (Enos 2003).

4.4.4 Rationales for Changes in Kenyan Higher Education Support

The motivations for changes in donor support to HE vary widely from one donor to another and include, one, their change in strategy from support provider to cooperation partner, whereby donor agencies try to encourage countries to shift from depending on them and move to self sustainability. JICA encourages the recipient countries to own the projects by involving them in the entire process (2009).

Second reason is the changes that have occurred in the economic landscape, whereby the sectoral needs have changed drastically, thus compelling development partners to cut back on support in the social sector and focus more on the health or agricultural sector which are viewed as more important for the society. Sector-wise basic education is deemed as more important therefore higher education has been receiving less attention⁷⁰. Funding for collecting and analyzing information about crucial issues that affect higher education (CHET 2007:20) such as the absorption of graduates into the labor market, or about the role of universities in continuing professional development, is thus affected and in effect worsens the financial constraints experienced by the sector.

The third reason involves changes in the political leadership whereby newly elected leaders emphasize their agenda for political reasons. As new leaders are elected into government they are inclined to deliver on the promises they made to the citizens who voted them in. Some of the policies they front may sideline certain sectors, which then causes a decline in their financial support. Higher education has been neglected for a long time in Kenya due to lack of political commitment by incoming leadership. It is only in 2008 that a specific Ministry – Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology (MOHEST) – was created and charged with the higher education portfolio.

A fourth reason for the changes involves the nature of the agreement between government and donors which then impacts the support extended, depending on the goodwill and commitment of the partners. Donor agencies support higher education depending on the contracts between

⁷⁰ http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/ed_for_all/ Visited 20.10.10

them and the government. Since the agreement changes mutually or through negotiation (Cloete et al 2011) the actors involved in forming it, inform the direction in which support is channeled. They may not specifically agree on all aspects of the agreement but many compromises have to be made throughout the process.

4.5 SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE WORLD BANK AND JICA

The two donors discussed in this study share various similarities and also have their differences. Exploring their differences and similarities draws out a better understanding of their roles within the nation. The term ‘multilateral’ implies a body which incorporates the governments of multiple countries working together. The World Bank is a multilateral donor agency constituting several member countries. This means that decisions are complex and must receive a majority vote before they are approved. The World Bank gives loans on request to developing countries and only negotiates with the government in place.

‘Bilateral’ implies a national government that partners with another country. JICA is a national donor agency which emphasizes cooperation, thus creating an environment of ownership for recipient countries. JICA works together with the government and sometimes directly with individual institutions and the private sector.

4.5.1 Similarities

All donor activities, irrespective of their aim, have a distinct beginning, middle and end (Schacter 1999). This is consistent with their underlying purpose of bringing about change through solving a problem. Both the World Bank and JICA are involved in the development of developing countries’ with the aim of raising the living conditions of the citizens within those nations (World Bank 2010; JICA 2009). Donor support in Kenya gradually rose from the 1970s to the 1980s and reached a peak of \$1.6 billion in 1990, before declining drastically (Mwega 2008).

Multilateral and bilateral donors both give aid in the form of grants, official development assistance (ODA), loans and technical support. Kenya, for example, received approximately three-quarters of its total aid from bilateral donors, with no distinct trend toward greater

reliance on either multilateral or bilateral aid (Mwega 2008)⁷¹. Bilateral aid in Kenya has mainly been in the form of grants (72% of the total), with the share of grants increasing in recent years, whereas multilateral aid has mainly been in the form of loans (86%).

4.5.2 Differences

One of the main characteristics of bilateral aid has been its concentration on project aid rather than general programme aid (for example JICA's investment in Kenya's SMASSE (1998) and AICAD (2000) projects). It is easier for bilateral donors to downplay the issue of policy reforms in project aid, therefore avoiding political interference. A large proportion of bilateral grant aid (58 percent over the 1970s) was given to Kenya for technical assistance. During the 1980s, the share of technical assistance in total grant assistance began to decline, to 39% in the 1980s and 36% in the 1990s, as bilateral donors shifted an increasing proportion of their project assistance to grant terms (Mwega 2008). Multilateral aid is more focused on programmes which tend to be more inclusive. These sometimes involve tough interventions, for example the World Bank sanctioned Kenya through aid freezes in 1992, 1997 and 2000 (Mwega 2008).

Multilateral aid can be equally or more coercive than bilateral aid (Lancaster 2007). The history of World Bank and International Monetary Fund austerity programs and structural adjustment policies in the developing world has amply demonstrated that sometimes multilateral organizations can impose potent and harmful conditions on recipients, interfering with the internal affairs of other nations and doing long-lasting harm (Vaira 2004). These agencies have also been heavily criticized for their focus on economic concerns at the expense of more basic human needs, such as health, education and the alleviation of poverty (Psacharopoulos 1985).

Bilateral donor activities are seen to produce clear, measurable impacts resulting from linear processes. Multilateral donor activities lead to intangible outcomes for which robust forms of measurements are not available (Schacter 1999). Multilateral donor activities lead to outcomes and impacts "caused" by networks of actors operating through back-and forth

⁷¹ http://www.jbic.go.jp/en/research/report/research-paper/pdf/rp36_e07.pdf - Visited 25.09.10

(iterative) rather than straight-line (linear) processes⁷². The World Bank loans are repayable with interest and sometimes have conditionalities attached to them (IMF 2011).

Multilateral aid allows for the pooling of resources and is more focused on the long term. Multilateralism implies a group of countries, meaning they work together and put their resources together for a common goal (World Bank 2010). By contrast, bilateral aid arrangements involve resources from an individual donor country and could be short-term and subject to change at short notice as a result of political or economic shifts in the donor country. JICA invest annually in various initiatives within recipient countries (JICA 2009). Multilateral aid programmes are therefore more stable and can plan more usefully for the long-term (Schacter 1999).

Activities by bilateral donors are directly aimed at producing developmental results while multilateral donor activities indirectly produce developmental results (Schacter 1999). Bilateral arrangements are easier to justify as serving specific national interests. The causes of bilateral donors are easily attributable to a narrow range of inputs and actors and are directly aimed to produce developmental results. They rely on the involvement of governments and other actors in development countries to which support is provided (Lancaster 2007). Multilateralism values subordination of particular national objective to broader objectives that transcend local interests.

4.6 CONCLUSION

The data presented has shown the specific support to higher education by the two donor agencies selected. This study shows that there have been significant changes in the involvement of donors in HE in Kenya. These changes are reflected in donor emphasis, direction or focus towards supporting higher education. Most notable is the insistence on low returns on investment for higher education in the 1990's. This resulted in recommendations for reduced public funding of the sector and the introduction of cost sharing. Most recently the importance of higher education has been emphasized for development of the 'knowledge

⁷²<http://www.docstoc.com/docs/23926809/Results-Based-Management-and-Multilateral-Programming-at-CIDA-A> - Visited 20.12.10

economy' (Kapur et al 2008) but donors have not backed this with concrete resource allocation.

The analysis and discussion draws out developments in donor support for higher education. These developments have been posited to shed light on the changes that have taken place in donor investments towards Kenyan higher education over the past 30 years. The significance of higher education has been emphasized, but the support towards it does not match up. HE emphasizes the importance of skills acquisition at a higher level of education for the growth of society. This has been a strong basis for the support of higher education by donors, though their wider goal is poverty reduction.

The modernization model has been an important framework to aid in understanding the models donors base their goals on. It shows how development changes emanate from higher education's external environment, via interventions by donors following a pre-determined development path. By investing in human resource development donors support higher education in order to try and achieve their overall objective. The World Bank and JICA exhibit similarities in their intention to support higher education, but variations are displayed in their approach.

The next chapter will provide the conclusion for this study. It will underscore what the study set out to achieve and offer recommendations for what else can be done.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Having analyzed the data presented for this study in chapter four, this chapter presents the conclusion. This study set out to explore the changing role of donors in their involvement in higher education in Kenya. The changes in donor support for higher education have taken place over a long period of time. This study has however focused on the past thirty years.

Part one entails my concluding remarks. The second part explores the way forward for higher education in Kenya. Part three reviews the consequences for Kenyan higher education with regard to the changes in donor support. The fourth part suggests recommendations for future related studies.

5.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study set out to explore the changes in donor involvement in higher education in Kenya over the past 30 years. To understand this, the study investigated the donors involved in Kenyan higher education. They are actors in the general national policy arena with various interests in development. Donors are depicted as external actors who support various initiatives with somewhat pre-outlined goals. Donors have been in Kenya since the 1960's and have played an important role in advising and informing policy decisions.

As external actors they may sustain the policy process with funds and technical assistance, provide international recommendations and guidelines, and have significant influence through their decisions. The period of time in focus for this study was 1980's to date. This is broadly detailed in chapter two and three and answers the first sub-question, "Who are involved in supporting higher education?"

Over the past three decades the relationship between donors and higher education has been changing. This implies changes in the support of donors which in turn impact the sector in various ways. The donors chosen for this study were the World Bank and JICA, because of the length of time they have been involved in the country's development agenda. For decades the support modalities used in higher education cooperation have been budget support, institutional cooperation programs, assistance and agreements (Holtland et al 2005).

Underscored are issues that have affected higher education through the years such as financial constraints, actor's demands and the reform agenda. Chapter three expounds on the donor/higher education relationship in Kenya and thus answers sub-question two "What has the involvement of the World Bank and JICA been in Kenyan higher education over the last 30 years?"

To answer sub-question three, "What developments have taken place in the World Bank and JICA support for Kenyan higher education?" and sub-question four, "What are the notable changes in the World Bank and JICA support for Kenyan higher education?" chapter four has explored the investments of donors in higher education over the past 30 years. What can be found in donor agency documents, suggests investment patterns in higher education projects that are aimed more at strengthening the higher education institutions as a goal (CHET 2007:14). By detailing the developments that have taken place in donor commitment we are better able to understand the changes in the investments towards higher education.

There are strong indications of growing importance accorded to the role of higher education in development cooperation but their financial support has not matched this. Notable changes are exhibited because this was not the case from the beginning, when donors got involved in the sector. The actual investments in higher education and the implied course of action presented in the general policy documents of donors do not necessarily go hand in hand. What donors say in principle is entirely different from what they practice (Kapur et al 2008). Donor advice and trends have also impacted the Kenya governments' commitment towards financing higher education.

The similarities and differences between the World Bank and JICA have been investigated in chapter four and answer sub-question five "What are the significant similarities and differences between the World Bank and JICA?" This is to give us an understanding of the likenesses and differences between the functions of the two donor agencies. The World Bank is a multilateral donor agency, formed by many member countries (including Japan) while JICA is a single nation donor agency. The two agencies have similarities in their intention to support higher education but a clearly evident difference is their approach, structure and organization.

5.2 WAY FORWARD FOR KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The 1980s will no doubt be viewed as the education decade - not a decade in which specific education problems were solved, but a decade in which the problems of education as a whole achieved international significance. The decade of the 1990s may well be known by historians as the decade in which international pressure was brought by non educators to cause educators to change practice and theory - the decade of accountability. This will be the case not because of the imposition of standards but because of the process and practice of assessment which increasingly has become the focus of legislators, politicians and the public during the past five to ten years (Sewall 1996).

Education is universally recognized as one of the most fundamental building blocks for human development (JICA 2009). When given the opportunity to achieve their own goals, people are empowered to contribute fully to the development of their communities, societies, and economies. For this reason, it is at the center of the World Bank's mission (World Bank 2010). The Bank helps countries integrate education into national economic strategies and develop holistic and balanced education systems that produce results⁷³. The aim is to help countries achieve universal primary education, and quality learning for all while investing in the skills and knowledge necessary for their growth and competitiveness. The World Bank is committed to help countries achieve Education for All (EFA)⁷⁴ and, through Education for the Knowledge Economy⁷⁵, build dynamic knowledge societies.

Significant elements in donor documents are stimulating economic growth, improving political governance and strengthening democracy, and investing in human development (CHET 2007:12). How then do donor agencies incorporate higher education to achieve these goals? In view of higher education as an engine for the knowledge economy it is crucial for actors involved to apportion equivalent support for the sector. Consequently, in order to achieve the objective of improving human skills for the knowledge economy, at a global

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<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:20374062~menuPK:540090~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:282386,00.html> – Visited 20.10.10

⁷⁴ *ibid*

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<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTEDUCATION/0,,contentMDK:20161496~menuPK:540092~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:282386,00.html> – Visited 20.10.10

level, it is arguable that the most effective channel be used. Higher education is vital for skills development (Olaniyan et al 2008) and thus serves well in attaining this goal.

In recognition of the critical importance of higher education for sustainable economic development, UNESCO and the World Bank have shifted from their initial position that marginalized the sector to one that emphasizes the importance of higher education in the continent (TFHE 2000). This shift in favor of higher education expansion and revitalization is very crucial in three major ways. First it allows the institutions themselves to commit more resources and attention to the sector; second as leading development agencies and think tanks, they encourage other development agencies to follow suit; and third, they urge recipient countries to invest more on higher education development.

Donor agencies recognize that assistance to higher education can be a critical instrument of growth and development as it can create the knowledge and skills needed to promote productive investment and poverty reduction in the new global economy; induce reforms in policies, governance, and management within the sector; improve equity through increased access to higher education by low-income and disadvantaged students; enhance education at all levels through training of teachers, contributing to Education for All (EFA) and meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); and create social capital and improve the quality of development program management.

Studies by Bloom further solidify that increasing higher education tends to increase the rate of technological and income convergence (Bloom et al 2006). He goes on to state that a one-year increase in the stock of Africa's tertiary education would boost the annual rate of economic growth by a sizable 0.63 percentage points. Further, the studies suggested that higher education promotes more productive, entrepreneurial, and well-governed societies and investing in higher education may directly improve the steady-state level of GDP, and promote technological catch-up (Bloom et al 2006). Most of the studies carried out on higher education in developing countries have been commissioned by the agencies giving support and for a long time have not involved all the stakeholders in the sector, thus resulting in biased decisions towards how to support higher education.

The World Bank itself admits that it was rarely able to offer the long-term comprehensive support for higher education that is required for successful reform efforts and effective institutions building (World Bank 2002:100). This admission directly proves the often discussed but seldom practiced policies of donor institutions, i.e. the need for long-term commitment and comprehensive support for revitalizing—and sustaining—higher education in the continent. While it is true that the World Bank seems to have shifted its course in favor of higher education, some of its recent documents and activities do not however reflect that reality—yet.

For example in its 2004 Annual Review of Development Effectiveness (World Bank 2005), the Bank does not even mention higher education in the entire report, 140 pages long. Higher education is yet to be fully recognized as an engine of economic development and a tool for poverty reduction. It is reassuring however that in recognition of higher education as an engine of socio-economic development, donors have shifted their policy in its favor, though this shift of direction is yet to be followed by appropriate resources and funding commitments.

With the publication of yet another influential document, *Constructing Knowledge Societies* (2002), the Bank raised high hopes in higher education institutions of developing countries in particular and their nations as a whole. If anything, the position of this document raised the higher education portfolio and liberated borrowing countries— which previously had been intimidated by the position of the Bank (Mamdani 2006). While nations no longer feel reluctant to request support for higher education development, donors still sway the characters, the scope and the magnitude of the support to higher education in line with their economic and educational policy discourse.

5.3 CONSEQUENCES FOR KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Support for higher education is necessary for countries' institutional development. Institutional capacity-building is an essential component of programmes in all sectors of development cooperation (JICA Kenya Report 2009). Also the need for higher education research by institutions with different perspectives and policy positions cannot be over-emphasized (Bloom et al 2006).

Without much support in way of financing, higher education has had to drastically adjust by adopting various ways to cover for the deficit (Mwiria et al 2007). Due to the financial constraints facing higher education, different modes of funding have been explored over the years and have influenced its reforms (Wangenge-Ouma 2008). The introduction of Module II programs at universities (University of Nairobi 2005; Moi University 2006) was as a result of this and increases in the student enrolment further heightened the problem. This has also prompted the increase in private HE institutions.

The first rationale for exploring other modes to finance higher education is the sheer need for other-than-governmental revenue (Johnstone 2003). This need begins with the dramatic increase in most countries in both the public and private demand for higher education, recognized as a major engine of national economic growth and provider of individual opportunity and prosperity. Second is the high—and likely to be increasing—per-student costs on top of the increasing numbers of students. A third cause of increased austerity, especially in the low income and “transitional” countries, is the decline in available public (taxpayer-based) revenue (Johnstone 2003).

Information and communication technologies (ICT) play an important role because it can improve the management, implementation, content and quality of education services throughout the world (CHET 2007). These technologies - which are a tool and not a priority in themselves - can help greatly to improve the organization of education systems, access to these systems (support for teacher training, access to foreign languages, overseas training, etc.) and quality (access to a wider range of knowledge, inter-institutional network assistance). This applies, for instance, to distance learning methods for teacher training and the AVU programs in Kenya (Juma 2006).

Cooperation in the area of higher education between first and third-country institutions seems to be a useful way of supporting higher education in developing countries (JICA 2009). This cooperation is promoted at the regional level in particular. JICA has this in place with their third country training programs. Developing countries need to take caution, though, to ensure that development cooperation policies do not unfairly limit the ability of these countries to provide for their own development (Mamdani 2006). It is important for Kenyan institutions to take a leading role in shaping the knowledge discourse in higher education in Kenya.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings and consequent analysis in this study leads me to propose a few recommendations that could be employed towards ensuring that donor support for higher education does not result in the neglect of the sector. The underlying impression when assessing donor documents is that returns on investment in higher education are lower than those of other levels of education (Psacharopoulos et al 1997). It was at the Education for All (EFA) conference in 1990 that emphasis was laid on basic education thus causing funding towards higher education to reduce.

All levels of an education system are interdependent, and higher education is indispensable for progress in the other branches. It is also important to note that developed and industrialized economies have relied on higher education for their development (World Bank 2002). For developing countries to catch up with their more developed counterparts it may be necessary to emphasize higher education. There is also increasing evidence that high levels of education in general, and of higher education in particular, are essential for the design and productive use of new technologies, while they also provide the foundations for any nation's innovative capacity (Carnoy et al 1993; Serageldin 2000).

Past experience has led to constant revisions of how to approach investment in higher education (Bloom et al 2006) and it still poses a challenge. Also as time goes by, the actors in higher education keep increasing (Teferra 2008), thus making it more complex to manage. This necessitates better understanding between the stakeholders on what is important for higher education and how it can best be improved.

For development agencies to make better investment and capacity building choices, more systematic knowledge about African higher education is necessary to improve higher education delivery, and also to engage in a more informed manner with funders (CHET 2007:30). The 2004 Annual Review of Development Effectiveness⁷⁶ asserts that “high quality analytical work, with sound diagnosis of and recommendations for institutional and sectoral reforms, has a big payoff”⁷⁷. Despite this World Bank finding, it does little to promote the study of higher education outside of the Bank. As a leading donor the World Bank's influence

⁷⁶ www.worldbank.org/oed - Visited 20.09.10

⁷⁷ *ibid* (p43)

in higher education cannot be ignored, therefore it is important for them to put into practice actions that show their commitment.

By exploring the changes that have occurred in donor support for higher education this study further opens up for research in other related areas. One area is an investigation into how the higher education sector proposes it should be supported. Such a study will inform us from the bottom-up. By gaining an understanding of what the sector views as important for its effective and efficient performance it better informs stakeholders on the best way to support it.

An investigation into how donors can respond more effectively to different HE needs in developing countries would offer suggestions on the best practice methods for donors and higher education. This would need to take into consideration the different contexts within which each country operates. It would also have to look at the trends and features of donor activities within higher education in a specified context. A recap of what donors have been doing would help guide on what they should adopt in order to be more effective in their support towards higher education.

Another area is the impact of donor support on higher education. This could emphasize both the positive and negative aspects and draw out their effects. This would be important in evaluating the effect of donor involvement in higher education. Such a study could highlight whether the outcomes of donor support for higher education match up to their goals. It could also compare the types of support and examine which ones are most favorable for higher education.

A comparative study can also be carried out to draw out how different donors support higher education and how this affects the sector. An analysis can then be carried out to explore which donor best meets the higher education needs within a given context. This can then be used to recommend which modes are most effective to support higher education. This study can then be used by donors to learn from their counterparts.

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