CHANGING POLICY AND PRACTICE OF JAPANESE EDUCATIONAL AID TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Nobuhide SAWAMURA

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
for the degree of Master of Philosophy
The University of Edinburgh
1995

The thesis has been composed by me and is my original work.

Nobuhide SAWAMURA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would especially like to thank Prof. Kenneth King, Dr. Simon Collinson and Dr. Louise de la Gorgendiere for supervising my work. Their comments and ideas helped develop my understanding of this area of study.

I owe a particular thanks to the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) for giving me an opportunity to undertake this course of study.

Abstract.

Japan has been expanding its international aid rapidly and is one of major donor countries today. In the education sector, Japan has largely concentrated on higher education and vocational training in the specialised technical field and assistance aimed at improving basic education has been very limited. Recently, Japan has started the intention to increase aid for education, particularly basic education. Japanese policy and practice of educational aid are in the process of rapid change. The Japanese traditionally have a high regard and value for education. Japan has valuable experience of education in its own recent history. However, the country appears to have underplayed its role in the sphere of international aid. Consequently, in this paper mainstream aid policy in education is critically analysed from a non-Western, Japanese angle. Japan achieved remarkable economic development along with educational development such as the provision of quality primary schooling for all children. Japanese experience of education is often relevant to the issues facing much of Africa today. Moreover, Japan has the tentative desire to become a leading donor, not merely attempting to provide aid to Africa following other donors' approaches. This desire has created tensions between newer, more independent approaches and the traditional role following Western donors. These tensions are illustrated within three of the main subsectors of education (basic education, higher education, and technical and vocational education and training) examining Japan's own comparative advantage alongside existing international (Western) wisdom. Case studies are made of three specific African countries (Ghana, Kenya and South Africa). An analysis in greater detail is then developed to illustrate possible Japanese contributions. These include the provision of quality basic education for all, the development of science and technology and the improvement of skills capacity. Finally, some implications for future Japanese aid policy are presented: (1) to have more confidence in Japan's own experience and knowledge of education and their relevance to Africa, and to use this knowledge and experience more actively in international policy formation; (2) to approach the aspects of educational systems and structures which can utilise Japanese comparative advantage more effectively, including dealing with the cultures and values of recipient countries which Japan has tended to avoid in the past, and; (3) to select out what is transferable to specific countries based on their educational needs and Japan's own comparative advantage and policy priorities. If Japan can develop its own unique approach in bilateral aid for education and build its own aid capacity, it will be able to exploit its great potential to provide Africa with fresh approaches to educational development. Japan, as a major donor, can and should play an increasing important role in the development of African education.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (of the OECD)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GNP	Gross National Product
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JFY	Japanese Fiscal Year
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JOCV	Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ODA	Overseas Development Administration (UK)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OECF	Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (Japan)
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All

1. INTRODUCTION

Many developing countries have made efforts to improve education in line with economic and social development. Although the role of education in development has been widely debated, education still appears to be regarded as one of the central foundations of development. Accordingly, developing countries concerned have continued substantially to allocate their limited budgets to educational development.

In particular, much of Africa[1] has invested in education since its independence. During the 1960s and 1970s the efforts made by Africa have been impressive and the quantitative expansion in terms of enrolment ratios has been especially dramatic. The World Bank (1988:12) states that "from this low starting point, the progress achieved in African education has been remarkable." However, educational development in Africa may have stagnated together with the deterioration of economic growth since the early 1980s. The educational issues facing Africa today can be identified across various levels of education. One of these issues is, for example, the erosion of educational quality. It is a reality that many African countries cannot achieve their goals in education despite their own keen efforts. Thus, an element of international aid is essential to help alleviate this situation.

A report by UNDP (1990:5) states that "in any concerted international effort to improve human development in the Third World, priority must go to Africa." However, although international aid has been favourably provided to this region, the current educational realities suggest that all such aid to education may not have functioned very effectively. Therefore, the simple expansion of educational aid may not be enough and it is necessary to re-examine present aid policy and approaches towards education.

Looking at the African situation and taking into account the flow of international educational aid, the 1980s were also a time of crisis in educational aid as well as in African development. For example, both UK and USA left UNESCO, the specialised agency for the UN responsible for education. But, more importantly, the flow of aid, according to OECD figures, fell during the 1980s. This was also the decade when the World Bank became an influential provider in education combining its great research

[1] Throughout this paper, 'Africa' when used is an abbreviation for 'sub-Saharan Africa'.

capacity alongside the implementation of structural adjustment programmes. As a result, education was often discussed using the terminology of economics such as 'efficiency' rather than 'social welfare', and this discourse of the World Bank[2] began to influence several other donors. In 1990, the World Conference on Education for All was held in Jomtien, Thailand and brought education to the fore in the current argument among aid agencies. It was a significant turning point for many donor agencies in formulating new policies for educational aid. The Declaration adopted in the Conference proclaimed that education is "a fundamental right for all people" (WCEFA, 1990b:2). A substantial impact of this conference was placed especially on Japanese aid to education.

In general, Japan has been rapidly expanding its aid and is one of the major donor countries today. Even in terms of aid to Africa, Japan has ranked fourth among bilateral donors in volume, although only 10 to 15 per cent of its bilateral aid goes to Africa (OECD, 1994). It has already caught up with traditional donor countries in the quantity of aid disbursed.

In the current era of international aid, Japanese aid officials often show little regard for the free market orthodoxy generated by Western donors (Dawkins, 1995). This Japanese scepticism about the free market is largely the result of its own experience of rapid economic development, a process in which the role of the state - rather than the operation of the market - was of central importance. Japan has already begun to provide such an idea to developing countries through training courses on such subjects as financial reform (ibid.). A good illustration of this more independent Japanese stance can be seen in the annual report on Japanese aid in 1994. The report emphasises that it is a Japanese responsibility to take the initiative in policy formation of international aid (Japan, 1994b:69). Therefore, Japan is no longer merely attempting to follow other donors' approaches nor trying simply to supplement their work. It has started the process of establishing more independent policy for developing countries.

A recent article calls this Japanese attitude towards Western wisdom "Japan's nice new nationalism" and comments that "for years, the justified western complaint was that

[2] Strictly speaking, the World Bank is not a donor, but a lending institution both at concessional and commercial rates. However, it is not uncommon in the aid community for the Bank along with other multilateral and bilateral agencies to be called a donor in general discussion of, for example, 'donors' and 'recipients'.

Japan would not speak up for itself. If it now does so, that should be welcomed,..." (Economist, 1995:11). It seems certain that the Japanese viewpoint will be appreciated by Western countries and that a different Japanese perspective will be regarded as a valuable international contribution. In other words, there may be Western intellectual support for Japan being different.

In aid to education, in particular, Japan has largely concentrated on higher education and post-school vocational training in the specialised technical field and assistance targeting basic education has been very limited. Recently, Japan has made it clear that it intends to increase aid for education and especially for basic education (JICA, 1994a). Primarily, this results from the conference in Jomtien, but it certainly corresponds to the value that the Japanese place on education. The Japanese in general have a high regard for learning and teaching. It is often argued that basic education has played a key role in supporting Japan's rapid economic growth.

But it seems that Japan does not have so much confidence in arguing for educational development as it does in economic development at the moment. The Japanese independent approach in such spheres as economics has not yet translated to educational aid. The significant difference between the two approaches is whether development in each field (economics and education) is systematically analysed based on Japan's own experience or not.

Therefore, Japan has not contributed much towards a deeper understanding of its educational aid in a strict sense, largely because the country may have tended to undervalue its own experience and knowledge of education. Accordingly, there has been little research carried out to describe Japanese experience and systems in education in terms of Japanese aid in general. Moreover, even less existing research examines the value of this experience in the African context. Arguably, Japan is now expected by other donors as well as developing countries to contribute more actively towards educational development in the developing world such as Africa. Japan also increasingly appears to have the intention of contributing to educational development more strongly, along with a shift in Japan's aid policy discussed above. In order to achieve this ambition it is essential for Japan to make more efforts to examine its comparative advantage - that is, the relative strengths in its knowledge and experience - as well as to build up its aid capacity. This requires further research to examine

Japan's experience and what its comparative advantage means in providing educational aid in the developing world context. This thesis attempts to do this precisely.

The purpose of this thesis is to discuss mainstream aid policy in education critically from a non-Western, Japanese angle based on Japan's own experience and to explore possible Japanese contributions towards educational development in Africa. Education is divided into three of the main subsectors of education (basic education, higher education, and technical and vocational education and training). In each of the subsectors Japan's own comparative advantage is examined alongside existing international wisdom and possible Japanese contributions are illustrated. In particular, this thesis is an attempt to explore the tensions between the Japan's more recent, independent ideas generated by its own expertise and traditional approaches following mainstream aid policy produced by the West.

First of all, overall Japanese aid policy and practice is outlined, focusing on some of its special features and contrasting other donors' aid. Then Japanese educational aid is reviewed paying attention to the development of its policy, before moving on to a discussion of each of several key subsectors of education (Chapter 2). Secondly, basic education including both primary schooling and adult literacy programmes is examined by taking a look at the present issues facing much of Africa. Further, some proposals for Japanese aid to basic education are suggested together with major donors' responses to those current issues (Chapter 3). Thirdly, higher education is considered to be important in terms of capacity building such as policy analysis and technological development. Special attention is paid to the development experience of higher education in East Asia. Specific Japanese contributions to higher education in Africa are illustrated (Chapter 4). Fourthly, technical and vocational education and training (TVET) is discussed including the issues of unemployment and the informal sector in conjunction with skills development. Here, especially, Japanese experience is contrasted with the World Bank policy and tentative approaches to TVET development are dealt with (Chapter 5). Finally, Japanese comparative advantages and contributions are re-examined across the three subsectors of education and then integrated. Three specific African countries (Ghana, Kenya and South Africa) are examined to illustrate Japanese ideas at the ground level and possible implications and conclusions are presented for future Japanese policy (Chapter 6).

2. JAPANESE EDUCATIONAL AID

Japan has been increasing its quantity of international aid rapidly in line with its economic growth. Today the country is actually the highest donor of aid in monetary terms. While among major donor countries there has been a recent trend of shrinking their aid, Japan's aid is continually expanding (Japan, 1994b:30). The role of Japan in providing aid is certainly changing. Both other donors' and recipients' expectations for Japan's role may be also changing. In the past Japan may have eagerly tried to catch up with other more experienced donors, but now Japan is clearly trying to seek its own role in the aid community. With its growing confidence in providing aid, Japan has started to show some reluctance in merely following American or European models of development. Japan appears to have found a real value in its own development strategy which has increasingly meant less readiness to conform international (i.e. Western) policy.

In the education sector, the Japanese attitude is not so clear at the moment. Japan has generally great confidence in the important role education has played in its development. However, in the context of educational aid, Japan has hardly contributed to the development of education systems except for contributions in the specialised technical field. Since the very early 1990s Japan's stance towards educational aid has been certainly changing, even if this has still not been enough. Such change may have been first driven by international policy, but Japan is now trying to make the change its own property.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore this shift in Japanese educational aid alongside the change in its overall aid. First, the overall features of Japanese aid are outlined and contrasted with those of other donors in general. Then, the changing Japanese attitude towards educational aid is illustrated, focusing on its current policy to illustrate the present position of Japanese educational aid within the wider aid community.

2.1 Outline of Japanese Aid

Japan does not have a long history of providing aid compared with other donor

countries in Europe and America. Rather, Japan experienced a remarkable economic growth with the support of bilateral and multilateral agencies including the World Bank (1953-66) and USA (1946-51). It was, for example, only in 1990 that Japan finished the payment of its last loans from the World Bank. Moreover, Japan is the only country which does not have its roots in Western civilisation among major donor countries. Therefore, its attitude to aid is not unreasonably different from Western donors. This has sometimes resulted in the criticism raised by some donor agencies. This critique may also have been amplified by the fact that the number of Japanese actually working in international aid has been limited.

(1) Characteristics of Japanese aid

Japanese aid began in 1954, when Japan was still reconstructing its own economy, and still receiving aid from the World Bank and other agencies. The number of recipient countries and the volume of aid have grown rapidly with further economic growth of Japan. To be exact, Japanese aid has recently grown faster than its national budget as a whole. Today, Japan is one of the top donors in the world in terms of net disbursement. In such conditions, the Government of Japan established the Official Development Assistance (ODA[3]) Charter in 1992 so as to earn broad support for Japanese aid through better understanding both at home and abroad and to implement it more effectively and efficiently (Japan, 1993a:193).

The Charter raises four basic aspects of Japanese aid philosophy: (1) a humanitarian viewpoint; (2) interdependence among nations of the international community; (3) environmental conservation, and; (4) the support for the self-help efforts of recipient countries. This philosophy is built upon Japan's own experience and its 40-year experience of providing aid. It clearly pays attention to mainstream aid policy, but is considered to have its own independent standpoint as well (Japan, 1994b). As for priority issues by region and by sector, the Charter states that Asia will continue to be a high priority region, but due consideration will be paid in particular to the least developed countries and, that "a priority of Japan's ODA will be placed on assistance to human resources development which, in the long-term, is the most significant element of self-help efforts towards socio-economic development and is a basic factor for the nation-building of developing countries" (Japan, 1994a:222). Certainly, aid to

[3] 'ODA' is a widely used term for international aid in Japan.

education is central to the fourth aspect of its fundamental aid philosophy and underlies the first one as well in the case of basic education.

Japan has recently set a Fifth Medium-Term Target with a commitment of US$ 70-75 billion over the years 1993 to 1997, which amounts to an annual increase of 8 to 10 per cent above current figures. However, this expansion may lead to the more rapid growth of capital grant and loan aid rather than technical co-operation, because the number of Japanese development specialists may not increase along with such rapid growth. The total volume of Japanese aid in 1992 was US$ 11.15 billion, which was the highest figure from any donor country, while that of USA was US$ 10.81 billion excluding US$ 0.9 billion relief from military debt (OECD, 1994:161). On the basis of the percentage of GNP, Japan and USA's aid figures were 0.30 per cent and 0.20 per cent respectively. Those figures are below the average of 0.33 per cent amongst the DAC (Development Assistance Committee of the OECD) members and far below those of the Nordic countries such as Norway's 1.16 per cent which is the highest (ibid.). Of the total Japanese aid given, about 25 per cent was distributed through multilateral agencies, some 41 per cent as loan aid, 15 per cent as grant aid and 19 per cent as technical co-operation (Japan, 1994a:20).

Most Japanese aid has traditionally been provided to neighbouring Asian countries. In 1992, approximately 65 per cent of its bilateral aid went to those countries and 70 per cent of its aid for Asia was in the form of loans (Japan, 1994a:44). This could be justified in that many of those countries needed large infrastructure projects and such projects were economically feasible and suitable for loan aid. In the case of Japanese bilateral aid to Africa, 84 per cent of its aid was in the form of grant and technical co-operation in 1992 (ibid.). Although African countries received only 10 per cent of Japanese bilateral aid in 1992, the share of its aid for Africa among bilateral donors was the fourth in volume, following France, USA and Germany (OECD, 1994:209). The director of the Overseas Development Institute in the UK stated that "there is now great interest in the role that Japan is playing, and will play, in international development assistance and in the international institutions established to promote economic development in low-income countries" (Howell, 1994:v). This echoes the Charter above stating the important role which Japan can play for the least developed countries.

(2) Perspectives on aid

Japanese aid has often been criticised by other donor countries rather than praised. Such criticism seems to have been based mostly on the aid modalities and approaches of Japanese aid which have often been different from those of many other donors. There may be two main causes. Firstly, Japanese aid has expanded without strengthening the mediators of such a growth in aid or increasing the capacity of aid personnel. "Strong in money, weak in implementation" may be the basis of those critiques (Nuscheler, 1992:28). Secondly, Japan is an Asian country and is the only long term member of the DAC that does not have its roots in western civilisation and therefore is not fully understood by Western donors. The Japanese approach, as we have said, is not unreasonably different from Western donors.

Many other donors may regard Japan as an immature donor country, since there has been little attempt to refer to Japanese aid and experience in a positive way. The statistics compiled by the DAC acknowledge Japanese contribution in figures, but there is little or no information about actual projects supported by Japan, on site, in other donors' documents. For example, a study of Kenya (Tostensen and Scott, 1987) financed by the Norwegian aid agency does not admit to any Japanese aid, unlike acknowledgements to other major donors from Europe and America, in spite of the fact that Japan was and has been a major provider of aid to Kenya since the early 1980s.

But the two main causes above might largely be attributed to the relative lack of human involvement in Japanese aid. The ratios of technical co-operation may be one of indices of such human involvement. The ratio of technical co-operation (bilateral) in Japanese total aid (including both bilateral and multilateral) in 1991 was 12.5 per cent, while those percentages from the UK, USA, France and Germany were 25.7, 31.0, 29.7 and 25.2 respectively (Japan, 1994a:26). These figures generally include aid in the form of scholarships to study in an aid-giving country. The Japanese ratio is much lower than other major donors. It is a fact that Japan has few so-called development experts who have much experience of working in developing countries. Japan may not also have actively participated in the international networks of the aid community and thereby other donors have hardly had an opportunity to understand Japanese policy. This absence of Japanese visibility may have been further fostered by a Japanese

attitude which places a higher priority on the action taken in developing countries rather than the policy formed in developed countries.

Criticism of Japan is useful for improving Japanese aid. For example, Japanese aid in general allegedly does not reach the people who really need assistance at the grassroots. One of Japan's NGOs argues that when other donors place emphasis on basic human needs programmes, Japan also follows the line but its aid is still biased to projects such as higher levels of education or modern hospitals for example (Watanabe, 1994:87). Japan could be said to have responded to only the requests which would achieve successful implementation in the short term, in line with Cassen's statement that "it is much easier to run infrastructure projects in South East Asia than to reach poor farmers in sub-Saharan Africa" (Cassen and Associates, 1986:16). If it is a fact that Japanese aid goes less to the grassroots than many of the other donors' aid, it might be related to the different scale of NGO activities. Japan (1994a:202) states that "the Government of Japan has promoted cooperation and coordination between ODA [official aid] policy and project and NGO activities...." Although there are about 100 Japanese NGOs involved in aid activities in developing countries, none of them is as large as its counterparts in other countries. Moreover, the social status of Japanese NGOs has not been well established yet. For instance, the share of aid through NGOs was 0.9 per cent in 1990/91, which is below the DAC average of 1.9 per cent (OECD, 1994:189). It might be a Japanese situation that there is not sufficient capacity yet among Japanese NGOs to absorb government subsidies in proportion to rapidly growing Japanese aid.

Japan, of course, has been making efforts in order to improve its aid in line with other donors. In terms of grant share which is regarded as an index showing quality of aid, Japan is still poorly rated among DAC member countries; however, its share has been improving in response to the criticism that Japan is loan-dominated. On the other hand, Japan may not think that grants are necessarily more effective than loans for all countries and for all sectors. This is primarily based on its own experience of borrowing a substantial amount of money from the World Bank in order to develop its economy. Japan believes that official aid is not a sort of charity, but a form of assistance to encourage further self-help.

As for aid implementation, it is very common for Japan to emphasise the necessity of

its improvement in its aid publications. Japan has to give aid as a way of learning how it can provide aid more effectively and efficiently based on recipients' needs, while other donors may provide developing countries with what they think they do well. For example, British ODA seems to have full confidence in its educational aid and talks of the "comparative advantage of UK" in many areas of education such as planning and financing in its policy paper (ODA, 1994:6). By contrast, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), which is mainly responsible for Japanese aid in the forms of technical co-operation and grant aid, states that "it is important for Japan to learn both from its own experience in education and the educational practices of developing countries" (JICA, 1994a:46). So the Japanese attitude to educational aid is to learn from developing countries as well as from its own experience. Furthermore, it is often argued among Japanese aid authorities that it is, first of all, an urgent matter to train Japanese aid personnel before providing assistance to developing countries. This is a continuing dilemma - how is it possible to improve Japanese implementation structures for effective aid, particularly in terms of human resources, while at the same time dealing with the rapid growth of its assistance?

This dilemma is also applicable to international policy formulation. Although generally adopting mainstream aid policy, Japan does not merely follow the lines established by Western donors. Japan has rarely spoken out in international policy formulation so far, but there are many critical arguments about Western wisdom at an individual interpersonal level. These arguments seem to be growing into the idea of a more nationally-oriented aid policy. For example, the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund of Japan (OECF), which is in charge of loan aid and has often supported the World Bank's activities, officially points out its problems with the Bank's approach to structural adjustment (OECF, 1991). Its main arguments are for measures which go beyond "the decade of efficiency", that is, additional measures for investment promotion, the protection of domestic industry, lending with subsidised interest rates and due consideration to privatisation (ibid.).

Arguably, the Japanese perspective, as outlined above, is an important way of Japan to contribute towards international policy. It is also the responsibility of Japan to join such policy formulation much more actively in the aid community. So far, Japan may have often attempted to adapt itself to an international standard. In the following section (3), it is possible to view Japan's bilateralism in contrast to that of the Western

donors.

(3) Nature of bilateralism

There are two main forms of aid, bilateral and multilateral: the former is provided in a relationship between a donor country and a recipient country while the latter is a contribution through international organisations such as United Nations agencies. Why are there two modes of assistance? When assessing the abilities among donor countries, it is necessary to define the role of bilateral aid. "Bilateral aid is constructed upon an assumption of special interests, links, and relationships", and that they are "the essence of bilateralism" (King, 1991a:196). Moreover, "the bilaterals are generally not uncertain about the value of the fields in which they have a tradition of working" (ibid.). For developing countries, their view of bilateral aid may be based on the selection of comparative advantages in terms of knowledge, experience, relevance and flexibility; from a donor perspective, however, countries may try to offer the aid programmes in which they can do better than others. This existence of bilateralism is, of course, accepted in Japanese bilateral aid thinking, but it might have a slightly different aspect from other donor countries.

This is perhaps shown typically by the 'tying' status of aid. The ratios of tied aid indicate how much a given aid fund is tied to purchases of goods and services from the aid-giving country. The ratio of Japanese tied aid to its total aid was only 10.8 per cent in 1991, while those percentages from other major donor countries were 41.4 (UK), 17.0 (USA), 40.5 (France) and 37.6 (Germany) respectively (Japan, 1994b:320). The portion of Japanese tied aid is much smaller than those of the European donors in particular, although this phenomenon largely resulted from the external criticism that Japanese loan aid was of benefit to Japan. From these figures it might be said that Japan tends to underplay its own expertise. This increase in 'untied' aid may have resulted in further lack of Japanese human involvement. It is rather cynical that Western donor countries criticised Japanese tied aid and Japan deregulated it. Surely this effort to appease Western critique partly led to further lack of Japanese human involvement, for which it is in turn blamed again today? In such a dilemma, where should Japanese bilateralism go?

There are at least two possibilities emerging in Japanese bilateralism. Firstly, Japan

has strongly encouraged South-South co-operation, which is technical co-operation among developing countries (Japan, 1994b). There are many developing countries which are ready to provide neighbouring countries with their own experience and knowledge of development. They often have much more appropriate knowledge and experience than Japan. For example, Kenya implements a training programme for neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Tanzania with the support of Japan providing training expenses and Japanese lecturers and so on. The institution in charge of this training has been supported by Japanese aid, and Japanese knowledge and experience accumulated in developing countries are in this manner disseminated to other developing countries. Of course, Japanese presence decreases and developing countries come to the fore. This initiative is probably against the spirit of traditional bilateralism discussed above, but it clearly corresponds to one of the aspects of Japanese aid philosophy: the support of the self-help efforts of developing countries (see section 2.1 (1)). In fact, about half of the Japanese 'untied' aid goes to enterprises established in developing countries which provide services and equipment to neighbouring countries as well as to the countries themselves.

Secondly, it is common for Japan to put an emphasis on aid co-ordination. Aid co-ordination among donor agencies in itself is meant to encourage more effective use of aid, by removing piecemeal projects; it is mainly intended to benefit the recipient countries. However, this form of co-ordination may have another dimension for Japan - both advantageous and detrimental. In theory, aid co-ordination seems to produce a larger package with elements of comparative advantage for individual donors. For Japan, it is possible to "learn through aid co-ordination from countries with long experience in development and others which have played leading roles in providing aid" (OECD, 1991a:38). On the other hand, such co-ordination tends to exclude Japanese human involvement, if facilities and equipment are provided by Japan while other donors are responsible for experts and training especially in Africa where most systems and structures stem from European models.

The character of this Japanese bilateralism (i.e. South-South co-operation and aid co-ordination) could be in part linked to the lack of Japanese aid personnel at the moment. However, it could also come from Japanese traditional way of thinking: individual self-sacrifice for group success. Conceivably, Japan may have marginalised its own expertise for the 'success' of the aid community. Furthermore, Japan fundamentally

does not like to place conditions in providing its aid. Probably such conditionality imposed by other donors is often based on the values and cultures of the aid-giving country rather than of the recipient country. By contrast, Japan has frequently been uncertain as to the value of its own development experience for developing countries.

But it is significant that Japan's white paper on official aid (ODA) in 1994 is full of instances showing the intention of Japan to assert more aid leadership, directly or indirectly (Japan, 1994b). JICA has recently compiled a study report on Japanese aid and the role of JICA in 2010. The report states that ideas based on Japan's own experience and knowledge of economic and social development will increasingly become important criteria in Japanese aid (JICA, 1995a:22). As noted in the examples given above, a clear shift in Japanese bilateralism with increased confidence in its own aid experience and knowledge appears to be taking place. Although Japan has probably been trying to learn from other donors' strategy, it now intends to take more of the initiative in the aid community and states that it plans to become "a leading donor towards the 21st century" (Japan, 1994c:1). For example, Japan hosted the Tokyo International Conference on African Development with the participation of African states and major donor agencies in 1993. At the Conference, a possible scenario for the development of Africa was discussed, based on some of the experience of East Asian countries (Ueda, 1994:6). The Conference also illustrated that there is now a turning point in which Japan may be taking the initiative to formulate its own policy in support of African development rather than supplementing other donors' activities.

This Japanese confidence in its own development approach seems to originate from aid to economic infrastructures such as the construction of an electric power supply in East Asia (Japan, 1994b). Along with rapid economic growth in this region and its own experience of development, Japan has some confidence in its strategy in terms of economic development. However, in the area of social development such as education, Japanese confidence still appears to be lacking. In the following section 2.2, Japanese education and further Japanese aid policy for education in general is examined, before moving to individual chapters on each of those major subsectors of education.

2.2 Japanese Aid Policy in Education

It is widely accepted that education is one of the key factors which has supported Japanese development. Human resource development has been regarded as a crucial element for development in the context of Japanese aid. By contrast, Japanese aid to education, especially to basic education, has been limited. Japan seems to have been, traditionally, reluctant to provide its bilateral aid in such an area which affects national identities. But today there appear to be new trends which are placing a higher priority on education and basic education, in particular, within Japanese aid policy.

(1) Overview of Japanese education

Educational aid strategy often reflects the education systems of the donor countries which differ considerably from each other (King, 1986:120). Accordingly, it is useful to take a look at the history of Japanese educational development and the Japanese view of education, both of which can be said to be quite different from the Western education, before examining Japanese aid to education. Here, some general features of Japanese education are sketched out.

The Fundamental Law of Education established in 1947 stated that "education shall aim at the full development of personality..." (Passin, 1965:302). The acquisition of knowledge and skills may not be an objective of education in a Japanese sense. The Japanese do not generally regard education as an economic investment expecting monetary returns. It is frequently said that the values inherent in the Japanese education system are rooted in Confucianism. It is argued that Japanese children learn through schooling the importance of group loyalty, the value of perseverance, individual self-sacrifice for group success and the superiority of effort over native intelligence in producing results (Duke, 1986). This value-system may not be understood by people who have attended school in Western countries.

As regards the progress of Japanese modern education, the Government played a key role in its development, in contrast to the minimal role played by central Government in Britain (Dore, 1976:35). This may suggest that Japan tends to put less emphasis on decentralisation than Western nations. In order to introduce the modern system, Japan learned a great deal from Europe and America in the 1860s and 1870s. But the

intention was not to duplicate the education system of foreign countries. Rather, it is noted that "despite all the influences brought into the new school system, the first consideration was always that the system be *Japanese* " (White, 1987:58). To adjust and modify those imported systems and make them into real Japanese systems is what Japan did first.

Almost all eligible children have attended primary school since the early 1900s and virtually the entire population achieved functional literacy after two decades of universal primary schooling (Passin, 1965:4). On the other hand, Japan had only one university by 1904. This suggests that Japan placed great emphasis on the attainment of primary schooling for all children. This rapid and successful progress may be attributed to the fact that the Japanese population is relatively homogeneous in terms of language, values, culture and religion. This is likely to be a great advantage for the successful achievement of basic education for all, unlike the cases in many developing countries where there is much diversity.

The teacher is one of the key determinants of the quality of education. Japan has a relatively long history of teacher training. There were a lot of normal schools for teacher training even at a time when the number of universities was very limited. The Government provided special scholarships for such training at that time. The purpose of the scholarships was to encourage poor and rural youth to enter the teaching profession. Currently, there is one national university in which teacher training in each prefecture (Japan consists of 47 prefectures) is provided by the faculty of education. Such a university can be traced back to a normal school. The main route to become a primary school teacher is to graduate from that university. As for a secondary school teacher, it is common to take specific course units for teacher training in addition to the usual units needed in university. For example, science teachers at senior secondary school are largely graduates of the faculty of science and not education. Generally, it is considered that more specific education is necessary to become a teacher in addition to relevant academic knowledge, the lower a teaching level is.

With regard to Japanese teachers' salaries, which may partly correspond to their social status, there are two distinctive features. Firstly, their basic salaries are slightly higher than those of civil servants with similar academic qualifications. This arrangement is based on a law in order to attract excellent people to the teaching profession (Japan,

1991:28). Secondly, there is no significant difference in basic salaries between primary school teachers and university lecturers. To my knowledge, these conditions can be found only in Japan. This may partly show that the Japanese have a high regard for teaching and teachers irrespective of their level of education. Compared with counterparts in other countries, it is stated that "what may be the most striking and enviable aspect of the life of the Japanese teacher is that he earns a relatively good living" (White, 1987:84). The social status of Japanese teachers including primary teachers is high and teaching is a lifetime commitment. They are called *sensei* in Japanese. Although the Japanese word *sensei* literally means teacher, it has "much deeper resonance than its English equivalent" (ibid.:82). Other professions apart from teachers to be called *sensei* include medical doctors, lawyers and MPs. This exemplifies the high status of the teaching profession in Japan.

This contrast between Japan and other countries is both an advantage and a disadvantage in providing aid to education. If Japan looks at the education systems of other countries merely through its own values of education, Japanese characteristics may be regarded as disadvantageous. However, if Japan can properly identify its own comparative advantage in education systems in contrast to other countries, it may be able to contribute substantially towards the advancement of education in the developing world. Alongside Japan's intention to become a leading donor, as already discussed, a more detailed question needs to be asked: how is Japanese policy and practice of educational aid changing?

(2) Japan's changing policy in educational aid

Japanese policy formulation in educational aid is rather complicated. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) officially produces overall aid policy. MFA states that "assistance in the area of education is extremely important since education provides direct benefits for the welfare of people in developing countries and is also the foundation of economic and social development" (Japan, 1993a:130). Therefore it is certain that the education sector is favoured in Japanese aid policy. Although MFA produces very basic policy such as priority issues, it does not form educational aid policy in detail. The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (Monbusho) is the ministry which is mainly concerned with educational aid. Monbusho's support is essential to provide educational aid. Probably without Monbusho's positive stance

towards it, Japanese educational aid would not go forward, even if MFA is keen on such aid. Although the objective of educational aid for Monbusho is principally concerned with domestic issues, Monbusho states that "in recent years, as the various sectors of our society have been involved in 'internationalization', international exchange and cooperation in education, science, culture and sports have become increasingly important" (Japan, 1991:50). Then who actually produces detailed educational policy in this kind of international perspective?

Japan has two major agencies for executing aid: one is the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) which is in charge of loans and the other is the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) through which, as already stated, the major portion of grant aid and technical co-operation is undertaken. Since the overwhelming bulk of Japanese educational aid is in the form of grant aid and technical co-operation which are the responsibility of JICA, it is appropriate to explore JICA's role in analysing Japanese aid policy in education. Although the substantial amount of Japanese educational aid is actually provided through both Monbusho and OECF to Asian countries (roughly 30-40 per cent and 10-20 per cent of Japanese educational aid respectively in recent years), such aid is given for the purposes of scholarship programmes to come to Japan. This type of educational aid does not have a great impact on Japanese aid policy in relation to other donors. Therefore, the documents published by MFA and JICA in particular are the main sources of information discussed here. In fact, neither Monbusho nor OECF produces any aid policy for education. JICA's policy for educational aid is normally formed in accordance with the basic aid policy produced by MFA. Thus, the JICA policy is considered to be almost identical with the Government policy.

The World Conference on Education for All in March 1990 was a watershed in Japanese aid policy to education as well as other donors' policy. Late in 1990, the committee for the review of educational assistance was organised by JICA and the final report of the committee was published in March 1991 (JICA, 1991b). Throughout 1991, JICA despatched several project finding missions concerning education, particularly basic education, to Asian countries such as Bangladesh and Pakistan. In March 1992, for the first time JICA organised a training course on educational development in order to increase the number of Japanese experts in that field. Then, the study group on Japanese educational aid was appointed in September

1992 by the president of JICA and discussed how Japan should organise its aid for education. Its final report on development assistance for development and education was published in January 1994.

-Priorities and strategies-

The JICA report mentioned above contains the most significant statements on Japanese aid policy for education. It makes three suggestions: (1) increase Japanese educational aid to 15 per cent of its total bilateral aid by the year 2000 (8 per cent as of 1991); (2) assign the highest aid priority to basic education, and; (3) without focusing narrowly on basic education alone, identify the stage of development of each individual country's education, then provide aid that is most needed (JICA, 1994a:v). In other words, Japan intends to give aid to any subsector of education if there are actual needs in developing countries. Although it looks partly like following the mainstream aid policy which emphasises basic education, arguably this policy echoes a Japanese value on basic education. So far, Japanese aid tends to have focused on higher education and vocational training in Asia, but it is now clear that Japan places a high priority on aid to basic education in addition to other subsectors of education. This is the most obvious change and such emphasis on basic education was not common before the very late 1980s.

There are three interesting points about these priority areas and issues of new Japanese policy. First, the JICA report awards primary importance in aid to basic education including nonformal education / literacy programmes. On the other hand, it claims a modest priority for higher education stating that education in recipient countries is at different stages of advancement and therefore the needs for educational aid depend on the recipient country. This also suggests the important role played at teacher training colleges (which belong to higher education) for the development of basic education.

Secondly, the JICA report emphasises four aspects of education as priority issues: (1) strengthening educational administration; (2) training and upgrading of teaching staff; (3) development of curriculum, textbook and teaching material, and; (4) improvement of school facilities. Apart from the fourth aspect of school buildings, the first three areas relate to structures and systems which improve educational capacity. The order in which these areas are mentioned cannot be over-emphasised. The improvement of

facilities, which used to be the major component of Japanese aid, is last to be mentioned, while the promotion of educational administration, which may be one of key areas in the improvement of education for which Japan had earlier hesitated to provide bilateral aid, comes first. This suggests a significant shift in Japanese policy.

Thirdly, in the area of basic education, the JICA paper accentuates: (1) mathematics and science; (2) education for women; (3) education for the socially disadvantaged; and, (4) nonformal education (mainly literacy programmes). The first area seems to be based on Japanese relative strength over other donors. However, the other three areas may primarily result from following the current trends in the aid community, in particular, the World Declaration on Education for All.

It is not easy to judge the justification of this newer Japanese policy. What is necessary to pay attention to, however, is the changing Japanese attitude towards aid policy. JICA produced a huge amount of reports on individual projects in earlier years, but there was no report for sectors or countries before the very late 1980s. In education, there was effectively no aid policy before 1994 except for the bald statement that human resources development had to be a basis for development. Arguably, Japan did not set a great value on 'policy' and instead placed a priority on each project (i.e. what was happening at the local level). Cross-national aid policy at the sectoral level might not benefit projects on the ground. Action on the ground rather than policy on paper might have been a general Japanese belief. Traditionally, Japan narrowly concentrated on Japanese projects and did not intend to contribute towards the debates on international aid policy. Today there is just a little sign that Japan is attempting to use its own knowledge and experience in education and is contributing towards policy formulation. However, at the moment the country still appears to be at a stage of analysing its own educational expertise for its projects and it may take some time to contribute towards international policy planning, after clarifying its own comparative advantage.

-Methods and approaches-

The JICA report suggests five modalities of educational aid. First, it focuses on the introduction of multiple approaches, since education is linked to various other sectors of development. To promote forestry effectively, for instance, it is necessary to give

small farmers literacy skills in addition to cultivation techniques. However, this is not a Japanese idea. The idea of this functional literacy was widely discussed some decades ago in the West. Moreover, there is a common conflict between the Ministry responsible for specific skills and the Ministry of Education on the side of both donor and recipient countries. In the context of multilateral agencies, it is illustrated, for example, in the tension between ILO and UNESCO. In particular, Japan's rigid bureaucratic system may need to develop further.

Secondly, the JICA paper emphasises the need for collaboration with recipient countries. Emphasis is especially placed on policy dialogue, which generally means the negotiation between donors and recipients concerning the recipients' development policy and priority issues. Earlier, Japan had basically had no intervention policy for recipients' domestic policies and had taken a position that its aid should be primarily based on requests from developing countries. It may have been considered that Japan was the least active in discussing such internal policies among bilateral donors (Cassen and Associates, 1986:86). The meaning of policy dialogue in a Japanese sense is very different from conditionality in a Western sense and it literally means the co-ordination of ideas between Japan and recipient countries (Japan, 1994b:56). Accordingly, the JICA report states that "through policy dialogue, the importance of educational development must be stressed in order to heighten governments' concern with the issue of educational development" (JICA, 1994a:45). This statement is active in its approach and claims that Japan will try to enhance recipients' concern about education. For that purpose, JICA sought much greater research capacity. Therefore, JICA established a Basic Research Department in July 1994 in order to strengthen its planning capacity in project formation. In this case the Japanese approach may often sound like a copy of the Western approach, but it is certain that Japan is trying to put something new into such Western approaches.

Thirdly, the JICA report stresses that Japan should participate more actively in the international networks of educational aid. The objective of this participation is not merely to co-ordinate aid activities in order to enhance the effectiveness of aid. The report also stresses the enhancement of "international recognition of Japan's approaches and orientations" (JICA, 1994a:46). Clearly, Japan is attempting to improve international understanding of Japanese strategies and experience among other donors and developing countries. This may imply a kind of Japanese confidence

in its own aid and education, and has a different aim (which I noted above section 2.1 (3)) than just learning from other donors' knowledge and experiences through aid co-ordination.

Fourthly, the JICA report places emphasis on establishing communications with developing countries. Japan has not been active in the past in providing information about Japanese education and it has been difficult to get access to such information. The report not only wishes to provide an official channel at a diplomatic level, but also stresses the importance of personal contacts between Japanese experts and educationalists in developing countries - and this is certainly connected to the third point above, although JICA tends to regard international networks as inter-donor countries' networks which are different from the communications between recipient countries and donor countries

Lastly, the necessity of developing new aid approaches is emphasised by the JICA paper. Plans, such as comprehensive programme aid and local community participation, are said to be required in the case of aid to basic education in particular. The collaboration with NGOs, e.g. in joint projects with local and Japanese NGOs, is proposed. However, this emphasis on new approaches in giving aid seems to be less strong than the other concerns, and may partly result from the current emphasis on the role of NGOs in the wider aid community. Possibly because the activities of Japanese NGOs are rapidly growing, but still not strong enough compared to those counterparts in other donor countries. It is easy to increase subsidies to Japanese NGOs, but not straightforward to collaborate with them in certain programmes. For example, the budget of Japanese fiscal year (JFY[4]) 1994 for the grassroots grants mainly implemented by locally-based NGOs dramatically increased from 1.0 billion yen (US$ 10 million) to 1.5 billion yen (US$ 15 million) - by 50 per cent - which is unusual in other aid budgets (IDJ, 1994a). The subsidies for Japanese NGOs also increased from 0.44 billion yen (US$ 4.4 million) to 0.54 billion yen (US$ 5.4 million) (ibid.). This increase for Japanese NGOs is remarkable, but less impressive than those grants for local NGOs.

These Japanese schemes for implementing educational aid indicate that much that is currently being undertaken in Japanese aid to education is what other donor countries

[4] JFY starts in April and ends in March the following year.

have already done in the past. Japan looks like conforming to good practice generated by international (Western) policy. Japanese practice of educational aid still has a lot of problems to solve. Compared to the Japanese intention of taking the initiative for aid policy discussed above, the Japanese stance on educational aid is still not strong enough. Japan may be currently learning from the heritage of other donors. However, looking back to the process of Japan's own development, the first step was to learn from the West and then selectively to adapt and adopt Western ideas. The next step Japan has to take is certainly to produce newer, more independent approaches based on its own experience and knowledge. Then, the final step will be to take the initiative in forming educational aid policy in the donor community. At the moment Japan primarily still appears to be preoccupied in making good projects for itself.

To achieve this Japanese ambition to contribute much more actively towards educational aid in an international context, it is essential to identify its own comparative advantage over other donors. However, it is currently not sufficiently focused on such relative strength endorsed by its own expertise. Accordingly, little research has been done to analyse this aspect despite its importance for the Japanese intention to become a leading donor. The following three chapters examine how Japan can contribute towards educational development in Africa in three different subsectors of education: basic education, higher education and technical and vocational education and training. In each, particular attention is paid to the evolving tension between the critical analysis of mainstream (Western) aid policy and the identification of Japanese comparative advantage in education.

3. BASIC EDUCATION

Basic education is often regarded as one of the basic human needs and a foundation for educational development. The major ways to meet such needs may be primary schooling for children and literacy programmes for adults. Many developing countries have placed a high priority on educational development. Nevertheless in most of those countries, particularly in much of Africa, the enrolment ratios of primary schools stagnate and the number of illiterate populations does not decrease (UNESCO, 1993a). Rapid population growth in this region has hindered the advance of educational development. Moreover, educational quality has been eroded (World Bank, 1988). The World Declaration on Education for All in 1990 claimed that "basic education should be provided to all children, youth and adults" (WCEFA, 1990b:Article 3). The Declaration also helps to broaden the perspective on education, from a narrow focus on schooling to a more comprehensive view of meeting basic learning needs. In the early 1990s, most donors' policies tend to emphasise basic education to a certain extent.

Japanese aid policy in education is also favourable to basic education, which was not generally in the sphere of Japanese aid. The World Conference had a great impact on Japanese policy as well. It is worth noting that Japanese bilateral aid to basic education has been very limited although Japanese quality education at the basic level is highly commended throughout the world. In other words, Japan has scarcely contributed towards the advancement of basic education in developing countries although it has traditionally placed great value on basic education itself. Today there appear to be clear signs that the positive Japanese attitude towards aid to basic education can be extended further afield.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the overall situation with issues of basic education focusing on Africa and to argue the ways in which Japanese contributions to basic education in the region can be exploited. First, by taking a look at the situations and issues in basic education and responses of aid agencies to those problems, it is possible to review the international perspectives in this area. Secondly, Japanese stances on aid to basic education are discussed and thereby proposals for Japanese aid to basic education in Africa can be suggested in order to make Japanese aid work more effective and efficient.

3.1 Current Issues and Aid Policy

Basic education is now attracting a lot of donors' interest and they are trying to find an effective approach to provide their assistance for such education. However, aid to basic education has a quite different aspect from aid to other subsectors of education such as higher education and may need new aid modalities. Africa is certainly one of the target regions for many aid agencies and discussion is primarily concentrated on this region.

(1) Present issues in basic education

Educational progress in African countries has been remarkable since their independence, because most of those countries have invested in education and have put great emphasis on expanding educational opportunities at all levels, from primary school to university (World Bank, 1988). This is illustrated by the fact that current public expenditure on education per primary pupil in Africa, in terms of units of GNP per capita, was as high as 0.26 in 1990, while those figures of other regions ranged between 0.15 and 0.20 (UNESCO, 1993a:104). On the other hand, that expenditure on the basis of US dollars was the lowest in the world and, moreover, it dropped during the 1980s, from US$ 86 in 1980 to US$ 76 in 1990, which is not found in other regions (ibid.). The gross enrolment ratio (GER[5]) to primary school, for example, fell from 77.5 per cent in 1980 to 68.3 per cent in 1990 (ibid.:101). Although it is difficult to estimate the quality of education based on statistical figures, if such expenditure per pupil is an indicator of quality, the quality of education in Africa has also declined. That is, in many African countries enrolments have stagnated and the quality of education has also been eroded by severe economic conditions. The challenge in Africa is regarded as both to increase enrolments and to improve quality of educational provision, both of which are not easily tackled at the same time.

Statistical limitations

It may be rather odd to examine, first of all, some limitations of statistical figures in

[5] GER is the total enrolment, regardless of age, divided by the population of the age-group which officially corresponds to primary schooling. Therefore, the ratio exceeds 100 per cent in a case where pupils out of official school age are enrolled.

the argument of educational problems. It is essential, however, to read those figures very carefully paying attention to such limitations in order to understand real situations. The World Bank (1989:2), for instance, states that "any report on Sub-Saharan Africa has to confront the continent's enormous diversity and grave weakness of available statistics." The statistics concerning education could be better, although they refer only to formal education. It is not difficult to find the enrolment ratios of formal schooling or adult literacy rates in many African countries. In fact, those figures are often used in discussing the issues of educational development, comparing the series of educational situations across countries. Although the OECD (1992b:54) states that "a first indication of what would be required to meet basic learning needs can be seen from projections of primary school enrolment and adult literacy rates", there are limitations (discussed below) to those educational indicators in interpreting what is actually happening in each classroom.

There are three aspects to such limitations. First, the figures themselves are not reliable. The GER is most frequently used by many donor agencies as an indicator of educational progress. But it is often overstated and does not consider high dropout rates and high absenteeism (Coombs, 1985). Besides, GER is figured out including children beyond official school age. For example, in Lesotho where primary GER was about 115 per cent, only 70 per cent of eligible children actually went to school (Colclough with Lewin, 1993:2). The net enrolment ratio (NER[6]) may be a better measure than GER to understand actual situations. However, NER in many African countries is not well documented. Moreover, actual attendance in the classroom can be seen through neither NER nor GER. The adult literacy rate seems an unreliable figure very often, because the definition of literacy is obscure and may vary from one country to another. Besides, real conditions are certainly worse than literacy rates reveal, as "national literacy statistics are the least trustworthy, and probably the most inflated, of all published educational statistics" (Coombs, 1985:268).

Secondly, averaged numbers often conceal gaps between regions in the country, gender and the like. When Kenya reached a primary school GER of 93 per cent, for example, only 9 per cent of the primary school-age group in the most economically disadvantaged region were enrolled in school, while the three relatively advanced regions had a GER of nearly 100 per cent (ibid.:223).

[6] NER only includes enrolment for the age-group corresponding to the official school age.

Thirdly, those data generally do not provide important information in understanding actual situations. For example, there is no data about the availability of learning/teaching materials such as textbooks - and this is a critical determinant of pupils' learning achievement. The contribution by parents and communities and indirect costs to families are not evident either. In Kenya, for instance, "parents already contribute about a quarter of the cost of primary education and about two-thirds of the cost of secondary education" (Kenya, 1986:12).

It is inappropriate to discuss present issues of education in Africa solely based on statistical data and average figures. It is necessary to bear in mind that these figures do not directly get to the heart of current educational issues in Africa. In particular, it is difficult to understand what is actually happening in the classroom, which is a very important point, through statistical data alone. Even though there are several limitations as mentioned above, these data are still useful and important for finding general trends and common situations. What is critical is that these data should be used after due consideration of such limitations.

Importance of basic education

It is widely regarded, as a starting point of African educational development, that the plan adopted by education ministers of Africa in Addis Ababa in 1961 was to fulfill the goal of universal primary schooling within 20 years. The authorities also set themselves the work of eradicating illiteracy within the same period. This indicates that most African governments placed a high priority on basic education at the time of independence. The 1960s might have been a hopeful decade, but today the lowest primary school enrolment ratio and adult literacy rate remain concentrated in Africa (UNESCO, 1993a).

After three decades, the World Conference on Education for All similarly recalled "basic learning needs" and the issues of illiteracy (WCEFA, 1990b). At the same time, the Conference focused on learning achievement rather than just the provision of opportunities. That is, investigations must go beyond the numbers enrolled in primary schools and literacy programmes, and must examine what pupils and participants actually learned. Furthermore, the Framework for Action endorsed at the Conference,

stating that "the demand for, and participation in, learning opportunities cannot simply be assumed, but must be actively encouraged" was a significant statement (WCEFA, 1990b:11). This may imply that the motivation of participants may not always be in place even if educational opportunities are provided, and that such motivation can be critical in planning the programmes of basic education. If basic education is really for all, the target group should be not only those who are ready to learn but also those who have not been motivated yet.

"Basic learning needs refer to the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values necessary for people to survive, to improve the quality of their lives, and to continue learning" (WCEFA, 1990a:ix). The principal elements of basic education are literacy and numeracy skills. Hence, primary schooling and adult literacy programmes are the major components of basic education, although these two are not the only forms of education which serve basic learning needs. A paper from UNESCO states that "literacy education for adults and the provision of schooling for children must be seen as two sides of the same coin" (Lourie, 1985:5-6). In the following section, current conditions and problems regarding these two main components - primary schooling for children and literacy programmes for adults - are explored.

-Primary schooling-

In most African countries the development of primary schooling has been less impressive than that of higher education and higher levels of education may have taken up a greater share of public educational resources, in spite of the declaration of Addis Ababa in 1961. According to UNESCO (1993a:128), in 12 out of 30 African countries whose data are available, more than half of the children of primary-school age did not go to school in 1990. The position of the countries where there is no information might be worse. Even in terms of quantity, schools do not yet have capacity to provide places for all the primary-school age group to attend. Colclough with Lewin (1993:8) speculates that primary school enrolments would have to double to achieve schooling for all eligible children by the year 2000. This means that additional school placements will have to be provided in order to alleviate inequalities in access to education between regions, sexes, economic situations and so on. Furthermore, dropouts, absenteeism and the repetition of grades are also critical problems in Africa. It is estimated that one-third to half of the children who start

school in developing countries drop out before completing Grade 4 (OECD, 1992b:55). The position in many African countries appears to be much worse.

Therefore, the target is not just to build more schools. The phenomena of high dropout rates and absenteeism partly show the disappointment of parents with schooling. Parents cannot be motivated to send their children to school where there are few learning materials and few motivated teachers. Besides, too little is being spent per pupil in Africa. For example, the median of expenditure on materials per pupil in 1983 was only US$ 0.60 (World Bank, 1988:141). Although this figure is out-of-date, it may not differ much from current expenditure where overall educational budgets per pupil decreased in the 1980s (i.e. US$86 in 1980 and US$76 in 1990 as shown above). It could be even worse. According to the World Bank (1988:46), the minimum required expenditure per pupil is US$ 5. Teachers' salaries seem to have shrunk in actual monetary value too. Teachers need to supplement their incomes outside school and this also results in adverse effects on the quality of teaching. Although teachers are usually not allowed to be engaged in other jobs, some 40 per cent of primary teachers in Ghana and over half of those in Kenya may have second jobs (JICA, 1990:7). In these conditions, acceptable learning achievement is hardly anticipated. It is stated that "children who attend primary school in countries with low per capita incomes have learned substantially less after similar amounts of time in school than have pupils in high-income countries" (Heyneman and Loxley, 1983:1162). This also suggests that adult literacy programmes in many African countries are much worse in terms of learning acquisition because their governments usually place a much higher priority on primary schooling than on literacy programmes.

Finally, Lee (1988) claims that a large number of African countries may not achieve universal primary schooling even by the year 2020 from the financial point of view, unless recurrent unit costs are reduced or much higher economic growth is attained. This estimate is, however, rather pessimistic, since Lee does not argue for the influence of any significant flow of international aid into those countries, which could be increasing throughout the 1990s based on statements made at the World Declaration on Education for All in 1990.

It is important for everyone to become literate in order to improve the quality of individual and communal life, but many adults in Africa have had no chance to attend school. Adult literacy programmes in nonformal education have been common and important strategies for responding to the demand of such adults and the essential complement of primary schooling. Schooling for children is insufficient to meet basic learning needs of everyone (WCEFA, 1990b). However, the circumstances in which literacy work has taken place have been bleak and ill-appointed. Unlike formal primary schooling, such programmes generally do not seem to sustain the consistent interest of the ministry of education in most African countries and those programmes are conducted "on an ad hoc basis", often in the form of campaigns (World Bank, 1988:30). Governments usually allocate a tiny portion of their budgets to literacy work and even basic data, such as the number of enrolments, are not available or not trustworthy in many countries (Haggis, 1991:31). This lack of reliable data often makes it difficult even to discuss their quality or to discuss disparities in access to literacy classes, however serious such issues are.

In terms of adult literacy rates, African countries continually improved from 32.5 per cent in 1980 to 47.3 per cent in 1990 (UNESCO, 1993a:100). It is rather odd that adult literacy rates increased in spite of the decline in the primary-school enrolment ratios and poor attention of governments. Although this seems to be remarkable progress in terms of percentages, the number of illiterate adults certainly increased from 132.3 million to 138.8 million during the same period (ibid:99). Two kinds of figures are two sides of the same coin, but it appears that one shows improvement and the other shows deterioration. This phenomenon suggests explosive population growth, which further creates serious problems for educational planning. Africa's rapid population growth undermines the advancement of basic education achieved since independence. This demographic trend requires greater efforts even in terms of quantitative educational advances. For reducing population growth, providing people with educational opportunities may be one of the important elements.

The most fundamental issue in planning literacy programmes is how to create and maintain motivation (for example, Lind and Johnston, 1986:29; Haggis, 1991:24). That is, many learners do not feel the need to become literate and yet motivation may

be more valuable than the contents of curriculum (Noor, 1982). The motivation of learners is much more significant to successful implementation of literacy programmes than the content of literacy activities (King, 1978; Lind and Johnston, 1986). But how is such motivation encouraged? Probably, this difficulty results from the fact that learners are not children but adults, who can critically judge the value of such classes. They often do not put a high priority on attending those classes (Crone, 1978; Lind, 1988). Extremely high absenteeism and dropout rates are not uncommon and only a very small number of participants seem to reach a level of self-sustainable literacy. A common pattern of literacy programmes is that "adults enrol enthusiastically in literacy classes but become rapidly discouraged by the learning experience itself" (Ahmed and Carron, 1989:567). But this statement has also a positive aspect, because it implies that adult learners are well motivated, at least at the initial stage and therefore whether they can maintain the motivation or not depends on the quality of instruction and the relevance of the content of their courses. This may be contradictory to the argument that the content of courses is less influential than motivation in the success of literacy programmes. Adult literacy programmes have a quite different dimension of issues from primary schooling, although these two forms of education basically have the same objective, which is to acquire literacy skills, in a broad sense.

The World Declaration on Education for All emphasised the importance of adult literacy programmes as strongly as primary schooling. However, many African countries may not be able to provide all the population with such opportunities. It is stated that "if one thing is certain, it is that many nations cannot afford the costs of mass-mobilisation, the creation of a supportive literacy environment, and the planned interaction of universal primary school and adult literacy initiatives" (King, 1991a:186). Without external aid, it could be impossible to afford these opportunities in the short run.

The role of international aid

Success in meeting basic learning needs in Africa depends on the action taken by individual countries. However, it is clear that most African countries cannot provide such opportunities under the current economic conditions and that international aid is needed to facilitate and accelerate the process of improvement. In the World Conference on Education for All, the action for international co-operation is stressed

and it is stated that "while most of these resources must necessarily come from within each country the world community needs to act through multilateral and bilateral agencies to alleviate the constraints and deficiencies that prevent some countries from meeting the basic learning needs of their populations" (WCEFA, 1990a:40).

But it is not adequate merely to offer capital costs and special technology for basic education, unlike the case of higher education. In this respect, the WCEFA (1990a:89) comments that "technical assistance alone will not be enough: there is a clear need for substantial and sustained financial assistance to the education system itself." This has two important implications for aid. Firstly, current aid strategies and modalities might not be suitable for the provision of basic education. Secondly, this might show a quite simple method of giving aid in the situation where financial assistance is more critical than technical assistance. Most African countries are heavily in debt and they might be struggling to repay loans at the expense of providing further public services such as basic education. Then, if part of the debt burden is relieved, they can allocate money, which should have been repaid to the Northern countries or international financial institutions, to the advancement of basic education. The debates on the role of international aid are indispensable to the consideration of debt relief (UNDP, 1992:45).

Aid can also be used as a political tactic and is not necessarily provided based on humanitarian considerations. The UNDP seems rather critical about the current motivation of aid being given by bilateral donors and states that "new forms of international cooperation must be evolved - to focus directly on the need of the people rather than on the preference of nations -states" (UNDP, 1993:7). The Framework for Action endorsed in the World Conference on Education for All also claims that "international co-operation should give priority to the countries currently least able to meet the basic learning needs of their populations" (WCEFA, 1990b:15). This suggests that the current flows of aid are not directed towards the countries which actually need international assistance. However, it seems to be more realistic to provide aid to the most disadvantaged countries through multilateral agencies than to encourage bilateral ones to redirect their aid.

The provision of aid is not a panacea to attain basic education for all in Africa and is not always linked to educational improvement. However, it is probably true that aid

can accelerate the achievement of such goals with careful examination, even if there are drawbacks of international aid as argued above (see also section 2.1 (3)). Most donors are now seeking for an effective strategy towards the goals of education for all. What are the donors' responses to those critical situations?.

(2) Donors' current concerns and responses

The World Conference on Education for All placed a great impact on donors' concerns and policy in basic education. Such donors' policies have often influenced educational policy in recipient countries. It is interesting to trace the trends of current aid policies in the assistance to basic education, in particular, focusing on the changing policies in the late 1980s and the early 1990s. For the majority of donor agencies, basic education may be approximately equal to primary school and probably junior secondary school in the context of development planning. Nonformal modes of education are often excluded from basic education programmes even if they are at the elementary level.

Historical trends

During the 1960s, when most African countries became independent, the development of education was given a high priority by both the countries themselves and most donor agencies. Until the early 1970s, educational aid continually increased in proportion to overall development assistance and was mainly targeted at secondary and higher education (Coombs, 1985:294). After the early 1970s, the overall volume of aid to formal education slightly declined, but the assistance to nonformal components of education, which was not often counted as part of the education sector, seemed to increase through the 1970s (ibid.). This change may have been coincident with the World Bank policy at that time, which was poverty-oriented and emphasised the educational needs in rural areas and nonformal modes of education (World Bank, 1974:14-15).

However, a basic trend of educational aid to Africa, which was characterised by the dominance of secondary schooling and higher education, remained unchanged through the early 1980s. There may be a few reasons for this trend. First of all, many African governments might have preferred the expansion of higher education in spite of the recognition of the importance of primary schooling in the long term. Their rapid

transition from colonial status and the urgent need to catch up with the international community might have urged them to expand higher levels of education in order to increase the high-level manpower in the short term. Secondly, there might have been a stronger and more organised demand for higher education from those who completed secondary schooling than for primary schooling from those who had not benefited from any education. Consequently, the latter demand could have been marginalised. Thirdly, an emphasis on high levels of education could have resulted from the preferences of donor agencies, in particular, of bilateral donors.

In the early 1980s, 81 per cent of total bilateral aid to African education was allocated to secondary and higher education and only 3 per cent of the bilateral aid was used for primary education (World Bank, 1988:105). The most plausible explanation for these figures is that higher levels of education can demonstrate the comparative advantages of each bilateral donor than primary education, through the provision of expertise and facilities. Moreover, this type of educational aid especially benefits an aid-giving country economically. For example, equipment and facilities needed are procured from the donor country. This donors' preference may have influenced recipients' policies and could have partly led to rapid expansion of higher levels of education, rather than that of primary education. It is, therefore, important to bear in mind that the aid policies produced in donor countries frequently have an impact on educational planning in Africa.

It may be widely recognised that in the early 1980s the influence of the World Bank on the education policies of African countries started as policy-based lending, enabling a donor to control a recipient policy and many countries had structural adjustment programmes imposed. Although such programmes are generally enforced by both the Bank and the IMF, the Bank is much more influential than the IMF as far as the education sector is concerned. It is frequently recognised that the educational policies of the World Bank have an impact on bilateral donors' policies as well as recipient ones. It is stated that "in many countries the Bank is the major source of educational advice, and other agencies increasingly follow the Bank's lead in such policy and lending" (Haddad et al., 1990:2). The reason why the Bank has such a decisive role in the formation of the policies of both recipients and donors may be because of its extensive research capacity, in addition to the fact that the Bank is the greatest single supplier of aid to education, providing up to 20 per cent of such aid during the 1980s

(Jones, 1992b). For example, every African country as well as every bilateral and multilateral agency involved in education may have the Bank's policy papers for education. Such widespread distribution of policy papers is not common among other donors'. The current emphasis on primary schooling as basic education in the aid community might partly originate from the Bank policy.

In Africa, during the early 1980s, only 7 per cent of educational aid went to primary education and two-thirds of this aid was provided by multilateral donors (World Bank, 1988:105). This may indicate that basic education was not the domain of international aid and, at most, its support was left to multilateral agencies at that time. There were various good reasons for bilateral donors to avoid providing aid to basic education, particularly, in the form of technical co-operation. In practical terms, most teaching and learning materials could be found locally, the instruction language was often not a European language and target groups were too numerous.

But there was a significant change in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, in the share of bilateral aid to basic education in Africa (King and Carr-Hill, 1992). According to their analysis, two trends are identified. First, many bilateral donors concentrate on basic education in Africa in terms of its allocation of the overall educational budget, in comparison to their allocation for basic education in other regions. Secondly, there was a great increase in the percentage of basic education aid going to Africa. Based on their data, in 1990 some 80 per cent of total aid to basic education in Africa was provided by bilateral agencies in contrast to some 30 per cent in the early 1980s. This overall growth of aid to basic education resulted from a substantial increase of bilateral aid, while multilateral aid to basic education remained almost unchanged. Many bilateral donors may have started focusing on basic education in Africa and have partly taken over the role of multilateral agencies.

Focusing on basic learning

The World Declaration on Education for All stated that "basic education should be provided to all children, youth and adults" and that "basic learning needs of adults and children must be addressed whenever they exist" (WCEFA, 1990b:4 and 9). However, it is not new to say that donors started focusing on basic learning, except to say that the notion of basic education was broadened to a great extent by the

Declaration. Two decades ago, the World Bank (1974) argued that many developing countries had over-allocated their resources to secondary and higher education and had rather ignored the formal as well as nonformal basic education; that the efficiency and the quality of education should be improved. The Bank states that:

> Basic education should be provided for all children and adults as soon as the available resources and conditions permit. In the long term, a comprehensive system of formal and nonformal education should be developed at all levels (World Bank, 1974:86).

Although the arguments of both the Declaration in 1990 and the Bank Report in 1974 are basically similar in their emphasis on basic education, nonformal modes of education and quality of education, there is a significant difference in the level of intensity between the two documents. The World Declaration has a much stronger sense of encouragement. In fact, the World Conference on Education for All was not just a conference on education. It was co-sponsored by the major multilateral agencies concerning educational aid: UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank. Some 155 government delegates, 20 intergovernmental bodies and 125 non-governmental organisations participated in the Conference (OECD, 1992b:53).

Based on the Declaration and the Framework for Action adopted in the Conference, most donor agencies have started re-examining their policies. For example, the British ODA and Japanese JICA, both of whom were known to be higher education-oriented donors, now put an emphasis on basic education including adult literacy programmes as well as primary schooling (ODA, 1994; JICA, 1994a). However, at a DAC meeting in 1992 aimed at the review of its members' roles and responsibilities in basic education, it was stated that "although there is consensus on the importance of supporting all the education goals set at Jomtien, there is little agreement on how to support these activities" (OECD, 1992b:67). Arguably, this is clear statement of feeling which many donor agencies have today. What are the donors' concerns and responses about primary schooling and adult literacy programmes?

-Primary schooling-

The renewed emphasis on basic education does not show the way only to primary schooling, nonetheless "primary schooling is central to the expanded vision of basic education" (WCEFA, 1990a:46). The strongest proponent of primary schooling as a component of basic education may be the World Bank, and 30 per cent of its

educational aid is provided to primary schooling (World Bank, 1990a:6). The Bank also often argues that in terms of social rates of return primary schooling is much higher than higher levels of education. Its policy study on education in Africa in 1988 claimed that "expanding access to primary education should remain a high priority in most African countries" (World Bank, 1988:3). In the 1960s and the 1970s, primary schooling was normally considered to be the responsibility of each government and was not the sphere of international aid (Graham-Brown, 1991:290). But through the late 1980s, there was a significant increase in bilateral aid to basic education as discussed above. In 1990, some 20 per cent of total educational aid to Africa was allocated to primary schooling, as compared to only 7 per cent in the early 1980s (King and Carr-Hill, 1992).

The Framework for Action endorsed in the World Conference on Education for All suggests the proposed target and states the need for "universal access to, and completion of, primary education (or whatever higher level of education is considered as 'basic') by the year 2000" (WCEFA, 1990b:3). This statement seems to show that primary schooling is necessary for all children, but the WCEFA (1990a:82) additionally explains this target and notes that "while universal primary education is usually defined in relation to the age-group 6 to 11 or 12, this dimension actually concerns the provision of basic education opportunities for children and adults, both in and out of school, at least at the level of primary education".

In contrast to the Framework which frequently refers to 'completion', it is interesting that UNDP (1990:68) emphasises only 'enrolment': "Perhaps the most important human development target for the year 2000 is to ensure universal primary school enrolment for boys and girls." It also notes that "if primary school enrolment is universal by 2000, literacy rates will rise dramatically throughout the developing world in the early part of the next century" (ibid.). These statements seem to show that UNDP is not so interested in the quality of education and is sceptical about the role of adult literacy programmes in order to quickly eradicate illiteracy. USAID, which is one of the major bilateral donors to basic education, is similar to the World Bank in its policy. The USAID's strategy for basic education is to "support the development of primary and secondary schooling systems" (USAID, 1991:241). It pays little attention to other nonformal forms of education for adults such as literacy activities.

The design of adult literacy programmes seems to be very complicated and varies considerably from one country to another in contrast to systematic, linear primary schooling. The definition and the concept of literacy has also been changing. The WCEFA (1990a:63) states that "literacy is now seen as the foundation for life skills ranging from basic oral and written communication to the ability to solve complex scientific and social problems" and that "the idea of illiteracy as a disease that can simply be eradicated is outdated." This may suggest the importance of becoming literate from the human standpoint, rather than the mere eradication of illiteracy from the standpoint of the government in general.

No aid agency would be opposed to the significance of literacy, but only a few agencies, such as UNESCO and Swedish SIDA, are steadily concerned with literacy work (King, 1991a:147). Other agencies, generally, do not pay much attention to such activities for adult literacy unlike formal education. Even after the Declaration on Education for All, adult literacy programmes remained marginal, compared to other forms of basic education (King and Carr-Hill, 1992:11). The OECD (1992b:55) states that "unfortunately, literacy programmes have been largely ignored by the governments of many needy countries as well as donor agencies." There are some practical reasons for these donors' negative attitudes. First, most aid agencies have little experience and knowledge which is relevant and applicable to the current situation of African countries. Secondly, the instruction language is often not familiar to outsiders. Thirdly, "adult literacy is rather a political than a technical issue" (Lind and Johnston, 1986:87), and it is not suitable for technical co-operation. Lastly, the co-ordination between ministries concerned might not be easy if an integrated literacy programme, which might for example, combine technical and vocational components concerning health and agriculture with literacy training, for example, is implemented. Such a programme tends to become less of a priority, since every ministry inclines to give a priority to its own interest, rather than co-ordinates work with others.

The World Bank, for example, which has been generally interested in basic education, shows little concern about adult literacy work and, instead, places an obvious priority on primary schooling (World Bank, 1988). Verspoor (1992:14) comments on the reason for the Bank's attitude and states that "the results of many of the Bank's

projects concerning nonformal education have been unsatisfactory and the Bank has decreased nonformal programmes since the late 1980s."

The proposed target of the Framework for Action concerning adult literacy is in contrast to that concerning primary education above (i.e. universal primary education by the year 2000). The WCEFA (1990b:3) states that "reduction of the adult illiteracy rate (the appropriate age group to be determined in each country) to, say, one-half its 1990 level by the year 2000, with sufficient emphasis on female literacy to significantly reduce the current disparity between male and female illiteracy rates." This suggests that it may be impossible to eradicate illiteracy at least within a decade and difficult even to set a certain time limit. Furthermore, the realities of both rapid population growth and a low priority given to adult literacy programmes seem to make the target of adult literacy rates ambiguous.

Lind and Johnston (1986:27) argue that there are, historically, two principal patterns for the eradication of illiteracy. One is primary schooling for all eligible children, which will slowly alleviate illiteracy. The other is an 'accelerated' model, which synthesises the primary schooling with adult literacy programmes. The second model needs more political commitment and more economic expenditure than the first approach (ibid.). Therefore, in terms of cost-effectiveness, adult literacy programmes may be given a lower priority than primary schooling. However, there is the fact, which is often used to justify such programmes, that providing literacy to parents, especially mothers, can have a profound effect in reducing the rate of child mortality. Also the educational background of parents influences their children's schooling and learning achievement. In this regard, Haggis (1991:21) claims that "any global strategy for universal literacy and basic education that relies on the primary school alone, in the absence of complementary measures, is likely to be wasteful and inefficient." Moreover, the DAC meeting in 1992, which followed up the World Conference on Education for All, suggested that adult education and other nonformal modes of education have been largely ignored by governments and external aid agencies, but such education should be sufficiently funded and appropriately treated (OECD, 1992b:65). But few donor agencies know how to plan and implement adult literacy programmes successfully and efficiently in the context of Africa today, even if they want to assist literacy programmes.

Although ways to assist basic education are complicated and depend on each donor's strategy, there are three factors to which most donors pay attention: efficient use of resources, quality of education and equal access to education. In the next section, those three factors, which closely relate to one another, are examined.

(3) Efficiency, quality and access

It is a reality that many school-age children have no opportunity to attend school and that even those in school labour under poor learning conditions. The circumstances for adult literacy programmes may be much worse. Therefore, quantitative expansion and qualitative improvement are critical educational issues. It is not easy to achieve both of them without additional resources. In theory, it could be possible by improving efficiency to make provision, but in practice there is often a tradeoff between quality and quantity. What is the approach for attaining both of these goals concurrently?

Increasing efficiency

Since the early 1980s the World Bank and the IMF have been increasingly involved in structural adjustment programmes in Africa and have intensified the search for efficiency. Although it may not always be right to pursue economic efficiency in education, it may be justified in the context of Africa, where basic education is not equally provided to all populations. Efficiency is not identical with reducing costs as a whole, but is probably related to the curtailment of public expenditure per learner without reducing educational quality in the context of current debates. The World Bank (1980:86) states that "education systems should strive to achieve maximum internal efficiency through the management, allocation and use of resources available for increasing the quantity and improving the quality of education." The Framework for Action at the World Conference on Education for All also states the importance of efficiency in basic education in a similar way (WCEFA, 1990b:9). The matter of efficiency is, therefore, closely related to learning achievement and quantitative expansion, both of which concern the quality of education and equal access to education. But such issues are mainly discussed in the field of primary schooling, and generally not argued for in literacy programmes. There seem to be four major reasons for this. First, literacy activities usually depend on voluntary work. Secondly, there are not enough data and statistics available to discuss the issue. Thirdly, the

effectiveness of literacy programmes is not adequately measured. Fourthly, the World Bank, which is the main promoter of efficiency, is not so interested in literacy work.

In primary schooling, first and foremost, the target to improve efficiency is by containment of unit costs. Reducing recurrent unit costs, particularly in Africa, is a prerequisite in achieving universal primary schooling by the year 2000 (Lee, 1988:1489). Such reduction is, first of all, directed to the utilisation of teachers and teachers' salaries which frequently occupy 90 per cent of recurrent budgets for primary education (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall, 1985:176). Since it is not easy to reduce teachers' salaries as they are often below a subsistence level (Graham-Brown, 1991:39), the more intensive use of teachers would be its alternative. Consequently, the pupil-teacher ratios may increase, through double shift work and moderate increases of class size for example. But these systems will only work if teachers' motivation and morale are sufficiently high; otherwise the quality of education will be simply reduced. This may be the case in Africa. Furthermore, in some countries class sizes are already far above even the levels the World Bank recommends.

However, the World Bank (1988:46) argues that "international comparisons of primary teachers' salaries in relation to per capita incomes reveal that primary school teachers in Africa, especially in the Francophone countries, earn relatively more than their counterparts in other regions" and comments that there are many adequately educated youths, currently searching for jobs, who might accept this downward condition. But this seems contradictory to the fact that most such youths do not want to become primary school teachers because of low pay and low prestige and, sometimes, they even prefer unemployment to becoming primary teachers. Hallak (1990:100) inversely states that "an increase in teachers' salaries could be given priority on the very reasonable ground that recruitment at present salaries is difficult, that teachers cannot live on these salaries without taking other jobs, which means an obvious deterioration in the quality of their teaching...." However, this kind of opinion, which is to raise payment in order to improve teachers' quality, is a minority view. Ahmed and Carron (1989:569) show that there are countries which have introduced "the recruitment of low-cost teachers with fewer qualifications" to reduce their salaries. It is clear that this has happened because of too much emphasis on cost reduction, thus neglecting the maintenance of quality.

Dropouts and the repeaters of grades are another influential factor to efficiency. The World Bank (1988:55) claims that "it is estimated that the cost of each completer in the median country of Africa is 50 per cent higher than if there were no repetition and dropout." These issues are closely related to quality issues, which will be discussed later, as well as to financial matters within families. If educational quality, such as the availability of learning materials and teachers' motivation, is enhanced, such dropouts will decrease to some extent. The dropout rate is also connected with the the issue of access to school. It may be understandable that those who need a considerable time to go to school will easily give up learning if school is far away and so poor in learning provision.

Cost-sharing is another method of reducing public expenditure and usually means putting the financial burden on users. So far, too little has been spent per pupil and, therefore, school facilities have had to be provided by parents or communities. But cost-sharing alone is not enough to expand the places for primary levels and additional resources will be required to increase such places (World Bank, 1988:5). Reallocation of finance is a reasonable way to obtain additional funds. There are two approaches. First, the reallocation within the education sector, that is, the shift of an educational budget from higher levels of education to primary levels could be implemented (Haddad et al., 1990:61). A second approach would be to reallocate to the education sector money from other sectors within the national budget. But this may not be feasible because educational budgets of many African countries have already taken up a high percentage of their national budgets. Savings could be made from defence budgets, but it is difficult to see how governments could be persuaded of this.

Decentralisation may also enhance efficiency, as can be seen from statements by UNDP (1993:5) that "the decentralisation of power - from capital cities to regions, town and villages - can be one of the best ways of empowering people, promoting public participants and increasing efficiency." This might be the case in education as well. The World Bank (1986:1) also encourages decentralisation and states that "school principals have little flexibility to adapt centrally set norms (regarding teachers' qualifications, curricula, textbooks, timetables, and so forth) to suit local conditions." This decentralisation could not, however, always work well in the context of many African countries. It needs much more effort by schools themselves. In the situation where teachers' morale is generally not high, even many principals of

primary schools are not considered to be adequately prepared and motivated for efficient management. Of course, some schools may produce good results, but other schools, particularly rural schools, could fall into greater difficulties.

On the other hand, the debates on efficiency in adult literacy programmes are not common. One of the reasons for this may be that such programmes are usually considered to be less costly than formal education, since they make use of volunteers and already existing facilities such as primary schools and churches. Therefore, literacy programmes appear to provide literacy skills more cheaply than primary schooling could do (UNESCO and UNDP, 1976:189). However, it does not seem to make any sense to compare such programmes with primary schooling, because of the different circumstances, such as duration of the programmes and type of learners involved. Moreover, there are two arguments which are critical about the cost-effectiveness of literacy work. In one, it is a misconception that adult literacy is cheap, if post-literacy programmes, which play an important role to maintain and utilise literacy skills, are integrated in the programmes (Lind and Johnston, 1986:89). In the other argument, adult literacy campaigns, which are common strategies, may be expensive if they are maintained for the longer term in order to sustain literacy skills (Lewin, 1993:50).

However, the World Declaration on Education for All states that "every person - child, youth and adult - shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs" (WCEFA, 1990b:3). If it is understood that fundamental basic education, such as literacy, should be provided even if it requires much public expenditure, what is more important than cost is effectiveness - which brings the quality issues of education to the fore.

Improving quality

Focusing on learning achievement, as well as learning opportunities, seems to be a current trend in the aid community. However, it must be ready to bear high unit costs, which contradict the containment of such costs. The WCEFA (1990b:5) claims that "the focus of basic education must, therefore, be on actual learning acquisition and outcome, rather than exclusively upon enrolment, continued participation in organized programmes and completion of certification requirements." Dropout and absentee rates

are critical issues in order to acquire acceptable levels of knowledge and skills. These phenomena are commonly found in both primary schooling and adult literacy programmes. These problems, of course, will not be resolved solely on the supply side of education, since they also result from learners' social and economic conditions. But it is also a fact that learners themselves, or their parents are disappointed at the poor quality of education and may not be motivated enough to complete a course. It seems widely accepted that such successful achievement mainly depends on adequate teaching materials and well-motivated teachers (Haddad, 1990:526). Teaching materials are especially helpful in the cases where it is difficult to raise standards of teachers themselves.

With regard to primary schooling, the World Bank (1990b:7) states that "higher priority should be given to measures intended to increase children's learning and primary school completion." Although the Bank has stressed the importance of educational quality on paper, the social rate of return to primary schooling, which is often referred to by the Bank, could be lower by almost one-third if its quality is once considered (Behrman and Birdsall, 1983:929). Moreover, the academic achievement in primary school in low-income countries is more strongly influenced by the quality of teachers than in developed countries, and "the predominant influence on student learning is the quality of the schools and teachers to which children are exposed" (Heyneman and Loxley, 1983:1102). This also supports the argument that the quality of teachers and the quality of schools, like the availability of teaching materials, are important in many African countries in order to improve the learning level of children.

To improve such teachers' quality, aid to teacher training was a common strategy. In reference to this, Singh (1991a:73) states that "over the years, agencies have come to the consensus that money is best used on resources that can assist teachers improve the quality of their instruction and consequently perform their jobs better." However, it is not likely that the quality of teachers is simply enhanced by improving their pedagogical techniques. The promoter of cost-effectiveness, the World Bank, argues that there seems to be little effect on the quality of primary schooling even by providing primary teachers with training beyond the secondary level of education (World Bank, 1988:40). This statement appears to be true, in the sense that the qualification of the teacher is less important than the motivation of the teacher. The puzzling problem which no one has answered clearly is the method of recruiting such

motivated teachers without additional rewards. It is stated that "teachers need more than rhetoric, they need materials, training and ample financial incentive if they are to perform their roles effectively" (De la Gorgendiere, 1993:188). However, it may not be a feasible option to pay higher salaries in order to recruit motivated teachers or to make teachers motivated in the context of the containment of costs.

If raising teachers' salaries is not possible, the investment in teaching materials may be another alternative. The most pressing need seems basically more textbooks. The World Bank (1988:42) claims that "there is strong evidence that increasing the provision of instructional materials, especially textbooks, is the most cost-effective way of raising the quality of primary education." This may imply that investment in teachers is less cost-effective than these materials. Furthermore, the Bank (ibid.) also states that:

> More must be spent on books and other materials. Raising annual expenditure on books at the primary level from 0.60 US dollars per pupil to about 5 US dollars would cost less than 5 per cent of the amount donors spend each year in sub-Saharan Africa on technical assistance.

On the other hand, donor agencies have been generally reluctant to provide aid in the form of consumable materials, since they constitute recurrent costs.

Provision of school facilities is a common approach taken by many donor agencies to educational aid. This might be because physical facilities are visible outcomes and such agencies are willing to provide capital costs. However, in primary schooling, such provision seems to bring only small and localised benefits and have little other priority. First of all, there is no clear relationship between the value of buildings and the quality of learning (World Bank, 1988). Secondly, the cost of buildings themselves is not expensive and is often supported by local communities. Lastly, there are too many schools to assist them all.

Although much research on the quality of adult literacy programmes has not been done compared to that of primary schooling, many of the factors affecting the quality of primary schooling are also applicable to those adult literacy programmes. The quality of literacy teachers is critical. Appropriately prepared learning materials would have a great effect on the learning process. Teachers' attitudes to their work are more important than their qualifications and teaching techniques (UNESCO and UNDP, 1976). This implies that the recruitment of motivated teachers is a prerequisite in the

successful literacy programmes. Yet there has been little discussion of the proposition that literacy teachers should be permanently employed rather than retained in part-time or voluntary work as primary school teachers or educated villagers, in spite of stressing the significant role of those teachers.

Another feature of literacy work, which does not exist in primary schooling, is that the ages and experiences of adult learners are diversified and these factors must be taken into full consideration in planning such programmes (WCEFA, 1990a:68). This means that it is necessary to produce flexible programmes in order to match people's learning capacities and the tendency to transfer school pedagogy without appropriate adaptation leads to failure. It is costly and is impossible to do thoroughly in the situation where even the quality of primary schools is not high. The WCEFA (1990a:69) concludes that "the quality of basic learning programmes for youth and adults is an even more complex issue than in the case of primary education." But the current emphasis on meeting basic learning needs might not allow donor agencies to neglect and avoid the implementation of such complicated literacy work and they may have to find a new avenue to assist it.

Promoting equal access

Overall educational development has been impressive in Africa, but it is crucial to promote equal access to it in order to provide all populations with educational opportunities. The WCEFA (1990a:53) claims that "inequalities most commonly relate to poverty, gender, location, religious, linguistic, or ethnic identification, and physical or mental disability." Among various inequalities, the disparities between males and females, rich and poor, and urban and rural areas, which may be most frequently found in Africa are discussed in the following passages. There are three avenues to promote equal access in primary schooling: "increase supply", "increase demand" and "equalize treatment of students" (World Bank, 1990a:5). These methods are also compatible with extending access to adult literacy programmes.

First of all, the inequity between males and females is commonly found in many developing countries and is a primary concern of many donor agencies, since it is now widely accepted that the education of women has positive effects on family health, nutrition, educational motivation of children and so on. This is also strongly supported

by the current debates on 'women in development' (OECD, 1992a). Colclough with Lewin (1993:264) shows three major factors which prevent girls from getting primary schooling. First, girls play a more important role in the household than boys, and there is not enough time for girls to attend school. Secondly, the benefits yielding from girls' schooling in terms of the return to their families is often considered to be lower than from boys' schooling. Thirdly, there are traditional attitudes in providing girls with less education than boys and there are also cultural and religious trends that girls should be taught by female teachers. A report by UNICEF (1992:6) argues two strategies to extend girls' access to schooling. One is to increase the supply of education by promoting school places for girls by locating schools nearer to their homes and encouraging the recruitment of female teachers or promoting single-sex schools in the areas where parents are fearful of sending their daughters to schools with male teachers. The other is by increasing the demand for education by lowering the opportunity costs for girls and their families and enhancing benefits for girls. There seems to have been sufficient discussion about girls' schooling in donors' strategies and approaches. What is important now is not a policy encouraging girls' participation but how to translate it on the ground and put it into action.

As for adult literacy programmes, available data show that male-female ratios of participants vary considerably from one programme to another (WCEFA, 1990a:28). Therefore, it is not meaningful to state overall trends. But if the literacy programmes actually supplement the learning needs of those who have not benefited from schooling, it may be natural to see that women have been in a majority. Conversely, if the number of female participants are equal to that of male participants, it may be said that females have not been provided equal learning opportunities yet.

The gap between the rich and the poor in access to basic education is not discussed so frequently in the aid community, unlike the male-female disparity. It may be because the first priority was just to expand opportunities to everyone and the poor were naturally left out. The poorest of the poor, who actually need assistance, are often invisible to outsiders. The strategy to fill such a gap is also to lower the direct and indirect costs of schooling. The target is to make at least primary schooling free for all and minimise the economic burden. However, what is more significant might be how to encourage poor children and their parents not to miss such educational opportunities. This is easy to say, but difficult to enact, considering that

encouragement in the situation where educational quality is generally not high is difficult to engender.

The geographical disparity between urban and rural areas is also not uncommon. There are sophisticated schools with many qualified teachers in the city, while there are often no such schools at all in villages. Even in terms of quantity, not to mention quality, rural schools are generally disadvantaged. It is not easily anticipated that aid reaches the most rural areas in remote regions. The current issue is how it is possible for pupils in those remote and rural areas to be able to have the same quality of education. But without any direct action to alleviate the geographical disparity, the simple expansion of the number of schools will not promote education for all. Coombs (1985:233) states that a substantial decentralisation will be needed to encourage educational expansion in rural areas. Decentralisation is certainly one approach, but the strong leadership of central governments could be helpful, rather than leaving considerable flexibility to local authorities. In particular, curricula may be developed by central governments in order to provide all the population with equal levels of quality education, and to promote national unity. The significance of decentralisation is that decision-making is actually taken at the level of participants and that people participate in a development process. This concept leads to the 'participatory development' endorsed in the DAC as a principle for new orientation in technical co-operation (OECD, 1992a:53).

Is it enough to give aid in the usual way so as to attain the three aspects of increasing efficiency, improving quality and promoting equal access? New aid modalities may be needed to support them.

(4) Current issues of aid modalities

In the traditional patterns of international aid, donors offer most capital investment such as buildings or equipment and recipients are supposed to undertake recurrent expenditure and provide locally available materials. However, programmes concerning basic education can be generally financed and provided locally, and schools are small and scattered all over the country. Moreover, they do not need high technology and its related facilities and knowledge which are the major advantages of external aid. This may also be the reason why many donors used to be reluctant to provide aid for basic

education.

The necessity of new modalities

It is now necessary to reconsider those traditional aid modalities so as to maximise the efficiency of aid to basic education. King (1991b:5) states that "if education really is going to be for all in all countries, and if there is a serious target of the year 2000, then it is doubtful if a business-as-usual approach to foreign aid will be sufficient." This strongly implies that new aid strategies and modalities are prerequisites to achieve education for all. The WCEFA (1990b:18) claims that "the external agencies should examine current assistance practices in order to find ways of effectively assisting basic education programmes which do not require capital- and technology-intensive assistance, but often need long-term budgetary support."

Many donor agencies now have similar policies for educational assistance based on the World Conference on Education for All. It is often the case that there is little incentive and few advantages for recipients to request aid for basic education from certain donors. Therefore, aid co-ordination could increasingly become of importance. But King (1991b:18) points out the embarrassing situation of many bilateral donors, following the World Bank policy, and states that:

> There is already some indication of bilateral hesitation about simply joining in on a project whose principal methods, assumptions and outcomes have been determined by the Bank. There is some feeling that the comparative advantage of bilateralism is lost if the bilateral agencies are effectively 'multilateralised' through their participation in Bank projects.

In the following sections, I explore three points which require new attention in the assistance to basic education, and begin by discussing aid co-ordination.

Aid co-ordination

There are many donor agencies which work for education even within a country. A certain African country, for example, had 40 projects assisted by multilateral and bilateral agencies at a time, which was not unusual (King, 1991a:2). This situation seems to be aid in excess without appropriate co-ordination between donor agencies, making burdens for recipients in terms of aid co-ordination as well as creating unnecessary recurrent expenditures and administrative loads. The co-ordination of aid

among donors is important in achieving efficient use of aid and reduces heavy burdens on recipient countries (for example, Cassen and Associates, 1986; King, 1986). This emphasises the co-ordination among donors in particular. The Task Force of Donors to African Education, which has been recently set up by the leadership of the major multilateral agencies involved in education, such as the World Bank and UNESCO, may function as a co-ordinating body among donors to prevent further cases of poor organisation.

On the other hand, The DAC Aid Principles state that "central responsibility for aid co-ordination lies with each recipient government" (OECD, 1992a:8). However, is it in fact possible for the recipient government to co-ordinate such great amounts of aid? Each donor has its preference for working in the specific field where it can do better than others (see section 2.1 (3)). Moreover, there are a lot of policy documents accumulated by donor agencies, but it is extremely difficult to find the recipients' perspectives in relation to aid to education (King, 1986). The reality may be that the recipients' policies tend to be marginalised because of the powerful policies of donors themselves (Graham-Brown, 1991:286).

Torres (1991:15) argues for aid co-ordination among donors and states that "perhaps the best way to avoid external interference in local decision making and policy operation will be to continue with bilateral and multilateral negotiations between governments, development banks, and donor agencies, instead of creating a supra-national agency of donors." King (1991b:17) also notes that "on the negative side of this multi-donor packaging of policy-based aid, it could be argued that the degrees of freedom for the recipient country are reduced, with much of the available funding being located within a single co-ordinated initiative." It is therefore important and necessary for donor agencies to attempt to provide African states with enough freedom to set their own policies bearing in mind long-term perspectives.

But, in the context of aid to basic education, there seems to be another dimension to aid co-ordination, which is different from those stated above. Arguably, many aid agencies have a feeling that to achieve education for all is such a responsibility that it cannot be borne by a single agency. It may go beyond the idea of comparative advantages. Even if a donors' best package is made with the best plans available, it is probably not certain that any aid agency will achieve such an huge objective.

Accordingly, aid co-ordination solely among bilateral and multilateral donor agencies is not enough. The role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is especially highlighted and comes into play at this point because of such uncertainty of governmental agencies.

Collaboration with NGOs

There seems to be a growing consensus that NGOs can play an important role, particularly in basic education. The DAC meeting following up the World Conference on Education for All states that "one of the few points of agreement is that NGOs must play larger and more prominent roles in education" (OECD, 1992b:67). It is clear that NGOs have contributed to human development at the grassroots level and at levels where aid by government donors often does not reach directly. The UNDP (1993:6) comments that NGOs have advantages in, for example, "advocacy on behalf of the disadvantaged", "the empowerment of marginalized groups" and "reaching the poorest".

However, the number of people at the grassroots is enormous and the benefits solely yielded by NGOs may still be small. What is of concern is that multilateral and bilateral donors might ignore their original responsibility for aid to basic education by increasing the effective functions of NGOs. It appears to be a misconception that official aid agencies alone are responsible for policy dialogue and that NGOs solely work at the local level. There are examples of NGOs who have been equally involved in policy development (Randel and German, 1993:xii). The government agencies should have comprehensive long-term perspectives in the collaboration with NGOs. So NGOs can efficiently and effectively supplement such donors, but can never be substituted for those donors.

Another feature of NGOs involvement in aid provision, which differs from government agencies, could be that they often provide recurrent costs or expenses in their assistance. Aid to basic education is how to deal with the problem of recurrent costs.

Recurrent costs

The issue of recurrent expenditures is not new. Many donor agencies may have experienced that some projects were stuck and did not go well because of the lack of recurrent costs to be borne by recipient governments. Donors are generally unwilling to provide payment for such costs, mainly because of the risk of increasing ongoing funding in order to make projects sustainable. But in terms of basic education, the scale and content of the recurrent costs are quite critical. Such recurrent costs of primary schooling, for example, take up a great share of total costs and are mainly occupied by teachers' salaries. Even those donors who have been traditionally involved in primary schooling or other forms of basic education have provided capital costs such as school buildings and, at most, non-salary recurrent costs (King, 1991b:22). In these circumstances, everyone seems to notice that the issue of teachers' salaries may be perhaps the most critical problem in the debates about new aid modalities. However, few agencies have officially expressed positive attitudes to the provision of those salaries.

The World Bank seems to be very positive in providing recurrent costs and states that "support for the recurrent costs of wages, instruction materials, medicines, and other supplies in the programmes should be seen as a higher priority than buildings" (World Bank, 1989:189). The large increases in support for basic education, which are now required, will not be feasible if part of the recurrent expenditures are not financed by external donors (Verspoor, 1992:22). Furthermore, Colclough (1982:182) justifies such support for recurrent costs and suggests that providing teachers' salaries and other local expenditures have significant benefits for the most economically disadvantaged countries and people. Now donor agencies are "more willing to consider support for teachers' salaries" (OECD, 1992b:63). But this may imply that it will take much more time for many donors to start funding those salaries, even if it happens. This problem affects not just aid to basic education, but it has a fundamental and crucial aspect in conjunction with the philosophy and scheme of development assistance.

So far, present issues concerning basic education have been examined and general trends of donors' policies responding to them have been discussed. Yet the avenues to basic education for all are not clear. In the following section 3.2, Japanese

perspectives on aid to basic education alongside those basic policies largely set by Western donors will be examined.

3.2 Japanese Aid to Basic Education in Africa

The provision of quality basic education is often regarded as a vehicle of Japanese development. The East Asian miraculous performance of rapid economic development may partly lie in the large scale public expenditure which has taken place on basic education (World Bank, 1993). However, such a notion has been rarely reflected explicitly in Japanese aid policy, since such basic education is considered to relate to matters of national sovereignty or rights in political terms, and has therefore been avoided. On the other hand, current needs in basic education in much of Africa are so critical that international co-operation is indispensable (see section 3.1 (1)).

Although Japan has less experience in aid to basic education than any other subsectors of education, it is essential now to provide aid in an area where Japan can see it has a great value drawn from the intensive experience of educational development in its own history. Arguably, it may be clear that traditional donor countries in Africa alone cannot provide enough to alleviate such a critical situation. How can Japan contribute to the advancement of basic education in Africa? What angle does Japan have in order to break through the crisis?

(1) The Japanese stance on aid to basic education

Japanese policy was backward in giving aid to basic education and few projects were implemented until the late 1980s, but there was a dramatic transformation in Japanese aid policy in education around 1990 and it is characterised by an great emphasis on basic education as discussed above (see section 2.2 (2)). Today, JICA appears to be busy searching for individual countries' needs and appropriate approaches in this area. A first step has largely been taken in neighbouring Asian countries. However, Africa is certainly a target of Japanese aid policy now in basic education.

Japanese beliefs and the ghost of colonialism

Education has been one of the key sectors targeted by Japanese aid. However,

Japanese educational aid so far has primarily focused on higher levels of education in the field of science, agriculture and engineering, such as the Jomo Kenyatta University College of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya. The Japanese Government recognises that at the basic level the Japanese contribution has been very limited (Japan, 1993a:131).

This trend is primarily based on the Japanese view that education is not a simple acquisition of knowledge and skills as discussed above (see section 2.2 (1)). Japanese authorities state that:

> Basic education is a fundamental part of a nation's very identity and life. So each country should be autonomously responsible for its education, both policy and practice. This is why Japan stresses primarily the 'hardware' aspect of assistance such as construction of school facilities, supply of equipment etc. rather than the 'software' aspect. (Carr-Hill and King, 1992:20)

The Japanese believe that basic education has strong roots in indigenous cultures and values which are the identities of the nation and therefore basic education is neither a suitable sphere for aid nor especially for bilateral aid. This may partly result from the bitter experience that Japan had when it forced peoples in some Asian countries to learn the Japanese language and culture in the 1930s and the early 1940s. The Ministry of Education, Science and Culture of Japan seemed to be extremely backward in giving aid to the area of general education. Instead, Japan has attempted to contribute to the area of basic education through contributions and subscriptions to multilateral organisations such as UNESCO's literacy work. Therefore, Japanese bilateral aid to education may have been deliberately concentrated on higher levels of education and vocational training and has hardly touched general basic education.

But there is a significant contradiction in this Japanese thinking. Japan has insisted on the importance of individual countries' needs of education (see section 2.2 (2)). On the other hand, Japan often states that basic education is deeply rooted in cultures and values, and therefore Japan has focused on school facilities and equipment rather than education systems themselves. Is it possible to understand those educational needs precisely and transfer expertise effectively without considering their cultures and values? It is stated that "the transfer of expertise across cultures is not as non-problematic as might be assumed..." (Leach, 1994:229). Moreover, "reviewing the nature of the school from the local perspective automatically brings the issue of

culture" (Hoppers, 1994:46).

The ghost of Japan's own experience of colonialism, though fifty years have already passed since the end of the Second World War, levers over its policy of providing aid to others. In Japan the argument about Japanese colonialism is almost a taboo. Should one consider any connections between colonial policy and aid policy? According to Chowdhury and Islam (1993:37), Japanese colonial policy appeared to be "substantial investments in infrastructure, health and primary education". It is noteworthy that the first two components are identical with Japanese aid policy and what is missing in it is primary education. For the Japanese it is surprising that there are some research findings stating that "on the whole, the prevailing wisdom seems to be that modern economic growth in former Japanese colonies [Taiwan and Korea] owes much to the era of Japanese imperialism" (ibid.:35). Of course, there are many counter-arguments for that. Primary enrolment ratios in Korea, for example, could have increased more rapidly if Japan had not colonised it (Kim,1984:194). It is rarely known, at least in the Japanese aid community, that there is in fact such discussion.

Before exploring Japanese aid policy to basic education, it is helpful to examine Japanese colonial policy in education alongside other colonial countries. Tsurumi (1977:224) states that:

> In comparison with the educational opportunities other colonial rulers offered the people they dominated, the Japanese in Taiwan were far from niggardly. With the exception of the Americans in the Philippines, no other colonial power in Asia or elsewhere approached native education with anything like the seriousness of purpose of Japanese educators in Taiwan. The care that went into formulating and executing educational plans was outstanding. The Philippines excepted, no colonial education system under a Western flag received such a generous input of funds and skilled personnel.

She also argues that "Japanese education in Taiwan was much more egalitarian" unlike Dutch schools for natives organised upon class lines and British elite schools established for selected Malays (ibid.:227). Further, she states that "training of teachers and physicians , urgently needed in developing countries but generally neglected by colonial regimes, was emphasized during Japanese rule in Taiwan" (ibid.:228). Unexpectedly, this Japanese colonial policy shows Japanese belief in and care for basic education which may be linked to the Japanese fundamental belief about aid to basic education: equal access to quality basic education and the importance of teacher training at higher levels.

Traditional approach

As an example of Japanese aid to basic education, the activities of the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) are frequently shown. JOCV is often compared to American Peace Corps and British VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas). Japan has relatively long experience in providing the science and mathematics teachers of JOCV, despatching them to Kenya in 1973 for the first time. Some 700 science and mathematics teachers of JOCV were despatched to secondary schools, mainly in Africa, as of April 1992 (Japan, 1993a:131). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs notes that "JOCV activities also cover basic education, a field in which Japan's participation has been limited, and have been highly regarded in the recipient countries" (ibid.). The benefit from and the impact of JOCV teachers might be small and localised, but their activities have certainly contributed to students' learning in the classroom. In the countries where universal primary education has nearly been achieved, this type of work at secondary school may be an effective contribution to basic education. But this type of aid will not work in primary schools, since the language used there is often unfamiliar to Japanese teachers and the number of schools are too many to fill the gap of local teachers. This traditional mode of JOCV activities has limits in terms of aid to basic education because it bypasses the real foundation of basic education - primary school.

As far as primary schooling is concerned, Japanese aid has been strongly oriented to financing school buildings. Japan funded construction of some 300 primary and secondary school buildings in the Philippines during the period of Japanese fiscal year (JFY) 1990 to 1993 through grant aid. However, those buildings represent less than one per cent of the total primary and secondary schools in the country, and it is not certain that quality education can be provided there. In JFY 1991 and JFY 1992, the construction of local primary schools was assisted in Guinea and Senegal in the same way.

Apart from the grant aid programmes cited above, it became possible starting in JFY 1989 to use small-scale grants, which are now called 'grassroots grants', to provide flexible assistance which directly benefits local people at the grassroots level. In JFY 1993, Japan provided such grants for 258 projects in 53 countries, and each project

received some 4 million yen (US$ 40,000) approximately (IDJ, 1994b). One of the projects, for example, was for the provision of the equipment for literacy education in South Africa. Such grants mostly relate to basic education, including primary schooling and literacy programmes in a broad sense, and are mainly implemented by both Southern and Northern NGOs.

Yet it is a reality that the number of the Japanese actually working on the ground is very limited in the two modes of Japanese aid cited above, since they are provided in the form of grant aid, not technical co-operation. This also implies that the Japanese experts who are knowledgeable about basic education from the angle of international aid are still very few. So, actual Japanese experience and knowledge cannot be utilised effectively.

The reason for this grant-dominated aid to basic education may also relate to the issue of recurrent costs, which is critical in aid to basic education (see section 3.1 (4)). JICA (1994a:53) states that "this possibility should be studied from many angles in light of the growing possibility that Japan will also be asked to subsidize recurrent costs in education." This is not a positive statement. In Japanese rhetoric, "should be studied" may mean that it would not be realised in the near future until the majority of donors are willing to bear such costs. Without solving this problem, successful programmes in basic education may not be planned.

Changing approach

The Japanese approach above does not remain unchanged, since Japanese policy to basic education has been changing rapidly since 1990. It appears that in 1991 and 1992, Japanese strategy was still oriented to such concrete aid, such as the construction of school buildings and the provision of educational materials. On the other hand, the JICA report published early in 1994 began to emphasise educational administration and learning processes in addition to school facilities and equipment (see section 2.2 (2)). Japanese policy at least appears to have significantly shifted from physical and concrete projects alone to a combination of such schemes with support to structures and systems, which may be more closely related to the substance of education (circa 1993).

Although most of the Japanese aid contributions mentioned have little involvement of Japanese experts who can utilise Japanese knowledge and experience, a relatively new pattern of Japanese aid was introduced in 1993 - the programme for educational development of science and mathematics at the primary and secondary levels of education in the Philippines, which aims at improving the quality of science and mathematics teachers for primary and secondary schools. Although aid to basic education through teacher training is traditional in other donor countries, it is noteworthy that Japan addressed itself on a full scale to the core contents of education, such as the curriculum of general education, to which Japan used to be unwilling to provide aid. It may be time for Japan to co-operate with developing countries in such a key area.

This avenue to basic education is fresh in the field of Japanese aid provision. This programme may be appropriate to enhance quality in basic education in the Philippines where the enrolment ratios to primary and secondary school are relatively high. It is also possible to utilise hundreds of schools built through Japanese grant aid. But there is no solution to Japanese participation in the advancement of basic education in Africa where primary school enrolment ratios and adult literacy rates are extremely low.

The JICA report on the education sector, which has been frequently cited (see section 2.2 (2)), argues that "in the light of the growing international demand for aid for education and Japan's responsibility and role as the world's largest aid donor, both geographic expansion to Africa and perhaps other regions and enlargement of scope to basic education appear to be called for" (JICA, 1994a:39). In policy, Japan is ready to provide its aid for the development of basic education in Africa. On the other hand, basic education in the regional and country study reports of JICA means primary and secondary schooling and does not place an emphasis on nonformal education such as literacy programmes. In other words, in considering a basic strategy for development assistance to a specific country or region, Japan still tends to concentrate on formal schooling and puts a much lower priority on nonformal forms of education. For example, a regional study of Africa states that "the priority in foreign assistance to African education should be placed on basic education [primary and secondary schooling]" (JICA, 1991a:36). Adult education is treated separately and the study states that "the literacy classes now emerging in the rural areas in several countries should be considered as subjects for aid..." (ibid.:39). This may have resulted in

increasing the grassroots grants (see section 2.2 (2)).

It is clear that Japan is trying to provide its educational aid to Africa for basic education, notably primary and secondary schooling. However, it may not be easy to define Japanese contributions to such an area at the moment. A policy change is one thing and an action and practice at the project level is another. It is stated that "it is quite another [issue] for these policy initiatives [new policy statements in favour of Education for All] at the general level to be translated into local policy and then to become embodied in programme action" (Biervliet et al., 1992:189). In the following section, Japanese comparative advantage along with disadvantage is assessed, and its implications for Japanese aid to basic education in Africa are analysed.

(2) The Japanese contribution to basic education in Africa

Bilateral aid has already started playing an important role in basic education in Africa (see section 3.1 (2)), but such aid in basic education may need more careful attention than in other subsectors of education since piecemeal projects of each bilateral donor produce an inconsistent system of basic education. Moreover, inconsistencies may have ill effects on higher levels of education. Hence aid co-ordination, which is supported by the strengths of each donor country, is particularly important in basic education (see section 3.1 (4)). So, how can Japan contribute to basic education in Africa and what is Japanese comparative advantage?

Advantage and disadvantage

On the whole, Japan looks like having few advantages over other donor countries in the field of aid to basic education. There is an obvious absence of Japanese personnel with sufficient experience in basic education in Africa. For example, there are a number of experts and researchers specialising in primary school education, but those specialists in Japan have generally focused only on Japanese education and have little information regarding the education of such regions as Africa. As for literacy work for adults, the situation may be much worse. But these facts are primarily attributed to the historical connection of Western countries with Africa and are not necessarily related to the irrelevance of Japanese expertise to actual educational needs in Africa. Japan can overcome such disadvantages and even might be able to change those disadvantages to

advantages with further efforts.

Japan is frequently regarded as one of the most educationally advanced countries in the world and it has, for this reason, attracted many interested Western researchers. Japanese experience hitherto is neither directly applicable to Africa nor internationally relevant. Japan does not intend to simply repeat its own experience in the present-day developing world. That would clearly be impossible. Passin (1965) argues that although some developing countries study Japanese experience of educational dissemination, such experience must be carefully appraised. He notes that "it should not be assumed, for example, that the specific measures adopted by Japan are necessarily relevant to the problems of particular countries today, or even that they were necessarily the best measures for Japan" (Passin, 1965:7). A high regard for education among the Japanese is certainly the backbone of Japanese aid to basic education. For example, JICA (1991a:37) states that "the Japanese experience in the early Meiji era (in the 1870s - 1890s) should offer an example where the entire Japanese population joined together in the effort to enhance the level of education for the modernization of the country." Later, JICA (1994a:46) claims that it is also essential to learn from "the educational practices of developing countries".

Although present-day educationists themselves are probably still not certain as to how to increase enrolments and improve quality within limited finances, their knowledge of Japanese educational development in the past can and should be utilised in the aid context. The attitude to learning from the practices of developing countries may further strengthen Japanese aid. Many African governments are certainly attempting to adopt education systems and then adapt those systems to the educational needs of their own individual countries based on their experience so far. These education systems are neither copies nor replicas of any other system.

Furthermore, the first president of Kenya, Kenyatta (1938:121), points out the contrast between African education and European education when he claims that:

> The striking thing in the Gikuyu system of education, and the feature which most sharply distinguishes it from the European system of education, is the primary place given to *personal relation*. Each official statement of educational policy repeats this well-worn declaration that the aim of education must be *the building of character* and not the mere acquisition of knowledge (emphasis added).

This is surprisingly similar to Japanese values and beliefs in education (see section 2.2 (1)). Some traditional African values concerning education could be more compatible with Japanese values than Western ones. Although many African countries have already adopted the Western-type education model probably to pursue rapid modernisation, the essential values of African education might remain unchanged even if the framework and structure has been transplanted. Further, most people who are seeking basic learning opportunities live in rural areas and they, arguably, have non-Western values.

It is difficult to prove such a complete affinity between Japan and Africa in any detail, but it might be a good opportunity for African countries to re-examine, through Japanese aid programmes whether their current education systems are actually suitable for their populations. The idea that some donors such as the UK have the comparative advantage in educational aid could largely relate to the historical fact that those education systems in Africa stem from a colonial legacy. It is not necessarily connected with the relevance of British ideas to African education in a strict sense. At the very least Japan has the potential to provide aid to basic education for Africa as much as any other traditional donor country.

The strength of Japanese experience

The current issues facing many African countries are both qualitative improvement and quantitative expansion by means of increasing efficiency and promoting equal access (see section 3.1 (3)). Japan achieved universal primary schooling at a very early stage in its modernisation (see section 2.2 (1)). With respect to the Japanese specific experience of educational development, White (1987:50-51) states that:

> By 1887, when Western models of universal schooling were introduced, Japanese literacy levels were already high: approximately 43 percent of boys and 15 percent of girls had been schooled and could have read by the age of fifteen. Even in a society predominantly agrarian (only 20 percent of the population lived in urban areas), learning was clearly evident. While the pace and cycle of agricultural activities determined the actual attendance of children, enrollment rates in various types of school were, compared to European levels, fairly high.

So Japan had tried to disseminate quality basic education irrespective of the place where people live. In other words, traditionally in Japan schooling was to be provided wherever children were. By contrast, much of Africa today still has a significant

disparity between the rural and the urban areas in terms of enrolment ratios and educational quality. Is there any education system in the Japanese history of educational development which supported equal access to basic education?

The Japanese experience of educational advancement in its history is frequently characterised by the practice of *terakoya*. It was the most common opportunity of learning for ordinary people (commoners), most likely farmers' children, in the Tokugawa period (1600-1868). The majority of children attended *terakoya*, though there were schools established by feudal domains. This system significantly contributed to increasing literate children at the grassroots level before the modern education system was introduced (Dore, 1965). *Terakoya* literally means 'the house of temple children' and was supported by the village or town and was first to be found in a temple, where Buddhist priests taught children to read and write. The content of *terakoya* education was practical: reading, writing and arithmetic. Even vocational training, such as accounting for the merchant classes and farming for the peasant children, was sometimes provided (Passin, 1965:97). There were more than 14,000 *terakoya* and each had 30-60 children under a single teacher (ibid.:31). Such Japanese experience cannot simply be repeated in present-day Africa.

The modern education system has been already introduced in Africa and primary school is certainly a place for children to learn. The Japanese high regard for learning comes from Confucianism and therefore it may not be transferable to other regions. Yet I think that there is a certain system through which Japan could help other countries to achieve universal primary schooling and universal literacy rapidly. What many African countries can draw from this Japanese experience may be the comprehensive approach to the alleviation of regional disparities and to quality learning.

Japanese education at the basic level seems to have been more egalitarian than that of many Western countries. Quality education has been equally provided for years to all populations in Japan irrespective of parents' social position and their economic capability and this equal education is what many African states appear to be seeking today. But the JICA study on educational aid rarely discusses any potential Japanese contribution in this respect (JICA, 1994a).

Another dimension of Japanese experience which is relevant to the issue facing Africa is related to teachers, who are a key to the provision of quality basic education. The Japanese generally have a high regard for the teaching professions. Although teacher training has often been regarded as the way of improving basic education, what is examined here is not training itself but the way of attracting able young people to the teaching profession (teacher training is dealt with in chapter 4 as part of 'higher education'). Japan appears to have taken some measures in order to encourage young people to become teachers. First, teachers' salaries are slightly higher than other civil servants with the same academic qualifications. This contrasts with the reality of teachers' income in other countries. Secondly, government scholarships were provided for students to attend normal schools for teacher training, with the purpose of targeting poor but able young people (White, 1987:59). Even today most Japanese scholarship funds exempt repayment if those who borrowed them become teachers. Lastly, the normal school was the target not only for those who might be keen to become teachers, but for young people hoping to get jobs in the government (Passin, 1965:91). Probably therefore the academic level of the normal school might have retained its high standard. These favourable financial provisions for those who are becoming teachers could be more cost-effective in Africa in the long term, than the investment in teacher training in order to improve current teachers' quality. But this Japanese practice is also rarely reflected or even posited in the JICA policy.

Another focus of Japanese strength concerns science and mathematics education. In much of Africa, this area of education frequently lags behind other subjects in terms of teacher quality and quantity, as well as curricula and materials. The improvement of science and mathematics education is an aim sought by many African states. These subjects are closely linked to the performance of higher education systems in the technological fields as well as the upgrading of skills development. The high levels of achievement in the study of science and mathematics among Japanese pupils, for example, have frequently been acknowledged by international comparative analysis (Postlethwaite and Wiley, 1992; Burstein, 1993). This area of education is certainly a target area for Japanese aid to basic education. JICA (1994a:41) states that "Japan can and should actively give aid in this area [science and mathematics] ...." Science and mathematics education is clearly one domain of Japanese aid and it is an urgent requirement for the educational needs of African countries.

However, any approach to this mode of education appears to be rather problematic. The Japanese approaches to the upgrading of science and mathematics so far have been taken by means of the despatch of teachers themselves and by teacher training (see section 3.2 (1)). The JICA report refers frequently to the supply and improvement of laboratory facilities and equipment, but it argues little for the improvement of the systems and structures of such education. JICA certainly emphasises that educational management and administration is a Japanese new approach to educational aid (see section 2.2 (2)), but such JICA policy has not been reflected in the domains of science and mathematics education. Along with paying little attention to its own history of educational development Japan appears to continue to give aid to the areas in which facilities and equipment are needed despite its new policy of placing a high priority on management and administration. Has Japanese expertise been fully utilised?

Some proposals for Japanese aid in basic education to Africa

First of all, Japan should remove the ghost of its own colonial experience in the aid context (see section 3.2 (1)). The issues many African countries face today are often relevant to Japan's own experience as already discussed above. Moreover, Africa appears to be much more interested in Japanese educational expertise now, despite Japan's colonial experience in Asia.

Secondly, Japan may have undervalued its own experience and its educational history. The reason why developing countries often try to study the Japanese experience is that Japan's educational development was the first sustained effort in a non-Western context to modernise a whole country, and then Japan has overcome many of the problems that for years many developing countries will and must encounter in basic education (Passin, 1965:7). Japan should recognise that it is in a position to present its own experience to the developing world and especially to Africa where the advancement of basic education has stagnated. This should be a Japanese responsibility within the aid community. To achieve this, Japan needs to make efforts to analyse its experience of educational development systematically from the angle of international aid.

Lastly, the scope of Japanese aid to basic education should not be narrowly concentrated on science and mathematics education and teacher training in the related

fields. Japan should intensively approach educational systems and structures in which its own experience can be utilised effectively for the development of basic education in Africa. Japan should offer ideas about effective and efficient education systems to Africa together with bilateral aid. It could be interesting for Japan, for instance, to carry out research on the relevance of its experience to the educational problems facing present-day Africa in much greater depth in collaboration with African educationalists. This does not run counter to Japan's traditionally sensitive approach to educational aid, since the final decision as to whether Japanese ideas will be accepted or not is made by African states themselves - taking into account their own values and cultures (see section 3.2 (1)). So Japan is in the unique position of offering approaches different from other Western donors which could be a significant contribution to African developments in basic education.

4. HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education has played an important role in national development producing high-level manpower essential to economic development. This was particularly accepted in the 1960s, when human resource development theory was widely acknowledged. Many developing countries, especially those in Africa, have allocated a significant amount of their educational budgets to the development of higher education (World Bank, 1994b:28-29). Many aid agencies, particularly bilateral donors, have willingly provided assistance to this subsector. Despite this, it appears that the quality of higher education in Africa is deteriorating with fiscal constraints and massively expanding numbers.

The World Conference on Education for All in 1990 was a watershed of educational aid policy (see section 3.1 (2)). Many donor agencies have shifted, to some extent, their priority area of educational assistance to basic education according to their policy papers. This policy has often been justified economically by the evidence that social rates of return for basic education are much higher than those for higher education. This stance could imply that those countries who have not achieved universal primary education should first focus on the expansion and improvement of basic education at the expense of higher education. For example, the World Bank (1986:2) examines the policy option of "recovering the public cost of higher education and reallocating government spending on education toward the level with the highest social returns". This may suggest that the priority of educational development should be primary and secondary schooling where the social rates of return are higher than in higher education.

However, such rates of return analysis are now twenty years old, especially in Africa, because many studies are based on data acquired in the 1970s and do not take account of the active urban informal sector in particular (Hinchliffe, 1987:26). Moreover, the social and educational roles of higher education have often been marginalised in this argument, solely focusing on their economic contribution. What is important now might be to reconsider the role of higher education in national development and to re-examine the function of higher education in the education system as a whole.

Japanese aid provision has focused on higher education, on agricultural and

technological universities in East Asian countries in particular. Japan has extensive experience in assisting higher education in those countries, where higher education has been relatively well developed with relatively low public burden, as indicated by the Bank in its study report (World Bank, 1994a). Although Japan intends to place a priority on basic education, the area of higher education is certainly a Japanese priority and aid for such an area will continue to increase (JICA, 1994a). Yet, in Africa, Japanese contributions to higher education, as well as to basic education, have been limited and little research has been done to investigate how the experience and knowledge of Japan and other East Asian countries can be utilised or whether their experience and knowledge is transferable in the context of African nations.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the current constraints of higher education in developing countries alongside donor policy. It will explore the possible contributions of Japanese aid to higher education in Africa, with particular reference to higher education development in East Asia. This chapter is divided into two sections. First, the current context of constraints and donor policy on higher education is explored from three points of view: the contribution of higher education to national development; criticism of higher education; and the strategies for its reform from an East Asian perspective. Secondly, there follows a discussion of possible areas for Japanese contributions through bilateral aid to higher education in Africa to be developed, based on East Asian experience and Japanese involvement in the assistance to East Asian countries. Some implications for Japanese aid policy are finally suggested.

4.1 Current Constraints and Donor Policy

The critical problem of higher education development may lie in the reality that enrolment in higher education has been rapidly expanded as a result of social and political pressures rather than from economic demand, without the provision of adequate financial resources. Many developing countries are suffering from a deterioration of educational quality. Even if quality is maintained, it is not uncommon that graduates cannot use the abilities and skills acquired in higher education institutions, mostly due to the mismatch between the number of graduates and the labour market. Investments in higher education, therefore, have often been wasted. Moreover, public investment per student in higher education is generally much higher

than that of basic education because of high levels of subsidisation and higher costs.

The World Bank, for example, seems to be interested in higher education, particularly in African states. Its current approach is to reallocate given educational budgets in terms of cost-effectiveness analysis, rather than by examining the present-day contributions of higher education with a longer-term perspective. The Bank paper on higher education states that "within the education sector ... there is evidence that higher education investments have lower social rates of return than investments in primary and secondary education and that investment in basic education can also have a more direct impact on poverty reduction, because they tend to improve income equality" (World Bank, 1994a:84-85). To put it more strongly, higher education in countries with low-income and low-literacy rates appears to drain the education sector of resources which hindering other, lower-level, cost-effective educational development.

What is often missing in the current argument is a re-examination of the role of higher education itself in the present-day context of developing countries. For example, it is argued that any university in Africa is a "powerful instrument for change", while in Europe it represents "continuity and conservation" (Ashby, 1964:98). In Japan the university, at the early stages of Japanese development, functioned as "Japan's window to the world of research and technological development abroad" (Altbach, 1989:19). The function of higher education varies depending on the surrounding circumstances of individual countries. Each country needs a different policy and approach. In the following analysis, current aid policy about higher education in developing countries is reviewed, paying particular attention to African universities, approaching the problem from an Asian (non-Western) perspective.

(1) The contribution of higher education to national development

The relationship between higher education and economic growth is highly complex and requires careful examination. However, it is widely regarded that investment funding to higher education is important for economic growth and that the main objectives of higher education are teaching, doing research and providing a service to society. Developing countries, as well as industrialised countries, need high-level manpower and high-quality research to underpin sustainable development.

Remarkable economic development in East Asia might have been both the cause and result of the development of higher education as well as of basic education. For example, the World Bank (1989:81) notes that "to survive and compete in a competitive world in the 21st century, Africa will require not only literate and numerate citizens, but also highly qualified and trained people to perform top-quality research, formulate policies, and implement programs essential to economic growth and development."

But the real intention among some donor agencies, particularly lending agencies, may be more concerned with how to curtail public educational expenditure rather than to examine the impact of higher education on the rest of the education sector and on other sectors of the economy. The roles that higher education institutions have played and will play in the process of development have been little explored. In the next section, the actual and potential contributions of higher education to both capacity building and to the linkage of higher education with basic education are examined.

Capacity building

Capacity building has been a catchword in the aid community, especially in the late 1980s, alongside the concept of sustainable development. Without the capacity to absorb new knowledge and skills, international aid is unlikely to work efficiently in developing countries. The term 'capacity building' may have been used in various ways, applied to human development, or the restructuring of institutions or political leadership (World Bank, 1988:54). It is generally thought that one of the fundamental means to enhance capacity is probably through education. It is widely recognised that human development through education has been a key factor for current economic development in many East Asian countries (IDJ, 1994d).

There seem to be two major categories of 'capacity' which can be developed through education and which are essential for national development. The first relates to *management and policy analysis*. The principles for the new orientation in technical co-operation adopted by the OECD state that "capacity building for improved policy and development management by the core government institutions is of special importance" (OECD, 1992a:51). This implies that higher education institutions like universities should develop capacity through research. More recently, a Vice President

of the World Bank, in charge of an African region, has stated that:

> We are now insisting that the governments generate their own economic reform plans. We'll help, we'll critique, we'll eventually negotiate and we'll support financially those things which seem to be reasonably making sense, but we're not going to write these plans. We're not going to say: Here you are, do this, and we'll give you money. That's out. So for the ministries and governors here, this is a wake-up call on that. We're not going to do this anymore, but you're going to have to find that domestic capacity (Jaycox, 1993:9).

Particularly in much of Africa the university is the sole centre of research, unlike other more developed countries (Sawadago, 1994:1). It is not an easy task for many countries to strengthen their research capacity. However, in order to formulate the policy which will really correspond to local needs, developing countries have had to invest in building capacity in relation to higher education institutions. Otherwise, their own policies will continue to be marginalised because of the power of the donor agency.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) places a priority on the strengthening of institutional development and research capacity, and states that "this policy priority has important long-term implications for the DMC's [developing member countries] autonomy in shaping and promoting the national development process across all sectors of economy, administration and even politics" (ADB, 1988:72). It is interesting that ADB considers an individual country's autonomy dependent on research capacity. The significance of a technocratic elite who can formulate national policy is endorsed by the experience of East Asian economic development (IDJ, 1994d). But in countries where international aid is indispensable, the funding for such specialised study is often not enough to do even minimal research. Hence, research in institutions such as universities should partly be supported from outside, ensuring that such research is directed to national development needs within the recipient country itself.

The second category of 'capacity' concerns *science and technology*. The DAC meeting on the role of science and technology in development co-operation held in 1990 discussed the assistance for establishing "the national capacity to manage technological change" (OECD, 1992a:19). Even if it is not possible for many developing countries to be producers of science and technology, it is essential for them to have adequate capacity in selecting and adapting imported technologies to local environments. Japan

was a mere consumer of Western science and technology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Today it is a leading country in these areas. For example, in 1877 the University of Tokyo, which was the only university in Japan, used one-third of its budget for the payment of expatriates (Kobayashi, 1980:683). The Rockefeller Foundation, which has abundant experience of assistance to university development, comments that the number of those who are involved in science and technology are not yet enough (Coleman with Court, 1993:363). One of the findings in the research on the high-level manpower needs of development in Southeast Asia conducted by UNESCO and the International Association of Universities in the 1960s was that if "economic development is to take place ..., growing from existing patterns and skills rather than the blanket imposition of Western organizations and practices, there must be a corresponding reaction from educational development" (UNESCO and IAU, 1967:130). This shows that many Asian countries who have achieved rapid economic development have always attempted not only to learn science and technology from others, but also to adjust such knowledge to the circumstances of their own individual countries. Thus, there is a minimum level of science and technology capacity for each country's national needs, and this is a prerequisite for economic development.

Capacity building cannot be achieved through basic education alone and proper higher education plays a significant role to create it. The higher education systems of newly industrialising countries in East Asia seem to play a vital role in generating new scientific and technological knowledge and manpower (Singh, 1991b). Nevertheless, if research and teaching in African universities is constrained, how will it be possible to stop the widening science and technology gap between many African countries and industrialised countries? Since the late 1980s the World Bank, which is the most influential donor in African development today, has supported the reform of higher education rather than the development of science and technology capacity in Africa (King, 1994a:8). The Bank's lending for science and technology is very small in Africa because much of Africa has neither extensive university nor industrial systems (Muskin, 1992:56). This implies that the Bank may assist African higher education in the fields of science and technology in the future if African universities are actively involved in the process of industrial development (ibid.:58). For many countries in Africa, higher education reform, merely based on economic efficiency, is not enough, and reform targeted at the improvement of science and technological capacity is essential.

Yet the current discussion about science and technology seems to be biased towards industrialisation. Is this the only way for many African countries to develop? Is the agricultural university not also a centre of scientific and technological development? There seems to be a tendency to attach little importance to agriculture, which is fundamental to development, especially in Africa. The experience of newly industrialising countries, as well as developed countries, shows that "a diversified economy with a large industrial sector can hardly be achieved unless a modern, broad-based, and highly productive agricultural sector is built up" (South Commission, 1990:85). Economic progress in East Asia, for example, is not merely based on industrialisation, but agricultural production has also grown more rapidly than in any other region (World Bank, 1993:32). If the role of the African university in the development of science and technology is only for the purpose of industrialisation (Mohamedbhai, 1994), it might be necessary to re-examine the role of science and technology in much of Africa. The contribution of such knowledge is not narrowly limited to industry. Agriculture is also a dominant field for the utilisation of science and technology.

The linkage between basic education and higher education

Many researchers often separate higher education from basic education. However, some of those who actually learn in school proceed to the higher levels of education, and there is a definite connection between the education subsectors. If primary school enrolment is expanded, it is likely that the demand for higher education, as well as secondary school, will also increase within a decade or so. Many argue that primary schooling should be a priority area, but few can predict what will happen after expansion at the primary level and thus what should be done next. This may prove that much educational research has not been conducted in a long-term perspective, although education is widely regarded as long-term investment. Linkages should be made in terms of student's educational achievements. Teachers in institutions of higher education often think that students' performance is poor since they do not acquire sufficient knowledge at secondary school. In a similar way secondary teachers often attribute students' poor results to the poor quality of teaching at primary school. Hinchliffe (1987:1) clearly points out the close linkage between the education subsectors, and states that:

> The separate levels of education form one whole system with graduates of each feeding the next and to a certain extent determining the quality at that level. What can be achieved at each level depends in part on what was achieved at the previous one. Flows also occur in the opposite direction as graduates of higher levels become teachers at lower levels and again, in part, determine the quality of that education. In these ways the various levels of education are complementary. In other ways, however, they may be competitive in that they may each compete for a share of a given educational budget. In such a case, any expansion of a given level leads to a lower degree of expansion elsewhere than could otherwise have been attained.

The World Declaration on Education for All, which has influenced aid policies, states that "sound basic education is fundamental to the strengthening of higher levels of education" (WCEFA, 1990b: preamble). However, at the same time, the Declaration, which appears to only focus on basic education, claims that:

> Societies should also insure a strong intellectual and scientific environment for basic education. This implies improving higher education and developing scientific research. Close contact with contemporary technological and scientific knowledge should be possible at every level of education (WCEFA, 1990b:Article 8).

Moreover, a UNESCO policy paper for higher education claims that:

> It [education for all] goes hand in hand with the concern for the renewal and advancement of education at all levels and with the need to reappraise and reform the education system as a whole. In this latter respect, as repeatedly emphasized in this document, higher education acquires a particularly important role because it is through its enhancement that conditions are created for progress in education at all other levels (UNESCO, 1993b:25).

These statements still disregard the appropriate valuation of higher education for the expansion and improvement of basic education. In particular, the importance of teacher training at higher education institutions is not treated as a significant issue. By contrast, the Asian Model, which shows perspectives of educational development in Asia for 1965-80 in collaboration with UNESCO, gives the highest priority to teacher training, and argues that "in the Model the supply, qualification, and training of teachers for different levels and types of education are treated as crucial factors in determining the rate of expansion and the balance between expansion and quality" (UNESCO, 1966:91). Although the basic educational target in Asia in 1960s was universal primary education, "concentration on primary education at the expense of other levels has, inevitably, an adverse effect on the quality of primary education itself" (Miller, 1968:7). This linkage between primary education and other levels of education is suggested particularly in terms of teacher training in higher education institutions. The Meeting of Ministers of Education of Asian States held at Tokyo in

1962 affirmed, in the first place, "the need for balanced development of education at all levels, with the expansion of secondary and higher levels..." (UNESCO, 1966:21). Recently, Thailand has stressed the importance of the development of qualified teachers in higher education institutions (Wiratchai, 1992:726). This emphasis on teacher training in Asia contrasts with the absence of emphasis placed on such training in both the World Declaration on Education for All and the UNESCO policy.

The current views from the World Bank tend to ignore the direct linkage between higher and basic education and could suggest that the expansion of basic education has been hindered by costs allocated to higher education institutions. In the context of budgetary constraints, the subsectors of education seem to be competing rather than complementary to one another. What is necessary today is the formulation of a well-balanced policy relevant to national needs and culture with a long-term perspective in the context of limited public budgets. The capacity to produce such a policy also depends on the outputs of higher education. UNESCO (1993b:1) argues that "UNESCO's policy has been, and is, to underline the responsibility of higher education towards the other levels of education and its importance in any comprehensive plans for social and economic development." In the next section, the discussion focuses on whether current criticism of higher education is based on an in-depth assessment of the role of higher education or not.

(2) Criticism of higher education

There were a series of critiques of higher education in the 1970s, when many African countries established their own universities. Such criticisms were, however, directed primarily towards the irrelevance of higher education to the requirements of African development rather than to its high costs: "The philosophy, curricula, and structure of African universities are still predominately importations, ill-adapted to the socioeconomic realities of Africa and, therefore, manifestly irrelevant to the needs and problems of the people" (Thompson and Fogel, 1976:145-6). The academic performance of African universities was not a serious problem at that period (King, 1991a:244). The current concerns about higher education since the late 1980s have been its high costs and inefficiency, and universities in Africa have again become a target for cuts. The case for continuing high levels of funding to African universities is

further hampered by the reality of high illiteracy rates in the region. It is worth noting that these critiques are often raised by lending agencies like the World Bank and it may well be that they are biased towards macroeconomic reform rather than educational development itself.

The current criticisms of higher education may be characterised by the statement of a Vice President of the World Bank: "Public subsidies as a proportion of unit costs of higher education often far exceed the subsidies to primary and secondary education" (Choksi, 1994:vii). That is, governments have over-used their educational budgets for higher education in order to nurture a small elite. Three key aspects of these criticisms: high costs, poor quality and inequity, must therefore be examined.

Costs

Has higher education really consumed too much money in developing countries? According to UNESCO (1993a:104), public current expenditure per student at the higher level on the basis of GNP per capita shows that developing countries, especially African countries, disproportionately allocate much more to higher education than developed countries. This data often reinforces the argument that higher education is extremely costly in Africa. To put it more strongly, "it could be said that higher education in general and universities in particular are obstacles rather than agents for economic development" (Saha, 1991:251). However, on the basis of the percentage of GNP invested in higher education, there is no evidence that developing countries allocate greater amounts of their resources than developed countries (Tilak, 1993). Moreover, "on average, the expenditure per student in absolute figures is ten times lower in the developing countries than in the industrialized ones" (UNESCO, 1993b:5).

High costs per student on the basis of GNP seem, to some extent, reasonable given that the number of students in such developing countries as Africa is still very small, in comparison to developed countries. In developing countries, the small number of graduates in a variety of disciplines must be produced and, naturally, such unit costs become high because of low teacher-student ratios. The salaries of academic staff may have to be determined partly based on international standards in order to retain such staff within a country. Moreover, the facilities and equipment (and often academic staff

as well) needed for higher education are largely importations from developed countries and as a result become unavoidably expensive.

Even though the high costs are to some extent inevitable, cost-recovery may be essential under the current fiscal constraints. Cost reduction measures through the diversification of funding such as user charges have already been introduced in many African countries under the structural adjustment programme. However, in a situation where a government cannot collect adequate money from its taxation system because of economic stagnation, it is also difficult for students' families to pay the additional school fees. Thus, excellent secondary school leavers from poor families might be discouraged to proceed to higher education institutions. Even if the benefits obtained from fees can be used to maintain and improve educational facilities, the quality of entrants can also deteriorate and as a result the quality of graduates could be reduced. Do the ill-effects of user charges always outweigh the benefits generated from fees? Few studies have been carried out on this in the specific social and economic context of such developing countries as are to be found in Africa.

Quality

It is not easy to measure the quality of higher education. It may largely stand for the quality of outputs, which is determined by that of the inputs: teaching staff, facilities and entrants themselves. Those inputs also determine the quality of research, which is another important element for higher education. To improve the quality of graduates and research, it is essential to improve the quality of those three inputs.

It is interesting that the quality of academic staff in higher education has not been critically assessed, while primary and secondary school teachers are often mentioned as a major factor of educational quality. Measures which need to be taken in order to teach efficiently and effectively are not discussed in the Bank higher education paper (Entwistle, 1994:32), and many study papers concerning the reform of higher education also show little interest in this. Is it because the quality of academic staff in universities is assured? Are all of them good at teaching? If the graduates of African universities are not adequate in quality (World Bank, 1988:72), the way of improving the quality of academic staff should be discussed because the quality of graduates mostly depends on that of teaching staff.

Facilities and equipment are other key inputs. It is costly to improve them and it is not easy to use them efficiently with a relatively small number of students. The common method to raise cost-effectiveness is mass production of graduates, but this may lead to the further deterioration of educational quality. Taking more entrants can cause the quality of entrants to deteriorate unless the number of secondary school leavers increases. Even if quality is maintained, the unemployment problem could occur in the context of a stagnating economy.

Finally, the quality of entrants depends on secondary school teaching. If the number of entrants decreases, quality may improve. However, in this case the facilities may not be used effectively. As a whole, there may be no breakthrough in the question of quality unless additional investments are made, or unless the quality of academic staff is remarkably improved in terms of teaching and research.

Equity

Places for higher education are often occupied by the children from high-income families and the current subsidised system ensures that "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer" (World Bank, 1988:77). This is the basis of the equality argument. A projected scenario might be that the rich pay fees and the poor benefit from loans, but research has shown that the results of such loan schemes simply cause high administrative costs and high default rates. Even if such schemes are established and function efficiently, they may benefit only the students from affluent families, since the economically disadvantaged families are unlikely to take a financial risk (Colclough, 1995). Furthermore, this argument about loans seems to be based on the premise that all the students will get high salaries and become rich in the future. If poor but able students have loans and then they cannot get jobs, what will happen to the students in the future? In effect, scholarships solely targeted at poor students may work more effectively and efficiently than loans if the equity issue is really considered. Finally, the World Bank (1994a:11-12) states that "ultimately, equity cannot be achieved in higher education unless women, low-income youths, and other disadvantaged subgroups of the population have access to good-quality public education at the preschool, primary, and secondary levels." This illustrates that inequity cannot be solved in the higher education sector alone.

Many of the difficulties examined so far have not been solved at the level of higher education. It is probably inappropriate to handle them only from the perspective of higher education development. The problems concerning quality and equity may be exaggerated at this level, but the causes are often found in the lower levels of education. Although some reform is necessary in higher education, it should be co-ordinated with reform at other levels of education. Frequently the benefits of higher education cannot be quantified and thus are undervalued. While economic efficiency and equity are given priority, could major roles of higher education in national development be lost? In the next section, some East Asian ideas for African higher education can be considered.

(3) The Asian experience and the African reality

There is a significant contrast between East Asia and Africa. While one is achieving remarkable economic growth, the other is suffering from severe economic stagnation. The World Bank has published a report on the "East Asian miracle", with an analysis of high-performing East Asian economies (World Bank, 1993). In line with this publication, the seminar on African development strategies - Can the Asian miracle be repeated in Africa? - was held in Tokyo in March 1994, under the joint auspices of the Ministry of Finance of Japan, the IMF and the World Bank. On the other hand, the Bank report on higher education in 1994 used many examples from East Asia to illustrate successful practices. Strategies for reform, primarily suggested by the Bank, are explored in the African context from the viewpoint of East Asia in the following paragraphs.

The World Bank proposals

World Bank policy has had significant impact on the policies of other aid agencies as well as those of many developing countries, particularly in the days of widespread structural adjustment programmes. It is expected that other donors support such programmes led by the Bank and the IMF. Therefore, it is necessary and essential to examine the Bank's views before exploring international aid for higher education. It is possible to explore the Bank's current concerns about higher education through the 1994 report. Three key aspects of strategies for reform raised by the Bank:

privatisation, cost-sharing and decentralisation, are discussed below. Are there lessons from which many developing countries can learn?

-Privatisation-

The first strategy for reform examined here is privatisation. The development of private institutions appears to be one of the most powerful ways to respond to social demand at little public cost. The World Bank (1994a:34) states that "they [private institutions] can respond efficiently and flexibly to changing demands of students and changing labor market conditions." This seems to overestimate the market mechanism. Even in the West, there is no evidence that any higher education institution developed properly under such mechanisms alone (Schwartzman, 1992:974). According to the Bank data, for example, the Philippines has the greatest share of enrolment in private higher education institutions (World Bank, 1994a:35). Although this might not put a burden on public budgets, those institutions are often called "diploma mills" and have produced low-cost graduates in the field of commerce and liberal arts who are not necessarily corresponding to economic demand. Such private institutions in the Philippines may even be "commercial ventures" (UNESCO and IAU, 1965:62). Many of them have contributed to the deterioration of quality in higher education (Cortes, 1992:566). In short, this dominance of private institutions is a colonial legacy of America, and it is questionable whether the system is actually appropriate for the Philippines today. Above all, the Philippines is the least developed country in East Asia. In India, the condition of private institutions is similar to the Philippines and, moreover, they are largely publicly funded (Tilak, 1995). In contrast to the Bank's belief, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) states that "only a few industrialized countries, including the United States, rely on a significant private education sector, and no empirical evidence exists which indicates that private schools are more cost-effective than public schools or that private schools produce higher scholastic achievement" (ADB, 1988:50).

As has been suggested, the World Bank appears to be biased towards economic efficiency rather than quality. Drawing on East Asian studies, the Bank states that "while there are certainly quality differences between public and private institutions, such wide differences in cost per student cannot be explained simply on quality grounds, and indeed all the country studies give examples or evidence of inefficient

use of resources by public institutions" (Woodhall, 1992:32). What is missing in this argument is the fact that the majority of private institutions provide social science or humanities courses which are naturally less costly than science and engineering courses. The costs largely depend on the nature of courses rather than efficient use of resources. From any knowledge of Japanese national universities, the cost per student in a science programme is several times higher than that of a social science programme, mainly because science courses need much more costly equipment and class size is generally smaller. Private institutions are not necessarily more efficiently managed than public ones in Japan. The important issue may not be private versus public, but may lie in the administrative management of institutions.

-Cost-sharing-

The second strategy for reform is cost-sharing. Cost-sharing with students is the prime means of cost recovery. It is reasonable that students pay for tuition fees, but what is the impact of this on low-income families? For example, many poor families may invest in primary and secondary education because university education is free. The enrolments to secondary school might be maintained, in part, by free education in university. Many countries have already withdrawn fee-free university, paying little attention to the impact of the present-day social structure and the rest of the education system (King, 1991a:258). Student loan schemes and scholarship programmes appear to be definite alternatives for poor but qualified students. However, their results are not encouraging at all. It is also claimed that "it would be extremely unfortunate if poor developing countries felt forced to rely on private investments in this essential field" (Olsson, 1994:55). In Malawi, for example, where tuition fees have been introduced as part of the structural adjustment programme, the amount recovered is only 2 per cent of university budgets (Woodhall, 1992:27). Is the subsidisation of fees in higher education an economic evil? ADB (1988:52) states that:

> In summary, the privatization and cost-recovery approaches will only lessen the pressure on public budgets to a limited degree and might entail, at the same time, unpredictable political risks. However, if the specific historical, cultural, economic and political situation of a DMC [developing member country] is carefully taken into account, this path could still provide some budgetary relief.

This statement suggests the importance of considering the social, economic and political implications of cost-recovery and privatisation before measures are actually

introduced. This has not been carried out in much of Africa.

-Decentralisation-

Lastly, decentralisation, as a strategy for reform, is often discussed in the context of efficient management and administration. It might also relate to the notion of democracy. In terms of a Western concept, decentralisation may be equated with democracy, while the Eastern cultures, such as China and Japan, think more of uniformity and conformity. The idea of decentralisation in non-Western countries may not work as efficiently as in Western states. In the situation where institution-building, such as the development of education systems, is still in progress, as in many African nations, centralisation might be more appropriate. The Chinese experience of higher education reforms has effectively shown the critical role the state can play (Cheng, 1995). Similar examples are found in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The higher education system in Taiwan is characterised by centralised administration and its organisation has contributed to maintain the standard of higher education (Wu et al., 1989). In Hong Kong, the role of government has been critical to the development of the higher education sector (Wu, 1992). In the case of Japan, under the American occupation in the 1940s, Americans viewed the Japanese education system to be too centralised and attempted to decentralise it, but failed to do so because of a central bureaucratic tradition (Jones, 1992a:965).

Another aspect of decentralisation may relate to university autonomy and academic freedom. As UNESCO (1993b:17) states:

> Recent history has provided strong evidence of the need to defend the principles of university autonomy and academic freedom as a *sine qua non* for the normal functioning and the very existence of higher education institutions. On the other hand, the entire socio-economic environment compels higher education institutions to build up ties and partnerships with every sector of society. It is for the above reasons that the governments should accord the proper degree of autonomy - together with adequate financial provision - to higher education institutions in order to allow them to be relevant and perform their creative, reflective and critical functions in society.

In the early stages of Japanese development, the university played a crucial role in acquiring Western knowledge, following a strong government initiative (Kobayashi, 1980) when there seemed to be no autonomy or freedom in the university in Japan. The Japanese Government fully utilised the potential of the university for

development. It is stated that "in its initial stages [of development] the Japanese university functioned as a tool for introducing Western cultures and techniques and for assimilating these into Japan" (ibid.:690). In contrast to the substantial contributions of the Japanese university throughout the period of development, much of Africa has not seen any such improvements. "Government has no clearcut policies on how best to use the products and resources of the university" (Ajayi et al., 1994). This may have partly resulted from the Western principle of the university which resists government intervention. In Thailand and Taiwan, for example, where economic progress and industrialisation are remarkable, there has been little university autonomy (Teichler et al., 1991:37). It may be argued that the government should go hand in hand with the university especially at the early stages of development in Africa if the East Asian experience is transferable.

As ADB concludes, "decentralization as such is not an automatic solution, unless decision-making reflects a clearly defined division of responsibility between different levels of the system and is accompanied by the means to implement decisions" (ADB, 1988:47). This view, from an Asian perspective, contrasts with the stance of the World Bank stating that "decentralization of all key management functions ... to higher education institutions themselves is a sine qua non for successful reform, especially with respect to funding diversification and more efficient use of resources" (World Bank, 1994a:64). The World Bank report scarcely illustrates the important role played by the government in the United States and European countries (Olsson, 1994:54). Despite this, it is possible that such reform came about almost exclusively through strong government initiative (Watson, 1995:130). However, if the World Bank had considered the East Asian higher education systems as successful examples, it should have clearly emphasised the central role of the sate in higher education development.

It is interesting that the two banks' views for educational reform are quite different. There are another two examples which illustrate this difference. First, the World Bank report hardly suggests any extra finance, while the ADB report states the necessity of "a significant mobilization of additional funds" (ADB, 1988:50). Secondly, the World Bank strongly pursues economic efficiency such as cost-effectiveness applying the "particular prism" (Court, 1995:118), while ADB (1988:17) notes that "as far as education development is concerned, because of the complex cultural and intersectoral function of education as outlined above, the determination of relevant foci for

development assistance cannot, and should not, be done on purely economic grounds." These vastly different perspectives could partly result from the difference between American rationale and Asian realism. Which perspective is more appropriately transferable to many African states?

The basic differences between Africa and Asia

Many countries of both Africa and Asia experienced colonialism. Have they been prevented from developing their own higher education systems? Current higher education systems in East Asia were mainly influenced by the USA, while those in Africa were influenced by the UK and France. The two regions may differ in the nature of their political regimes and the speed of economic growth. Most Asian countries did not borrow much in the 1970s in order to invest in development, compared to African countries which are heavily in debt today (ADB, 1988:11).

Many East Asian countries attempted to establish their own higher education systems relevant to local needs and cultures, as soon as the period of colonialism came to an end in the 1940s. In Malaysia, for example, the original elitist British university was significantly modified to make it more relevant to local needs and one of the most important changes was a shift in the medium of instruction from English to the local language (Selvaratnam, 1985). Although English remains an important means of worldwide communication, many East Asian countries have shifted from Western languages to national languages in higher education as well (Altbach, 1989:10).

Korea as well as Japan was also influenced by the Western countries in the late nineteenth century. In particular, Japan borrowed a lot of ideas on higher education from them in the 1870s and 1880s, and eventually adopted many from Germany, while making an effort to develop a truly Japanese system (Jones, 1992a:961). Korea drew mainly on American ideas (Lee, 1989). Both countries positively and selectively attempted to learn from the West. Thailand was not colonised, but it sought advice from France, UK, Germany and the USA (Altbach, 1989:20). Its university development was centrally controlled and the Thai language was used from the outset. They were always trying to adapt those Western models to local cultures and national needs, treating them as a source of information for the development of their own plans and producing indigenised systems of higher education. Moreover, many East Asian

countries were able to make their own decisions without the intervention of others.

By contrast, most African countries have used metropolitan languages in the university. Often higher education systems were transplanted without necessary adjustment to local conditions. Mamdani (1993:11) claims that:

> The new post-independence African university was triumphantly universalistic and uncompromisingly foreign. We made no concession to local culture. None! We stood as custodians of standards in outposts of civilisation. Unlike our counterparts in Asia and Latin America, we did not even speak the cultural languages of the people. The language of the university was either English, French or Portuguese. As in the affairs of the state, the discourse of universities also took place in a language that the vast majority of working people could not even understand. There was a linguistic curtain that shut the people out.

The language problem poses not just the issue of instruction. It involves values and a way of thinking which come from a Western tradition and which may not be so suitable to indigenous cultures. The social services offered by higher education institutions are often provided in the form of a foreign language, which the majority of the population cannot understand. The language issue, as well as the adaptation of the Western models to local circumstances, is the fundamental difference between East Asia and Africa. Jones (1992a:959) notes that:

> Where there is no universal or widely spoken native tongue as in Papua New Guinea or parts of Africa, adoption of a "world" language may be inevitable. However, understanding of the immense and continuous influence of language is shown in ex-colonial countries by the massive efforts, in South East Asia for example, to replace the colonial language with an indigenous tongue in higher education.

Yet it is extremely difficult to know where African higher education institutions, especially universities, should look to solve the problem of such adaptation in the context of the fiscal constraint. Mamdani (1993:19) states that "the real challenge for all of us ... is to begin thinking of how to root African universities in African soil." This present-day challenge might be emerging too late, while it may in part have been caused, ironically, by many developed countries through the channels of international aid. Strong donor policy may well have prevented countries from developing their own policy. Many African states have not been able to become independent in reality because they are still using the languages of their colonial states. Kobayashi (1980:688) examines the linkage between the university and technical revolution in Japan, and states that:

> At first the content and medium of instruction were totally Western but, as technical terms were increasingly applied to actual situations, Japanization of Western science and technology ensued. In this connection, Japan was fortunate in having maintained her independence from the very early stage of development onward. Thus, it was possible for her to Westernize selectively and on her own terms and according to her specific needs.

This argues for the importance of actual independence in order to adapt Western science and technology to Japanese specific requirements. Is this kind of freedom assured for many African states? As suggested above, the other difference between Asia and Africa might be the real autonomy of the state in formulating national policies.

African realities

The basic differences between Africa and East Asia have been examined, as have the three key options of higher education reform suggested by the World Bank (i.e. privatisation, cost-sharing and decentralisation). Those banking options are based on the lessons from 'best practice' mostly observed in East Asia and, therefore, may not be directly transferable to many countries in their specific circumstances. It may be widely recognised that "such success would be contingent upon favourable political and economic circumstances, and would not be easily transferable for replications elsewhere" (Girdwood, 1995:46). However, the problem is not just political or economic in Africa. Are the three options given by the Bank relevant to the reality of higher education in African countries? Do they have valuable implications for Africa? The main aims of the Bank seem to be high-cost but cost-effective African universities. There appear to be three challenges to higher education in Africa and it is possible to explore whether such options are appropriate for Africa.

First, many African states have only one or a few universities in each country. Hence, the role of the African government is naturally different from that of other governments who administer a number of universities. Why establish private institutions in the countries where many students are unable to pay substantial tuition fees? Cost-sharing with students is the easiest method to recover public educational costs, but does it have detrimental effect on the rest of the education system and needy students as discussed above? Is decentralisation an efficient way to produce a small elite for the principal needs of the state? Is the autonomy of the university so important at the early stage of higher education development? The Bank report gives little

suggestion about "what went well where under what circumstances" (Olsson, 1995:243). It should be argued that the African university is a think-tank of the state and that the active utilisation of the university by the government is critical for development.

Secondly, management and administrative capacity are not yet well developed. Cost-recovery measures, when they are targeted at the reduction of government funds without full consideration of the use of such savings, may lower the quality of higher education and an effective management system is crucial (Hinchliffe, 1987:162). Without such capacity, cost-recovery methods, such as loan programmes, do not alleviate government burdens (Albrecht and Ziderman, 1991). A minimal standard of administration is a prerequisite to implement such reforms, and such capacity is often unavailable in many African states today (Court, 1995:113). Where even the capacity of the central government is limited in much of Africa, decentralisation may not be able to function effectively.

Lastly, the modern private sector is generally small in Africa. Most graduates are absorbed in the public sector. The role of the government may naturally differ from that in the countries where the private sector is extensive. Many people may think that social services such as education are the responsibility of the state, as in the UK and France. In particular, British higher education is characterised by extensive public funding (Eustance, 1992:760). It is uncertain whether the World Bank's suggestions, which may be dominated by American belief, can function effectively in the countries where education systems have mostly evolved from British and French colonial systems. In Kenya the percentage of enrolment in private institutions is the highest (some 5 per cent) in Africa. These institutions are small religious colleges and the selection of entrants is often based on "ability to pay fees and religious commitment" (Mwiria and Hughes, 1992:392). This is contrary to any equity consideration. Although Nigeria is one of the few countries which has encouraged the establishment of private institutions in the past, this policy has been reversed in order to assure the quality of higher education (Hinchliffe, 1987:97). There is no private institution today in Nigeria where higher education systems are the most extensively developed in Africa (Fafunwa, 1992). Therefore, it is questionable that a Western theory of market mechanisms can fulfill their functions in the education sector of Africa.

From the East Asian experience, many African countries may be able to draw new ideas for the further development of higher education systems. What is the role of Japanese aid to higher education in Africa? Has Japan fully contributed to higher education in this region? In the next section, I explore possible avenues for Japanese aid to higher education in Africa.

4.2 Japanese Aid to Higher Education in Africa

Japanese aid for higher education has largely focused on building science and technological capacity. However, the development of science and technology is only one of a number of roles played by higher education. It may be necessary for Japan to widen the scope of higher education rather than concentrate on the specific technological field. This shift will help further contributions of Japan to Africa .

As discussed above, there are significant contrasts between Africa and Asia in terms of the process of higher education development. Hence Africa may be able to draw important ideas from the Asian experience. If Japan can positively contribute to higher education in Africa, it may need to utilise the East Asian experience of higher education development more fully. In this section Japanese aid to higher education is first reviewed and then possible avenues for Japanese aid to higher education in Africa are examined. How can Japan positively contribute to higher education development in Africa in ways that explore its comparative advantage?

(1) Japanese aid to higher education

Japanese aid has been concentrated on higher levels of education as has aid from many other bilateral donors. From the viewpoint of recipient countries, the dominance of the higher education sector is probably because such education generally requires substantial capital investment and relatively specialised technology both of which are not locally available. Besides, this trend could result from the reality that aid to higher education assures greater returns to Japan (especially private firms) through, for example, the provision of costly equipment and facilities. Hence the aid priority has been generally greater in higher education than basic education. Japan has focused on higher education in Asia in the areas of science, engineering, agriculture and medicine,

because of Japan's own geographical location and its traditional strengths in these fields.

But there are some extensive higher education projects in Africa as well: e.g. the Medical Institute of Ghana University (1968-), the Jomo Kenyatta University College of Agriculture and Technology (JKUCAT) in Kenya (1978-) and the Medical Department of Zambia University (1980-). In newly industrialising countries of East Asia, for example, JICA implements six educational projects in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. The oldest and on-going project is the King Mong Kut's Institute of Technology, Ladkrabang (KMITL) in Thailand, which dates back to 1960. By examining two projects, JKUCAT and KMITL, some features of Japanese higher education projects may emerge.

Firstly, in general, both projects were initially oriented to vocational and technical training rather than higher education in the early stages, though they are universities today. They have put more emphasis on practical knowledge and technology than on academic theory. Secondly, although JICA cannot initially commit itself to long-term co-operation (more than five years), the duration of co-operation has eventually become much longer. These projects have been developed and expanded step-by-step with an increase in the number of trained counterparts, and Japanese activities at the initial stages greatly differ from those at present. KMITL, for example, had only 23 trainees and 20 staff in 1961 and was called a Telecommunication Training Centre, but it now has about 7,000 students and some 500 staff. Thirdly, both projects are trying to transfer the knowledge and technology accumulated in each country to neighbouring countries through the implementation of regional training courses. Fourthly, the co-operation stressed is not only of a technical capacity, but also administrative and management capacity. This was particularly a case in JKUCAT where there was little foundation or precedent for administrative and management capability. Lastly, technical exchange between projects such as between JKUCAT and KMITL has been promoted.

In short, Japanese aid for higher education may be characterised by the stress on practical and applied knowledge and long-term co-operation. In the following paragraphs, Japanese perspectives and policy for higher education can be examined in more detail.

Policy

Many aid agencies now tend to increase their emphasis on basic education, as a result of the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 (see section 3.1 (2)). In this regard, Japan also follows this mainstream approach of the donor community. However, Japanese policy has not shifted from higher to basic education, but continues "to emphasize assistance aimed at improving basic education as well [as high-level education and training]" (Japan, 1994a:161). Higher education continues to be given priority in its aid policy because "to maintain a balance among them [basic education, vocational and technical training, and higher education], the whole picture of educational status in the recipient country must be taken into account, and aid must be implemented according to the current stage of that country's educational development" (JICA, 1994a:40). Further, "higher education is directly related to industrial development and the people's welfare, and has an important significance for nation building" (ibid.:43). Although JICA stresses the importance of higher education for industrial development and nation building, there is little systematic analysis of higher education in the context of education as a whole. In particular, this policy conversely seems to show that aid to higher education in much of Africa, where literacy rates are still very low, is not appropriate.

By contrast, the UK and the Netherlands are two examples of bilateral donors who clearly put great emphasis on basic education alongside a reduced priority placed on higher education. They carefully stress and justify the traditional support for higher education even in the least developed countries in two ways. One concerns capacity building and the other relates to linkage with basic education, both of which have been discussed above (see section 4.1 (1)). First, the UK stresses that "teachers, supervisors and other professional personnel servicing basic education need to be trained at the tertiary level; in many Sub-Saharan African countries there remains a chronic shortage of scientifically literate and technologically competent graduate personnel" (ODA, 1994:6). Secondly, the Netherlands emphasises strengthening capacity and education systems, and states that "higher-education activities will be used more to help strengthen education as a whole, in such areas as teacher training, the development of curricula and materials, educational research (e.g. into gender issues) and policy development" (Netherlands, 1993:65-66).

Another Japanese policy which contrasts with other donors is assistance in the form of scholarship programmes. Many aid agencies have generously provided donor funds for overseas study, especially for study in the countries providing the funds, but the current policy in general has now shifted to stress the significance of in-country or regional training because of the problems of brain drain, relevance and local capacity building (King, 1991a:261-2). This is not only a donor perspective. Also from an African viewpoint, it is recommended that high-level training should be implemented locally and overseas training should be selective in order to strengthen local capacity and to acquire relevant knowledge for local needs (Maliyamkono et al, 1982:283). By contrast, Japan is attempting to increase the number of foreign students studying in Japan targeting one hundred thousand by the year 2000, under the leadership of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (Monbusho) (Japan, 1991:520). Based on the current situation, the target is within easy reach (Okamoto, 1993:14). The budgets for Government scholarship programmes have increased remarkably. In JFY 1994 such budgets increased at the rate of 14 per cent compared with the previous year (IDJ, 1994a:76). This is a great expansion, since the overall aid budgets increased by 5 per cent. The purpose of this scholarship policy appears to be based on the internationalisation of Japanese society as well as the commitment to assist others develop qualified manpower. This policy, distinctly different to those of many other donors, is appropriate in the sense that those scholars largely come from neighbouring Asian countries (some three-quarters). There is no significant gap between the recipient countries and Japan in the level of technology required - unlike the great difference between much of Africa and Europe.

To promote scholarship programmes for study in Japan may have been criticised that "Japan is using them to develop its own economy and to maintain political relationships with local elites in recipient countries" (Hotta, 1991:490). However, in reality, the Japanese policy is not promoting training in Japan as South-South co-operation has been emphasised (see section 2.1 (3)). This is also supported by the evidence that JICA has expanded its regional training in developing countries more rapidly than training in Japan. Probably this contradiction is caused by the reality that Japanese aid policy formulated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is hardly co-ordinated with other ministries, such as Monbusho.

Perspective

Japanese aid for African higher education will continue to increase since Japan intends to expand the share of educational aid and probably aid for Africa in its total bilateral assistance. The technical exchange between Africa and Asia with Japanese aid may well be promoted based on the current popular discourse on the "East Asian Miracle" and its application to Africa. Such an exchange may be also supported in the context of the technical co-operation among developing countries (South-South co-operation). It is also necessary that the JICA policy driven by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is more closely co-ordinated with the Monbusho policy for the educational development of individual countries.

Although JICA has implemented several higher education projects in Africa, their presence has not been eagerly requested. Often, each recipient country in fact generally does not have a very clear view of the individual donor's aid priorities. Nevertheless, there is an indication that Africa may be attempting to learn lessons from the Asian experience. It is significant that some studies conducted by African researchers pay attention to the universities in East Asia, because they "seem to have succeeded in making themselves socially relevant" (Abegaz, 1994:19). Abegaz also states that:

> Selecting the most appropriate universities in Asia and finding workable mechanisms for interaction, and also developing ways of obtaining the required financial resources is a worthwhile challenge that African universities should consider facing... It would be very worthwhile for African countries to introduce cooperation in the area of higher education with these [newly industrialising] countries (Abegaz, 1994:19).

Finally, Abegaz (1994:32) claims that "African universities would benefit a lot from strengthened relations with universities in more developed countries other than those in Europe and North America." Some African countries could be now showing interest in higher education development in Asia.

(2) Possible avenues for Japanese aid to African higher education

There is general concern throughout the world about the process of rapid economic progress in East Asia. Consequently, some are interested in the education systems which may be the basis of such growth in the region. What is the problem identified in African higher education in contrast with lessons from Asian experience? What are the

implications of these lessons for Japanese aid?

The problems identified

There are two dimensions to the problem of considering Japanese aid for Africa: one concerns Japan and the other concerns Africa. The former relates to Japanese aid capacity, for example, its almost total lack of experience in Africa. Unlike the intimate linkage between Africa and Europe in terms of academic staff and historical background, Japan has scarcely any personal contacts there and, thereby, lacks background information in giving aid. Africa is far away for many Japanese mentally as well as geographically. Here the issues identified on the side of Africa are examined. It may be useful also to examine the Asian experience in the context of Africa. But such a viewpoint has been often marginalised in the current discourse among donor agencies.

There are four points on which more emphasis may be needed. First, there is no clear perspective about how the African government makes the most use of the potential of higher education institutions in the context of national development including capacity building. Without this perspective the investments in higher education may be wasted. Abegaz states that:

> It is an often stated fact that highest concentration of skills and intellectual personnel in Africa, unlike in the industrialized countries of the North, is concentrated in the Universities. It is therefore most unfortunate that the skill and knowledge available in our universities is, in most cases, underutilized. Many donor organizations , including the UN agencies, consider grant proposals more seriously only when prepared by overseas consultants. This is not to say that this approach is totally without merit. But often we find that these so called experts are not as knowledgeable about Africa's problems and solutions as some of our own people in our universities (Abegaz, 1994:8).

The stance of the government is important and the proper degree of government intervention is required. Otherwise, the argument for decentralisation and autonomy will be fruitless.

A second point relates to the first. Who formulates national education policy? It could have been the World Bank in the days of structural adjustment. In a certain sense the Bank may have interfered heavily in the domestic affairs of recipient countries and there has been no national sovereignty in much of Africa. The difference between

Africa and East Asia in their early stages of development is whether they were able to make their own decisions or not (IDJ, 1994d). Initially, educational policy may not have been formed through local initiative in Africa. This is also because of the lack of African capacity to formulate policy of their own. Africa may have put more emphasis upon manpower production than research and the utilisation of the research output (World Bank, 1988:70). The improvement of educational research capacity is now a critical matter so that Africa can formulate its own policies. The effective use of such capacity is the government's responsibility.

A third point is that the teacher training component of higher education in Africa is not still strongly emphasised. If there are implications for the Japanese experience in African education, it is that the government of Africa should give priority to teacher training for primary school and make the teaching professions more attractive. It is said that a high regard for education and especially teaching/teachers is a Japanese tradition, unlike many other countries. However, Japan continues to take measures to improve and retain teacher quality through teacher training. Moreover, educational costs of schooling children are largely borne by families in East Asia and this is especially in Japan.

One fourth point is that any discussion about science and technology capacity seems to be narrowly focused on resultant industrialisation. This view is connected to other spheres of education, for example, such capacity can relate as much to science and mathematics education in primary and secondary school as to higher education. Without improving education at lower levels, it cannot be anticipated that science and technology capacity will be enhanced at the level of higher education.

In the higher education sector the role of aid agencies is more critical in much of Africa than in many other regions (King, 1991a:265-6). The World Bank may potentially have an impact on higher education reform. However, the Bank policy makes few suggestions for bilateral donors to higher education development. It is noted that "the Bank has had extensive experience working with other multilateral and bilateral donors and it is surprising that the paper [World Bank, 1994a] does not have much to say about the lessons of this aspect of its own experience" (Court, 1995:118). Does the Bank expect other aid agencies to form a more comprehensive approach to aid policy to education in addition to the Bank's cost-effectiveness approach?

Implications for Japanese aid

Japanese aid policy for education is not concerned with any trade-off between basic education and higher education. Aid to higher education will continually expand in the future. In spite of the situation of "a further homogenisation of donor policy post-Jomtien" (McGrath, 1994:53), Japan still certainly places priority on higher education. If this is supported by Japanese confidence in the experience of giving aid to higher education in East Asia, an independent Japanese approach can be anticipated and fresh solutions to difficulties of providing education will be found. However, Japan needs to present sufficient research evidence, such as project evaluation reports, which are yet to be produced in an internationally-understood language. There is an absolute lack of information which can demonstrate the Japanese position clearly to other donor countries and multilateral agencies in educational aid. Through this positive stance, it may be possible for Japan to break a kind of Japanese closed system which has often resulted in Japanese alienation rather than contribution to the aid community. Higher education seems to be a suitable sector to convey Japanese knowledge and experience to other donors. Such expertise can be based on Japan's own experience and Japanese aid practice in East Asian countries.

From the discussion above, four main implications for Japanese aid to higher education in Africa are suggested. First, educational research in higher education institutions, possibly in universities, should be supported. There are two dimensions of this aid. One is, literally, to enhance its research capacity with the involvement of Japanese experts, but the other is to build up Japanese capacity in understanding African realities in education, which may enhance further Japanese aid in this area.

Secondly, more local researchers in those institutions should be involved in various studies. This is one of the most realistic ways to reflect local needs and values in the current development procedures, largely hitherto promoted by Northern aid agencies. This approach also enhances the research opportunities of local institutions and could improve the quality of higher education in Africa as a whole. Although there is some consensus of utilising local researchers in the aid community, Japan may contribute more actively to it, paying attention to the reality that each qualified local researcher alone has little impact on national policy and that loans as well as grants are often

provided based on the research conducted by Northern aid agencies.

Thirdly, teacher training should be substantially improved. In particular, the improvement of science and mathematics education can be an initial, target option, because this area of education in the lower levels is a prerequisite for further expansion of science and technological capacity in higher education as well as in the country as a whole. Japan may be able to contribute to the establishment of effective and efficient teacher training systems particularly in this sphere.

Lastly, Japan can play an important role by acting as a bridge between higher education institutions in Africa and Asia through technical exchanges. For example, some East Asian states such as South Korea and Thailand are small donors today as well as recipients of aid. Co-operation and co-ordination with those countries within Asia, who can also be encouraged to go to the assistance of Africa, may be worth considering in order to make maximum use of any Asian experience and expertise in the context of higher education development in Africa.

Japan has a great deal of experience and knowledge relating to aid to higher education in Asia and it has relatively recent experience of higher education development from its own history. If Japan merely provides its aid to higher education institutions in a traditional way (i.e. focusing on the technological field), it may not be using Japanese expertise to the full in an international perspective. If Japan can systematically organise its knowledge and experience which is currently concentrated in East Asian countries, its aid programmes may provide another fresh avenue for the development of higher education in Africa.

5. TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING (TVET)

It is widely agreed that the development of skilled manpower is a critical element for national development. Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) can make an important contribution to achieving this objective. However, it has a quite different aspect from the basic or higher education which has already been discussed. While basic education and higher education are categorised according to the level of education, TVET refers to curriculum content. Although TVET is often a component of secondary education or post-school vocational training, it is sometimes provided at a basic level as well. Even on-the-job training in a firm is included in the category of TVET. In addition, vocational training is often not under the sole jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, unlike formal education, so it must be viewed from industrial as well as economic angles. In these ways, TVET overlaps with other sectors such as industry as well as other subsectors of education. There are, therefore, various locations of TVET across several sectors: formal schools, post-school training institutions and enterprises. Probably because of this diversity, it is surprisingly difficult to get a comprehensive view of national skills training policy, while there are many documents about educational policy.

In spite of such heterogeneity, most debates among aid agencies about TVET in developing countries so far have tended to be simply concentrated on cost-effectiveness and labour market demands, which often show disappointing results. In academic discourse, TVET may have been at a disadvantage since Foster's vocational school fallacy, which argues that it is not curricula but the reality of employment opportunities which has an impact on students' job aspirations (Foster, 1965a).

On the other hand, a large proportion of educational aid was devoted to the TVET sector in the 1960s and 1970s (World Bank, 1974:50), when many agencies thought that TVET was a first step for developing countries towards industrialisation. Where TVET has largely depended on external aid (King, 1991a:71), the enthusiastic assistance in this period might influence national policy of individual countries on TVET. Since the early 1980s general aid policy towards TVET has drastically changed and the World Bank in particular has shown a critical attitude towards school-based

TVET (World Bank, 1980; World Bank, 1991a), from the viewpoint of cost-effectiveness in the later days of structural adjustment. For example, the Bank's assistance for diversified schools and secondary vocational schools was significantly scaled down in the late 1970s (Middleton, 1994:6662). However, what actually happened in much of Africa has been the reverse of such an aid policy: many Commonwealth developing countries, for example, have already adopted vocationally-oriented education by the introduction of prevocational subjects in the formal academic school curriculum (Coombe, 1988).

Japanese TVET could be characterised by the dominance of post-employment training (Lauglo, 1994). In Japanese schools, students are usually expected to acquire 'general' knowledge and even vocational schooling at the secondary level contains a significant element of general education. However, there are few complaints from employers alleging that education is too academic and remote from work. For the majority of the Japanese, there seems to be a clear demarcation line between work and school. There is almost no argument on the usefulness and relevance of knowledge acquired at school for work in Japan. Accordingly, Japanese aid for TVET has been mainly implemented in the form of post-school vocational training institutions, aid which could be easily packaged and exported, in order to produce middle-level technicians for the so-called demands of labour market. While Japan now places a higher priority on basic and higher education, TVET has been one of the key components of its educational aid and will continue to be a target of Japanese aid in the future. But Japanese aid policy for TVET seems to have been mainly based on empirical knowledge acquired in East Asia where some industrialisation has already been in progress and here in East Asian countries, to some extent, Japanese experience was directly transferable. By contrast, in much of Africa it is necessary for Japan to take a different approach, paying attention to the stage of economic development and industrialisation in each individual country. But it does not necessarily mean that both the Japanese and the East Asian experience are irrelevant to present-day Africa in terms of TVET. Rather, such experience may offer fruitful discussion and new lessons for mainstream aid policy. What, then, is the Japanese comparative advantage over other bilateral donors in the area of TVET? Has Japan utilised such advantage in its aid?

In this chapter, the mainstream (Western) discourses concerning TVET are critically analysed and the issues as to how Japan can contribute towards national development

in Africa through aid to TVET are explored. This chapter falls into two main parts. First, expectations and realities in TVET, the problems encountered in many developing countries and the trends of international aid for TVET are discussed. When necessary, Japanese experience is referred to in order to contrast it with Western-oriented discourse. Secondly, the perspectives of TVET in Africa and the Japanese experiences in contrast to the mainstream donor policy arguments as put forward, for example, by the World Bank policy, are explored. Following these, the implications for Japanese aid are examined and tentative approaches to be taken by Japan for aid to African TVET are tackled.

5.1 Aid Policy and Current Conditions

Many states appear to have somewhat excessive expectations of TVET especially as many are suffering from high-level youth unemployment. These expectations may partly come from the loss of confidence in the formal education system but the phenomenon can be observed both in developing countries and developed countries (Walford et al., 1988). On the other hand, it seems that TVET is sometimes regarded as an obstacle rather than a solution for overall educational development, due to its high costs. School-based TVET is often critically assessed in comparison to academic schooling; in-employment private training is often highly recommended in terms of economic effectiveness (World Bank, 1991a). Does this mean that the vocational school is not efficient enough to produce the skilled labour force needed? Should the responsibility of skills development largely be left to employers? It is necessary to examine the role of TVET, paying attention to individual countries' economic as well as educational circumstances, particularly, in much of Africa where the private sector has not been so developed. It should be noted that TVET cannot be handled as straightforwardly as formal school education.

(1) Expectations and realities in TVET

Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) often seems to have been oriented towards the development of a skilled workforce indispensable for national development. One of the greatest ideals for TVET may be said to be the smooth transition from school to work through its work-oriented education. That is, if TVET is able to assist students to become employed or self-employed by means of acquired

skills, it thereby reduces the numbers of unemployed. This kind of belief is the basis of a common strategy taken by many governments, while much of the criticism by aid agencies is aimed at high-cost TVET in economically less developed countries such as are found in much of Africa. Arguably such high costs should be taken for granted and research should go beyond cost-effectiveness analysis and economic labour demands. How can TVET effectively contribute to solving various economic and social problems under the current economic constraints?

Unemployment problems

The unemployment problem is a critical issue politically as well as economically. As long as it is mainly found among school leavers, educational authorities have a definite responsibility to work out approaches to alleviate it (Blaug, 1973). The fundamental cause of the school-leaver unemployment phenomenon has been the imbalance between high rates of educational expansion and low rates of economic growth. However, many studies have pointed out that the primary factor of such unemployment is the mismatch between job expectations and job opportunities (Foster, 1965b; Emmerij, 1972; Blaug, 1973). In other words, students develop job aspirations which are too high and which are out of line with available job opportunities.

In this context, vocationalisation of education is a common approach taken by many governments to tackle such a problem. As for this reasoning, Middleton et al. (1993:4) argue that "providing vocational education is intuitively appealing, well understood by the public, and easy to carry out, especially compared with the more difficult steps needed to reform policies that limit economic and employment growth." However, vocational education does not seem to have had an impact on reducing youth unemployment. There is a contradiction in this: if the vocationalisation policy results from an unemployment problem, the national economy is stagnant; if the national economy is stagnant, it is hard for the government to bear the high unit costs required for vocationalisation.

There are two dimensions in this unemployment issue. One dimension is that many school leavers are rich enough to survive without their own income until they can find more appropriate jobs. This could be called "calculated unemployment" (Blaug et al.,

1969). In this case, it is often useless to attempt to modify the mismatch and to lead students to the real world of work through education. Many school leavers may prefer to be unemployed in order to seek modern and public sector jobs, even if they are highly competitive and well-qualified, rather than to be employed or self-employed in the informal sector. The second dimension is much worse: even if students adjust their job aspirations downwards, most of them cannot find any paid employment. What can educational measures do for this situation? Obviously, our prime concern is the latter. But we often confuse the first with the second and this may lead to a misjudgement as to the appropriate strategy of skills development. For example, skills training might have been provided to the students who are not interested in the skills-related jobs. It is crucial to distinguish 'calculated' unemployment with 'genuine' unemployment so as to identify suitable ways in which to provide TVET, particularly for the purposes of employment.

Informal sector jobs

It is generally considered that changes in the education system would not change the number of jobs in the formal economy. The basic conclusions of studies in the early 1980s were that education itself was not a solution to the unemployment problem (for example, Blaug, 1980; Carnoy, 1980; Woodhall, 1981). Many researchers at that time were likely to give up the educational solution and consider the problem a transitory problem of development. However, if education encourages the desire to take up self-employment in the informal sector and thereby to create jobs, education may partly be able to make a direct contribution to solving the unemployment problem (Blaug, 1973:54).

Recently the informal sector, particularly self-employment, has been emphasised by development planners and policymakers throughout developing countries. In Africa, for example, about half the new entrants to the labour force have to find their jobs in the informal sector, and the projections of employment point out that in 2020 some 34 per cent will be engaged in small and microenterprises in the informal sector, about 5 per cent will be employed in the modern wage sector, and 51 per cent in agriculture (World Bank, 1989:41). This suggests that jobs in the near future will be found in agriculture or in microenterprises, and most young people will have little choice but to prepare for work in the informal sector. However, too much emphasis on the informal

sector seems to imply that industrialisation will not go forward and the economy will continue to be stagnant in much of Africa. The current discussion about vocationally-oriented education also has a bias towards self-employment in the informal sector (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1987).

We should not misunderstand the reality of informal sector jobs - they are very diversified. There are two types of self-employment: 'subsistence' and 'entrepreneurship' (McGrath et al., 1995:1). In many low-income developing countries, the informal sector is largely made up of subsistence self-employment: shoe-shine boys and the like. The prevalence of informal sector activity suggests that a government can do nothing for their populations' survival and can not fulfill its responsibility. Why does the government not attempt to produce any employment policy through, for example, labour-intensive industrialisation in the formal sector? The Japanese Government, for example, has directly invested in the textile industry which was labour-intensive in the early stages of industrialisation. Is it because the government is obliged to accept structural adjustment and follow market mechanisms? From another point of view, is the mere emphasis on informal sector activities conducive to urbanisation and poverty?

In contrast to the reality of the 'subsistence' tier of the informal sector above, most present-day discussions regarding this sector are full of wishful thinking about its positive role, paying attention to the other, entrepreneurial, tier of the sector. For instance, Grey-Johnson (1992:91) concludes that "the potentials (*sic*) of the informal sector are such as to make it the core of an integrated African economy, the hub of technology development and industrialization and a fertile ground for the acquisition of developmental skills." This corresponds to the stream of entrepreneurship for self-employment. The problem remains that there is a large amount of research concerning entrepreneurship, but there are few practical ways in which schools can produce entrepreneurs (Blaug, 1973:55).

Arguably, there are two aspects which can be borne in mind when considering TVET policy in relation to the informal sector. First, it must be understood that there are two extremes in informal sector jobs and that even the upper tier might be situated at the bottom of students' job aspirations. Average figures and features concerning the informal sector are frequently misleading. Secondly, the informal sector should not be

a scapegoat of the formal economy. Informal sector activities are in close connection with the growth of the formal sector.

Social equity

Another contribution of TVET at large seems to come from its social function. There are two dimensions of such a contribution. First, TVET may help socially and economically disadvantaged people such as women and the poor by providing skills required for income-generating activities. This form of TVET is provided as a component of basic education and slightly different from the TVET previously examined. For example, if vocational education is subsidised and can finally generate higher earnings for its graduates, the equalizing effect of such education necessarily takes place. But this is applicable to those countries whose school enrolment ratios are very high; otherwise those who have no access to schooling are left further behind than those who are in vocational school. Middleton et al. (1993:250) conclude that "the idea that preemployment vocational education or training can contribute significantly to alleviating poverty does not appear to be substantiated, except in the most advanced developing countries."

Secondly, TVET lowers the social demand for further education. This is the terminal role of TVET in contrast to its subsistence role mentioned above. It is stated that "policymakers want to prepare these less academically able students for some sort of practical work and to reduce pressure on higher education by making vocational education terminal" (Haddad et al., 1990:45). The aim of diversified primary schools in Kenya could be to focus on the majority of pupils who do not proceed to secondary school and to cut the continuous linkage to further academic study (Hughes and Wahome, 1985). This shows that TVET is frequently offered instead of academic education and that it is often provided to those who are not so interested in skills acquisition. In this case, TVET cannot be efficient and effective, and this may have pushed out those who are seeking skills training and opportunities. Furthermore, this tends to lead to a downgrading of TVET and skilled workers alike. It may be a fact that those students who could not proceed to academic education go down the road of TVET as a second choice. However, it may not be reasonable to emphasise this second role. Learning never ends and those further opportunities should be always open to those who are eager to learn.

It is important to keep in mind that social equity strategies sometimes widen gaps in learning where opportunities do not reach people actually in need of skills acquisition at the grassroots. This may be said to be the case in much of the developing world where primary enrolment ratios are still low. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the social equity function of TVET in the context of education and training environments of individual countries.

So far, it has been demonstrated that the roles of TVET often do not work as effectively as expected. What are the obstacles to successful TVET? Can TVET overcome these obstacles? Such functions appear to go beyond the control of TVET. In the following section, problems found in the debates on TVET are reviewed and an attempt is made to examine the necessary reorientation of the current discourse.

(2) Problems identified in the current discourse

Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) is equipment-intensive and costly unlike general primary and secondary schooling. Costs are the origin of various critiques of TVET in many developing countries where primary and secondary school enrolment ratios are still low. So much of current discussion, probably influenced by the World Bank, seems to be biased towards cost-effectiveness and market mechanisms in the heyday of structural adjustment. Although these concepts are essential in considering efficient approaches, more important issues may have been neglected. Is economic efficiency going to lead developing countries to enhance skills development?

Cost-effectiveness

The concept of cost-effectiveness is an important factor in producing development strategies, but it is not everything. Cost-effectiveness analysis presents a lot of useful data which are indispensable in solving various development problems. However, it is necessary to take social, human and cultural factors into consideration in addition to such analysis. There seem to be two widely-accepted axioms: one is that vocational education is not more useful than academic education; the other is that in-employment training is more efficient than school-based TVET.

At the core of the current debates on '*academic versus vocational*', there is the following rationale. Vocational education is more costly than academic education. Therefore benefits from vocational education should outweigh costs. But such benefits are allegedly not found; hence academic education is a better investment than vocational education. Foster (1965a:152) states that "the vocational aspirations of children and the occupations which they enter are almost exclusively determined by factors which lie outside the schools." For this small impact of schooling on job aspirations, McGrath et al. (1995:23) claim that the Foster's argument has less relevance in the changed circumstances, especially of Africa today, and policy may not be predicated upon it.

There are largely three types of these academic-vocational arguments. The first is whether academic education should be offered prior to vocational education. According to the World Bank policy on TVET, "the most cost-effective use of public resources to improve the productivity and flexibility of the work force is thus investment in general education at the primary and secondary levels" (World Bank, 1991a:9). The Bank also implies that skills training is more efficient and effective when it builds on the firm foundation of basic academic education. But what is often missing in the Bank argument is that training itself can be a form of good basic education. There is thus no interest in seeing TVET as basic education. Is there any alternative way for those who cannot go to primary school to learn literacy skills in the form of TVET? There is no clear track in which TVET functions as basic education such as functional literacy. There is a tendency to emphasise, first and foremost, primary schooling before entering training programmes. This might cause ineffective use of training opportunities, since actual participants are not those who are interested in skills. Without learners' positive motivations, no TVET can be effective. De Moura Castro (1994:5) states that:

> There is a chronic tendency to require too much formal education as a pre-requisite for enrolling in training programs. As a result, those who can enrol are not interested in the careers offered and those who would be interested do not have the requisite schooling levels.

It is essential to consider training and educational efficiency not only in terms of inputs and outputs, but also by whether learners are in readiness.

The second argument relates to the preference of vocational education in conjunction

with academic education. Blakemore and Cooksey (1980:210) argue that "the main reason for failure [of school-based technical and vocational education] lies in the naivety of educational planners who thought that work-related education could be developed in isolation from the attractions of conventional academic education." It is a reality that vocational education is traditionally considered as second best and that less academically able students are allocated to it. In spite of that, there is a tendency to compare simply the outputs from vocational schools with those from academic schools and discuss the effectiveness of each type of school. It is necessary to examine and debate, therefore, the role of the technical and vocational school within the education system as a whole rather than portraying an inevitable conflict between vocational and academic education.

A third argument concerns the diversification of the school curriculum. In the vocational-academic debate, much research attention over the years has been directed to the diversification of academic secondary schools, probably since many developing countries were encouraged in the 1970s to introduce prevocational subjects to the curriculum of general academic schools. However, the World Bank, an enthusiast for diversification at this period, has been critical about it in terms of cost-effectiveness since the early 1980s. The World Bank (1988:64) states that "policy makers should remember that most attempts to increase the amount of vocational training in the curriculum, in Africa at least, have proved expensive in relation to the cost of providing general education." Furthermore, the Bank seems to have become even more emphatic in its views: "These 'diversified' programs are no more effective than academic secondary education in enabling graduates to enter wage or self-employment." (World Bank, 1991a:9). It is known that this negative stance of the Bank on this issue is almost entirely based on the two cases of Colombia and Tanzania as of 1981 (Psacharopoulos and Loxley, 1985). The initial study admitted to many limitations in their research, but currently their unique findings have been generalised and projected to the case of Africa without referring to such significant limitations. For example, Psacharopoulos and Loxley (1985:225-6) state that:

> This study has attempted to assess the effects of curriculum diversification by measuring any increases in the access to education, by measuring and comparing students' attitudinal changes and learning achievement, by comparing the costs of education with its outcomes (graduates' activities and earnings). The last comparison is ultimately required for a thorough evaluation of the investment made in curriculum diversification, but the data on this are *the most incomplete.* Information on labor market experience was collected only one year after graduation.... It is always difficult, if not dangerous, to derive firm policy implications on the basis of a single

study of young graduates in two countries. Ideally, one might have to repeat this study in several other countries and wait years or decades until the young cohorts of graduates reach their full earning capacity (emphasis added).

Over and above these limitations, the employment structure has dramatically changed since the very early 1980s. Moreover, is it so important to pay great attention to the correspondence between type of school and occupation? It may be true that the quantitative benefits derived from diversified schools are not greater than those of academic schools from a strictly economic perspective, but they appear to have some positive effects on students' attitudes to work from the point of view of a balanced education rather than direct benefits for employment.

Ultimately, it is crucial to reconsider what is academic and what is vocational. Is there a clear demarcation line between 'academic' and 'vocational (practical)' study? Is it meaningful to categorise school subjects like that? There are many so-called academic subjects such as mathematics which can be easily adapted to actual working conditions. 'Industrial mathematics' taught in Japanese vocational secondary schools is one of those examples. It is a practical subject and oriented to real industrial practices, but there is little difference in the theory itself between mathematics taught in academic secondary school and industrial mathematics. The method of making academic school more attuned to work is not only by the introduction of so-called practical subjects. Much more important is how to modify the excessively theoretical contents of academic subjects to practically applicable ones. I think that there are many ways to teach academic subjects in a vocational way. Heyneman (1987:65) claims that "the single most common error in educational planning has been to assume that a curriculum in science, mathematics, history and language, which is designed for those pupils who continue beyond secondary school, is 'impractical' (in this context, not useful) for those who do not continue."

These academic-vocational debates also relate to the wider divisions between education and training. Is education theoretical and academic? Is training practical? It is necessary to understand that the concepts of education and training overlap. Skills training is obviously education. De Moura Castro and De Oliveira (1994:6413) state that:

Training should not be considered poor in theory and conceptualization. Education should not be considered helplessly impractical; it may or may not be directly applicable. There are no good reasons to be overconcerned with the differences between education and training. Instead learning

opportunities should be offered that have both.

There are also issues relating to the multiple locations of TVET: the discussion of '*school-based versus enterprise-based*' which affects any perception of the provision of aid for TVET programmes. It is often stated that "vocational education is more efficient and successful when provided near the place of employment" (Psacharopoulos, 1988:144). This seems to mean that participants can find jobs easily based on their acquired skills if training is provided in the real world of work. Following this logic, the ideal version of efficient TVET is in-employment training. Although schools are considered to be slow in adjusting their curriculum to labour market requirements, I think that schools should teach general basic skills which are flexible and transferable in most situations and which are not so influenced by such a market in the short term, and that specific skills needed for specific jobs in the enterprise should be built on those basic skills. What is called on-the-job training is often not organised and not systematically taught and can be provided at a low cost. Naturally, the role of schools is different from the role of private enterprises in skills training. Enterprise-based training is optimised for production and not for learning.

It is almost meaningless to compare enterprise-based TVET with school-based TVET. It is a matter of course that demand-driven training is more effective than supply-driven training in an economic sense (which is discussed in the following section). There is a tendency to pay little attention to the reality that enterprise-based TVET, on its own, cannot adequately respond to the training demands of society (Hultin, 1987:6). What is important is to find the way of making maximum use of each version. These two forms of TVET are not necessarily in competition but are complementary to one another.

A particularly negative aspect of firm-based training from the viewpoint of trainees is that it does not allow for the issue of any valuable certificate and that the learning achievement on the job is not generally reflected in their salaries. The salary structure, especially in the public sector, mostly depends on scholastic attainment at school. This system has partly produced the image that on-the-job training is less valuable than education and training in the formal system (JASPA, 1981:3). Some twenty years ago Fuller (1976:39) stated that "in-employment training is more effective and less costly than pre-employment vocational training in preparing workers for certain trades."

Most of the current debates do not go beyond this conclusion. From the point of view of employers, high quality in-employment training is generally not a good investment because employees frequently move from one firm to another.

Surprisingly, there are few debates as to how to provide low-cost school-based TVET in order to enhance efficiency. It is somewhat strange not to discuss low-cost quality school-based TVET as well as low-cost quality primary schooling. If TVET was really geared to actual employment, it could be possible to remove its high cost image and to lower its unit costs because there is little costly equipment in the informal sector workshop. Although current debates guided by the World Bank are largely focused on the high costs of TVET, it is only one aspect of TVET and too much focus on it may be a distraction from more significant elements such as the efforts of states to provide quality education and training. Singapore, for example, attempts to learn "work habits and industrial organization traditions" from foreign experts of such industrialised countries as Japan and Germany (De Moura Castro, 1994:8). Instructors' attitudes and motivations are certainly crucial in TVET in particular. The attitude of those teachers is more fundamental in making such subjects effective than the contents themselves. Without motivated teaching staff, the minimum quality of TVET cannot be achieved nor maintained, and the expected objectives of TVET cannot be attained. This is a case for many developing countries. So, it is also necessary to view TVET provision from aspects other than economic efficiency in order to produce well-balanced policy.

Labour market demand

It is widely argued that public vocational institutions and programmes are inflexible and inefficient compared to skills training offered by employers and private training institutions, which are subject to market forces. Middleton et al. (1993:70) state that:

> Use of preemployment vocational education or training to create a supply of trained persons to stimulate investment, or to address broad social issues - such as reducing youth unemployment, serving the academically less able students, changing youth aspirations, and improving earnings for women and the poor - has generally not been successful. Training policies with these objectives have largely failed because they misjudged *the nature and dynamics of employment* (emphasis added).

Does this suggest that prevocational education and training are not effective unless they are closely linked to the skills labour market? The problem remains whether it is actually possible to judge properly 'the nature and dynamics of employment'. In the

same way, Foster (1965a:153) states that "the provision of vocational education must be directly related to those points at which some development is already apparent and where demand for skills is beginning to manifest itself." In terms of macroeconomics, Adams (1994:6637) concludes that "the ability of schools and training centers to adapt rapidly to changing market forces will be essential to the success of countries in meeting the test of global competition."

In theory, it is easy to mention market mechanisms and skills in demand. Yet, does this sort of market actually exist in many developing countries? Even if it exists, it takes time to train people based on current demands and those trained people may not match market demand at the time when they finish the necessary courses. Any attempt to forecast skilled manpower requirements has largely failed (Psacharopoulos, 1988:146). Especially in the least developed countries where the economy is not well-developed and the market mechanism does not work properly, it is not easy to follow market signals (Kelly, 1994:6653). Labour market demands do not take into account the preference of employers in recruiting new employees. For example, employers sometimes prefer the graduates of academic secondary schools to those from vocational schools, even if they need skilled workers (Dore, 1976:103). There is no clear trend confirming what most employers base their decisions on when recruiting new employees (Oxenham, 1988).

Is training, based on market demands, important? De Moura Castro (1994:1) claims that:

> Indeed, training cannot be a passive response to manifest demand. Often it needs to be more pro-active. Moreover, exclusive attention to costs and markets leaves behind many serious problems in the supply side of training.

He also states that "economists look at costs and markets, completely forgetting what is inside training centers, how they work, what are the critical contents to be taught" (ibid.:4). It is important to see 'training' from an economic angle, but it is more crucial to focus on the learning process.

Another question raised on the issue of TVET is whether public technical and vocational schools actually provide *specific* skills which require to be adjusted to the changeable needs of the labour market. Skills acquired in those schools, such as metalwork or carpentry, appear to be *general* skills and transferable to various

occupations. Often the demands for those skills are relatively stable, irrespective of economic conditions. For instance, mathematical skills such as measuring with rulers and dividing materials into the same size are basic techniques for woodwork, metalwork, sewing and the like. Is it a key issue for public vocational institutions to pay particular attention to the labour market even if it exists?

The objective of public TVET is different from the specific aim of TVET provided by individual private enterprises. Jonathan (1994:6702) states that:

> Clearly, however, the market is not a rational source of educational policy, for reasoning which seeks only to avoid the worst outcome is optimal only in adverse circumstance, and educating the next generation is a matter not just of coping with existing conditions, but of creating new conditions. To allow educational policy to be determined by the market is thus either an abrogation of responsibility on the part of policymakers, or a decision to sacrifice long-term individual and social welfare to short-term economic benefit.

It is not difficult for any government to leave TVET policy to market forces, but it is even more important to see 'training' from long-term social capacity than from short-term economic perspectives.

Finally, there is another practical problem for public TVET in following market demand. How can public vocational schools and institutions get good teachers with up-to-date industrial technical skills? Some qualified teachers are often tempted by higher salaries in private enterprises. Can private sector training, which is subject to market mechanisms, solve this problem?

Private sector training

It is said that private sector training is more flexibly adjustable to labour market forces than public training and can efficiently provide the skills training in demand (World Bank, 1991a). This assumption could be true if both the private and public had the same capacity to provide training. The reality, however, may be that employers' training is solely useful for their own firms and such training is sometimes not efficiently organised. Moreover, in much of Africa there are serious limits to provision in this area because the majority of people work in small and microenterprises where it is often difficult for them to upgrade their own skills. Private institution-based TVET in Africa, for example, may be characterised by 'backstreet colleges', which range considerably in quality (King, 1989c). They are usually more easily accessible than

formal training institutions (ibid.). In this regard, there is certainly a great potential for private sector training. However, it is doubtful if such private sector training can be the prime provider of skills training unless some assistance is provided by the government. Leaving the development of skills capacity to the private sector might be justified in industrialised nations, but it is open to question that this method is also applicable to many developing countries.

The World Bank (1991a:7), for instance, states that "training in the private sector - by private employers and in private training institutions - can be the most effective and efficient way to develop the skills of the work force." Foster (1975) also comments that most skills required in economic development could be provided through private training such as on-the-job, and that public-funded training should be only justified when an appropriate alternative is not found. Both the Bank and Foster similarly emphasise private training and they are critical about school-based TVET. Both of them have considerably influenced the TVET discourse, but they both believe in the market mechanism and have tended to marginalise the quality learning to be gained in schools of TVET.

Local firms are often reluctant to provide training. Even in the UK, where the market mechanism may work better than developing countries, employers are generally not interested in providing training to employees in spite of the fact that the government has continued to encourage the private sector to provide such training (Fairley, 1994). With respect to public versus private training, there are few countries who can have provided private sector training without quality public training, and most countries rely on the traditions of the public sector (De Moura Castro, 1994).

The private sector often does not have the capability to provide effective organised training, such as apprenticeship systems, to meet its own training demands (Ziderman, 1994:6428). This is a critical constraint: there is little capacity for the private sector to bear the responsibility of skills development. Governments are required to step in to provide skills training through formal schools and post-school public institutions in the early stages of industrial development when the capacity of private training provision is low (King, 1994b:6248). This strategy does not contradict the Bank's and Foster's messages which emphasise the fundamental role of private sector training but their strategy also leads to the conclusion which stresses the essential function of

the state and which can be strengthened by international aid.

(3) International aid to TVET

The aid community may be currently too busy following up the World Declaration on Education for All and seems to have left TVET behind in the context of educational aid. Although the importance of skills development is still discussed, most debates are in relation to employment issues in the short term and have been contributed largely by economic-oriented researchers rather than educationalists. Nevertheless, skills development has been considered as a foundation of economic development and has received more international aid than any other component of education (Middleton et al., 1993). The World Bank has been the largest single aid agency for TVET, as well as for other subsectors of education, so the dominance of the Bank-derived arguments is particularly evident in this subsector.

World Bank bias

There are not many researchers who are solely interested in TVET development. Unlike 'education', UNESCO and UNICEF are not concerned with TVET. The ILO could be a major multilateral aid agency regarding training issues, but it does not play a decisive role in the aid community. Therefore, the World Bank exclusively has a great impact on this sector. In a certain sense the arguments about TVET are not balanced but have a World Bank bias, which is oriented towards macroeconomics and the market mechanisms. This is reflected in the literature largely contributed by the Bank itself or its staff members (see section 5.1). In fact there are few challenges to Bank policy on TVET, unlike basic or higher education. It is critical to understand such a bias in order to examine appropriate TVET strategy.

In Bank policy for TVET, there was a dramatic change around the year 1980. The Bank policy paper for TVET concludes that "since the early 1980s, findings from World Bank evaluations have led to increasing investment in national institutional capacity and center-based training and to significant reduction in support for diversified and vocational schooling" (World Bank, 1991a:17). It is clear that the Bank is now critical of school-based TVET. The policy paper also states that "the key elements of this approach are strengthening primary and secondary education,

encouraging private sector training, improving effectiveness and efficiency in public training, and using training as a complement to equity strategies" (ibid.:8). It is surprising that the Bank policy for TVET is to encourage basic formal schooling before private sector training, both of which have been discussed above (see section 5.1 (2)).

The World Bank is in favour of general academic education at primary and secondary levels. Probably because of this preference, it is not clear how skills training was involved in the World Declaration on Education for All. Of the four major sponsors (UNESCO, UNDP, UNICEF and the World Bank) the Bank appears to be the only agency that is particularly interested in vocational schools or vocational training institutions. The reality is that there are now few strong proponents of TVET in the aid community.

Informal sector oriented policy

Economists discovered the contribution of microenterprises in the informal sector to national economy and employment, so educationalists also identified that sector as a place for infinite job opportunities for school leavers. A DAC Meeting in 1991 was a contribution to a new phase in donor policies to assist microenterprise development. The donors' incentives in paying attention to the microenterprise sector seem to come primarily from the pressures of unemployment. When the OECD (1991b:100) states that "the combination of explosive population growth and massive migration to urban areas in the developing world creates new issues and imperatives for economic development strategies, chief among which are enormous and escalating job creation needs", it reflects both the need to reduce poverty and the potential of economic growth in the development of microenterprises. However, little is argued from the viewpoint of skills development.

The World Bank stresses skills training for the purpose of assisting informal sector activities, but it is primarily a measure for poverty reduction (World Bank, 1991a). The informal sector is also liked by the Bank because of its responsiveness to market forces compared with the formal sector. Apprenticeship is of particular interest since it provides skills training actually in demand in an economy with few public financial burdens. On the other hand, the ILO strategy for Africa is that: "in view of the

shortage of wage jobs, emphasis will be given to self-employment and reorientating public training toward the needs of the informal sector" (Salt and Bowland, 1994:3002). The ILO policy does not say anything about market mechanisms or cost-effectiveness, but it does stress the necessary reorientation of public training for the informal sector.

It is a prerequisite for many aid agencies to redress the balance of the traditional type of formal sector-oriented TVET. King (1989a:13-14) notes that:

> It must be stressed that the TVET expansion plans are not based on an expansion of old-style TVET, with its small number of donor-aided institutions closely linked to the small modern sector of the economy. New-style TVET is predicated upon a different logic, and upon the public acknowledgement of the potential of the informal and small enterprise economy....The big question is likely to be how successfully countries can manage the transition from the older concepts of TVET (elements of which need to be retained) to the newer concepts which are very much born out of the crisis, and whose implementation nationwide are certain to be affected by the continuation of economic austerity.

How will new schemes for TVET function? Post-school vocational training centres, for instance, have been largely supported by external aid agencies and have been concentrated on formal sector employment. Sometimes they continue to be dependent on such external resources (King, 1994b:6246). However, many aid agencies, possibly including the Bank as well as the ILO, scarcely have experience which is actually useful for informal sector activities. Little research has been done on improving the quality of training for the informal sector (Herschbach, 1994).

The aid community may agree to focus on the informal sector, but there is no agreement as to how to support it through TVET. Sometimes donor agencies may tend to see microenterprise development in the informal sector of developing countries in the context of that development in industrialised countries. The majority of microenterprises in Africa have no workshop or even roof. It is hardly considered that industrialisation on a labour-intensive basis will occur from such an sector even if the government policy is supportive of it. I think that a strong bias towards the informal sector in some cases may hinder long-term skills development and could delay future industrialisation. It is crucial to produce balanced TVET policy to support the informal sector in co-ordination with the formal sector.

In the following section, TVET is assessed from the viewpoint of present-day Africa.

Possible avenues of Japanese aid to TVET in Africa are also discussed.

5.2 Japanese Aid to TVET in Africa

Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) was regarded as a first step to industrial transformation by many aid agencies, and Africa was the target region for TVET development. Over half the international aid for TVET in the early 1980s was allocated to Africa (Middleton, 1994:6660). But TVET now does not appear to have the same assumptions about industrialisation or national development which were common in the 1960s and 1970s. The ideas about TVET in much of Africa have shifted from 'the engine of industrialisation notion' to 'the ticket for the informal sector ideal'.

In considering TVET development in the context of Africa, it would seem that Japanese as well as Western experience and knowledge are very limited. Africa has to find its own way, which is not a replica of industrialised countries. Japan, however, might be able to provide fresh ideas as to how to produce a skilled labour force which differ from those already given by the Western states. What can Japan do for Africa through its bilateral aid towards TVET? What, if any, is the Japanese comparative advantage over the Western donors?

(1) Perspectives of TVET in Africa

Africa seems to have a unique aspect in terms of TVET development. For example, the chronological change of the vocational share of secondary enrolments in Africa throughout the 1960s shows a remarkable decline, in contrast to the general increase in other regions (Benavot, 1983:69). This African share was 16 per cent in 1960, while it became only 8 per cent in 1970 (ibid.). This may show that new independent governments as well as students and parents seem to have been strongly oriented towards academic education after independence. There was the reality that all academic secondary graduates could get formal sector jobs in the 1960s. The purpose of formal education for many African people could be said to have been to get white-collar jobs. Therefore it is understandable that there was little demand for TVET. On the other hand, many donor agencies promoted vocational training soon after independence (Narman, 1994:6255), and World Bank lending in the 1960s and 1970s was

considerably biased towards school-based TVET (the diversification of secondary education) (World Bank, 1980:80).

Since the early 1980s many donor agencies have been cautious in providing aid to the TVET sector, while many African states have, by contrast, actually encouraged vocationally-oriented education. Does this suggest that many African states have confidence in their education system, irrespective of aid policy? Did they discover the essential role of TVET? This might have happened because of increasing youth unemployment. Alternatively, the African authorities might implement educational reforms in the 1980s based on the policy analysis in the 1970s, when vocationalisation was widely accepted in the donor community. Educational reform in Ghana in 1987, for example, was conducted based on a document published in 1974 (Ghana, 1974). Also the reforms in Kenya in 1985 originated from the report of the national committee on education objectives and policies in 1976 (Kenya, 1976) which can be further traced back to the ILO's recommendations of 1972 (ILO, 1972). If present-day vocationalisation is being based on out-of-date prescriptions, it would show that Africa's own capacity is not yet sufficiently developed.

The role of TVET in much of Africa, where agriculture and informal sector activities are the major job opportunities, is different from that in industrialised countries where the modern wage sector is relatively large enough to absorb the majority of job seekers. It is evident that many African countries need a fresh approach to TVET, which is not a reproduction of models from other developing countries or industrialised countries. The role of the state in providing TVET in Africa requires further examination. Pre-employment training may play a more important role, due to the lack of in-employment training capacity (Haddad et al., 1990:49). What, then, is the most relevant form of TVET in Africa, and what is the role of the government in providing quality and sustainable TVET?

The relevant forms of TVET

It is necessary to take full consideration of any individual country's economic and social circumstances in planning educational policy. Especially, TVET needs to meet the demands of a diversified range of economic issues such as employment and industrialisation. Middleton et al. (1993:70) state that "understanding the economic

context in which training is delivered is therefore critical to the development of effective training policies and programs." Of course, African countries are not homogeneous and generalisation is not appropriate, but in the situation of similar economic constraints there may be a basic strategy useful for many countries.

There are three main approaches to provide aid to TVET often discussed in the aid community, which correspond to the three locations in which TVET can be found: in school, in training institutions and in enterprises. A first approach to aid is by means of post-school public training institutions. It is necessary to re-examine the function of those publicly-controlled institutions. For example, the World Bank (1988:63) states that:

> Between these two extremes [school-based and firm-based training], in many African countries industries consist of many small firms, none of which is large or developed enough to provide effective skills training. Here the answer is likely to be industrial training centers, typically operating under government control but ideally financed by taxing the beneficiaries in proportion to the benefits received.

The idea of industrial training centres might be an effective way to upgrade skills of employees, but it is questionable whether subsistence microenterprises can send their employees to those centres. Moreover they are not open to the unemployed. These centres are certainly important; however, it is also necessary to find an approach to skills training for unemployed youth. In this respect, King (1989c:36) argues that "remembering the widespread interest of urban youth in backstreet colleges, we might suggest that one avenue for vocational training institutions is to run short, intensive evening courses, leading to nationally recognised certificates." This view may be based on what is happening to the youth in much of Africa on the ground. Government could provide training opportunities at training centres to the unemployed as well with little additional cost. The Bank's statement above seems to come from the experience of small entrepreneurial enterprises in high-income developing countries or industrialised states and to ignore the unemployed who are eagerly seeking training opportunities in Africa.

A second approach in developing TVET relates to basic formal schooling. It is a reality that most new entrants into the labour market have to settle for the informal sector. Therefore the approach to the preparation for work may be required through primary and secondary school rather than vocational school which can take in only a small

number of students. The general social impact of basic academic school is much greater than that of vocational school at the national level, though the individual impact may be less. King (1989c:27) states that:

> So many of the direct interventions in the informal sector - whether by NGOs, government departments or external agencies - touch only a few hundred artisans here and there, and they may only last for a year or two. Basic schooling reaches hundreds of thousands or millions of young people for six or more years.

In the situation where informal sector jobs lie in the mainstream of employment opportunities, prevocational education in primary and secondary schools could play a more significant role in solving the unemployment problem in the long term. Accordingly, the strategy already taken by many African governments (i.e. diversified school) might be justified in terms of its impact on the majority of children, rather than more vocational schools. Furthermore, the diversified secondary schools supported by the World Bank in the 1970s in Africa, which focused on a small number of children, are quite different from the diversified schools at the primary level, that offer at best "some small chance to explore potentialities of individual children" (King, 1989b:12). Therefore, such 'prevocational' subjects should be considered in the context of "their merits on general education grounds, rather than relevance for employment or self-employment" (Lauglo and Narman, 1988:255). The idea that prevocational subjects should be equally taught to all children at the basic level is acceptable, but the way to implement such a system under economic constraints seemed to be problematic. Often there can be excessive expectations on the side of policymakers for the introduction of such subjects. Are they really 'prevocational' subjects? Kenya, for example, introduced 'prevocational subjects' in the upper level of primary school as well as secondary school. Those subjects such as agriculture and carpentry may be more strongly connected with the requirements of daily life for the majority than that of skilled workers. It is rather optimistic to expect a direct impact of such subjects on employment.

A third approach in the development of educational aid to TVET is the mode through firm-based training, often illustrated by traditional apprenticeships. This form of assistance could be most appropriate in the sense that it is privately-funded and close to the real world of work. It is also supported by the strategy that appropriate programmes are to be built on the indigenous system of skills training. It is self-sustainable and low cost. In fact, in many developing countries the majority of the

informal sector workers have acquired necessary knowledge and skills through this apprenticeship system. The system is powerful and attractive for both educationalists and economists because apprentices are both trained and employed. On the other hand, apprenticeship is concentrated on practical skills and little theoretical knowledge is acquired (McLaughlin, 1990). Apprentices basically learn by copying what the master does with little formal instruction (Peil, 1979).

It is generally accepted that traditional apprenticeship is, and will be, a prime mode of skill learning for the informal sector. However, if training opportunities are provided to all individuals who are seeking for them, the system may further lack capacity to accommodate them (McLaughlin, 1990). But it is important to consider that the simple increase of training capacity may not be appropriate in Africa since traditional jobs are sometimes closed to those outside of the family or the kinship group (King, 1989c). The World Bank (1991a:16) argues that "in the urban and rural informal sectors, traditional apprenticeship appropriately strengthened, can be a major source of skills for the economically disadvantaged." This statement is quite right, but the 'appropriately strengthened' is a key term and the way of its being strengthened is not easy to identify. Hoppers (1985:234) states that "informal apprenticeship should not be encouraged unless youth have better prospects for stable and remunerative wage-work in the workshops or have clear opportunities for establishing themselves as independent producers, whether individually or in groups", while he well recognises the great significance of apprenticeship and its advantages as a mode of skill acquisition. Traditional apprenticeship in itself is an effective way of skills learning, but it is important to recognise that it sometimes shifts to the mode of cheap labour under the severe economic pressures on industry.

So far, three general avenues of providing TVET have been dealt with; however, is any approach better than the other? No country relies on a single mode of such training. It is evident that all the three versions are interrelated. A strong combination may be examined and modified according to an individual country's situation. Market forces and cost consciousness have decisive roles and following these concepts may partly be able to deal with the economic hardship, but what is needed today is arguably, government leadership. The role of governments is less apparent in the countries where markets work, while governments "need to do more in those areas where markets cannot be relied upon" (World Bank, 1991b:9). East Asian economic

growth is often explained by their 'market-friendly' strategy. The World Bank (1993:84) states that "the appropriate role of government in a market-friendly strategy is to ensure adequate investments in people, provision of a competitive climate for enterprise, openness to international trade, and stable macroeconomic management." Much of Africa appears to comprise countries where markets do not function properly and the government should therefore play a key role in providing skills development opportunities.

The role of the government

When discussing the role of the state, the general focus is usually on how to produce vocational training opportunities and less attention is paid to considering the fundamental purpose of training. That is, the importance of skills capacity in development does not seem to have been fully acknowledged. There is no perspective to see skills development through TVET activities from the angle of dynamic economic development. For individuals, the objective of TVET might be to ensure they get jobs, but the state has further responsibilities. That is, the state should have much concern about upgrading skills capacity. Policymakers often lack a long-term and systematic strategy for industrialisation and the development of local technological capability (Coughlin and Ikiara, 1988). It is now popular to argue about TVET for the informal sector or for self-employment and there is a tight connection between TVET and employment. Yet what is frequently missing is the linkage between employment and national development. Is it possible to form industrialisation policy solely based on informal sector economy? Most informal sector activities in Africa may not grow and automatically transfer to formal sector work after some decades. Arguably, a fundamental role of the government is how to harmonise TVET policy with economic policy including industrialisation strategy.

At a practical level, two views have often been discussed in considering government roles: one is how to balance public training with private training; and the other is how to support the skills development of the private sector, particularly, of the informal sector. At least there is a consensus for the necessity of government intervention when private sector activities are still weak as discussed above. In order to grasp the role of the state, it is necessary, first and foremost, to analyse such capacity carefully. King (1994b:6251) notes that "ultimately the rationales for government intervention in the

financing and delivery of training must take account of the circumstances of each individual country, but it may prove useful to consider the role for government after examining the performance of its markets, the capacity of its private sector to training, and its own concerns about social equity." Training in the private sector, in firms and private training institutions, can be the most cost-effective way if markets work properly; but this is often not the case in least developed countries and the role of public training seems to be a key factor to the skills development of the workforce.

Reaching a balance between public and private sector TVET is a basic prerequisite for effective TVET development. The World Bank's intention is not the shift from public sector training to private sector training, but the necessary balancing between the two-sector training depending on its capacity (Adams et al., 1992). The World Bank (1991a:7-8) states that:

> The challenges are to use employer, private, and public training capacities effectively to train workers for jobs...In low-income countries especially, governments will need to continue to finance and provide skills training in the immediate future.

Probably in this case public training policy rather than private policy may first need to be established so as to attain systematic skills development, but a long-term policy has been scarcely formed (World Bank, 1989:83). It is necessary to produce such public policy in order to give incentives to employers.

Secondly, what of assistance to private sector TVET? If the informal sector is the source of the future economic growth (ILO, 1972:5), it is essential for the African government to have a long-term viewpoint of how to develop and support small enterprises by means of skills training. One of the options for such government support may be to strengthen traditional apprenticeship through the provision of technical information and systematic learning materials (World Bank, 1991a:11). Also, the government is in a position to disseminate information about private as well as public training opportunities. Relying merely on market forces may often produce skilled workers needed for large enterprises. But it may also be inappropriate for the government to develop a skilled labour force only through informal sector activities. Even Kenya, who has a relatively strong industrial base in Africa, has been described by Collinson (1993:128) to need some further reassessment in terms of skills training:

> Public sector efforts to boost available skilled manpower and develop local manufacturing through informal sector schemes *may be misplaced.* Interview responses suggested informal enterprises

lacked the scale of investment/production and the technical sophistication to compete with imports.

Even if the national training system for informal sector workers is well developed, it is necessary to understand that there is "an uneven impact across the highly heterogeneous informal sector" and that "there is even less likelihood that the official training system can reach the most marginal members of the informal sector" (McGrath et al., 1995:54). This suggests that there are certain limitations in the role of the state, still more external aid agency, when informal sector activities are supported.

Germany has extensive experience in aid to apprenticeship systems, since its own skills development is characterised by the dual system (apprenticeship combined with vocational school). However, it is often difficult to transfer such a system to developing countries because of their different cultures concerning TVET including the attitudes of employers and the ideology of vocation (Boehm, 1994:6659). German aid projects have often been focused on the modern industrial sector and it was only in 1992 when the support to the informal sector was highlighted in aid to TVET (ibid.).

What has been scarcely argued in the aid community, however, is the critical role of school-based TVET, which can be relatively easily controlled by the government, particularly by authorities concerning education. One of the reasons for this lack may be that the World Bank does not like this mode of TVET. Another reason seems to be attributed to general lack of interest in TVET among so-called educationalists. The difficulty of matching curriculum with job requirements appears to be a third reason. But school-based TVET has a great potential in upgrading skills capacity at the national level. We should not exclude the fact that many countries such as East Asian nations including Japan have supported this type of TVET in their education systems. In the next section, the Japanese experience of TVET is discussed, when necessary, with the examples from newly-industrialising countries of East Asia.

(2) The Japanese experience of TVET

It is necessary to look at the Japanese tradition and experience of TVET before examining Japanese aid towards TVET in Africa. Especially it is significant to compare Japanese experience with the Western and African experience in the context of TVET development. Japanese skills development is said to be characterised by

firm-based training built upon quality general education and the Japanese system is often regarded as an efficient provider. The latest World Bank's recommendations on TVET may sound like this Japanese mode (Lauglo, 1994). However, such analysis tends to ignore underlying Japanese attitudes towards and values placed on skills, which cannot be quantified. They are critical in considering the Japanese mode of skills development. Is there any 'system' for such development which might be transferable to any situation in any country?

Japanese characteristics of TVET

Japanese experience of TVET is somewhat unique. Few would say that the source of successful Japanese industrialisation and economic growth has been quality vocational schools or vocational training centres. Japanese industries have not been so interested in such school-based or institution-based TVET. Skills development within firms has been a quite natural process in order to improve productivity. Japanese TVET is frequently said to be characterised by the dominance of firm-based training (Lauglo, 1994). This belief probably results from the Western point of view. But many Japanese might be surprised at this idea, possibly because firm-based training is job-specific and therefore the beneficiary of TVET is primarily the firm. The Japanese may generally look at education from a personal point of view and as the family's responsibility, hence, it is not common to regard firm-based training as 'education'.

Then, have Japanese vocational schools not contributed to skills development? With regard to Japanese vocationalism, McCormick (1988:37) claims that:

> Japanese education is remarkably free from the more obvious manifestations of vocationalism as relatively specific skill training which is being pressed on European education systems. On the contrary, the Japanese educational system is notable for its emphasis on a broad academic content.

It is widely accepted that Japanese education is academic-oriented in a Western sense, but vocational secondary schools may have played an important role in providing the source of a skilled labour force. In fact, it is generally recognised that the engines of Japanese industrialisation are small-scale enterprises who support large-scale enterprises. The employers and employees of small firms could have been largely vocational secondary school graduates when higher education was not so popular as it is today. Although the enrolments to vocational senior secondary schools in Japan have been decreasing as a percentage of overall senior secondary school enrolments,

the percentage was still as high as 24 per cent in 1990 and it was 40 per cent in 1955 (Sako, 1994). This figure is a contrast in comparison to only 1.7 and 2.2 per cent in Kenya and Ghana respectively in 1985 (Middleton et al., 1993:307). Like Japan, there are a number of other countries in the newly-industrialising region of East Asia who have supported school-based TVET at the secondary level. They are, for example, South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore (Caillods, 1993:3). On the other hand, African secondary school, particularly in Anglophone countries, may have had too strong a bias towards academic education.

This could demonstrate the lack of the source of skilled workers to produce quality manpower in much of Africa. Enterprise-based training is generally built upon formal schooling. The effectiveness of such training is mostly determined by the quality of the primary schooling. In Japan there are a lot of vocational secondary schools which are as popular as academic ones. Children and their parents choose secondary schools based on their quality rather than on whether they are academic or vocational. Without considering this gap in the preference of vocational courses between Africa and Japan (and probably also much of East Asia), it is useless to discuss the role of enterprise-based training in each region. There might be a tradition in Africa that formal education should be academic and that skills can be acquired through nonformal education. In the situation where the majority of students and parents are interested in only academic education, diversified schools, which provide every school child with some vocational subjects, could have been an option in order to upgrade the national capacity of skills.

As for the important role of technical schooling, Blakemore and Cooksey (1980:211-212) state that:

> Developed nations such as Germany and Japan are renowned for the high quality of their technical schools. Although the economic growth of these countries results from a great many factors other than quality of technical training, it is perhaps significant that a country such as Britain, which has never given much priority to technical education on a large scale, is experiencing little or no growth. The experience of developing nations such as Singapore and South Korea also suggests that large amounts of technical education are conducive to economic growth; although unemployment among those with technical and vocational training has been very high in both countries, it has been shown that these skills are eventually put to good use in all sorts of occupations.

This view contains two points about school-based TVET in newly-industrialising East Asian countries and it has implications for Japan. First, the importance of quality technical schooling is emphasised and it is said to be relevant to economic

development. Secondly, even if temporary unemployment among such school leavers is very high, the skills they have already acquired are useful in various kinds of jobs once they are employed. The stress on school-based TVET and the lower level of concern about unemployment are in direct contrast to the World Bank argument above (see section 5.1 (3)).

Japanese firm-based training has frequently been provided to motivated employees who are keen to learn new skills and technology. Employees often use their own time and money in home-study to enhance their capacities which will be required in their jobs (Dore and Sako, 1989; Lauglo, 1994). School-based TVET in Japan has fewer links with industry than that in other countries. Probably, for many employers, skills acquired in school are regarded as 'general' education and employees are considered to be under-equipped without further training in employment.

Levine and Kawada (1980:286) note that "historically, large modern industries in Japan have relied upon within-enterprise training programs, rather than outside schooling, to generate high and middle level skills." Large firms, however, transfer necessary skills to smaller firms, through which the large firms get their supplies. These employees' incentives for their own training primarily come from the lifetime employment practice in Japan and such enterprise-based training is provided for all employees. By contrast, most enterprises in the West offer training opportunities only for management or administrative staff (Dore, 1987:28). The Japanese employment pattern results in loyalty to organisations and gives strong incentives of firm-based training to employers. Moreover, employers often do not consider that they are providing 'training' especially in the case of on-the-job training, rather they take it for granted that it must be available (Dore and Sako, 1989:76). On the other hand, employees of many firms in the West are competitive in their promotion. Hence, specific skills which one employee holds may not be so smoothly transferred to other employees within the firm as in Japan.

So far only the linkage between school-based and firm-based TVET has been explained. But what is the function of the other version of TVET, post-school institution-based TVET, in Japan? There are both public and private institutions of this type. Public training centres are largely managed by the Ministry of Labour. They are "something of an anachronism in the 1990s" (Sako, 1994:3088) and do not adjust to

new requirements, providing mainly mechanical engineering skills. Today such centres primarily provide basic skills for displaced and disabled workers. On the other hand, private ones provide a broad range of specialised courses and are popular alternatives to attending universities or junior colleges. They are quick to establish up-to-date programmes in response to new demands, but they are also vastly different in quality and generally do not provide expertise necessary for manufacturing industries. Instead they appear to offer for the service sector rather fashionable knowledge, which is often likely to become out-of-date in a short time.

Looking back upon skills development at the very early stage of Japanese industrialisation in the 1890s, the government directly invested, for example, in textiles. In terms of labour productivity at that time, Saxonhouse and Kiyokawa (1985:177) state that "achievement of high labor productivity by Japanese spinners was basically due to an improvement in the capacity of Japanese management to deal with the least expensive labor available in the Japanese economy (teenage girls), and to the gradual improvement in the quality of this labor." In the situation where almost half of those girl spinners might have been illiterate in the 1890s, basic social services such as health and education were provided to them by employers in addition to their wages. Although they were often forced to work hard and might have been used just as cheap labour, it is necessary to emphasise the fact that the government initiated industrialisation and the employer attempted to upgrade employees' skills providing on-the-job training and off-the-job basic education such as literacy work. In this case TVET functioned as literacy activities as well.

It seemed to be reasonable for the Japanese employer to enhance the literacy skills of employees in order to improve productivity. Until recently, the Japanese textile industries employed many girls who completed compulsory education and those girls often went to senior secondary school at night. Historically the textile industries have provided social services such as basic health and further education in order to employ a great number of young girls, who are often socially and economically disadvantaged. The implication of this Japanese experience for the countries where literacy rates are low is that firm-based TVET has a potential to reduce adult illiteracy, alongside the prime benefits acquired by the firm. Merely trying to offer literacy skills without any benefit except to the person learning them is not financially sustainable. This type of TVET seems to be a good combination of literacy with work.

Fundamentally, the Japanese value skills, even if school education is academically oriented. Further, the 'academic' in the sphere of Japanese education does not necessarily mean 'theory in isolation from practice'. The wage system is also favourable to skilled personnel. Japanese employers pay relatively high salaries to skilled labour. Especially highly skilled workers can get much better pay than ordinary office workers, possibly because the Japanese have a high regard for professional work which cannot be done by other people at large. Physical work too is believed to be as valuable as desk work. Skilled work is often more visible than desk work in general and for this reason too, it is highly regarded. The fact that engineering is more popular than science among Japanese students may in part exemplify the preference for more practical knowledge. Arguably, this high value placed on skills is an essential Japanese characteristic in contrast to many Western states such as the UK.

The similarity and contrast between World Bank policy and Japanese experience

The World Bank policy for TVET may be the provision of quality basic schooling and further enterprise-based training. Many researchers might have thought that Japan has developed on the basis of this theory. For example, Lauglo (1994:6697) states that "the World Bank's main recommendations on policies for vocational training echo the Japanese mode: strengthen the quality of general education in the schools, prioritize in-company training, and encourage private institutional training." Certainly, both basic schooling and enterprise-based training may be key elements of skills development in Japan. This aspect of Japanese experience is certainly similar to the World Bank policy.

Yet there are two further aspects to TVET to which the Bank pays little attention. First, school-based TVET at secondary level, which is not liked by the Bank, appears historically and until recently to have contributed to increasing the potential of a skilled labour force to a great extent in Japan, and enterprise-based training has been mainly supported by the practice of lifetime employment. Japanese employers generally do not like new employees who have knowledge which is too narrowly-focused and which could be useless in many occasions. For example, they often prefer the students who have just finished secondary school or four-year university education to those

who have Masters or Doctorate degrees. In particular, junior secondary leavers would be called 'golden eggs' when the Japanese economy was short-staffed. The purpose of Japanese enterprise-based training may be to foster firm-oriented employees in the long term rather than merely to develop skills demanded in the short term.

Secondly, the World Bank (1991a:9) states that "training in specific skills is more effective when it builds on a strong foundation of general education." It appears to suggest that no one should seek for specific skills learning opportunities unless literacy and numeracy skills have already been acquired through primary education. This could be understood to mean that to be literate is a prerequisite to learn new skills. If so, the majority of (illiterate) people in Africa are not entitled to learn them. But Japanese experience discussed above shows that skills training can be often literacy training. People can become literate through skills learning and this idea is parallel to functional literacy. For Japanese enterprises, to provide employees with literacy training may have been a reasonable process to raise productivity in an economic sense. In the context of present-day Africa, where unemployment is a critical problem, this pattern of engendering literacy skills by employers implies that public policy is important to ensure employment opportunities extending to the rural areas, rather than merely depending on economic demand. Although it is not easy to carry out such policy, government investment in labour-intensive industry in Africa could be one of the answers to the alleviation of illiterate people rather than direct investment in literacy activities.

In addition to these two aspects, a more fundamental issue is that enterprise-based training is deeply embedded in the industrial community and cannot be detached from it. That is, the discussion about enterprise-based training solely in the context of education and training does not make sense. Such training in Japan is not transferable to other countries without its industry itself and probably without its quality basic education. Moreover firm-based TVET is not a suitable form of official aid. In East Asia, where many Japanese firms are active, this Japanese type of skills training functions so well that it produces a skilled labour force.

Another point, which is not often mentioned about skills development in Japan, concerns Japanese attitudes towards skills. It is said that Japan is a technologically developed country. Although high technology mostly comes from scientific research,

it could be argued that its cornerstone is the large capacity of skills, which enables Japan to develop technology. Skills as well as science are important factors for Japanese technology-oriented development. Furthermore, there is no significant difference in the Japanese language between skills and technology: both are often translated into *gijutsu*. The Japanese in general have a high regard for skills and skilled workers as well as for technology and engineers. This Japanese value on skills has already been emphasised. But, the relationship between skills and technology might correspond to the fact that Japanese primary school teachers and university teaching staff are similarly respected (see section 2.2 (1)). Without quality basic education, university education could not be effective. Likewise, without sufficient skills capacity there could be no expectations for the development of technology.

The World Bank's recommendations for TVET sound like the Japanese practice of skills development, but it does not acknowledge the role of school-based TVET and too much emphasis is placed on the importance of general basic education. Arguably, the Japanese mode of skills development cannot survive without its attitudes towards skills and its employment system. Without considering these specific backgrounds, mere discussion on the package of general basic education plus enterprise-based training is useless. But, bearing all this in mind, what can Japan provide Africa from its experience of TVET?

(3) Implications for Japanese aid

It is clear that the Japanese system of skills development cannot be directly transferable to much of Africa. Such a system can function under the condition of Japanese education and employment, but Japanese experience of TVET may also contain an important message. Is there any Japanese systematic aid policy for TVET? What are the implications of the Japanese experience for African development?

Japanese aid policy and experience of TVET

It is surprising that Japanese technical co-operation for Africa started in the 1960s with the assistance to vocational training centres (i.e. institution-based TVET) in Ghana, Kenya and Uganda. It is noteworthy that each project was a first project supported by Japan in each country. It can be said that the aid towards TVET was a pioneering

sector of Japanese aid to Africa. The 1960s, soon after independence, might have been the time of high expectations of rapid industrialisation to catch up with developed countries. However, there was no TVET project supported by Japan in the late 1970s and the early 1980s in Africa except the training centre of National Youth Service in Kenya. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there were three projects for vocational training (all concerning institution-based TVET) in Africa: Kenya, Senegal and Zambia. There is no on-going Japanese project of this type today in Africa on a large scale. It is also worth noting that Japanese aid has been provided in the form of public post-school training institutions which are least adapted to the current demand of both economy and students in Japan.

On the other hand, Japanese TVET aid has been dominant in East Asia. The current area of Japanese co-operation with that region is highly specialised, for example, providing computer technology and broadcasting. There are few projects targeting traditional manual skills like metalwork in this region. More exactly those projects could be categorised as 'higher' education today and TVET in the context of East Asia is therefore quite different from the framework of Africa. It is clear that Japanese aid to conventional post-secondary TVET has largely been phased out and specialised aid to higher education in the field of technology and agriculture is dominant in East Asia.

There are two examples of Japanese-aided projects which illustrate that higher education (university education) in the field of technology can be a continuation of so-calledTVET. That is, TVET can be a first step towards higher education in that field. In Thailand, Japan first provided aid to a vocational training centre on telecommunication in 1960 and the centre was raised to university status in 1971. The university, King Mong Kut's Institute of Technology, is now a leading university of technology, which produces 18 per cent of engineering graduates in Thailand. The other example is the Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology in Kenya which was established in 1981 with a substantial amount of Japanese aid. Although it was called a college, its starting point was based on Kenya's development plan in 1974 which emphasised vocational and technical training in its education system (JICA, 1991c). The objective of the College was to train middle-level technicians (not so-called engineers) required for the development of small-scale industry and of appropriate technology. In this Kenyan case, institutional management and administration is emphasised in addition to the technical field. The Thai case is solely

focused on the technical field. In 1988, the College was raised to the status of a university college which could confer degrees.

As these examples show, it is necessary to look sometimes at public TVET institutions as reserves of future higher education institutions. Merely to scale down institution-based TVET as the World Bank recommends may mean discarding the potential of higher technological development in the future. These projects supported by Japan exemplify the progression between skills in TVET and technology in higher education.

As to Japanese aid policy for TVET, it is difficult to identify directly. This is largely owing to the bureaucratic structure of the Government. It is unrealistic in Japan to expect harmonisation of the Ministry of Education with the Ministry of Labour to produce such policy. Consequently, the prevalent Japanese version of TVET aid has been a post-school vocational training centre for mechanical and electrical engineering in co-operation with the Ministry of Labour. Also very few government authorities are officially interested in skills development in Japan, possibly because Japanese skills and technology have developed well, without hindrance. There have been very few debates on TVET issues in the way that there have been on education policy in Japan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs merely states that "for a nation whose economy is relatively well-developed and whose literacy rate is relatively high, for example, it is important to improve higher-level education and specialized professional training as a means of directly providing the human resources needed to sustain the nation's economic development" (Japan, 1994a:162). Does this mean that low-income developing countries with high illiteracy rates (i.e. much of Africa) are not suitable for aid to TVET?

Accordingly, JICA policy on TVET is also unclear. Although TVET is included in educational aid according to JICA's definition, the study report for educational aid says little about TVET (JICA, 1994a). Practically this is because vocational training falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Labour and no member from that Ministry participated in the study group of JICA. There is a significant gap between education and training in the national bureaucratic system even if the two concepts have converged in a real sense.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) whose thinking may be based on Asian

experience illustrates a different kind of policy. With regard to secondary vocational education, ADB (1988:70-71) states that:

> The support of too narrow and potentially short-lived vocational specializations in highly selective and costly secondary education systems, involving the risk of creating or increasing the number of unemployable graduates, should be avoided. Instead, more emphasis on flexible and self-directed learning patterns, as well as, to a certain extent, on developing the technical and vocational components of secondary education as a whole should be considered. This includes the reduction of the organizational and curricular gap between general secondary education and technical-vocational education.

This view is similar to Japanese belief. Firstly, what students learned in school is basically limited and it does not necessarily determine their future jobs. Secondly, it is often considered that too much specialised education at an early stage is not appropriate, and therefore Japanese vocational secondary school is characterised by the strong emphasis on general academic subjects. Thirdly, it also implies that actual vocational learning begins after employment and a strong attitude towards self-help in employment is encouraged to upgrade their skills.

The JICA regional study report for African development says more about TVET than the education sector report. That is probably because such a regional study, unlike a sector study, is free from the constraints of the Japanese bureaucratic system. At the stage of implementation of individual projects, TVET may not be as straightforward as the regional study likes to set out. The regional report for Africa states that:

> Training in immediately usable vocational and technical skills is necessary, not only to equip youths after elementary and secondary school (and drop-outs) for productive work, but also to elevate the technical level of the population that is already at work. In view of the fact that the rural sector and the informal sector employs a large part of the active population, and the fact that there is a scarcity of on-the-job training facilities in the formal sector, public institutions for vocational and technical training have to play an important role (JICA, 1991a:38-39).

This report implies that there is an important role played by public training institutions for the rural sector and the informal sector. Another report made by JICA (1991d:81) also argues that the discourse about TVET for Africa so far has tended to focus on the promotion of industrialisation in the context of cost-effectiveness, but it should be reoriented towards human development for rural development. Old-style TVET for industrialisation has faded out in Japanese aid policy for Africa. This current Japanese policy seems to be a replica of mainstream (Western) donor policy and does not reflect the Japanese experience of skills development. Japanese experience through its own development and its experience of aid are not sufficiently utilised. Moreover, it is not

clear what kind of TVET projects should be formed and implemented from this policy.

Tentative approaches for Japanese support to TVET in Africa

Technical and vocational education and training (TVET) in any country has especially close relationships with the social and economic circumstances in that country (King, 1991a:74). It is important to look at the process of skills development within an individual country in its social and educational context. Each donor country has a quite different style and maintains different values of TVET. The culture of TVET often comes from individual countries' social environments and therefore largely influences its pattern of bilateral aid. Sweden, for example, is characterised by school-based TVET and its bilateral aid has been provided mostly in the form of secondary vocational education (Middleton et al., 1993:284). For many recipient countries, it means that they have had no choice but to accept piecemeal projects of donor countries. Aid co-ordination in TVET is more complicated and even more necessary than that in basic or higher education. For example, Hultin (1987:56) states that:

> Donors have vocational systems in their home-countries which may differ considerably. It is therefore important that these donors, when working in one and the same LDC and offering assistance in vocational education, coordinate their efforts and avoid offering systems and solutions completely at odds with each other. Such cooperation is particularly important in vocational education which is expensive and complicated even under the best circumstances.

This kind of inter-agency co-operation is important in planning and implementing TVET programmes, particularly, for the informal sector (Utria and Salome, 1994).

As for Japanese approaches to TVET aid in Africa, first of all, it is indispensable for Japan to do research on indigenous and formal systems of skills development in the country itself and to sort out critical problems of skills acquisition in Africa in particular. Secondly, it is necessary to explore the actual aim of skills development in the context of national development in a specific context of individual Africa countries. It is essential to discuss the importance of TVET development, beyond the point at which it is a possible countermeasure to unemployment. It is, of course, a prerequisite for the government to place a high value on skills like science and technology. Then it is also necessary to produce a comprehensive TVET policy for national development in the formal education system. After clearing up those arguments, the government might be able to take an initiative such as to build labour-intensive industry as well as

to support the informal sector.

Japanese enterprise-based training is attracting a lot of interest. Although it is not possible for Japan to provide official aid directly to this mode of skills training, it is appropriate, indirectly, to support such training. Actually, Japan promotes 'a comprehensive approach' which builds up a close connection with direct investment on a commercial basis (Japan, 1994b). To make enterprise-based training more effective, it is essential to build a minimum level of skills capacity probably through the formal system. If skills capacity is improved by official aid, future investment may be induced and enterprise-based training can begin to function more effectively and efficiently.

Industrialisation is a key concern for many African countries and it is also necessary to look at TVET from the angle of industrialisation. Riddell et al. (1990:3) state that "the strong contrasts between the emphasis given to the role of industry within African governments and their advisers, its virtual absence in policy debate emanating from outside Africa, and the implicit downgrading of industry in structural adjustment programmes, all raise a series of questions for African development for the 1990s." Too much focus on the informal sector, imposed by external agencies with a short-term perspective, may mislead future African development. The traditional role of TVET for industrialisation should still survive, even if this is adjusted to take account of changing circumstances.

It is concluded that there are three critical aspects to which Japan should pay attention when planning TVET aid in Africa. First, it is necessary to harmonise the TVET needs of the informal sector with those associated with a long-term development target such as industrialisation. The current bias towards the informal sector may actually disrupt future development of the formal sector. Secondly, it is important to consider skills development in the context of the formal education system as a whole, as well as private sector training in order to upgrade overall skills capacity. Formal education has a greater impact on the improvement of skills capacity than private training. Such capacity may improve not only by means of direct skills acquisition but also through the acquisition of knowledge in general academic subjects such as mathematics and science. Thirdly, skills development cannot be supported solely by official aid. Enterprise-based training is essential and direct investment by commercial firms is

indispensable. The role of official aid may be to raise the level of basic skills capacity in order to induce such investment.

First and last, what is most important for many African countries in terms of skills development might be to have as high a regard for skills as for academic knowledge and modern technology. Without this high valuation of skills dispersed widely across the nation, it may well be fruitless for a country to learn 'technology' from other countries; it will simply not have a sufficiently strong skill base and capacity to absorb the technology.

6. JAPANESE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS AFRICAN EDUCATION

So far, mainstream educational aid policy has been explored and has been critically analysed taking into account basic policy in the areas of basic education, higher education and TVET, in particular, from the viewpoint of Japanese experience and knowledge. Japanese educational aid for Africa is still very limited, and only a few countries appear to have taken an interest in non-Western, Japanese experience. Japan is now supposed to despatch a message to African countries based on its own knowledge and experience of education. Yet Japan does not seem to be ready for coming up to such African expectations.

Japan generally tends to consider its weaknesses too much and to undervalue its advantages and its own recent experience. The country may have been too anxious about externally forced assistance based on its own policy and experience regardless of actual needs (see section 2.1 (3)). Japan appears to have basically respected the internal policy of recipient countries and to have had less interest in conditionality. However, it might be said that the role of bilateral aid is to provide recipient countries with the best of what each individual donor possesses. For African countries, their motivation to receive such aid may be based on their selection of donors' comparative advantages in terms of knowledge, experience, relevance and flexibility. Frequently, this may result in piecemeal projects supported by individual donors if co-ordinating capacity of recipients is weak. Although aid co-ordination is necessary, especially, in the case of educational aid, such co-ordination does not mean that individual donors should work in the same way with the same policy. It may rather stimulate a variety of ideas and approaches in order to make aid work more effectively and efficiently. Bilateral donors are not competitive but complementary. Today Japan seems to be expected to provide its own ideas based on its own educational expertise to Africa rather than merely following the avenue set by Western donors. Arguably, the country is now attempting to take more independent decisions.

The purpose of this last chapter is to examine how Japan can contribute towards African education and to identify some implications for Japanese educational assistance policy. Firstly, the comparative advantage of Japan in education is briefly

reviewed and integrated. Secondly, the educational policy and practice of three specific countries is reviewed and it is therefore possible to explore implications for Japan working in those countries, especially at the ground level. Finally, possible implications for Japanese aid policy in African education are presented so that Japan can provide aid in a more effective and efficient way.

6.1 Japanese Comparative Advantage

Understatement is one of Japan's traditions and it may have resulted in policymakers worrying that Japan had less experience in the aid community than several other OECD countries. Japan has seldom placed a high value on its own experience and history in educational development in the context of international aid, but such a trend seems to be changing as discussed above (see section 2.2 (2)). It is important to despatch Japanese messages, based on Japanese experience to Africa. In the previous chapters, the comparative advantages of Japan over other bilateral donors in education by subsector were examined. They are here summarised as follows.

-Basic education-

Education, and especially basic education, is deeply rooted in the cultures and values of individual countries. Japan is characterised by its tradition of a high regard and value for teaching/learning and for teachers. Those two elements are closely linked to educational quality in basic education, which is a key issue in much of Africa. It is widely accepted that Japanese development has been based on quality basic education. In particular, Japan has traditionally taken significant measures to improve and retain the quality of teachers. Moreover, Japan's overall achievement in science and mathematics has been widely acknowledged through international comparative studies. The improvement of those two areas has been emphasised by many African governments.

-Higher education-

Japan has extensive experience of aid to higher education in Asia and has relatively recent experience of higher education development in its own history. Most East Asian countries have achieved remarkable progress in the short term with their own higher

education systems. In those countries, higher education in the field of technology has been in part supported by Japanese aid. In Africa, most higher education institutions are replicas of European models and are often academically oriented. On the other hand, many African governments seem to place their expectations on higher education in the areas of science and technology, and to consider that improving their capacity in these spheres may be a prerequisite for national development. In addition to such a technological emphasis, Japan can substantially contribute to the encouragement of educational research and teacher training in those institutions so as to utilise its own experience of providing quality basic education. It may be able to provide a clue to the improvement of basic education and the retainment of its quality in many African countries.

-TVET-

Japan has a high regard for skills as well as science and technology. Skills development is an urgent matter for many African countries and may be regarded as the cornerstone of technological development. Focusing solely on technology without strengthening underlying skills capacity may be likely to build up the education system from the top, leaving basic education behind. Japan may be able to connect TVET development not with the informal sector but with future industrialisation in the longer term. It is also possible to suggest the next necessary step to improve local technological capability, for example, by illustrating the continuity between skills and technology. Japan has recently seen the growth of TVET both for itself and for other countries in its experience of giving aid. Furthermore, Japan has varied experience in the three versions of TVET (see section 5.2 (2)) and can suggest a variety of approaches for skills development, when necessary, combined with the expanding performance of science and mathematics education.

The educational subsectors mentioned above cannot stand in isolation and they influence each other. Therefore, it is also necessary to reconsider Japanese advantages in each of the subsectors in the context of the education system as a whole. The Japanese approach is to upgrade the bulk of the population in education. Actually, Japan's own high standard of education is supported by the high performance of the bottom half. It is generally free from elitism. Arguably, what is necessary for Africa today is the overall upgrading of educational capacity rather than the production of a

small elite who could take a leadership role. The mainstream of international aid policy placing its emphasis upon 'basic education for all' and 'capacity building' seems to echo this Japanese strategy.

6.2 Implications for Specific Countries

It is essential for aid agencies to plan educational projects and programmes according to individual countries' needs and available resources. Even if such needs are common throughout many countries, there are many approaches to attaining the same goal depending on the government policy, social and economic circumstances or the educational capacity of individual countries. For the countries who need to build up technological capability, such a possible avenue for example could be to strengthen higher education in one country and to improve TVET at the primary level in another country, in accordance with each individual country's needs. In this section, an illustration of the arguments thus far is found in studying the cases of three countries in Africa: Ghana, Kenya and South Africa. Discussion here will be primarily based on the stated government policy of the individual country and Japanese aid policy in education in that country, with critical appraisal. There is a certain limitation in my approach because what is written on paper is frequently different from what is really happening, but nevertheless this is an attempt to provide a fresh perspective on hitherto undervalued practices in Japanese educational aid.

(1) Ghana

The 1980s were recognised as a decade of economic depression for most African countries. Among them the decline of the Ghanaian economy was severe. In 1983, Ghana adopted an economic recovery programme in co-operation with the IMF and the World Bank and had structural adjustment imposed on it. The efforts for structural adjustment made by Ghana are positively evaluated by the IMF and the Bank, and it is said to be one of few successful cases in Africa, since its economy has almost constantly improved with some five per cent annual GDP growth since 1984 (Japan, 1993b:392).

On the other hand, the adverse effects of such a programme on the people of Ghana,

particularly the poor, were emerging by 1985 (Graham-Brown, 1991:27). The economic growth may have been achieved at the cost of social welfare. It is important to note that economic growth of a country does not necessarily trickle down, especially to the poor. In order to lessen the ill effects of macro-economic strategy, the Government launched the Programme of Actions to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) in 1988 in collaboration with the Bank and some other donors. PAMSCAD has run a number of social projects to compensate for basic human needs such as education and health. However, PAMSCAD was not well designed and as a result its progress has not been satisfactory (Rothchild, 1991:12; Toye, 1991:195).

The World Bank has been an influential agency, particularly to Ghana, providing 22 per cent of total aid in 1991. The Bank has also strongly encouraged bilateral donors to join its own projects. Its current policy is to increase the investment in the social infrastructure such as education, as well as the economic infrastructure in order to enhance the economic growth rate (JICA, 1994d:4007). Japan is a major bilateral donor to Ghana and it ranked first among others in 1992, primarily because of the loan provided in order to support structural adjustment (Japan, 1994d:420). It is evident that Japan has attached particular importance to Ghana in its aid portfolio.

Education reform

Historically, the education system of Ghana was relatively advanced especially in terms of the gross enrolment ratio (GER) at secondary school levels. In 1960 the GER had already reached as high as 19 per cent while the ratios of most African countries were still only 1 to 4 per cent (World Bank, 1988:132). As for the GER of primary school, it had steadily improved until the early 1980s (ibid.:131). However, the quality of education appeared to decline with the deterioration of the Ghanaian economy in the late 1970s and early 1980s. It is stated that "the system was near collapse; a widespread view was that, except in favored schools, very little of educational value was actually happening in the schools" (Cobbe, 1991:105).

One of the drastic reforms concerning public sectors as a whole occurred in the education sector under the economic recovery programme. In 1987 the Government of Ghana embarked on a programme aimed at revitalising its education system, which

was characterised by the introduction of junior secondary school and a vocationally-oriented curriculum. The length of pre-university schooling was reduced from 17 to 12 years. The new system is 6-year primary, 3-year junior secondary and 3-year senior secondary. The initial objective of the reform was to provide every child with nine years of basic education. The three main strategies for the reform can be described as: equal access to primary school, improvement of educational quality and efficiency, and strengthening planning and administrative capacity (Colclough with Lewin, 1993:124). These are identical to the donors' concerns, especially those of the World Bank (1990a), which have partly been discussed already (see section 3.1 (3)). For example, in a press conference on their education reform the Secretary for the Minister of Education and Culture of Ghana at the time emphasised cost reduction especially in higher education partly in line with the Bank policy (Asante, 1988).

The resources saved through the educational reform were mostly reallocated to improve primary schooling in particular (Colclough with Lewin, 1993:127). Moreover, in order to improve the quality and efficiency of primary schooling, the Government has introduced a double-shift scheme and cost-sharing with parents and communities. Other donors also have focused on primary schooling. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that 81 per cent of external aid to the education sector in Ghana was allocated to primary education in 1990/91, in contrast with the average for African countries being 18 per cent (UNICEF, 1994:Table 8). However, the GER of primary school declined from 80 per cent in 1980 to 77 per cent in 1990 (UNESCO, 1993a:128). Without this reform it could have been much worse - the figures in Kenya, for example, declined from 115 per cent to 95 per cent and, in Nigeria, deteriorated from 104 per cent to 72 per cent during the same period (ibid.).

Current issues

Ghana also has significant regional differences particularly between the northern and the southern parts of the country in access to school. For example, only 10 to 15 per cent of school-age children in the northern province are actually in school (Ghana, 1989:9), while some 90 per cent of those children in Accra attend primary school (Ghana and World Bank, 1988:41). Cost-sharing with parents and communities, for expenditure on items such as learning materials and school facilities, may have hindered access to school in economically disadvantaged areas. It is a reality that "the

costs of education at all levels are prohibitive and many people cannot afford to support their children's schooling" (De la Gorgendiere, 1993:214). Even if such a significant percentage of external aid is applied to primary school, as was mentioned above, it might not succeed in promoting equal access to school.

Effective use of limited educational budgets is therefore the critical issue. Cost-sharing with families and communities is a common strategy but it needs to be carefully monitored. However, the Government bears additional costs in two ways: in allowances to all students in teacher training colleges; and in the provision of educational facilities and payments, including boarding fees, for the educationally handicapped regions such as those in the North (Ghana, 1992:21). These costs may help increase the incentive to become a teacher and they also promote equal access to school.

On the whole, the education policy of Ghana appears to be faultless on paper. Despite the well-prepared policy, the evaluation of education reform claims that "a large proportion of children who reach the end of primary school are not fully literate" (Ghana, 1994: section 2). The focus has now shifted to concentrate on how to carry out such policy rather than to produce more policy on paper only.

Perspective of Japanese aid

Current Japanese aid for education in Ghana is represented by the activities of the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV). They work in senior secondary schools as science and mathematics teachers. Apart from JOCV activities, there is little evidence of Japanese educational aid on the ground. The JOCV teachers have contributed to the improvement of educational quality of those stated subjects, which are often otherwise poorly taught and learned. However, the schools to which they have been assigned are mainly located in the southern part of the country, since relatively good schools in terms of living and working conditions, as well as the security they provide, are chosen. Thus their work has sometimes even increased the regional differences in educational achievement rather than reduced them. It is undeniable that there is a certain limit to improving overall educational quality throughout the country through such activities because the teacher's presence rarely has an impact on national policy. But in what ways can Japan contribute more

effectively to educational development in Ghana?

-Basic education-

A number of science and mathematics teachers from JOCV have been engaged in senior secondary schools. For instance, in JFY 1992 and 1993, 12 and 19 Japanese teachers were despatched respectively (JICA, 1994b:137). However, there is no Japanese aid given to basic education in a strict sense. In contrast to this Japanese practice, the nine years of schooling (primary and junior secondary) for each child is the most important objective of the educational reform. According to Ghana (1992:11), much effort at this level has been made to achieve a one-to-one supply of textbooks to every primary school pupil. This has been supported by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). If Japan intends to provide its aid to basic education including junior secondary school and adult literacy programmes, it may be useful to have information about the USAID's work and critically analyse it from a Japanese angle.

According to JICA study for aid to Ghana, basic education is certainly a priority area and three avenues are suggested: (1) the construction of learning facilities such as community centres and primary schools; (2) the upgrading of teacher training, and; (3) the improvement of learning materials such as textbooks (JICA, 1995b). On the whole, Japan is rather oriented to providing physical facilities and materials and still underplays its own expertise. Arguably, Japan has the potential to contribute much more strongly towards the advancement of basic education. For example, the improvement of curriculum development in mathematics throughout the basic cycle of education combined with the necessary perspective for learning practical (vocational) subjects may be a first option. Further, this will have a positive impact on higher levels of education where there is a certain deficiency in scientific and technological fields.

The improvement of teacher training proposed by Japan is a common choice. It suggests upgrading the teaching staff of those training colleges and giving teachers incentives through the construction of teachers' flats, training in Japan and in-service training. However, it has no answer for a critical issue: how to deal with a great number of primary and secondary schools and teachers. It is true to say that no

motivated teacher can be produced without quality teaching staff at the teachers colleges. If all students at those colleges are entitled to receive special allowances as mentioned above, more motivated students may come. But as long as teachers' status and salaries are low, it is difficult to retain excellent teachers. This is common deadlock. Japan could possibly identify a new strategy to bring such deadlock to an end. This approach may include the Japanese strategy which has been taken in order to attract able young people to the teaching professions (see section 3.2. (2)).

With regard to adult literacy work, Ghana (1989:1) emphasises that "there has been a renewed and conscious attempt to expand adult education and eradicate illiteracy as a prerequisite for accelerated self-reliant and self-sustainable national development." The Division of Nonformal Education has been established within the Ministry of Education since 1986. However, such literacy work seems to depend on volunteers and the Government states that "adult education would be a voluntary activity ..." (ibid.:15). This may show that the Government is unlikely to provide sufficient financial and human support to literacy activities. Probably in conjunction with this policy, only some two per cent of external aid to education was allocated to nonformal education including literacy programmes in 1990/91 (UNICEF, 1994:table 8), despite a mass literacy programme launched in 1989. The adult illiteracy rate is much higher in the North than in the South and much higher among women than men (Ghana, 1989:7). The overall illiteracy rate in Ghana in 1990 was 30 per cent for males and 49 per cent for females, according to UNESCO (1993a:120).

The JICA study includes an interesting policy strand concerning basic education. A strong emphasis is put on the idea of *terakoya*, which was, traditionally, a private elementary school for the common people in the Edo period of Japan (see section 2.2 (1)). The current situation in Ghana could be similar to that in Japan at that period in terms of literacy rates, but such *terakoya* education was implemented before the modern education system was introduced in Japan. Moreover, there is no approach to deal with gender, or with regional disparities. This proposal for *terakoya* seems to lie not in its private funding but in its small scale. Although it is significant that Japan clearly proposes, probably for the first time, its own idea based on its own experience, that idea may be rather separate from realities in Ghana. Under financial constraints, is it appropriate to build new *terakoya* facilities in addition to formal primary schools and regardless of the effective use of existing facilities such as churches and mosques? The

concept of *terakoya* which significantly contributed to increasing literate people at the grassroots in Japan is undoubtedly important, but it is more important to examine how to transfer this idea to present-day Ghana.

-Higher education-

There is a Japan-aided project in the medical department of the University of Ghana which can be traced back to 1968, but it relates more to medical services than the mainstream of higher education. According to Ghana (1992), official educational policy appears to say little about higher education, probably because such institutions have some autonomy; this, or greater emphasis has been placed on basic education leaving higher education behind. Education reform at higher levels has not been so thoroughly considered as other subsectors, except for the issue of cost-sharing to reduce public burdens.

The Japanese stance towards the higher education subsector seems to be negative except for aid to teacher training colleges, and it is stated that educational investment at this level contributes little to national development because of poor quality, educated unemployment and the brain drain (JICA, 1995b). Japanese aid may be focused on productive areas, including agriculture and technology, and medical services (ibid.). Yet Japan does not attempt to improve the current higher education system which, it alleges, does not work effectively for national development. At the very least, Japan can provide effective management knowledge within an institution in addition to knowledge of specific technical fields. Furthermore, it can contribute to the solution of the problems which are identified in this subsector in the way in which Japan carries out educational research in collaboration with the relevant higher education institutions in Ghana. Japan may also be able to encourage these institutions to do research with regard to the advancement of basic education for all people. Higher education institutions need not be narrowly concentrated on technological development or teacher training. Much emphasis should be given to educational research and as a result Japan can contribute to the provision of quality basic education as well as of quality higher education.

The objective of TVET in the formal education system of Ghana is "the acquisition of broad knowledge of basic skills applicable to a number of occupations within a given field" (Ghana, 1992:16). This illustrates that the curriculum should not be geared towards a specific job, which runs parallel to the Japanese idea about school-based and institution-based TVET (see section 5.1 (2)). Ghana established the National Co-ordinating Committee for Vocational and Technical Education and Training in 1991 and cleared the issue of a co-ordinating mechanism among several ministries concerning TVET. As for aid to TVET, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) implements a technical education project targeting the northern region of the country (JICA, 1994d:4013). Since Ghana may be interested in the curriculum diversification, Japanese experience of academic-oriented vocational senior secondary schooling along with the CIDA's experience may be able to provide some help for such diversification.

On the other hand, the most current Japanese policy on TVET in Ghana merely states that the vocational training system should be strengthened (JICA, 1995b). It hardly examines the linkage between the vocationally-oriented academic education system and the vocational training system. Arguably, Japan can and should consider the role of TVET (even if it is post-school institution-based TVET) in the context of the education system as a whole. Moreover, Japan can also illustrate some approaches to school-based TVET from its own experience.

It is noteworthy that JICA emphasises educational management in its educational policy. Although Japan is still oriented to providing school facilities, this stress on educational management is certainly relating to the core of education systems. This implies a changing Japanese attitude towards aid to education: from the support to facilities and equipment towards their integration with systems and structures (see section 2.2 (2)). To attain this objective, it is necessary to carry out educational research, which could be a first step towards the contribution to education systems, as discussed generally in higher education above.

These Japanese proposals for education in Ghana are probably not fully supported by its own research findings. Except for the idea of *terakoya*, Japan does not seem to be establishing its own policy by positioning itself between the Government policy and

the mainstream of international aid policy. Thus Japanese policy does not echo Japan's own expertise, nor does it take sufficient account of educational needs in Ghana. Unexpectedly, this reality may indicate that Japan does not put sufficient emphasis upon research in education at the moment. Arguably, more research in greater depth is needed and it may be an option for Japan to carry out educational research based in institutions of higher education. In collaboration with Ghanaian educationalists, Japan may be able to offer its own experience and knowledge of educational development to Ghana through such research.

(2) Kenya

Kenya is widely considered to be a leading country in East Africa in terms of economic development and it has a relatively diversified industrial base. This may be cause and effect in the sense that aid to East Africa has been generally concentrated on this country. The UK has been a major donor to Kenya and has a close relationship with the state, which is illustrated by the fact that Kenya has been, almost always, a main recipient of aid from the UK among African countries (OECD, 1992b:A-64). British aid to education there varies from primary to higher education and has various kinds of projects, which is unusual in the case of other donors. For example, it has projects such as curriculum innovation and teacher training for primary school (Tanno, 1992:210). The World Bank provided an education sector loan in 1992 in order to improve the quality of Kenya's public university (JICA, 1994d:4007). As far as the education sector is concerned, the UK also appears to have been a leading donor.

Kenya has placed a high priority on educational development and has allocated a significant share of its budget to education. Kenya (1992:27) states that "Government expenditure on education in recent years has accounted for 38 per cent of total recurrent expenditure, or 45 per cent if training is added." The World Bank points out the 'unusual importance' of education in Kenya (IDA, 1991).

Education reform and current policy

Kenya also reformed its education system in 1985. The reform was mainly implemented to extend the primary cycle of schooling from seven to eight years and its curriculum was vocationally oriented by the introduction of practical subjects,

including carpentry, in order to assist the acquisition of appropriate skills. One of Kenya's objectives may be to prepare for work (probably self-employment and employment in the informal sector) within the primary (or secondary) education system itself. This partly results from an unemployment problem among primary school leavers, and may be primarily considered as an issue after the recommendations of a Government report in 1976 (Kenya, 1976), dating back in turn to a ILO mission in 1971 (ILO, 1972). The current education system follows the pattern of 8-year primary school, 4-year secondary school and 4-year university.

The difference between Ghana and Kenya in their education reforms is that Kenya appeared to put less emphasis on the attainment of universal primary education than Ghana. In terms of the GER of primary school, in 1990 Kenya's was 95 per cent, while Ghana's was 77 per cent (UNESCO, 1993a:128). Kenya may have believed that universal primary education would be achieved soon anyway. By contrast, for Ghana universal primary schooling might be a central aim of education reform.

In this situation the Government of Kenya accepted the recommendation of the Presidential Committee, which suggested the reallocation of public expenditure within the education sector, in order that "the attainment of Universal Primary Education be targeted for 10 years from now" (Kenya, 1992:27). Another strategy introduced for cost recovery is cost-sharing with beneficiaries including parents and communities so as to expand further educational opportunities and maintain quality (Kenya, 1988:1). These approaches are identical with those adopted in Ghana and in line with educational policy produced by the World Bank.

Current conditions and other issues

The Government of Kenya claimed that universal primary schooling should be achieved within ten years in 1992 as mentioned above. This contrasts with the smaller emphasis on universal primary schooling in 1985 when Kenya embarked on education reform. During the 1980s the GER of primary school declined from 115 per cent in 1980 to 95 per cent in 1990 (UNESCO, 1993a:128). So Kenya needed new strategies for education. Besides, the actual attendance rate of school-age children may be much worse because of high dropout and repeat rates of each grade.

Kenya's Government recognises that these issues are crucial in the development of primary education, and notes the "wastage arising from large numbers of drop-outs and repeaters within the school system" (Kenya, 1988:12). For example, Tanno (1992:199) shows that the number of new pupils in 1981 was 911,900, while that of those who sat for a final examination when leaving primary school in 1987, following the same group, was 524,700. This indicates that roughly 42 per cent of pupils did not complete primary schooling. Although Kenya is characterised by a strong emphasis on education and a high enrolment ratio to primary school, the phenomenon of high dropout rate is a significant feature.

The quality of education in Kenya appears to be subject to less criticism from researchers than that in Ghana. This could be, in part, because the Government has often emphasised the maintenance of educational quality with quantitative expansion. For example, almost two decades ago, the Government argued that:

> The tremendous expansion of education has often been achieved at the cost of quality and relevance of education. In particular, the quality of teachers has been a growing concern in recent years (Kenya, 1976:xviii).

Mwega and Kabubo (1993:32) note two major issues regarding education in Kenya: high dropout rates in schools and adult literacy classes, and unequal access to education in disadvantaged regions. Although they do not state the quality of education as a main problem, the high dropout rate is most likely to be related to educational quality along with financial problems of parents.

The vocationalisation of education is a key word in the reform, but it certainly needs additional resources. According to Kenya (1988:51), "the vocationalisation of education under the 8-4-4 system of education has particularly created a great demand for the supply of educational facilities and equipment and hence increased expenditure." Vocational education in primary school and secondary school is suffering from the shortage of physical facilities and equipment and the lack of qualified vocational teachers (Kerre, 1991). It can be easily imagined what is actually happening at the classroom level.

A sessional paper also recommends the increase of teacher-pupil ratios, in-service training of teachers and the restriction of new intake into public universities (Kenya, 1992:27). These approaches are almost identical to the World Bank policy. As for the

critical issue of dropouts, it may not be solved through an educational approach alone. It has been suggested that many pupils have been discouraged from attending school, when their families could not raise funds for the cost-sharing (Lillis and Ayot, 1988:122). If such a problem is approached from the point of view of school, it is a necessary option both to improve teachers' quality and teaching/learning materials to attract children and their parents to schooling.

With respect to literacy, Kenya (1992:43) states that "literacy is an essential element in the socioeconomic development of the country and therefore, total elimination of illiteracy is recommended by the year 2000." The Government established the Department of Adult Education in 1978 and may have placed emphasis on adult education as well as school education. The College of Education and External Studies in the University of Nairobi is a teacher-training institute for adult education. But its budget has been recently curtailed and there has been little activity there (Tanno, 1992:204). The enrolments in adult literacy classes continued to decline in the 1980s (Tanno, 1990:119).

Despite these negative events, there was a significant improvement in adult literacy rates in the late 1980s. For example, the adult illiteracy rates in 1988 were 44 per cent for men and 57 per cent for women (Kenya, 1992:43), while in 1990 those rates were 20.2 per cent and 41.5 per cent respectively (UNESCO, 1993a:120). Is it such an easy task to eliminate illiteracy dramatically within a few years? Conversely, this may indicate that the definition of literacy is generally not rigid and that those rates are not reliable, as argued above (see section 3.1 (1)).

The perspective of Japanese aid

Japan has laid the greatest emphasis in its aid portfolio on Kenya among African countries and, as in Ghana, it has been one of the major donors to Kenya since the early 1980s. Japan was the top aid provider to Kenya among bilateral and multilateral donors in 1991 and 1992 (Japan, 1994d:452). In terms of educational aid, it has contributed to the development of secondary education, higher education and TVET. However, as for basic education, such as primary schooling and adult literacy work, there is little Japanese contribution so far.

The activity of JOCV teachers at secondary schools is one of few examples of Japanese aid to basic education in Kenya at the moment, as it is in Ghana, if secondary school is regarded as basic education. They teach science and mathematics in Harambee (i.e. self-help) secondary schools where the teachers of those subjects are scarce. Mathematics and science have been strongly emphasised as subjects to be improved in terms of teaching and facilities (Kenya, 1976:xviii; Kenya, 1988:13). Providing more JOCV teachers may be one way in which Japan can contribute towards basic education in a broad sense. However, JICA (1992:52) argues that "in addition to the dispatch of JOCV members, assistance in science and mathematics education as a whole may be considered through the improvement and expansion of the supply system for laboratory equipment and the training and retraining of teachers." This seems to imply that Japan is seeking to contribute not only to filling the deficiency of Kenyan teachers, but also to make a positive impact on the overall educational level of the country through providing teaching/learning materials and teacher training concerning science and mathematics education.

With regard to primary schooling, JICA (ibid.) underlines the need, for example, for the improvement of the supply system for educational materials such as textbooks. The one-to-one supply of textbooks for each pupil is stressed as an appropriate option. However, it does not discuss the improvement of the contents of textbooks themselves. Moreover, it is argued that it is essential for Japan to work in co-operation with other donors in the area of primary school education where Japanese experience is very limited (ibid.).These approaches do not appear to take an independent line from other donors. The co-operation at teacher training college in the field of science and mathematics may be an option to improve the quality of education at the national or regional level, since the Government of Kenya has placed emphasis on this form of education as discussed above. In fact, the provision of textbooks and teacher training will play a key role to improve the quality of primary schooling and especially the quality of science education requires substantial improvement (Eisemon, 1988:140). As for adult literacy work, it may be an effective and efficient way to support and strengthen the existing institute of the University of Nairobi in charge of adult education (Tanno, 1992:215).

Generally, Japan appears to be approaching improvements of basic education through the provision of learning materials. The JICA policy shows few implications for education systems support. So Japanese expertise as discussed (see section 3.2 (2)) has not been and cannot be utilised so effectively. It is necessary for Japan to contribute towards basic education development in terms of education systems support in addition to a materials contribution.

-Higher Education-

Higher education in Kenya is criticised largely based on the extent of Government-support for this subsector at the expense of basic education. What is worse is that such investment by the Government does not respond to national development work because of unemployment and underemployment of graduates. However, unemployment is largely found among the graduates of arts and social science courses and there is a stable demand for graduates from scientific fields. The development of science and technology at this level is an urgent matter (Kenya, 1992:28). Moreover, these graduates can also become teaching staff in post-secondary TVET institutions.

Japan has supported the Jomo Kenyatta University College of Agriculture and Technology (JKUCAT) since 1980 and it presents a case illustrating the successful transition from a post-secondary TVET institution to university (see section 5.2 (3)). Kenya (1988:32) states that "the Government will increase its support to the universities to develop capacity and capability to train locally in all specialised areas to meet teaching and research needs of the universities and the high level manpower requirements by the national economy", and accepts that "universities be provided with adequate funds to expand postgraduate programmes to meet the demands for national manpower training and promotion of research." While universal primary schooling is an important target, the capacity building in science and technology is indispensable for national development (see section 4.1 (1)). Accordingly, it should be argued that JKUCAT shall further establish a postgraduate course in the future (Tanno, 1992:214).

But what is missing in Japanese educational aid to higher education in Kenya, as already discussed (see section 4.2 (2)), is the important role of educational research to help national policy formulation, which will be further linked to the improvement of

education systems. Japanese aid should now move to the sphere of such policy formulation in education based on both the practice of long-term co-operation with JKUCAT and its own experience of higher education development.

-TVET-

There are three modes of TVET as discussed above: school-based, post-school institution-based and enterprise-based (see section 5.2 (1)). So far, Japanese aid to this subsector has been concentrated on post-secondary institution-based TVET. Japan has supported the National Youth Service Engineering Institute since 1975 extending over several phases. It will be necessary to re-examine the role of the Institute in the situation where the mainstream of TVET is, at least in official policy statements, rather oriented to informal sector jobs. For example, Kenya (1988:19) states that "the Government will ensure that training institutions also equip their trainees with necessary entrepreneurship skills and formalised industrial experience with a view to giving them more relevant training." However, it is essential to look at the informal sector in connection with the development of the formal sector in a long-term perspective (see section 5.2 (3)).

School-based TVET may be approached through primary and secondary education. It suffers from various shortages, such as teachers and facilities, as mentioned above. The Government accepts that "plans for expanding the technical component of the school curriculum be reassessed" (Kenya, 1992:27). Japan was not interested in this type of TVET in line with its negative attitude to basic education, but Japanese experience of school-based TVET can be utilised in the context of vocationally-oriented academic education. It is also possible to contribute to this area through mathematics and science education which is most relevant to practical and vocational subjects.

The informal sector is said to be an engine of future economic growth in Kenya and the training for informal sector jobs has been frequently discussed. However, what is rarely argued is the linkage between small enterprises in the informal sector and large enterprises in the modern sector in the context of the provision of training as is the case in Japan (see section 5.2 (2)). Some of those small firms may have a potential to support large firms in providing miscellaneous products, such as small parts.

Additionally large firms give training to such firms in the informal sector in order to get quality products. The research on promoting industrialisation based on the reciprocity idea of Japanese industry may suggest further strategies concerning the provision of training between supporting industry in the informal sector and leading firms in the formal sector in Kenya.

On the whole, Japanese policy discussed above is rather oriented towards the expansion of the existing framework such as JOCV activities and JKUCAT. In other words, such policy appears to be conservative and is attempting to protect Japan-aided projects from current economic constraints rather than breaking new ground of educational aid in Kenya. Arguably, Japan should approach the improvement of educational systems at the national level on the basis of its relatively long experience of individual projects. If Japanese educational aid is successful, such experience would have implications for other similar institutions. Further, Japan could be able to contribute towards the structuring of efficient education systems in Kenya.

(3) South Africa

In April 1994 Nelson Mandela was elected as the first black president of South Africa and the apartheid system formally came to an end. Its education system was one of the fundamental mechanisms which had sustained the apartheid system. The education system meant racial segregation of schools and the provision of two completely different types of education for blacks and whites as well as others for Indians and Coloureds. The system for the majority of the population was poor in the quality of school infrastructure, teaching materials and teachers, while the schools for whites had been highly developed (Gerwel, 1994:82). It is a prerequisite for the new South Africa to restructure its education system from this massive inequity.

Aid to South Africa is complicated. It is an industrial country and is not less developed as a whole than any other African country. Yet there is a significant gap between black and white societies. Accordingly, external aid will be focused on the improvement of basic needs for black people. Japanese aid to South Africa so far is very limited. It was only 0.3 per cent of the total bilateral aid to the country in 1993 (IDJ, 1994c:92). However, in June 1994 Japan despatched a high-level mission regarding economic co-operation to South Africa and discussed basic policy and modalities of Japanese aid

with the authorities of the Government. It is estimated that Japan intends to offer aid of at least some one billion US dollars over five years (ibid.).

Post-apartheid

The apartheid system may be similar to a colonial system in terms of education. For example, Kenya (1976:xiii) states that "a racially segregated system of education was developed during the colonial days on the basis of beliefs generated and held by some white races, including the British who colonized and ruled Kenya, regarding their own superiority in relation to the dark races and their respective cultures and assumed educability." The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) pledged by the African National Congress (ANC) states that "we must develop an integrated system of education and training that provides equal opportunities to all irrespective of race, colour, sex, class, language, age, religion, geographical location, political or other opinion" (ANC, 1994b:3.3-3.1). The reconstruction of a new education system is a very critical issue in the reform of South Africa.

There is a significant difference between South Africa and the other two countries previously discussed, Ghana and Kenya, in the terminology of 'education' and 'training'. Although these two terms have often converged in a real sense, South Africa has traditionally drawn a clear distinction between them. For example, ANC (1994a:10) states that:

> The separation of education and training has contributed significantly to the situation where most of our people are under-educated, under-skilled, and under-prepared for full participation in social, economic and civic life. Most of the unemployed lack the basic education on which to build, and many of those in work are locked into low skilled and low paying jobs.

These two terms have been strictly used in two separate ways: 'education' is academic and 'training' is vocational (ibid.:30). The provision of education and training was further related to the labour market under apartheid. Today, the two terms are always used side by side for the purpose of attaining an integrated education and training system.

Policy and issues

The RDP, which is a key policy framework for a new South Africa, states that:

> The democratic government must enable all children to go to school for at least 10 years...Black education, in particular, suffered severe deficits in the areas of science, mathematics, technology, arts and culture. Curriculum development must therefore pay special attention to these areas. (ANC, 1994b:3.11).

It is noteworthy that the RDP places a priority on the improvement of science and mathematics education. The ANC policy paper for education and training endorses emphasis on these subjects (ANC, 1994a:84). It is evident that most Africans have been exposed to a distorted school curriculum.

It is imperative to undertake an overhaul of learning programmes in order to wipe out the apartheid legacy. To achieve the overhaul will cost a substantial amount of money, which the South African Government will find impossible to provide from its regular budget. For example, additional spending on education arises from "a shortfall of 76,000 school classrooms merely to provide for the current enrolment" (South Africa, 1994:40). The shortfall in the education budget is characterised by some statements in the policy document on education and training. It concludes that "the education budget must be restructured (1) to achieve equity, (2) to reduce unit costs and enhance performance, (3) to rationalise user charges, and (4) to develop new funding partnerships" (ibid.:45). Moreover, the paper states that:

> That is to say, the government may not be able to guarantee to provide fee-free schooling at levels of quality beyond those which are deemed affordable for all....Schools will be free to charge fees, the level of which will be determined by the capacity of the community to pay and/or the quality of schooling which that community deems affordable, beyond the 'acceptable minimum' which the government provides from public funds" (ibid.:56-57).

If following this logic, it seems to imply that the Government has no intention of radically altering the quality gap among schools and dramatically improving the economically disadvantaged regions such as the rural areas. The above policy might even further produce economically segregated system of education at a basic level. There is little argument over how to provide the same quality basic education for all across the country irrespective of rich or poor. Further, the policy document states little about how to deal with ex-white schools. Probably what will happen in the near future could be, at most, that some wealthy black children attend high quality schools, which have been developed by whites.

With regard to literacy programmes for adults, the need to provide programmes

urgently is clear since the majority of black people have not attended school (Graham-Brown, 1991:263): 15 million adults (more than one-third of the population) are illiterate (ANC, 1994a:87). Among various types of education, ANC emphasises the need for adult basic education (ABE) in particular. It is illustrated by the fact that the section on ABE comes before general education in the policy paper. It claims that:

> ABE has a key role to play in the reconstruction and development of our economy and society. The eradication of illiteracy is a precondition for the full democratisation of our society. (ANC, 1994a:87)

It may mean that formal education has been paid sufficient attention without a strong emphasis and that ABE, which has usually been a lower priority, is as important as formal schooling for national development: ANC (1994a:88) states that "the mass-scale provision of ABE is therefore a national priority." But such an ANC framework appears to be now affected by the realities of national policy. The priority for adult basic education in the Government document above (South Africa, 1994) seems to have become lower than that in the ANC document. In this respect, Samoff (1994:16) states that "the commitment to adult education has deep political roots, especially within the trade union movement, and seems unlikely to be ignored or discarded quickly." However, parents are not inclined to spend time and money on their own education at the cost of their children's education and, therefore, basic education for children may be a first priority anyway.

Higher education has been the most neglected area of opportunity in education for Africans. Inequity in access to such education is outstanding. Even if they have a chance to attend it, higher education institutions for Africans (the so-called historically-Black colleges) are poor in quality. Moreover, over 70 per cent of African students study non-scientific subjects such as arts and social science, because the majority of secondary students actually do not learn mathematics or science (Colclough and Pillay, 1994:55). It is essential, therefore, to provide quality secondary education in both mathematics and science (Bacchus, 1991:F31). This corresponds to the emphasis placed on science and mathematics in basic education by the ANC as stated above.

With regard to TVET, there seems to be popular reluctance to discuss its role intensively. It may slightly contradict the national goals which aim at the integration of 'education' and 'training' and becoming a high skills nation. Still there could be a prejudice against vocational training which will produce middle-level manpower

essential for future economic growth. Colclough and Pillay (1994:58) conclude that "the challenge will be to design fiscal measures which redress the legacy of history by bringing education of an acceptable quality within reach of all, and which facilitate the skill development needed for future growth and prosperity."

The report on human resources development of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), which evaluates education and training policy options for a democratic South Africa, makes reference to the education and training policy of Japan and newly industrialising countries such as South Korea and Taiwan, as well as that of European countries. NEPI (1992:55) argues that "the HRD [human resources development] strategies of these countries [Japan and East Asian newly-industrialising countries] have common features which are relevant to South Africa." In particular, ANC (1994a:32) states that "more recently it has been shown that the rapid growth of the Asian newly industrialising countries has been centrally influenced by their large stocks of relatively well educated labour." Although South Africa is now attempting to draw many ideas from the Anglophone developed countries such as Australia (McGrath, 1995), it is noteworthy that South Africa has shown some interest about the educational development modes of East Asian countries.

The perspective of Japanese aid

Japan has mostly tried to provide aid to South Africa through multilateral agencies, such as the United Nations Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), and through its 'grassroots grants' programme (see section 3.2 (1)). In JFY 1993 grassroots grants were provided to 17 projects, amounting to US$ 811,000, and most of those projects involve education and training for black people (IDJ, 1994b). Although Japanese bilateral aid so far is limited, Japan will become one of the major donors to South Africa in the near future (IDJ, 1994c). Unlike Ghana and Kenya, a study report specific to South Africa has not been produced by Japan yet. However, among a number of sectors, it is rather clear that education targeting black Africans is one of Japanese priority areas (ibid.:91). Although it is said that "external agencies have come to have a significant voice in shaping South African education policy" (Samoff, 1994:6), Japan's impact on such policy has never been observed.

-Basic education-

The improvement of basic education in terms of access and quality is indispensable to a democratic South Africa. While the enrolment ratios of primary school in South Africa, including black children, are better than those figures in many other African countries, the ratios in South Africa are often inflated because of high absenteeism and low population estimates (Colclough and Pillay, 1994:52). The reform of science and mathematics education is a priority area of the South African Government as mentioned above and Japan has a comparative advantage in this area (see section 3.2 (2)). Therefore it may be suitable to focus on these two subjects, where there will be a positive impact on both higher education in the technical field and TVET. The development of learning materials combined with teacher education may also be an option.

Adult basic education seems to be still deeply rooted in the political arena as discussed above and such policy seems to be in the process of extensive change. Hence, it may be too early to give Japanese bilateral aid on a large scale in this field.

-Higher education-

The Government policy to higher education appears to be ambiguous and rather stresses the need for quality science and mathematics education at the lower levels as a foundation for higher education development. In spite of the massive disparity in access to higher education for Africans, the South African Government seems to place a lower priority on this subsector. What is happening today is that a number of African students have registered in historically white, Indian and Coloured universities (McGregor, 1995). Thus, individual Africans can receive a better quality education than before, and this could be linked to the reason for a lower priority placed on higher education.

According to a regional study report on Southern Africa implemented by JICA, higher education except for teacher training is not a priority area for Japanese aid (JICA, 1994c:112). Probably this policy would be applied to South Africa, since the educational environment in the country may not be significantly different from that of other neighbouring countries as far as black people are concerned. Moreover, there is

probably another reason why Japan is not supposed to provide its aid to higher education in South Africa, because the country is not a merely developing country and temporarily only aid targeting black Africans is principally regarded as 'aid' in the OECD terminology.

Apart from this technical issue, Japan will of course provide aid to this subsector if South Africa really needs external assistance. However, higher education may be more easily able to assist the formulation of new systems which are not racially segregated than any other subsectors of education. Probably science and technology, which many African countries are keen to acquire by higher education, are available within South Africa. Therefore, it may be a reasonable option at the moment to place a rather lower priority on higher education development.

-TVET-

TVET in South Africa is complicated. It appears to have been closely linked to the apartheid system as discussed above. The Government policy document on education and training says little about TVET. Skills development is essential to become the high skills economy that South Africa aspires to. On the other hand, people seem to be unwilling to attend vocational courses in the formal education system and there could be insufficient public funds available for providing the desired quality TVET. Nevertheless the experience of Africans engaged in modern sector jobs is valuable, even if they are so-called unskilled workers. They are accustomed to modern economic activities and labour practices. Arguably, it is necessary to make most use of the relatively developed private sector in South Africa. Enterprise-based TVET, which is often weak in other African countries, may be a more promising option for effective skills development in South Africa than elsewhere. Japan may offer expertise concerning firm-based training. Further, Japanese commercial investment in industries will certainly contribute to the upgrading of skills capacity, although this is not the sphere of official aid.

So far, the various educational aspects of three specific African countries have been studied, paying attention to the potential that independent Japanese approaches to educational aid could make. If Japan has an ambition to become a leading donor and offers its own experience and knowledge to African countries, it is essential to

illustrate Japan's own comparative advantage alongside existing international (Western) wisdom. In the following section 6.3, possible implications for future Japanese aid policy in education, to achieve such a Japanese desire, are outlined.

6.3 Possible Implications for Japanese Policy

Possible avenues of Japanese aid to African education in three specific countries have been explored and all of these countries are or will be major recipients of Japanese bilateral aid (Japan, 1994d). Educational aid has to be provided in relation to individual countries' needs and policy. To that end it is a prerequisite for Japan to understand the educational circumstances of each country precisely. Although there are several ways in which Japan might well learn from other donors, there are also a number of insights which Japan should provide to them. It should not be the primary role of Japanese aid merely to supplement other donors' activities in Africa (as with the World Bank in Ghana).

Regarding Japan's aid policy in education, there is a contrast between the cases of Ghana and Kenya. Japan's current policy for Ghana does not suggest aid to science and mathematics education at all. Rather, it recommends *terakoya*-type education based on Japan's own experience and further emphasises the need for educational management and administration. By contrast, Japan's policy for Kenya is generally the expansion of existing Japanese-aided projects focused on science and technology. Moreover, it proposes co-operation with Nordic countries or multilateral agencies who have abundant experience in basic education. This contrast between Japanese policy for the two countries is probably caused by the fact that Japanese policies for Ghana and Kenya were formulated at different times, in 1995 and 1992 respectively, rather than by the difference in educational needs between the two countries. I think that Japan may be in the process of attempting to find its own more independent approaches to giving educational aid. Furthermore, Japan now appears to be trying to contribute to educational development with much wider scope than before referring to educational management. Of course, Japan's sector study (JICA, 1994a) on education formulated in 1994 may have had a great impact on its policy for Ghana. Even this small example indicates the changing policy and practice of Japanese educational aid.

The other case study of South Africa shows some of Japan's continuing weaknesses

regarding educational aid in four aspects. Firstly, Japan has had few channels leading to South African educationalists before giving its bilateral aid. That is, for Japan aid is frequently the beginning of a relationship rather than the result of strong historical ties. Secondly, the Japanese have not regularly participated in international networks concerning educational aid. Thus it is not easy for Japan to take quick action in the sphere of aid. Thirdly, Japan is not yet accustomed to international policy formulation in education and it is weak in its educational research capacity, because Japanese educationalists have been concentrating largely on domestic policy. Finally, the Japanese are often unfamiliar with Western-style argumentative skills and cannot defend Japan's own expertise against Western wisdom. As a result, Japanese policy becomes unclear and marginalised.

In earlier years, Japan was reluctant to provide aid to basic education, largely because of its bitter experience of its own colonialism in East Asia (see section 3.2 (1)). However, it has always had a high regard for basic education. Japan has concentrated on TVET and higher education both of which have been considered to be relatively far from the formation of national identities and cultures. At most, Japanese aid to basic education may have been focused on scientific subjects partly for the same reason. But many African countries may also need the various ideas about efficient and effective education systems and their implementation. Besides, it is hardly possible to provide aid effectively without closely approaching cultural aspects of each country.

Japan has valuable experience for educational development in its own recent history. It has experienced rapid expansion of quality basic education throughout the country. Such experience is often relevant to the issues facing much of Africa today. If Japan substantially learns from its own experience, it has a great potential to break some new ground in education, which many other donors may not have done yet. Japan must adopt a new role, to open up fresh strategies of aid to education in Africa based on Japanese traditions of a high regard and value for education. Japan and the Japanese may have frequently regarded these rather specific features of education in comparison to the Western model as a disadvantage in educational aid, but it is evident that such an apparent disadvantage is also an advantage because Japan can observe and approach educational issues in Africa from a completely independent perspective. Japan, as a major donor country, can and should play an important role in the development of African education.

Japanese aid policy both concerning education and Africa is in the process of rapid change. There are signs showing Japanese critical attitudes towards merely following the Western idea of economic development (see section 2.1). Yet in the context of technical co-operation Japan still tends to underplay its role. Japan has rarely contributed towards African educational development as a whole based on its own ideas. Some implications for Japanese aid have been examined separately by subsector (see sections 3.2 (2), 4.2 (2) and 5.2 (3)). Here, I present three common implications for Japanese aid policy to education in Africa, which will perhaps make Japanese aid work more effectively and efficiently:

(1) Japan should have confidence in its own experience and knowledge, and its relevance to Africa, particularly its own comparative advantages and should contribute towards policy formation in international aid more actively by improving educational research capacity;
(2) Japan should approach the aspects of educational systems and structures, not merely oriented towards facilities and equipment, which can more effectively utilise Japanese comparative advantage and which can further contribute to policy formation, including dealing with the cultures and values of recipients which the country has tended to avoid in the past, and;
(3) Japan should select out what is transferable to specific countries based on their educational needs and its own comparative advantage and policy priorities, building continually its own capacity to provide aid especially in terms of human resources.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Japan has been expanding its international aid rapidly and today is one of the world's major donor countries. It is the only country among the major donors which does not have its roots in Western civilisation and its attitudes towards nation building appear to be significantly different from those of Western donors. Accordingly, Japan may be in a position to develop a unique approach to providing aid to developing countries. So far, the country seems to have been mainly trying to conform to an international standard in terms of volume. Japan certainly has the increasing desire to play a leading role in the aid community based on its own experience of development and its forty-year experience of providing aid. This is apparent from a number of recent Japanese publications (see section 2.1 (3)). In the economic sphere Japan has recently shown some reluctance merely to follow Western wisdom such as free market principles and the country has started exporting to developing countries Japan's more independent ideas, based on its own experience of development. Even in the context of African development, where Japan has generally much less experience, Japan has shown a readiness to take the initiative and not merely to attempt to supplement other donors' activities.

In the education sector, the Japanese attitude to seeking newer approaches is not yet so clearly evident, but it is emerging. Japan has largely concentrated on higher education and post-school vocational training in the specialised technical field. Assistance aimed at improving basic education has been very limited. Further, such aid has been mostly directed to the provision of facilities and equipment; systems and structures have scarcely been targeted. But there is an indication of Japan's newer approaches. For example, Japan intends to increase aid for education, particularly for basic education and also to focus on educational management (see section 2.2 (2)). Although this policy sounds like mainstream policy and Japanese policy was first driven by the World Conference on Education for All in 1990, Japan is currently trying to make it a Japanese version based more upon its own expertise.

So far Japan may not have fully utilised its own experience and knowledge of education. The Japanese traditionally have a high regard and value for education (learning/teaching and teachers) and this is one of the reasons why the country intends to expand educational aid. Japan has valuable experience of education in its own recent

history which may often be relevant to the issues facing many developing countries including many in Africa. However, Japan appears to have undervalued its experience in the sphere of international aid. Thus Japanese contribution to educational development has been limited despite its widely recognised experience. In particular, Japan has not attempted to analyse its own comparative advantage in education systematically by contrasting it with Western-type education. Arguably, this lack of analysis results in Japan's underplaying its role in educational aid. Moreover, if Japan does take more of the initiative in international aid policy in the education sector, research on this issue will be indispensable. Consequently, in this thesis mainstream aid policy in education has been critically analysed from a non-Western, Japanese angle. It has been an attempt to explore Japanese comparative advantage within three of the main subsectors of education (basic education, higher education and TVET) alongside existing international (Western) wisdom in the context of present-day Africa.

Firstly, *basic education* has become a target area of Japanese as well as many other donors' aid in line with the World Declaration of Education for All. The stagnation of primary school enrolments and the erosion of quality are critical issues today in Africa. The phenomena of high dropout rates and absenteeism partly show the disappointment of parents with schooling. The parents cannot be motivated to send their children to school where there are few learning materials and few motivated teachers. Hence, both qualitative improvement and quantitative expansion are needed concurrently.

Japan has historically disseminated quality primary schooling amongst its own people; a great emphasis has been placed on the measures to attract excellent young people to teaching professions as well as on teacher training. For years, children in the rural areas of Japan have had the same quality education as their counterparts in the urban areas, irrespective of their parents' social position. When Japan achieved universal primary schooling in the early 1900s, there was only one university at that time. This clearly shows that the country laid much greater emphasis on basic education than university education. By contrast, much of Africa today still has a significant disparity between the rural and the urban areas in terms of enrolment ratios and educational quality. To improve and retain teacher quality, Japan has taken several measures to encourage promising youth to become teachers. The financial support for able students to give them the incentive to join the teaching professions in Africa therefore could make a positive impact on teachers' status. This may further contribute to the

improvement of learning quality in the long term. Focusing on science and mathematics education is an option and also benefits further development of science and technology at the higher levels of education.

The provision of quality basic education is widely regarded as a vehicle of East Asian as well as Japanese development. However, such a notion has rarely been reflected in Japanese aid policy, since this level of education was considered to relate to matters of national sovereignty in which Japan would not interfere. Japan considers that basic education has strong roots in indigenous cultures and values, which are at the heart of the identity of the nation, and therefore that aid to basic education is not a suitable sphere for aid and especially for bilateral aid. Arguably, this may be due to the ghost of Japan's own experience of colonialism, which is still remembered in the bitter experience of Japan forcing peoples in some Asian countries to learn the Japanese language and culture especially in primary school (see section 3.2 (1)). This history may be an obstacle of Japanese aid to basic education. And as a result, Japan's own expertise on this area has not been utilised in the aid sphere. Japanese experience is in such contrast to African reality, and yet is also directly relevant, and therefore may have important implications for the advancement of basic education in Africa. Now, Japan should progress beyond its own ghosts of the past and approach the core of education systems of Africa, selecting out from its own experience what is transferable to individual recipient countries in due consideration of cultural viewpoints.

Secondly, *higher education* is frequently discussed in the context of a financial tradeoff between higher education and basic education. The discussion more often concerns ways to curtail public educational expenditure rather than focusing on the impact of higher education on the rest of the education sector and on other sectors of economy. Through higher education, it is possible to enhance management and policy analysis, and science and technology, all of which are considered to be essential for sustainable development. The former is required to formulate policies which really correspond to local needs. The latter is connected to further industrial development. This kind of capacity building cannot be achieved through other subsectors of education alone. For much of Africa, higher education reform solely considered on the basis of economic efficiency is not appropriate, and the reform targeting the building of new capacity is also essential.

The contrast between Africa and East Asia in the process of higher education development might suggest one reason underlying the current economic gap between the two regions. Many African countries merely transplanted Western higher education systems into their own. The language used and the curriculum taught were replicas of Western models. On the other hand, East Asian countries positively and selectively attempted to learn from the West and always tried to adapt Western models to local cultures and national needs. They treated them as one source of information for the development of their own plans. They finally produced indigenised but modern systems of higher education. One must bear in mind that there is another difference between East Asian and African experience and it concerns the amount of autonomy the state may have in formulating national policies. Much of East Asia has had at least a minimum capacity for establishing its own national policies, while much of Africa may have depended too much on foreign advisers.

Although the World Bank is urging Africa to learn from the best practices of East Asia, their ideas are largely based on the notion of a developed private system. What I want to emphasise in the East Asian case is quite different from the Bank's perspective. Firstly, the government should fully utilise the capacity of the university. Merely respecting academic autonomy in a Western sense may result in underutilising valuable domestic expertise for national development. Thus, some degree of government intervention is essential. Secondly, the improvement of educational research capacity is a critical matter in which Africa should formulate its own policy. Also the effective and positive use of such capacity is a government's responsibility. Thirdly, the teacher training component of higher education is still too little stressed in mainstream aid policy. Such teacher training is a key factor for quality education across the whole educational sphere. Teachers in various levels of education are usually outputs of higher education and in other ways the high performance of higher education depends on the quality of entrants from basic education. Besides, it is hardly acknowledged that such capacity cannot be enhanced without quality science and mathematics education in the lower levels. Lastly, the discussion about science and technology capacity seems to be narrowly focused on industrialisation, leaving agricultural development aside.

Thirdly, *TVET* has been explored following basic education and higher education. TVET is often highlighted as a means of alleviating unemployment, while TVET is

criticised as costly in terms of its effectiveness (see section 5.1 (1)). Such high costs, however, should be accepted and research should go beyond cost-effectiveness analysis and manpower demand. Current mainstream TVET policy tends to focus on the informal sector, which should not be regarded as the solution to the poor performance of the formal economy. A strong bias towards the informal sector in some cases might hinder long-term skills development and could delay future industrialisation.

Another issue is that TVET is often offered as a substitution for academic education. Hence it has often been merely provided to those who are not so interested in higher skills acquisition. In this case, TVET cannot be efficient and effective. As a result, this policy may have pushed out those who were really seeking skills learning opportunities. Furthermore, this could have led to the downgrading of TVET and skilled labour in contrast with the high regard for academic education and white-collar jobs.

The other point relates to the multiple locations of TVET. It is frequently said that enterprise-based TVET is more effective than school-based TVET. From such a viewpoint it is not difficult for the government to leave TVET development to private sector training. But it is more important to see TVET from the point of long-term social capacity building than merely from a short-term economic perspective. In Africa, where industrialisation is still at an early stage, there is often little capacity for the private sector to bear the responsibility of skills development. In the countries where markets do not function, public policy is critical and the government should play an active role. The fundamental role of the government may be to co-ordinate TVET policy with long-term economic policy such as industrialisation strategy.

What has scarcely been argued in the aid community is the critical role of school-based TVET, which can be relatively easily controlled by the government, particularly, by authorities concerned with education. Especially in the West, the high skills historically developed in Japan are considered to result from organised enterprise-based TVET along with quality basic education. This mode sounds like the World Bank's recommendations for TVET, but these Bank suggestions rarely acknowledge the role of school-based TVET. Instead, too much emphasis goes to the importance of general basic education. Both Japan and many East Asian industrialising countries

have a rich experience of vocational secondary schools, which could be relevant to current economic development in those countries. Besides, even if such enterprise-based TVET is attempted to be exported to other countries, such a mode of TVET is deeply embedded in the industrial community of developed countries and cannot be easily detached from this community. Moreover, enterprise-based TVET may be closely connected with other subsectors of education such as basic education. Thus, solely exploiting the efficiency of enterprise-based TVET in skills development may be fruitless. Skills development should be examined in the education system as a whole

As for public training institutions, it is necessary to pay attention to them as reserves of future higher education institutions in the field of technology. Merely to scale down institution-based TVET might mean to discard the potentiality of technological development in the future. Some of the projects supported by Japan exemplify the continuity between skills in TVET and technology in higher education (see section 5.2 (3)).

Looking at African TVET from a Japanese angle, three critical aspects are identified. Firstly, it is necessary to co-ordinate the proposals for the informal sector with those for a long-term development target such as industrialisation. Secondly, it is important to consider skills development in the context of the formal education system as a whole, as well as private sector training, in order to improve overall skills capacity. Such capacity can be upgraded not only by means of direct skills acquisition but also through the study of general academic subjects such as mathematics and science. Thirdly, skills development cannot be supported solely by official aid. Enterprise-based training is essential and direct investment by commercial firms is indispensable. The role of official aid in this respect is limited. One of the approaches from education may be to improve basic skills capacity in order to make such inward investment more attractive.

Thus far, each subsector of education has been dealt with separately, but they are actually interrelated. The linkage between higher education and basic education by means of teachers and high quality university entrants is often discussed (see section 4.1 (1)). In terms of skills and technological development, I think that these three subsectors of education certainly appear to have a connection to one other. The development of science and technology in higher education frequently depends on

science and mathematics education in basic education. The other way round, the quality of such subjects in basic education is largely influenced by the level of science and technology in higher education. Skills development in TVET and science and technology development in higher education often interact with each other. Even if a developing country attempts to acquire its technology from other countries, it will be fruitless without abundant skills capacity in that country. Lastly, skills learning in TVET is mostly built upon the science and mathematics knowledge acquired in basic education. Hence, it is necessary to identify balanced educational aid rather than concentrating on one of the education subsectors alone.

Case studies were made of three specific African countries (Ghana, Kenya and South Africa). All of these countries are or will be major recipients of Japanese aid and their educational situations vary from one country to another. An analysis was then developed in greater detail to illustrate ways in which Japanese contributions could be possible bearing in mind Japan's changing policy towards educational aid. Each case study seemed to highlight that current Japanese policy in general still underutilises Japan's own expertise and comparative advantage.

But if attention is paid to recent changes in Japanese policy, an interesting point can be made. Japanese aid policy for Kenya was formulated in 1992. Such policy in education still largely concerned the expansion of existing Japanese-aided projects such as science and mathematics education in secondary school; on the other hand, its policy for Ghana was produced in 1995. The time lag is only three years. However, it is noteworthy that Japanese policy for Ghana does not refer to science and mathematics education at all, which is unusual in Japanese aid policy prescriptions for education. Instead, its policy for Ghana first recommends *terakoya*-type education based on Japan's own experience (see section 6.2 (1)). This contrast of approach between two country studies may suggest a subtle change in the direction of Japanese educational aid. Arguably, Japan appears to be widening its scope of educational aid and utilising more its own experience.

The case study of South Africa shows that it is still very difficult for Japan to develop substantial policy formulation of educational aid in a specific country. However, this kind of contribution is what Japan is seeking today. The arguments about Japanese comparative advantage do not make sense unless Japan can grasp the educational

needs of an individual country. In order to assess these educational needs, Japan rarely has its own networks of researchers and analysts to confirm them. It often depends on other donors' sources of insight and as a result it becomes rather difficult to identify independent policy approaches.

I think that Japan has to take three more steps before becoming a leading donor in African educational development. A first step is to have more confidence in its own expertise and its relevance to Africa. It can do so by examining Japan's own comparative advantages more systematically. Japan therefore requires much greater educational research capacity. A second step is to apply the knowledge of Japanese advantage to individual projects. Based on actual educational needs, Japan must choose what can be transferred and what cannot in collaboration with the country concerned. It is essential to critically analyse the achievements of each project. A final step is to produce newer, more independent approaches based on Japan's own experience of providing aid. Then Japan will be able to join more actively in the formulation of international policy and begin to take a leadership role in educational aid. If Japan can develop its own unique approach to education as discussed above, it will be able to contribute substantially towards educational development in Africa.

This study has been undertaken in the form of a literature review. Hence, my arguments have sometimes come across the problem that what is written on paper is often different from what is actually happening on the ground and, therefore, it is essential to pay attention to how to implement the policy rather than merely produce more policy. Moreover, the papers to which I was able to refer may be biased towards the views from developed countries, especially the World Bank. The standpoint from African countries themselves might not have been fully discussed. In spite of these limitations, this study certainly suggests the possible roles which Japan can and should play in its educational aid to Africa.

Further research should be focused on the implementation dimension of educational policy from the local perspective in support of fieldwork which is indispensable to the examination of actual situations of educational reform in Africa. The systematic analysis of Japanese education systems from the angle of Japanese aid to Africa could be another interesting topic if carried out in much greater depth. If such research concerning Japan's own educational experience from the aid perspective is reinforced

by fieldwork, more precise implications for Japanese aid policy in education will be produced.

Bibliography

Abegaz, B.M. (1994). *Universities in Africa: Challenges and Opportunities of International Cooperation.* Background paper for the joint colloquium on the university in Africa in the 1990's and beyond (Lesotho, January 1995). Accra: The Association of African Universities.

Adams, A.V. (1994). Vocational education and training and macroeconomic environment. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6633-6638).

Adams, A.V., Middleton, J. and Ziderman, A. (1992). The World Bank's policy paper on vocational education and training. *Prospects*, 22, 2, 127-140.

ADB (1988). *Education and Development in Asia and the Pacific.* Manila: Asian Development Bank (ADB).

Ahmed, M. and Carron, G. (1989). The challenge of basic education for all. *Prospects*, XIX, 4, 559-572.

Ajayi, J.F.A., Goma, L.K.H. and Johnson, G.A. (1994). The African experience with higher education (Draft). Accra: The Association of African Universities.

Albrecht, D. and Ziderman, A. (1991). *Deferred Cost Recovery for Higher Education: Student Loan Programs in Developing Countries.* Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Altbach, P.G. (1989). Twisted roots: the Western impact on Asian higher education. *Higher Education*, 18: 9-29.

ANC (1994a). A Policy Framework for Education and Training. Braamfontein: Education Department/ African National Congress (ANC).

ANC (1994b). The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). African National Congress (ANC).

Asante, K.B. (1988). Restructuring education in Ghana. Press conference on education with particular reference to the tertiary sector, 16 December 1988, Accra.

Ashby, E. (1964). *African Universities and Western Tradition.* London: OUP.

Bacchus, M.K. (1991). Human resource development in post-apartheid South Africa. In Commonwealth Secretariat *Human Resource Development for a Post-apartheid South Africa (Volume I).* London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Behrman, J.R. and Birdsall, N. (1983). The quality of schooling: quantity alone is misleading. *American Economic Review*, 73, 5, 928-946.

Benavot, A. (1983). The rise and decline of vocational education. *Sociology of Education*, 56, 2, 63-76.

Biervliet, W., Carr-Hill, R. and King, K. (1992). The local dimension of international policies on education for all: the case of Tanzania. In L.Buchert (Ed.) *Education and Training in the Third World: The Local Dimension.* Hague: CESO (pp.189-219).

Blakemore, K. and Cooksey, B. (1980). *A Sociology of Education for Africa.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

Blaug, M. (1973). *Education and the Employment Problem in Developing Countries.* Geneva: ILO.

Blaug, M. (1980). Common assumptions about education and employment. In J.Simmons and T.Husen (Eds) *The Education Dilemma.* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.145-152).

Blaug, M., Layard, R. and Woodhall, M. (1969). *The Causes of Graduate Unemployment in India.* London: Penguin.

Boehm, U. (1994). Vocational education and training in Germany: national and international dimensions. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6653-6660).

Burstein, L. (Ed.) (1993). *The IEA Study of Mathematics III: Student Growth and Classroom Process*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Caillods, F. (1993). Reforms in the organisation of vocational education and training, convergences and divergences. Workshop on new trends in training policy, ILO, Geneva, October 1993.

Carnoy, M. (1980). Can education alone solve the problem of unemployment? In J.Simmons and T.Husen (Eds) *The Education Dilemma*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.153-163).

Carr-Hill, R. and King, K. (1992). International aid to basic education: flows, policies, modalities. Paper prepared for the DAC meeting in June 1992.

Cassen, R. and Associates (1986). *Does Aid Work? Report to an International Task Force*. Oxford: OUP.

Cheng, K. (1995). A Chinese model of higher education? Lessons from reality. In L.Buchert and K.King (Eds) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education*. Hague: CESO/NORRAG (pp.197-209).

Choksi, A.M. (1994). Foreword. In World Bank *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank (pp.vii-viii).

Chowdhury, A. and Islam, I. (1993). *The Newly Industrialising Economies of East Asia*. London: Routledge.

Cobbe, J. (1991). The political economy of education reform in Ghana. In D.Rothchild (Ed.) *Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery*. London: Lynne Rienner (pp.101-115).

Colclough, C. (1982). The impact of primary schooling on economic development: A review of the evidence. *World Development*, 10, 3, 167-186.

Colclough, C. (1995). Diversifying the funding of tertiary institutions: Is the Bank's agenda the right one? In L.Buchert and K.King (Eds) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education*. Hague: CESO/NORRAG (pp.145-155).

Colclough, C. with Lewin, K. (1993). *Educating All the Children: Strategies for Primary Schooling in the South*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Colclough, C. and Pillay, P. (1994). Education in South Africa: present constraints and future challenges. *IDS Bulletin*, 25, 1, 52-58.

Coleman, J.S. with Court, D. (1993). *University Development in the Third World: The Rockefeller Foundation Experience*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Collinson, S. (1993). Constraints on the transfer of manufacturing technology: a British-Kenyan comparison. *Science, Technology and Development*, 11, 2, 113-143.

Commonwealth Secretariat (1987). *Tenth Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers: Report (Nairobi, Kenya 20-24 July 1987)*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Coombs, P.H. (1985). *The World Crisis in Education: The View from the Eighties*. Oxford: OUP.

Coombe, C. (1988). *Survey of Vocationally-Oriented Education in the Commonwealth*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

Cortes, J.R. (1992). The Philippines. *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education (Volume 1)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.561-570).

Coughlin, P. and Ikiara, G.K. (Eds) (1988). *Industrialization in Kenya: In Search of a Strategy.* Nairobi: Heinemann.

Court, D. (1995). The challenge to the liberal vision of universities in Africa. In L.Buchert and K.King (Eds) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education.* Hague: CESO/NORRAG (pp.109-121).

Crone, C.D. (1978). Research on innovative nonformal education for rural adults: implication for literacy motivation. In K.King (Ed.) *Literacy Research in Developing Countries: Report of the Bellagio IV Workshop on Educational Research with Special Reference to Research on Literacy.* Ottawa: IDRC (pp.116-125).

Dawkins, W. (1995). Pedlars of the Japanese alternative. *The Financial Times*, 7 February 1995.

De la Gorgendiere, L. (1993). Education and development in Ghana: an Asante village study. PhD Thesis: University of Cambridge.

De Moura Castro, C. (1994). Training policies for the end of the century. *The Great Photographer,* 13 December 1994.

De Moura Castro, C. and De Oliveira, J.B. (1994). Convergence between training and education. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6412-6416).

Dore, R.P. (1965). *Education in Tokugawa Japan.* Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dore, R. (1976). *The Diploma Disease.* London: Unwin

Dore, R. (1987). *Taking Japan Seriously: A Confucian Perspective on Leading Economic Issues.* London: Athlone.

Dore, R.P. and Sako, M. (1989). *How the Japanese Learn to Work.* London: Routledge.

Duke, B. (1986). *The Japanese School: Lessons for Industrial America.* New York: Praeger.

Economist (1995). Japan's nice new nationalism. *The Economist*, 14 January 1995.

Eisemon, T.O. (1988). *Benefiting from Basic Education, School Quality and Functional Literacy in Kenya.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Emmerij, L. (1972). Research priority of the world employment programme. *International Labour Review,* 105, 5, 411-423.

Entwistle, N. (1994). Efficiency and quality in teaching. *NORRAG NEWS*, 16, 32.

Eustance, R. (1992). United Kingdom. *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education (Volume 1).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.760-777).

Fafunwa, A.B. (1992). Nigeria. *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education (Volume 1).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.514-524).

Fairley, J. (1994). Vocational training initiatives: United Kingdom. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6685-6690).

Foster, P.J. (1965a) The vocational school fallacy in development planning. In C.A.Anderson and M.J.Bowman (Eds) *Education and Economic Development.* Chicago: Aldine (pp.142-166).

Foster, P. (1965b). *Education and Social Change in Ghana.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Foster, P. (1975). Dilemmas of educational development: what we might learn from the past. *Comparative Education Review*, 19, 3, 375-392.

Fuller, W.P. (1976). More evidence supporting the demise of pre-employment vocational trade training: a case study of a factory in India. *Comparative Education Review*, 20, 1, 30-41.

Gerwel, J. (1994). Education in South Africa: means and ends. In J.E.Spence (Ed.) *Change in South Africa.* London: The Royal Institute of International Affairs (pp.82-93).

Ghana, Republic of (1974). *The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana.* Accra: The Republic of Ghana.

Ghana, Republic of (1989). *Mass Literacy and Social Change Programme (MASSLIP) for Ghana.* Accra: Nonformal Education Division.

Ghana, Republic of (1992). *Ghana Education Service: An Outline of the National Education System of Ghana.* Accra: The Ministry of Education, Ghana.

Ghana, Republic of (1994). Towards learning for all: basic education in Ghana to the year 2000 (Draft). Education sector paper as a follow-up to the National Programme of Action. Accra: The Ministry of Education, Ghana.

Ghana, Republic of and World Bank (1988). Ghana living standards survey: Preliminary results 1988. mimeo.

Girdwood, A. (1995). Shaping the World Bank's higher education paper: dialogue, consultation and conditionality. In L.Buchert and K.King (Eds) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education.* Hague: CESO/NORRAG (pp.41-74).

Graham-Brown, S. (1991). *Education in the Developing World: Conflict and Crisis.* Harlow: Longman.

Grey-Johnson, C. (1992). The African informal sector at the crossroads: Emerging policy options. *Africa Development,* XVII (1) 65-91.

Haddad, W.D. (1990). Education for all: The role of international aid. *Prospects,* XX, 4, 525-536.

Haddad, W.D., Carnoy, M., Rinaldi, R. and Regel, O. (1990). *Education and Development: Evidence for New Priorities.* World Bank Discussion Papers.

Haggis, S.M. (1991). *Education for All: Purpose and Context.* Paris: UNESCO.

Hallak, J. (1990). *Investing in the Future: Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Herschbach, D.R. (1994). Quality assurance in vocational education and training. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.4858-4865).

Heyneman, S. (1987). Curriculum economics in secondary education: An emerging crisis in developing countries. *Prospects,* 17, 1, 63-74.

Heyneman, S.P. and Loxley, W.A. (1983). The effects of primary-school quality on academic achievement across twenty-nine high- and low-income countries. *American Journal of Sociology,* 88, 6, 1162-1194.

Hinchliffe, K. (1987). *Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa.* London: Croom Helm.

Hoppers, W. (1985). *From School to Work: Youth, Non-formal Training and Employment in Lusaka.* Hague: CESO (Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries).

Hoppers, W. (1994). Questioning the school - what room for the local perspective? In T.Takala (Ed.) *Quality of Education in the Context of Culture in the Developing Countries.* Tampere University (pp.41-66).

Hotta, T. (1991). Japanese educational assistance to developing countries. *Compare,* 35, 3, 476-490.

Howell, J. (1994). Foreword. In Overseas Development Institute (ODI) *Japan's Aid and the Developing Countries: Papers for the 1994 London Conference.* London:

ODI.
Hughes, R. and Wahome, J.G. (1985). Higher education and employment in Kenya: A liberal interpretation of the literature. Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi.
Hultin, M. (1987). *Vocational Education in Developing Countries*. (Education Division Documents No.34), Stockholm: SIDA.
IDA (1991). *Kenya: Education Section Adjustment Programme*. Washington, D.C.: International Development Association (IDA). Cited in Y.Tanno (1992) pp.198.
IDJ (1994a). ODA budgets in JFY 1994 (original in Japanese). *Kokusai Kaihatsu Janaru* (International Development Journal), No.447. Tokyo: International Development Journal Co., Ltd. (pp.58-81).
IDJ (1994b). Performance of grassroots grants in JFY 1993 (original in Japanese). *Kokusai Kaihatsu Janaru* (International Development Journal), No.450. Tokyo: International Development Journal Co., Ltd. (pp.103-108).
IDJ (1994c). Launching Japanese aid to South Africa (original in Japanese). *Kokusai Kaihatsu Janaru* (International Development Journal), No.451. Tokyo: International Development Journal Co., Ltd. (pp.86-92).
IDJ (1994d). Is the Asian miracle repeated in Africa? (original in Japanese). *Kokusai Kaihatsu Janaru* (International Development Journal), No.448. Tokyo: International Development Journal Co., Ltd. (pp.15-18).
ILO (1972). *Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya*. Geneva: ILO.
Japan (1991). *Monbusho* (Outline of Ministry of Education, Science and Culture). Tokyo: Ministry of Education, Science and Culture.
Japan (1993a). *Japan's ODA 1992: Annual Report*. Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.
Japan (1993b). *Wagakunino seifu kaihatsu enjo: gekan* (Japan's ODA: volume II). Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.
Japan (1994a). *Japan's ODA 1993: Annual Report*. Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.
Japan (1994b). *Wagakunino seifu kaihatsu enjo: ODA hakusho*. Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. (forthcoming in an English version: *Japan's ODA : Annual Report 1994*)
Japan (1994c). *Japan's ODA 1994 (Summary)*. Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan.
Japan (1994d). *Wagakunino seifu kaihatsu enjo: gekan* (Japan's ODA: volume II). Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
JASPA (1981). *The Paper Qualification Syndrome (PQS) and the Unemployment of School Leavers*. Addis Ababa: JASPA/ILO.
Jaycox, E. (1993). Capacity building: The missing link in African development. (Excerpt from address to the African-American Institute Conference, Virginia, 20 May 1993) *NORRAG NEWS*, 14, 9-11.
JICA (1990). Circumstances of school in developing countries (original in Japanese). *Kokusai kyoryoku* (International Co-operation) No.8, Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency (pp.6-23).
JICA (1991a). *Regional Study for Development Assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.
JICA (1991b). *Kyoiku enjo kentokai hokokusho* (Report of the committee for the review of educational aid). Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1991c) The Jomo Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology, Kenya (original in Japanese). Case study of project-type technical cooperation. Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1991d). *Afurika enjo kenkyukai hokokusho* (Regional study for development assistance in sub-Saharan Africa). Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1992). *Country Study for Development Assistance to the Republic of Kenya: Basic Strategy for Development Assistance*. Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1994a). *Study on Development Assistance for Development and Education*. Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency

JICA (1994b). *Kaihatsu to kyoiku bunyabetsu enjo kenkyukai hokokusho: genjo bunseki shiryo hen* (Study on development assistance for development and education: additional study data). Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1994c). *Regional Study for Development Assistance to Southern Africa*. Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1994d). Country Data on Development Assistance (original in Japanese). Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1995a). *2010 nenni okeru wagakunino enjo to JICA no yakuwarini kansuru kisokenkyu* (Japanese aid and the role of JICA in 2010). Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

JICA (1995b). *Gana kunibetsu enjo kenkyukai hokokusho* (Country study for development assistance to the Republic of Ghana: basic strategy for development assistance). Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency.

Jonathan, R. (1994). Vocationalism: theoretical assumptions. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6699-6704).

Jones, D.R. (1992a). National models of higher education: international transfer. *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education (Volume 2)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.956-969).

Jones, P.W. (1992b). *World Bank Finance of Education: Lending, Learning and Development*. London: Routledge.

Kelly, T.F. (1994). Vocational education and training: Improving cost-effectiveness in developing nations. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6649-6653).

Kenya, Republic of (1976). *Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies*. Nairobi: The Government Printer.

Kenya, Republic of (1986). *Sessional Paper No.1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth*. Nairobi: The Government Printer.

Kenya, Republic of (1988). *Sessional Paper No.6 of 1988 on Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond*. Nairobi: Ministry of Education, Kenya.

Kenya, Republic of (1992). *Sessional Paper No.1 of 1992 on Development and Employment in Kenya*. Nairobi: The Government Printer.

Kenyatta, J. (1938). *Facing Mount Kenya: The Traditional Life of the Gikuyu*. London: Heinemann.

Kerre, B.W. (1991). Vocational and technical education and training in Kenya: The past, present and future prospects. *Kenya Journal of Education*, 15, 1, 18-45.

Kim, R. (1984). *Korean Education in Research Perspectives*. Seoul: Jong-Gak.

King, K. (Ed.) (1978). *Literacy Research in Developing Countries: Report of the Bellagio IV Workshop on Educational Research with Special Reference to Research on Literacy*. Ottawa: IDRC.

King, K. (1986). Problems and prospects of aid to education in sub-Saharan Africa. In Hawes, H., Coombe, T., Coombe, C. and Lillis, K. (Eds) *Education Priorities and Aid Responses in Sub-Saharan Africa*. London: HMSO (pp.113-134).

King, K.J. (1989a). The impact of structural adjustment on technical and vocational education and training systems. Occasional papers No.29, Centre of African Studies, Edinburgh University.

King K.J. (1989b). Training and structural adjustment: images from Ghana and Nigeria. Occasional Papers No.29, Centre of African Studies/ Edinburgh University.

King, K. (1989c). Training for the urban informal sector in developing countries: policy issues for practitioners. In F.Fluitman (Ed.) *Training for Work in the Informal Sector*. Turin: ILO (pp.17-38).

King, K. (1991a). *Aid and Education in the Developing World: The Role of the Donor Agencies in Educational Analysis*. Harlow: Longman.

King, K. (1991b). Aid and education for All (EFA). In King, K. and Singh, J.S. *Quality and Aid: Quality in Basic Education*. London: Commonwealth Secretariat (pp.1-29).

King, K. (1994a). Context, capacity and conditionality: reflections on the lessons of experience. *NORRAG NEWS*, 16, 6-11.

King, K. (1994b). Technical and vocational education and training. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6245-6251).

King, K. and Carr-Hill, R. (1992). The challenge of educational aid to Africa. OAU Donors Meeting at Dakar.

Kobayashi, T. (1980). The university and the technical revolution in Japan: A model for developing countries? *Higher Education*, 9, 681-692.

Lauglo, J. (1994). Vocational training modes: Sweden, Germany, and Japan. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6690-6699).

Lauglo, J. and Narman, A. (1988). Diversified secondary education in Kenya: the status of practical subjects and their uses after school. In J.Lauglo and K.Lillis (Eds) *Vocationalizing Education: An International Perspectives*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.235-256).

Leach, F. (1994). Expatriates as agents of cross-cultural transmission. *Compare*, 24, 3, 217-231.

Lee, K.H. (1988). Universal primary education: An African dilemma. *World Development*, 16, 12, 1481-1491.

Lee, S. (1989). The emergence of the modern university in Korea. *Higher Education*, 18: 87-116.

Levine, S.B. and Kawada, H. (1980). *Human Resources in Japanese Industrial Development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lewin, K.M. (1993). *Education and Development: The Issues and the Evidence*. London: Overseas Development Administration (ODA).

Lillis, K. and Ayot, H. (1988). Community financing of education in Kenya. In M.Bray and K.Lillis (Eds) *Community Financing of Education: Issues and Policy Implications in Less Developed Countries*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.117-129).

Lind, A. (1988). *Adult Literacy: Lessons and Promises, Mozambican Literacy Campaigns 1978-82*. Stockholm: SIDA

Lind, A. and Johnston, A. (1986). *Adult Literacy in the Third World: A Review of Objectives and Strategies*. Stockholm: SIDA.

Lourie, S. (1985). Preface. In G.Carron and A.Bordia (Eds) *Issues in Planning and Implementing National Literacy Programmes*. Paris: IIEP/UNESCO (pp.5-7).

Maliyamkono, T.L., Ishumi, A.G.M. and Wells, S.J. (1982). *Higher Education and Development in Eastern Africa: An Eastern African Universities Research Project on the Impact of Overseas Training on Development*. London: Heinemann.

Mamdani, M. (1993). University crisis and reform: a reflection on the African experience. *Review of African Political Economy*, 58, 7-19.

McCormick, K. (1988). Vocationalism and the Japanese education system. *Comparative Education*, 24, 1, 37-51.

McGrath, S. (1994). Higher education: the ODA policy. *NORRAG NEWS*, 16, 52-53.

McGrath, S. (1995). Some international trends in education and training reform and their implications for South Africa. Paper presented at the Tertiary-Based Southern African Adult Education Conference, Transkei, 5 April 1995.

McGrath, S. and King, K. with Leach, F. and Carr-Hill, R. (1995). *Education and Training for the Informal Sector*. (Volume I). London: ODA.

McGregor, K. (1995). Black rule hits league tables. *The Times Higher*, 26 May 1995.

McLaughlin, S. (1990). Skill training for the informal sector: analysing the success and limitation of support programmes. In D.Turnham, B.Salome and A.Schwartz (Eds) *The Informal Sector Revisited*. Paris: OECD (pp.156-186).

Middleton, J. (1994). International assistance for vocational education and training. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6660-6664).

Middleton, J., Ziderman, A. and Adams, A.V. (1993). *Skills for Productivity: Vocational Education and Training in Developing Countries*. New York: OUP.

Miller, T.W.G. (1968). *Education in South-East Asia*. Sydney: Ian Novak.

Mohamedbhai, G.T.G. (1994). *The Emerging Role of African Universities in the Development of Science and Technology*. Background paper for the joint colloquium on the university in Africa in the 1990's and beyond (Lesotho, January 1995). Accra: The Association of African Universities.

Muskin, J.A. (1992). *World Bank Lending for Science and Technology: General Operational Review*. No.PHREE/92/51R, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Mwega, F.M. and Kabubo, J.W. (1993). Kenya. In A.Adepoju (Ed.) *The Impact of Structural Adjustment on the Population of Africa: The Implications for Education, Health and Employment*. London: UN Population Fund (pp.25-39).

Mwiria, K. and Hughes, R. (1992). Kenya. *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education (Volume 1)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.391-397).

Narman, A. (1994). Technical and vocational education and training: eastern and southern Africa. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6251-6256).

NEPI (1992). *Human Resources Development*. National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI). Oxford: OUP.

Netherlands, the (1993). *Development cooperation and education in the 1990s*. Hague: Ministry of Foreign Affairs/ The Netherlands.

Noor, A. (1982). Managing adult literacy training. *Prospects*, XII, 2, 163-184.

Nuscheler, F. (1992). Strong in money, weak in implementation: Japan's development policy. *Development and Cooperation*, No.4. Frankfurt: DSE/ German Foundation for International Development.

ODA (1994). *Education Policy Paper: Aid to Education in 1993 and Beyond*.

Education Division, Overseas Development Administration.
OECD (1991a). *Aid Review 1990/1991: Report by the Secretariat and Questions for the Review of Japan.* Paris: OECD.
OECD (1991b). *Development Co-operation (1991 Report): Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee.* Paris: OECD.
OECD (1992a). *DAC Principles for Effective Aid (Development Assistance Manual).* Paris: OECD.
OECD (1992b). *Development Co-operation (1992 Report): Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee.* Paris: OECD.
OECD (1994). *Development Co-operation (1993 Report): Efforts and Policies of the Members of the Development Assistance Committee.* Paris: OECD.
OECF (1991). Issues related to the World Bank's approach to structural adjustment - proposal from a major partner. Occasional Paper No.1, Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, Japan.
Okamoto, K. (1993). Overseas training for developing countries. *NORRAG NEWS*, 14, 13-14.
Olsson, B. (1994). The politics of knowledge. *NORRAG NEWS*, 16, 54-55.
Olsson, B. (1995). The power of knowledge: A comparison of two international policy papers on higher education. In L.Buchert and K.King (Eds) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education.* Hague: CESO/NORRAG (pp.235-246).
Oxenham, J. (1988). What do employers want from education? In J.Lauglo and K.Lillis (Eds) *Vocationalizing Education: An International Perspective.* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.69-79).
Passin, H. (1965). *Society and Education in Japan.* New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.
Peil, M. (1979). West African Urban craftsmen. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 14, 1, 3-22.
Postlethwaite, T.N. and Wiley, D.E. (Eds) (1992). *The IEA Study of Science II: Science Achievement in Twenty-Three Countries.* Oxford: Pergamon.
Psacharopoulos, G. (1988). Editorial introduction. Special issue: Vocational education. *International Review of Education.* 34, 2, 143-148.
Psacharopoulos, G. and Loxley, W. (1985). *Diversified Secondary Education and Development: Evidence from Colombia and Tanzania.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Psacharopoulos, G. and Woodhall, M. (1985). *Education for Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices.* New York: OUP.
Randel, J. and German, T. (Eds) (1993). *The Reality of Aid: An Independent Review of International Aid.* London: ACTIONAID.
Riddell, R.C. with Coughlin, P., Harvey, C., Karmiloff, I., Lewis jnr, S., Sharpley, J. and Stevens, C. (1990). *Manufacturing Africa: Performance and Prospects of Seven Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.* London: James Currey.
Rothchild, D. (1991). Ghana and structural adjustment: An overview. In D.Rothchild (Ed.) *Ghana: The Political Economy of Recovery.* London: Lynne Rienner (pp.3-17).
Saha, L.J. (1991). Universities and national development: Issues and problems in developing countries. *Prospects*, XXI, 2, 248-257.
Sako, M. (1994). Japan: Vocational education and training. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.3086-3092).

Salt, A. and Bowland, D. (1994). International Labour Organisation (ILO): Vocational training. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.2998-3003).

Samoff, J. (1994). After apartheid, what? A review of externally initiated, commissioned, and supported studies of education in South Africa. Donors to African Education, Working group on Education Sector Analysis.

Sawadago, G. (1994). *The Future Missions and Roles of the African Universities.* Background paper for the joint colloquium on the university in Africa in the 1990's and beyond (Lesotho, January 1995). Accra: The Association of African Universities.

Saxonhouse, G. and Kiyokawa, Y. (1985). Supply and demand for quality workers in cotton spinning in Japan and India. In K.Ohkawa and G.Ranis with L.Meissner (Eds) *Japan and the Developing Countries: A Comparative Analysis*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Schwartzman, S. (1992). Non-Western societies and higher education. *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education (Volume 2).* Oxford: Pergamon (pp.969-975).

Selvaratnam, V. (1985). The higher education system in Malaysia: Metropolitan, cross-national, peripheral or national. *Higher Education*, 14, 477-496.

Singh, J.S. (1991a). A review of selected international development programmes in basic education. In K.King and J.S.Singh *Quality and Aid: Quality in Basic Education.* London: Commonwealth Secretariat (pp.31-82).

Singh, J.S. (1991b). Higher education and development: The experience of four newly industrializing countries in Asia. *Prospects*, XXI, 3, 386-400.

South Africa, Republic of (1994). Education and training in a democratic South Africa: First steps to develop a new system (Draft). Pretoria: The Ministry of Education, South Africa.

South Commission (1990). *The Challenge to the South: The Report of the South Commission.* Oxford: OUP.

Tanno, Y. (1990). *Kenia no kyoiku: bunkenkarano apurochi* (Education in Kenya: a bibliographical approach). Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economics.

Tanno, Y. (1992). Education and human resources development (original in Japanese). In JICA *Kenia kunibetsu enjo kenkyukai hokokusho* (Country study for development assistance to the Republic of Kenya). Tokyo: Japan International Cooperation Agency (pp.198-226).

Teichler, U. and Winkler, H. with Kreitz, R. (1991). Performance of higher education - measurements for improvement - evaluation of outcomes. Paper presented to the World Bank's world-wide senior policy seminar on improvement and innovation of higher education in developing countries, Kuala Lumpur, July 1991.

Thompson, K.W. and Fogel B.R. (1976). *Higher Education and Social Change: Promising Experiments in Developing Countries (Volume 1).* New York: Praeger.

Tilak, J.B.G. (1993). Trends in cost and financing of higher education: tentative comparisons between developed and developing countries. *Higher Education Review*, 25, 3, 7-35.

Tilak, J.B.G. (1995). Higher education in India at a cross roads. In L.Buchert and K.King (Eds) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education.* Hague: CESO/NORRAG (pp.185-195).

Torres, C.A. (1991). A critical review of the Education for All (EFA). In IDRC (Ed.) *Perspectives on Education for All.* Ottawa: IDRC (pp.1-20).

Tostensen, A. and Scott, J.G. Eds (1987). *Kenya: Country Study and Norwegian Aid*

Review. Bergen: A/S Repro-Trykk.
Toye, J. (1991). Ghana. In P.Mosley, J.Harrigan and J.Toye (Eds) *Aid and Power: Volume 2, Case Studies*. London: Routledge (pp.150-200).
Tsurumi, E.P. (1977). *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Ueda, H. (1994). Japan's aid policies and institutions. In Overseas Development Institute (ODI) *Japan's Aid and the Developing Countries: Papers for the 1994 London Conference*. London: ODI (pp.1-7).
UNDP (1990). *Human Development Report 1990*. New York: OUP.
UNDP (1992). *Human Development Report 1992*. New York: OUP.
UNDP (1993). *Human Development Report 1993*. New York: OUP.
UNESCO (1966). *An Asian Model of Educational Development: Perspectives for 1965-80*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO (1993a). *World Education Report 1993*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO (1993b). Strategies for change and development in higher education. Policy paper on higher education prepared by the Division of Higher Education. Paris:UNESCO.
UNESCO and IAU (International Association of Universities) (1965). *Higher Education and Development in South-East Asia: Summary Reports and Conclusions*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO and IAU (International Association of Universities) (1967). *Higher Education and Development in South-East Asia (Volume I)*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO and UNDP (1976). *The Experimental World Literacy Programme: A Critical Assessment*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNICEF (1992). Strategies to promote girls' education: policies and programmes that work. Note by UNICEF in the DAC meeting in June 1992.
UNICEF (1994). Analysis of donor assistance to basic social services. mimeo. Office of Social Policy and Economic Analysis.
USAID (1991). A.I.D. assistance strategy for basic education. In W.Gmelin and K.King (Eds) *Strengthening Analytical and Research Capacities in Education: Lessons from National and Donor Experiences*. Bonn: German Foundation for International Development (pp.241-254).
Utria, B. and Salome, B. (1994). Informal sector: vocational education and training. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.2814-2819).
Verspoor, A.M. (1992). From good intentions to effective action: emerging strategies for expanded assistance to basic education. Note by the World Bank in the DAC meeting in June 1992.
Walford, G., Purvis, J. and Pollard, A. (1988). Ethnography, policy and the emergence of the new vocationalism. In A.Pollard, J.Purvis and G.Walford (Eds) *Education, Training and the New Vocationalism: Experience and Policy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press (pp.3-14).
Watanabe, T. (1994). The uses of aid: Japan. In J.Randel and T. German (Eds) *The Reality of Aid 94: An Independent Review of International Aid*. London: ACTIONAID (pp.86-90).
Watson, K. (1995). Redefining the role of government in higher education: how realistic is the World Bank's prescription? In L.Buchert and K.King (Eds) *Learning from Experience: Policy and Practice in Aid to Higher Education*. Hague: CESO/NORRAG (pp.125-144).

WCEFA (1990a). *Meeting Basic Learning Needs: A Vision for the 1990s*. World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) Background Document. New York: UNICEF House.

WCEFA (1990b). *World Declaration on Education for All and Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs*. New York: UNICEF House.

White, M. (1987). *The Japanese Educational Challenge: A Commitment to Children*. New York: Free Press.

Wiratchai, N. (1992). Higher education in Thailand. *The Encyclopedia of Higher Education (Volume 1)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.719-727).

Woodhall, M. (1981). Education, work, and employment in developing countries: A synthesis of recent research. In M.Woodhall (Ed.) *Education, Work, and Employment: A Summary Review*. Ottawa: IDRC (pp.20-22).

Woodhall, M. (1992). Turning points in the development of higher education in Asia: A comparative study of alternative patterns of provision, financing and governance, 1960-90 (Draft paper prepared for the World Bank, Asian Region Technical Department, Population and Human Resources Division).

World Bank (1974). *Education: Sector Working Paper*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1980). *Education: Sector Policy Paper*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1986). *Financing Education in Developing Countries: An Exploration of Policy Options*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1988). *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion (A World Bank Policy Study)*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1989). *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1990a). *Primary Education: A World Bank Policy Paper*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1990b). *The Dividends of Learning: World Bank Support for Education*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1991a). *Vocational and Technical Education and Training(A World Bank Policy Paper)*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1991b). *World Development Report 1991: The Challenge of Development*. New York: OUP.

World Bank (1993). *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy*. Oxford: OUP.

World Bank (1994a). *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

World Bank (1994b). Priorities and Strategies for Education (Draft). Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Wu, K.B. (1992). *Higher Education in Hong Kong: Investment in Science and Technology During the Time of Political and Economic Change*. No.PHREE/92/70, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Wu, W., Chen, S. and Wu, C. (1989). The development of higher education in Taiwan. *Higher Education*, 18, 117-136.

Ziderman, A. (1994). Government role in training. *The International Encyclopedia of Education (Second Edition)*. Oxford: Pergamon (pp.6425-6431).