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Master's Thesis of Arts

**Implications of Development Ethics to
Official Development Assistance to
Education:
The Case of the World Bank in Colombia between
2000 and 2015**

February 2018

**Global Education Cooperation Major
Graduate School
Seoul National University**

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Abstract

Education and development are deeply interconnected and reciprocally reinforced. As such, educational policies fully recognize the important role of education in the development strategy of any country. Granting the ultimate financial responsibility for improving education lies in the national governments, for many countries, educational financing depends to great extent on Official Development Assistance (ODA). This new ODA industry however, throws ethical question that need to be addressed. This paper elaborates on Development Ethics' reflection on the ends, means, and processes of beneficial social change. It emphasizes on education as a means of struggle towards the construction of social justice.

Considering the case of the World Bank in Colombia between the 2000 and 2015, this paper focuses on the guiding principles of development and education as both a means and an end. It is suggested that education goals should respect its intrinsic value in order to promote positive freedom, agency and empowerment. To achieve the goals, this paper also reviews the strategies of the implementation of education ODA considering participation, power relation and levels of accountability as the main drivers in the development industry.

Keyword:

Development ethics, education, goals and means, international development

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Chapter I. Introduction

1.1. Background

Education and development have been regarded for long as deeply interconnected and reciprocally reinforced. As such, educational policies fully recognize the important role of education in the development strategy of any country. In that regard, aid or Official Development Assistance (ODA), from donor to recipient countries, views education as an essential dimension of development that needs to be addressed and financed. However, while no one would question the importance of education, there are contradictory views on the nature of the education processes and goals in its relation to national and international development. The dissimilar views can be summarized in one side as the utilitarian and on the other, the transformative perspective. While the utilitarian view sees education as a tool of skill transmission for the broader goal of economic growth, the transformative perspective sees education as a force of liberation for the broader goal of social transformation. Yet, although many education agendas claim to have a transformative perspective, in reality, education is still mainly viewed from the utilitarian standpoint by many international institutions such as the World Bank.

Granting the ultimate financial responsibility for improving education lies in the national governments, for many countries, educational financing depends to great extent on aid. However, in history, such aid was initially provided on the idea of ‘civilizing the indigenous’, and ‘modernizing’ the ‘Third World’. Based on such view of the world, Western powers have built their idea of ‘development’, which has in fact produced underdevelopment (Goulet, 1973).

As a consequence of the dominant discourse, foreign aid, but in particular development assistance has been severely dominated by donors (Riddell 2008, Haslam et al 2009, Hjertholm & White 2000). In fact, current debates over the effectiveness of ODA and the extent to which it actually works or not (Moyo 2009, Easterly 2006) illustrate the deep contradictions and illness of which ODA is suffering and the need for an ethical approach that guides the processes of aid particularly in the education sector.

Although an ethic of development should be intrinsic to the idea of development itself, history has shown that the practice of development can lead to underdevelopment if ethical considerations are not taken into account. Development ethics is a concept coined more than 40 years ago and yet it has not had significant impact on the practice of development. This is particularly important in the field of education for it is a goal on its own and a means of other developmental goals. Thus, there is a need for ethical considerations on how people participate in the decisions that affect such a decisive aspect of their lives. Indeed, development is the goal of a better life (materially richer, “modern,” and more technological) - and at the same time development is the means to achieve that vision (Goulet, 1992). Such ambiguity in definition is undoubtedly reflected in the practice of development which has led development both to the westernization of institutions and social practices and, at the same time, to the rejection of Westernization and its model of change (Goulet, 1992).

Said that, ethical questions arise related to the nature of the goal itself such as what values are embedded in the goal, and the rightness of those values. Questions related to the means for reaching the goal arise too: are the means the right ones? Do they conform to the goal? (Dower, 2010). The last question is essential for “the means are ends in the making” and therefore “the means

we take ought to express the values we are trying to promote (...) if we are pursuing peace we should do so peacefully, if we are pursuing justice we should do it justly (...)" (Dower, 2010, p. 36).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The question of whether educational ODA has contributed to the improvement of education in aid recipient countries and whether it has actually improved the life of its beneficiaries has been asked many times and answered differently by many authors. Yet, the question over the nature of the improvement has not been dealt carefully. The current discussions of education aid establish that although it has brought improvements, there is a gap between what it does and what it could achieve: lack of enough financing for education, the overall assistance decline, and the volatility and unpredictability of education ODA (Benavot, 2010) as well as the insufficient quality and lack of scaling up successful projects (Riddell & Niño-Zarazua, 2016) have also been debated.

In the development of international education, the World Bank appears as a very important player as it has become the single largest source of development capital to international education (Heyneman, 2003) with a great power to influence the education agendas in developing countries. Nonetheless, the World Bank has been largely criticized for its narrow neoliberal assumptions that have intensified inequalities by recommending faulty education policies of which the bank has not been accountable (Heyneman, 2003). For this reason, the World Bank is a good case in point to illustrate the need for development ethics in the official development assistance structure, particularly to the education sector which is largely recognized as a key factor to the overall development of a country.

In that sense, development ethicists have constantly emphasized that neoliberal policies on globalization are in fact negatively related to development because the myth of modernization has used the discourse of development to ‘assist’ those left out without considering that existing structures which are the actual causes of poverty and underdevelopment (St Clair 2010, Crocker 2008). As such, development ethics appears as an alternative to mainstream notions of globalization and development for it reconceptualizes poverty as a global and moral problem looking at the way transnational policies and practices of development impact the poor and vulnerable people’s agency and dignity (St Clair, 2010). Although normative ethical approaches are a disputed subject, development ethics provides an insight of a possible ethical assessment to the development practice by proposing normative principles that outline an authentic development. Because education is a crosscutting issue in development agenda, ethical considerations matter greatly.

Aid has been largely condemned due to its lack of effectiveness and relevance. Due to the important role of education, alternative approaches to education ODA that improve its effectiveness and foster genuine development are needed. Development ethics can provide critical implications that help improving the educational ODA. Development ethics stresses the importance of education as an instrument of struggle towards the construction of social justice and well-being while encouraging participation and self-agency. In that sense, educational ODA should be both framed by ethical considerations while at the same time it should foster ethical genuine development.

1.3 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

This paper revises development ethics theory to find out some trends, approaches and perspectives that can guide the practice of international development. Consequently, it identifies what are the main needs, challenges and problems in the educational ODA, focusing on the World Bank official development assistance to the education sector in Colombia, taking as a reference the period between 2000 and 2015. Considering the trends of development ethics and the current state of aid to education, the main goal is to draw implications of development ethics to education ODA that can help building practical solutions to the identified needs and challenges.

This study does not attempt to build or contribute to the theory of development ethics but to review the existing theory and trends and draw practical implications to education ODA. Development ethics has been criticized because of its many levels of analysis and sometimes high level of abstraction (Astroulakis, 2013). Although this study cannot contribute to the theory building, it can add up to the literature of development ethics in terms of operationalization and practical implications. On the other hand, this study spends some time on aid and development issues because education ODA cannot be substantially discussed without first examining the debates about aid and development.

In short, the main research question that lead the study are as follows:

RQ: What are the implications of development ethics current debates to the World Bank official development assistance to the education sector in Colombia?

In order to answer the main research question, there are three different sub questions:

Q1: How has development ethics evolved across time and what are its defining principles?

Q2: What is the current status, main problems and challenges of World Bank ODA to education sector in Colombia?

Q3: What are the implications of development ethics and in what possible ways can it contribute to the upgrading of educational ODA?

1.4 Methods

1.4.1 Qualitative Methodology

The study adopts a qualitative analysis, specifically, documentary analysis method. As discussed in Klees and Qargha (2013), most quantitative research methods that claim to have reliable cause-effects information involve impossible conditions since regression analysis requires three conditions that are never fulfilled: “all independent variables that affect the dependent variable are in the equation, all variables are measured correctly, and the correct functional form is specified” (Klees and Qargha, 2013, p. 24). Indeed, qualitative methods are preferred when coding and quantification diminishes the essence of the ‘subject’ studied (Gabrielian et al, 2008).

In particular this study resorts to document analysis as powerful qualitative method of research for analyzing the contents of written documents comprehensively and systematically used to facilitate independent and reliable analysis of written policies. Document analysis can be viewed more

precisely as a “process of sorting, categorizing and synthesizing conflicting voices and differing and interacting interpretations”, in that effort “documents provide an important avenue of voice interpretation and meaning” (Love, 2013, p.83). Besides, document analysis as a qualitative method offers several benefits particularly the low cost, the elimination of researcher effect, and more significantly, it allows tracking changes over time in the theory (Lincoln and Guba, 1985 cited in Love, 2013) which is significant to this study’s purpose of tracking the trends of development ethics over time as well as policies, evaluations on education ODA from the World Bank. One of the more central disadvantages is that document analysis can be viewed as too subjective, lacking validity or unrepresentative (Love, 2013). But more importantly, document analysis requires intentionality, serendipity, forethought, organization and openness (Love, 2013).

1.4.2 Data Description

By following the methodology, this paper uses mainly data related to projects in the education sector in Colombia implemented, financed or co-financed by the World Bank between 2000 and 2015. The only source of data is World Bank Documents and Reports catalogue. To ensure reliability, the initial query consisted of documents related, filtered by Education sector and country, Colombia, from the 1st of January of 2000 to the 31st of December of 2015. In fact, the classification of what is an “education project” is problematic given the fact that there are education components in non-education projects such as health, nutrition and labor related projects. Therefore, three projects where education was only one of the components were excluded.

Being said that, at first, the query produced a large amount of documents related not only to projects and programs but also documents such as Policy

Research Working Papers and briefs. These last type of documents were not considered for analysis because they are condensed versions of projects. Policy Research Working Papers were also not considered because they were mainly evaluations of projects not funded or implemented by the World Bank itself but by the Colombia government.

The data mainly consists of that related to projects that were implemented between 2000 and 2015 even if the design stage started earlier than 2000 or the evaluation was done after 2015. To be more precise, I have considered the Banks's Board approval date and project closing date as the time reference, since it is the Board approval what gives full viability to implementation and the closing dates show the end of the implementation activities previous to the results and evaluation reports. The data includes documents such as Completion Reports, Project Performance Assessments, Project Information Documents, Integrated Safeguards Data Sheets, and ICR Reviews related to projects. This data provide information regarding projects' objectives, design, implementation, and results reported by the World Bank itself. Only procurement plans, which are part of the project but contain financial information of acquisitions, etc., were not considered for the analysis.

The original data comprises seven large education projects. However, from the seven projects one is reported as dropped and therefore is not considered as it did not reach the implementation phase. Furthermore, from the six resting projects, one of them was cancelled. In this case, it is considered as part of the data because the loan was cancelled after a few years of the start of the implementation and therefore the data reflects details of the process. The complete list of documents is presented in table 1.

Table 1. Summary of the data

Project Name	Level (as defined by WB)	Documents
Antioquia Upper Secondary Education	General Education sector (100%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Project Information Document (PID) Concept Stage</i> Oct 17 2006 2. <i>Integrated Safeguard Datasheet Appraisal stage</i> Mar 04 2007 3. <i>Integrated Safeguard Datasheet Appraisal stage</i> Mar 04 2007 (same document different code) 4. <i>Project Appraisal Document</i> Oct 24 2007 5. <i>Implementation Status and Results</i> Feb 12 2011 6. <i>Implementation Completion and Results (ICR) Report</i> Mar 25 2015 7. <i>ICR Review Independent Evaluation Group</i> Jun 22 2015
Cundinamarca Quality Education Improvements (Loan balance cancelled)	Secondary education (55%) Primary education (23%) Sub-national government administration (22%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Letter – Japanese Grant for preparation of the project</i> Oct 11 2002 2. <i>Integrated Safeguard Datasheet (Initial)</i> Nov 27 2002 3. <i>Upgraded Project Information Document (PID)</i> Aug 03 2003 4. <i>Guarantee Agreement</i> Sept 30 2003 5. <i>Implementation Completion and Results (ICR) Report</i> March 19, 2007 6. <i>ICR Review Independent Evaluation Group</i> Jun 15 2007
Higher education-Improving access	Tertiary education (97%) Central government administration (3%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Project Information Document (PID)</i> Nov 20, 2002 2. <i>Project Appraisal Document</i> Nov 22 2002 3. <i>Loan Agreement</i> Apr 16 2003 4. <i>Implementation Completion and Results (ICR) Report</i> Jun 25 2009 5. <i>ICR Review Independent Evaluation Group</i> May 21 2010 6. <i>Comparative Review for Higher Education Reform in LAC based on project performance assessment of three projects</i> Jun 12 2012
Rural Education project (Board Approval data Nov 4 2000)	Primary education (42%) Tertiary education (21%) General public administration sector (17%) Vocational training (11%) Other social services (9%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Letter – Japanese Grant for preparation of the project</i> Jul 20 1998 2. <i>Project Information Document (PID)</i> Jan 8, 2000 3. <i>Project Appraisal Document</i> March 10 2000 4. <i>Loan Agreement</i> Oct 20 2000 5. <i>Implementation Completion and Results (ICR) Report</i> Jun 15 2007 6. <i>ICR Review Independent Evaluation Group</i> Sep 19 2007

Project Name	Level (as defined by WB)	Documents
Rural Education Project APL phase 2 (Closing date Nov 30 2015)	Primary education (25%) Vocational training (25%) General education sector (25%) Secondary education (25%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Project Information Document (PID) Concept Stage</i> Jan 17 2007 2. <i>Integrated Safeguard Datasheet Concept Stage</i> Sep 25 2007 3. <i>Project Information Document (PID) Appraisal Stage</i> Nov 21 2007 4. <i>Integrated Safeguard Datasheet Appraisal stage</i> Dec 14 2007 5. <i>Project Appraisal Document</i> Mar 17, 2008 6. <i>Loan Agreement</i> Jun 19 2008 7. <i>Implementation Status and Results</i> Jan 26, 2011 8. <i>Implementation Status and Results</i> Jul 26, 2011 9. <i>(Mid-term) Implementation Status and Results</i> Oct 21 2012 10. <i>(Closing) Implementation Status and Results report</i> Nov 30 2012 11. <i>Implementation Completion and Results (ICR) Report</i> May 26, 2016 12. <i>ICR Review Independent Evaluation Group</i> Jul 1 2016
Second Student Loan Support Project APL phase 1 (higher education)	Tertiary education (100%) (Education for the knowledge economy (67% - P); Improving labor markets (33% - S))	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>ICR Review Independent Evaluation Group</i> Jun 24 2014 2. <i>Project Appraisal Document</i> Feb 1, 2008 3. <i>Restructuring Paper on a Project Restructuring approved by the Board</i> Oct 10 2010 4. <i>Implementation Completion and Results (ICR) Report</i> Dec 19, 2013 5. <i>Integrated Safeguard Datasheet Appraisal stage</i> Dec 06 2007 6. <i>Guarantee Agreement</i> Mar 14 2008 (Simple) 7. <i>Guarantee Agreement</i> Mar 14 2008 (Includes project loan schedule)

Unfortunately the World Bank data concerning evaluation of its projects in the education sector in Colombia in the selected period is limited. There are no impact evaluations related to any of the projects during the selected period. Besides, although there is an Independent Evaluation Group in charge of evaluating the implementation and completion results report, the group is part of the World Bank structure and hence not considered as a third party or fully independent evaluation. The data is analyzed in the light of development ethics. A full description is provided in the section 2.7 Analytical Framework.

Chapter II. Development Ethics

2.1 Introduction

Although normative ethical approaches are a disputed subject, Denis Goulet provides an insight of a possible ethical assessment to the development practice by proposing normative principles that outline an authentic development. This study presents a review of the reflection on development ethics during the last decades paying especial attention to the contribution of Denis Goulet to the field of international development while focusing on development ethical goals and the strategies to achieving those goals. The chapter presents a comprehensive examination of Denis Goulet contribution to development ethics taking into account subsequent contributions by other ethicist that have deepened, challenged and/or built on Goulet's the original ideas.

Development ethics could be simply understood as the study of ethics and development issues. Yet the field is filled with little consensus and many controversies. Literature about the development ethics is described as a “black box’ according to the development ethics methodological synthesis” (Astroulakis, 2013). Nevertheless, the core of development ethics centers on “human development as the end and economic development as the means” (Goulet, 1997). To achieve human development as the end, its main tasks are “to render development decisions and actions humane” and “to assure that the painful changes launched under the banner of development do not result in antidevelopment, which destroys cultures and individuals (...) all in the name of profit, some absolutized ideology, or a supposed efficiency imperative” (Goulet, 1997, p. 1169).

2.2 Definition and origins

In Denis Goulet's classic work, *The Cruel Choice* (1973), he declares that the aim of his work is "to thrust debates over economic and social development into the arena of ethical values" and he poses the question of whether human development is "something more than a systemic combination of modern bureaucracy, efficient technology, and productive economy?" (Goulet, 1973, p. VII). Goulet states that "development is not a cluster of benefits 'given' to people in need, but rather a process by which a populace acquires greater mastery over its own destiny" (1973, p. 155). In that sense, because development "is an ambiguous adventure born of tensions between what goods are sought and how these are obtained" (Goulet, 1997, p. 1161), the how or means of development are as important as the ends, which ought to be pursued ethically.

Following that perspective, Crocker (2014) defines Development Ethics as the "ethics of global development' an ethical reflection on the ends, means, and processes of beneficial social change (and maintenance) at the local, national, regional, and global levels (and their relations)" (Crocker, 2014, p. 245). Dower adds that development ethics "consists in looking at the values and norms involved in development, often comparing different approaches and seeking a justification for what seems the right approach" (Dower, 2008, p.184). All in all, development ethics can be briefly put as "an ethical reflection on the ends and means of local, national and international development" (Astroulakis, 2011 p.15). More importantly, development ethics must have a real impact on development policies, including development aid, to influence changes in the practice of development (St. Clair, 2007).

Concerning its origins, development ethics builds on its intellectual foundations from Marx, Gandhi, Lebrecht, Myrdal and even from Fanon, Prebisch and Dependistas (St Clair, 2010) although it was Goulet who made it into a discipline drawing mainly from Freire, Lebrecht and Myrdal. The latter two, although western economists, shared the idea of the need of a change of values and the flaws of extrapolating concepts from Western to non-Western societies (Goulet, 1997, p.1164). Lebrecht's conceptual involvement to the ethical development can be summarized in that "development refers to the whole person and every person, and that development does not result from an accumulation of projects, but from how these projects incorporates with a local, regional and global image of a human development" (Astroulakis, 2013. p. 104). Subsequently, more acute authors have emphasized the negative sides of globalization and modernization done under the banner of development (Goulet, St Clair, Crocker among others). They have especially emphasized that neoliberal policies on globalization are, in fact, negatively related to development because the myth of modernization has used the discourse of development to 'assist' those left out without considering the existing structures that are the actual causes of poverty and underdevelopment (St Clair 2010, Crocker 2008). As such, development ethics serve as an alternative to mainstream notions of globalization and development for it reconceptualizes poverty as a global and moral problem looking at the way transnational policies and practices of development impact the poor and vulnerable people's agency and dignity (St Clair, 2010 p. 260). Yet, the scope of development ethics remains controversial because there is no clarity on whether it should be an issue of rich and poor countries or only in poorer countries, as well as whether it should focus on development aid, capital flows, migration, humanitarian interventions, human rights, etc. (Crocker 2008). Development ethics can be conducted at various levels of generality and specificity from ethical principles, goals, and models to institutions, projects,

and strategies. In particular, authors such as the Sen, Nussbaum, Pogge etc., have developed similar and overlapping perspectives that are closely connected with development ethics such as *needs*, *capabilities*, *human rights*, *human development*, and *social justice*.

2.3 Three issues of development ethics

2.3.1 Shock of underdevelopment

Goulet (1973) defined underdevelopment as a dehumanizing experience because it conveys poverty, powerlessness and hopelessness.

Essentially, poverty is not limited to the problem of privation of income. It conveys also a lack self-respect, consciousness and health. This conceptualization of poverty has been widened by many other authors who see poverty in several more dimensions than a lack of income. Powerlessness refers to poverty of power. Underdevelopment makes people fate completely dependent of forces out their control, it creates servility ‘towards men whose decision govern the course of events’ (Goulet, 1997. p. 23). Powerlessness is deeply connected with the fact that developed countries and elites create and maintain structures that impose underdevelopment and that many ‘development’ approaches are in fact ‘anti-development’. Hopelessness allude to the personal and societal impotence in the face of hunger, disaster and death. For Goulet, the first step to overcome this condition is consciousness, the simple realization that development is possible. Consciousness gives people the power to think they can be ‘potential agents of their own destiny’ (1973).

Following the idea that poverty is not merely a lack of income or food, in ‘Hunger and Public Action’ Drezer and Sen (1989) present a historic account

of the famines illustrating that famines and hunger are not only related to lack of food but also to deprivation of other kinds, namely, a lack of enough 'capabilities', which is what makes people 'socially useful and influential' (1989, p. 12). Sen widens its view of poverty and sees it mainly as a lack or deprivation of capabilities. By encouraging capacities people have not only the ability to make a higher income (and thus escape poverty) but also the ability to fully participate in the society (Drezer & Sen, 1989).

2.3.2 Concept of authentic development

Just like economics uses two types of analysis, positive (what it is) and normative (what it ought to be), development ethics is a rather normative approach for what development ought to be if it is to be genuine. Positively, development is a 'process of economic, technological, social, political, and especially value change'. (Crocker, 2006, p, xvii). On the other hand, normatively development refers to what Goulet describes as 'authentic development', which consists of the transformation of the victims of underdevelopment into conscious agents. Interestingly, although Goulet proposes some normative conditions for genuine development to take place, because genuine development is based on the self-agency, he maintains that "specific solutions can only come from the communities themselves as they struggle to find their own way" (Goulet, 1979, p.565). Authentic development is fundamentally self-development where the self may be the individual but also the group at any level (local, regional, national).

Essentially, the concept of development itself is evaluated from the perspective of development ethics, which is not simply a supplement of development but an alternative of mainstream contemporary economic thought. Unlike the classic economic perspective where means and ends are clearly separated, one of the foundations of development ethics is its

judgement of development both as a means and as an end. Development is the goal of a better life -materially richer, 'modern', and more technological (Goulet, 1992) – as well as the means to achieve that vision. This ambiguity in definition is reflected in the practice of development, which has lead development both to the westernization of institutions and social practices and at the same time to the rejection of Westernization and its model of change (Goulet, 1992).

Being said that, the content of the dimensions of human existence, and therefore the fulfilment of those dimensions in order to achieve a good life leads to the ethical question: what does a good life mean? The answer can be traced back to the concept of 'eudemonia' developed by Aristotle, meaning happiness or human flourishing. Yet, it was especially after the 1950's the idea of a more human development started to take place and included social and political dimensions that were previously excluded. As noted by Dower, development includes socio-economic and political dimensions that together are relevant to the improvement of people's well-being (Dower, 2008). From that perspective, development ought to enable "more people to achieve well-being or more importantly the very poor to achieve the basic conditions of well-being which for various reasons they lack now" (Dower, 2008, p.185). Gasper as well sees development as a multidimensional normative conception representing "a vision of societal progress within which various components figure all considered parts of a good life" (Gasper, 1999, p. 11). In seeking for a good life, the content of that good is value-relative and therefore, the very idea of development is value-relative as well (Gasper 1999, Dower 2008). If search for a good life implies intention, it requires making a choice out of different options. Such choice demands a development ethic that considers alternative paths for development (Dower, 2008). If so, ethical questions arise related to the nature of the goal itself such as what values are embedded in

the goal, and the rightness of those values. Questions related to the means for reaching the goal arise too: are the means the right ones? Do they conform to the goal? (Dower, 2010). The last question is essential for “the means are ends in the making” and therefore “the means we take ought to express the values we are trying to promote (...) if we are pursuing peace we should do so peacefully, if we are pursuing justice we should do it justly (...)” (Dower, 2010, p. 36).

2.3.3 Tasks, methodologies and strategies

Development can be a two-edged sword with gains and losses. The gains include a) improvement of material well-being, b) technological progress, c) institutional specialization, d) freedom of choice, and e) worldwide interdependence (Goulet, 1992). Among the losses, Goulet lists a) explosion of the dynamism of desire (excessive desires for goods thus breaking solidarity), b) vertical dependence among nations, c) increased in anomic or social alienation, d) destruction or delusion of cultures, and e) evacuation of meanings of systems of different cultures (Goulet, 1992). Yet, determining the advantages and disadvantages of development into concrete measureable dimensions is as challenging as controversial. Goulet proposes mainly five dimensions: an economic component (dealing with the creation of wealth equitably distributed); a social ingredient (measured as well-being in health, education, housing, and employment); a political dimension (including values such as human rights, political freedom, and some form of democracy); a cultural dimension (in recognition of the fact that cultures confer identity and self-worth to people); a fifth dimension of full-life paradigm (comprising meaning systems, symbols, and beliefs concerning the ultimate meaning of life) (Goulet, 1992).

Goulet comes with questions regarding the substantial nature of development itself such as: development for what? What is the foundation of a just society? Are human rights instruments or worthy for their own sake? In answering those questions Goulet asserts that development mainly consists in freedom followed by a more important question: Freedom for what? (Goulet, 1979). Freedom to pursue human development understood not a static but a historical condition and therefore constantly redefined. Above all, relative importance is given to the self as the main source of development. “Self-reliance is a long term goal which can be realized only in stages.” (Goulet, 1979, p. 558). This is why in technical cooperation and technological transfers the voice of the recipient is a basic requirement for a genuine transformation.

Goulet dedicates several parts of his work to specific strategies for technology transfers and development cooperation which can easily become in a tool to impose paternalistic values from the donor to the recipient. Goulet focuses in particular in technical cooperation as opposed to technical assistance as the latter can imply “charity, paternalism, or some other attitude demeaning to the recipient (...)” (Goulet, 1979). In relation to the goals and ends, “how assistance is given is as important for development as what is provided” (Goulet, 1979, p. 172) so the paternalistic relationship between donor and recipient must be overcome.

2.4 Ethical goals and strategies to international development

2.4.1 Ethical goals

As mentioned above, development ethics have a normative approach to development in terms of what it ought to be if it is to be genuine. The core of Denis Goulet ideas regarding goals and strategies for a more human or

genuine development can be summed up in three ethical goals and three strategies to achieve them. Although the meaning of a good life has been largely challenged by development ethicists and philosophers, Goulet argues that there are three universal values that are common to all societies and that these goals must be pursued within a value context (Goulet, 1973).

1) Life sustenance: It refers to the basic conditions to the nurture of life such as food, shelter or medicine. There is little dispute over the importance of life sustaining goods because they allow more life to exist and as such they are generally acknowledged by all societies (Goulet, 1973).

2) Esteem: All human in all societies look for respect, dignity, honor and recognition. Under current conditions, poor societies have a profound suffering of esteem because material prosperity has become the criterion for worthiness in ‘developed’ countries thus lacking money turn out to be also a lack of respect from others (Goulet, 1973, Sen 1983). This may cause either that people persuade ‘development’ at any cost in the quest for respect or that societies reject or resist development as a way to express their own sense of worth (Goulet, 1973).

3) Freedom: Freedom is arguably the most important of the goals, largely discussed as it is valued for most Western societies although its meaning remains relative. For Goulet’s freedom is mainly seen as a freedom *from* “servitudes (to nature, to ignorance, to other men, to institutions, to beliefs) considered oppressive” (Goulet, 1973, p. 94). Goulet explains that he prefers this negative freedom (freedom from) because, even if people may be afraid of positive freedom and even reject it, at least they must be free from unforeseen or uncontrollable dangers. Gasper and Staveren (2003) have criticized that in mainstream economics freedom is usually interpreted too as

negative freedom, namely, the absence and interference by others in the market. However, negative freedom is limited to the extent that what matters is not what people are entitled to do but what people can actually be and do, that is to say, positive freedom. In that sense, although negative freedom does increase possibilities, it does not constitute itself in any real possibility.

Sen, building on Goulet's ideas, emphasizes the importance of positive freedom (freedom to) as the ability to function well in life in accordance to the ends that people "have reason to value" (Sen, 1989). In turn, many interconnected and independent positive freedoms constitute *agency*, an essential condition for effective development (Sen, 1999 cited in St Clair 2007). However, Sen's positive view of freedom in terms of people's ability to do what they have reason to value follows the assumption all people are rational if provided with enough information and training (Gasper and Staveren, 2003) besides leaving the conception of good life open-ended inconsequent with the normative stand it takes. Yet, the capability approach proposed by Sen and Nussbaum proves insightful in evidencing that for individuals to acquire certain capabilities, there are certain requirements ranging from education to legal and political institutions that ensure full political liberty (Dower, 2008, St Clair, 2007). Accordingly, the pursuing of development should promote conditions to ensure both negative freedom (freedom from constraints) as emphasized by Goulet and positive freedom (freedom to do and be) as proposed by Sen.

2.4.2 Ethical strategies

Decent sufficiency for all (normative): Goulet's vision that genuine development is that which originates in the self, permits him to establish a normative position on his idea of "having enough" in order to "being more". Even though Goulet acknowledges that development is a historical condition

and therefore constantly redefined, it is a normative requirement that all people can “have a decent sufficiency of goods which they need to be fully human” (Goulet, 1979, p. 556). After such threshold is reached it launches people for further social efforts. The definition of the threshold, however, is a controversial issue that goes beyond the scope of this study.

Solidarity (normative): Universal solidarity as one of the normative values stands out as these values need to be created. Goulet believes on the importance of “the introduction of interpersonal and inter societal solidarities based on a community of existence, of ecology, and of destiny” and adds that “solidarities are not assumed to exist: they must be created to meet the twin demands of self-interest and of communality.” (Goulet, 1973, p. 120). Yet, this idea of solidarity as relational or communal diverges with Western’s emphasis on the individual. In contrast with Western individualism, in other societies, the realization of human existence depends on communal values expressing concern for the welfare of others (Masolo 2010 cited in Metz 2014). The fact that ‘an other’ is crucial in the development of one’s identity creates a bond, a responsibility that should call into question the right to exist and the extent to which ones existence constitutes a responsibility towards the others (Parfit, 2010) The idea of solidarity then, refers to a commitment to others, helping them and acting consequently to promote their welfare by, for example, aiming at an equal distribution of wealth (Metz, 2014). In development practice, solidarity should help understand that development is a process not *for them (objects)* but *with them (subjects)*, assuming the responsibility for the others with respect and not paternalistically.

(Non-elite) Participation (normative): Broad popular participation in decisions is one of the normative strategies for development. In view of the importance of the self-agency that Goulet assigns for an authentic process of

development, participation is thus a normative condition for such a vision. Goulet builds on Paulo Freire's idea of agency by which people who were previously seen as objects are transformed into subjects of its own social destiny. Through participation, people are able to humanize and engage in the process of development. However, for Goulet participation refers fundamentally to non-elite participation, i.e., the common, hitherto, oppressed population in order to ensure they can be the real agents (Goulet, 1989). This is why participation's originating agent is crucial. Participation can come from three different sources: a) from above by some authority or expert, b) from below by the non-expert public itself, or c) catalytically promoted by some external third agent (Goulet, 1989). Participation originated from above implies a top-down structure and therefore only the second and third constitute real source of participation and mobilization. In the case of external agents, Goulet maintains, they must act as facilitators (Goulet, 1989).

All in all, participation should not be ornamental but a vital element of the strategy of development. The best indicator to know how vital it is, is by looking at the relative weight assigned to it in the overall practice. Yet, the difficulty of going from micro to macro arenas of participation and influence, and the nature of participation itself has become an important matter in the study of development, essential in the discussion by other development ethicists who view participation as one key element for genuine development.

2.5 A critique of Goulet's Development Ethics

Development reflection is useless if it is not transformed in public actions but such transformation requires strong methodological devices. What is needed then is a bigger 'methodological pragmatist analysis' for development ethics

connecting the experience, theorizing and policy making in the process of building knowledge for development (St Clair, 2007). Goulet's work although pioneering has been criticized precisely because of his lack of methodological considerations. Because Goulet was a philosopher and most of his development experience was as an ethnographer, he proposes that development ethics belongs to the social sciences but does not develop a strong methodological framework on studying and applying development ethics issues (Astroulakis, 2013).

Astroulakis, brings three points of criticism. First, as mentioned above, the lack of a methodological framework; second, the arbitrariness of his analysis (Gill, 1973 cited in Astroulakis, 2013); and third, in the definitional level, it is not clear whether development ethics is a new discipline, as Goulet argues (Goulet, 1997), or an interdisciplinary field (Astroulakis, 2013). Gasper mentions the fact that Goulet "espoused a process-oriented, practice-centered, locality-specific approach, not an elaborate generalized theoretical model" (Gasper, 2008). This methodological gap poses a problem when trying to examine a particular set of policies using *his* development ethics. This is because development ethics does not only concern with local policies at a small-scale level but it also relates with international development values, norms and practices. Then, the questions to consider can be, what are the implications of his development ethics to the international development policies? How can Goulet approach be operationalized in order to assess how ethical is a specific practice?

Development ethics, as a social science, should be systematic, cumulative, communicable and testable, (Astroulakis, 2013). Yet methodologically, there is not a clear comprehensive framework of studying and applying development issues (Astroulakis, 2013). Goulet himself recognizes the

problem of indicators to measure the qualitative side of development but explains that “the most essential components of development are qualitative: they bear on values which human beings freely choose or to which they freely assign worth. It is these qualitative goods and values which ultimately determine whether a human society, community, or individual is ‘developed’ or not” (Goulet, 1992). All of the above, summed to the disconnection between ethical analysis of development and the actual practice of development hinders development ethics ability to transform concepts into action.

Feminist perspectives that reflect the unobserved conditions of girls and women have also been cited as lacking (Malavisi, 2014). It has been argued that a feminist perspective could have an emancipative potential for oppressed groups around the world whose realities have been structurally ignored (Malavisi, 2014). Indeed, within development ethics itself, most of the ethicists are men reflecting an unbalanced production of knowledge and perspectives. Interestingly, Malavisi (2014) and St. Clair (2007, 2010), two women ethicists, have discussed the epistemic injustice that pervades the production of knowledge. They point out how, for example, the level of credibility given to an indigenous woman is low compared to that given to the World Bank, and how the knowledge produced by International institutions such as the World Bank itself, is constantly discussed and legitimized among close groups (Malavisi 2014, St Clair, 2007).

2.6 Development ethics and education

Through Denis Goulet literature there are not specific details of how development ethics should serve to assess education or how education should serve development within the framework of ethics. He does however

acknowledges the importance of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy for liberation and self-agency.

Goulet criticizes how one of the goals of development planners, usually outsiders, is to try to, directly or indirectly, transform the values of the population (Goulet, 1976). Such transformation is among several ways, through the educational systems. Goulet opposes such transformation of values because they are designed to change people's aspirations, values and behaviour. Another development objective often cited is self-sustain growth, however, Goulet criticizes how continual importation of industrial technology from transnational corporation does not go along with the goal. Although here education is not mentioned explicitly, one could ask how education contributes to self-sustain growth. For Goulet, Third world countries should include wider political participation among their development objectives but that is usually not the case, which in short illustrates Goulet concern with achieving greater social justice. One remaining question is how education can contribute to the achievement of greater social justice.

In *Development as Liberation* (1979), Goulet mentions there are three conditions from which an oppressed populace seeks freedom: 1) "extrojecting' or casting out the introjected self-portrait which one's exploiters have a vested interest in perpetuating", 2) "overcoming the political and economic constraints which block a people's creativity" and 3) "overcoming of all servitudes to nature and to ignorance" (Goulet, 1979). The first condition is very closely connected with Freire's idea of 'self-affirmation' in opposition to self-depreciation, a characteristic of the oppressed consequent from the internalization of the oppressor's opinion of them (Goulet, 1973). The third is connected to education since learning plays a vital

role in getting ‘cognitive control’. This is why, a pedagogy that stirs people into action is very much needed to canalize their own agency for effective ways to transform their own environments.

Moreover, in considering the issue of proper indicators to measure development, Goulet proposes five dimensions of development: 1) economic, 2) social, 3) political, 4) cultural and 5) meaning systems. Rightly, education is part of the social dimension of development. However, he does not go in any details regarding how specifically measuring education but he does recognize the complex issue of measuring development qualitative dimensions.

Following that perspective, Sen elaborated more on the role that education, along with health, as significantly important in encouraging capabilities that allow people to fully participate in the society. Through education in particular, people are not only more informed but also have the capacity to make more ‘effective political demands’ for the services provided by the state (Dreze & Sen 1989). Then, participation of the less affluent people should be both collaborative and adversarial for they can also become agents of the transformation of the society. For the authors, education (i.e. basic education) has distinct roles. In terms of the instrumental value, education can: a) make the person more employable (thus raising their income) and as a consequence, affecting the person’s entitlement to food and health care; b) increase person ability to use available opportunities (better informed citizens); and c) generate a less prejudiced and intra-household distribution of food and health care (e.g. female literacy increases the bargaining power of women within the household) (Dreze & Sen, 1989). Besides the instrumental value of education to generate more effective political demand encourage more participation in national economic growth, education, above all, has an intrinsic value for the

role it plays in “making humans lives more worthwhile through broadening one’s horizon of thought and experience” (Dreze & Sen, 1989). Although capabilities may have outcomes such as numeracy, literacy and scientific knowledge, capabilities are not reduced to that. Dreze and Sen (1989) refer for the most part to basic education; “when it comes to enhancing basic human capabilities (...), the role played by public support – including public delivery of health and basic education – is hard to replace” (Dreze & Sen 1989). Education, just like development, reveals itself both as a means and as a goal with an intrinsic value in itself.

2.7 Analytical Framework

2.7.1 In the search of a framework

As described above, both development and ethics are in themselves multidimensional concepts. Goals and strategies of development proposed by Denis Goulet and enlarged by other authors can be summarized as follows:

Table 2 Development Ethics Goals and Strategies of Development

Goals	Normative Strategies
Life sustenance (Basic needs approach)	Decent sufficiency for all
Esteem	Solidarity
Freedom (negative and positive)	(Non-elite) Participation

However, at the definitional level there is little agreement on whether development ethics is a new discipline, as Goulet argues (Goulet, 1997), or an interdisciplinary field (Astroulakis, 2013, p. 107). Gasper alludes the fact that Goulet, “espoused a process-oriented, practice-centered, locality-specific approach, not an elaborate generalized theoretical model” (Gasper, 2008). This methodological gap poses problems when trying to examine a particular set of policies using his development ethics. Problems of operationalizing

development ethics are not only part of the criticism to Goulet but a general problem of development ethics (Parfitt 2012, Malavisi 2014).

In spite of the methodological challenges it poses, development ethics requires Praxis, as proposed by Freire, because “development ethics is useless unless it can be translated into public action” (Goulet, 1973). There are been several attempts to operationalize different ethics of development. A volume edited by Wilber and Dutt (2010) brings together a set of papers giving diverse possible directions. It ranges from the reflection on development ethics considering philosophical and theological thought, in topics such as peace, liberty, and religion, applications in relation to economics, technology and global poverty and concrete problems related to development from deliberative democracy, participation, and empowerment, to the building of social capital.

There are a few instances where particular ethics of development have been used as a framework of analysis and particular dimensions have been drawn to analyze concrete cases. One study focuses on participation, empowerment and democracy where the author explains how participation in decision making has come to be recognized as an essential ethical value of development (Drydyk, 2010). Then the concepts of empowerment and democracy are discussed in the light of participatory development. The author concludes that even though ideally we value participation more when it is accompanied by empowerment and democracy, in practice sometimes the three concepts may not always go together, for instance in cases of, unequal empowerment, and ‘sub-democratic development’ (Drydyk, 2010). Another illustrating study details the building of social capital in post-communist Rumania elaborating on the Goulet’s ideas on the importance of participation and engagement. In a country highly affected by corruption, education can

promote young people commitment to build social capital (Hoksbergen, 2010). His pedagogy then is used for the consolidation of social capital necessary for people to collectively address the development challenges “by strengthening moral values, fostering the leadership potential of young people, and encouraging the bonds of trust and the ability to work together for the common good” (Hoksbergen, 2010). Finally, an essay about ethics and contemporary macroeconomics is worth of attention. The authors use Denis Goulet’s three ethical goals to analyze the performance of US economy during the 1980’s under Reaganomics (Jameson, 2010). They examine macroeconomic imbalances, saving and investment performance, deterioration of infrastructure, deindustrialization, and income distribution and poverty as their five indicators to illustrate how failure in each indicator represent a deterioration of human welfare (Jameson, 2010).

Perhaps the most interesting instance of the application of development ethics to assess a particular program is the work by Hoksbergen who is mainly concerned about the issue of evaluation of development interventions and the importance of world and life views (Hoksbergen, 1986). The paper claims that different approaches to evaluation reflects differences of world and life views. In the case of USAID, its impact evaluations reveal the agency’s neoclassical economics value judgement reflected in its focus on individualism, market promotion, separation of means and ends, and quantification. Then they present an alternative humanist approach drawing on Haque et al’s Development Dialogue where the focus is on social consciousness. Development is seen as a process thus blending means and ends together, the qualitative nature is not reduced to numbers and more material goods are seen not as ends but as means (Hoksbergen, 1986).

2.7.2 Development Ethics core principles to education ODA

This chapter has so far explored how development ethics has evolved across time. In looking for an answer to development ethics defining principles, it has been noted that most literature both at a theoretical and empirical level have built on the core normative terms such as freedom empowerment, and participation. In answering the first research question, it can be said that development ethics is concerned in how development is achieved and the ethics within the instruments, means, and mechanisms used to achieve development. Below this section elaborates on how these core elements of development ethics constitute in two possible different ways to look at education.

1) Goals and Value: In terms of goals, development ethics emphasizes the intrinsic value of education and how it can foster a more ethical development. This means how education can nurture positive freedom and, self-agency and empowerment, core values of development ethics. That is, to what extent education forms people critical and aware of the development process so that they can participate actively in such process. Without doubt, most authors are concerned with social justice, self-agency, freedom, praxis (awareness and concrete actions) to serve to improve one's own life as well as that of others. From this perspective, one could ask particular questions on how education can help creating a more ethical development. In relation to concrete aspects of educational ODA, it is possible to ask, how education ODA help fostering ethical development in the recipient countries, what are the rationales behind education assistance and what logics prevail in the evaluation of successful education interventions?

2) Implementation of Education: In terms of the strategies to the implementation of education ODA, development ethics emphasizes how

ethical is the implementation of official development assistance to the education sector considering core values such as participation, and power relation and accountability. From this perspective, processes and structures of implementation of ODA are more important, for example, how people participate to formulate policies or projects related to the education sector, whether the relation between donor and recipient is paternalistic or exploitative, and who is accountable for what. In relation to concrete aspects, it is necessary to identify how non-elite people actually participate in the implementation of the projects, what is the power relation between the donor and the recipient, which actors and stakeholders are accountable for what and through which channels. Table 3 presents a summary of the core elements considered followed by a detailed explanation in the subsequent section.

Table 3 Goals and strategies of education ODA

Goals	Strategies
Education value Freedom (Education for liberation) Agency and empowerment	Implementation of education Participation Inequality of power among donor-recipient, accountability

Goals

Freedom and consciousness

As it has been discussed, both negative and positive freedom provide a sense of ability to function well in life and to do what people have reason to value. Whether education can provide a way to project the self to acquire certain capabilities that ensure positive freedom is an important aspect of development ethics. Education for positive freedom should help the oppressed to overcome their condition as potential agents of their own destiny. As very much emphasized by development ethicists, the transformation of the victims of underdevelopment into conscious agents consists in authentic development. The value of education, therefore, should not be confined to

narrow views that domesticate people but instead it should play a vital role in helping individuals getting mastery and cognitive control that stirs people into action. This surely leads people into agency and empowerment.

Agency and empowerment

In this regard, one of Crocker's (2014) five foci of development ethics that better incorporate the main issues of development ethics in relation to international development, of which official development assistance is part, is agency and empowerment. Once people acquire consciousness, it should canalize people's agency into concrete actions. Yet agency is highlighted as necessary but insufficient since it ought to be accompanied by empowerment (Crocker, 2014). At the same time, not always people exercise their agency in ways to improve their well-being and it can be used to harm other people (Crocker, 2014). Then the ideal empowerment consists of empowered individuals who have 'agency-power' to work for their own and others' well-being by not only contesting but overcoming power inequalities (Crocker, 2014). In that regard, education must not be a mere instrument of the economy. Rather, it must help combating inequalities, as education involves the role of personal integrity and moral commitment (Crocker, 2014, p. 249). The empowerment of individuals should help to "resist passivity, overcome those powers that maintain an unfair playing field, and find new ways to keep hope alive" (Crocker, 2014, p. 250).

In that regard, in the case of the official development assistance to education, this study analyses the rationale of the aid and the type of education (type of interventions and the levels in which the aid to the education sector is focused) and how it is evaluated (usual ways in which education interventions are considered successful).

Strategies

On the other hand, the strategies of official development assistance to education are mainly considered in terms of participation, as many authors have consistently focused. Power and accountability are also considered in this study as they are embedded parts in the development industry (Crocker 2014). This is because international development has been traditionally dominated by donors (Riddell 2008, Haslam et al 2009, Hjertholm & White 2000) who have conditioned and established the rules and responsibilities of who are the stakeholders and responsible for the well-being of people affected by development projects.

Participation

The mere idea of referring to recipients as target populations is objectionable from the development ethics perspective because the subjects of development assistance should be stakeholders and responsible of their own development with the support of the donors. Accordingly, development ethics gives emphasis to the increasing participation of people directly concerned with their own development. However the process of participation may be vague in practice. Recipients of development aid are allowed to participate but their participation is substantially different to what it is supposed in terms of goals of their participation, point of entry, agents, effects, values and limits of their participation (Crocket, 2010).

Although participation is a buzzword that has been largely used for decades, different authors and institutions have proposed different levels of participation ranging in the number of levels and the quality of the participation from passive or instrumental, to consultative, petitionary, participatory implementation, and deliberative participation. Although the levels are defined differently, ideally the highest level of participation is

deliberative where non-elites deliberate together, sometimes with the elites, to forge agreements that the majority can accept (Crocker, 2010). It must be noticed that participation has its own downsides. First, if people are given unlimited self-determination and unrestricted agency, certain groups can, and most likely will, reproduce the already existing asymmetries of power thus accentuating inequalities (Crocker, 2010). Second, autonomy cannot be imposed and there may be situations where people deliberately decide not to participate and depend on a top-down authority (Crocker, 2010). To that, Crocker believes that precisely the more rooted or embedded the power asymmetries, the more justified is political mobilization and participation.

In this sense, the World Bank itself has its own definitions and frameworks for participatory approaches. The World Bank participatory approaches are aimed at broadening their business to include more stakeholders with highly detailed literature on the topic. For the particular case of the World Bank in Colombia, this study focuses on how participation takes place and at which levels. Special attention is paid to the locus of the participation, that is, whether only high level authorities of the country participated or if actually non-elite people are included.

Yet, because of the lack of more in-depth data or interviews, the reports of the World Bank may be biased in reporting the level of participation. However, by contrasting what World Bank said they would do with that they actually do to, the study discusses whether the participatory approaches they claim to have were beneficial for the communities aimed in the project.

Power and accountability

As it has been mentioned several times through the chapter, underdevelopment in certain areas of the world has been to a great extent a side effect, if not a direct effect, of the development in other regions of the

world. The sometimes exploitative relations that countries, who call themselves developed, establish with developing countries are reflected in the way that international development takes place. Since official development assistance is part of the large architecture of international relations, it is important to see how the power relations are reproduced in the provision of aid to education. As Denis Goulet pointed out in many of his works, the paternalistic relationship that donors assume can limit the extent to which aid works. The vertical dependence among nations, as one of the negative sides of the development, leads to the imposition of values that undermine people's self-affirmation. In that sense, aid can become in "value-laden political acts with far reaching implications" (1979, p.172).

In the same way, in the aid industry in particular, accountability is by far one of the most important issues to be considered when thinking of development results. As Crocker puts it, "who is responsible for bringing development? Regardless of who is responsible, how should we understand the responsibility itself? A moral duty? A social pact? A duty of justice? (Crocker, 2008). And more practical questions connected to whom should an aid agency be accountable to? To its national government, to the taxpayers, to the people it directly affects through its projects and interventions?

In terms of accountability, there are four factors to be considered, namely transparency, answerability or justification, compliance and enforcement (Weisband & Ebrahim 2007). Although accountability relies in the present of all factors, enforceability is the most problematic (Weisband & Ebrahim 2007, Crocker 2008) since there is no mechanism in which aid agencies, for example, can be sanctioned in case they are not fully accountable to their beneficiaries. In that regard, there are mainly two models of accountability proposed by Grant and Keohane (2005) that can be summarized on whether

a particular donor institution should be accountable to those affected by their actions or to those who entrusted them with power. Understanding how the World Bank in particular is accountable for its interventions in the education sector would reveal a great deal of the values embedded and the actual impact the projects have in the populations.

Thus, I look at the aid channels (Project, technical cooperation, capacity development, infrastructure, program (SWAp), accountability (Donors preference on projects visibility, Channels for accountability) and World Bank-Colombia relation (conditionality, project external requirements such as tax reform, decentralization, financing) in order to analyze the education ODA strategies.

Overall, the framework of development ethics with the specific proxy information that allow analyzing each element can be summarized as follows:

Table 4 Summary of analytical framework

Development ethics		Category of analysis
Goals	Freedom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Rationale and amount · Type of education · Evaluation
	Agency and Empowerment	
Strategies	Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Aid channels · Bank relationship with client · Accountability mechanism
	Power relation and accountability	

In short, this paper focuses on the guiding principles of development and education as both a means and an end. As has been described above, education is a means to other development goals but also has an intrinsic value in itself that promotes positive freedom, agency and empowerment. To achieve the goals, this paper also looks at the strategies of the implementation of

education ODA considering participation as the main driver of genuine development, and pays attention to the power relation and levels of accountability as important drivers in the development industry.

Chapter III. Current Issues with Official Development Assistance to Education

3.1 Official Development Assistance

Foreign aid dates back to the 1940's when the Marshall Plan attempted to rebuild Europe after the Second World War. After its success, the same logic extended to developing countries in order to 'modernize' them through economic growth and political development. Such plan on modernization reproduced colonial practices when colonizers aimed to 'civilize' indigenous societies according to European norms which were thought to be superior (Allina-Pisano, 2009). Racial claims of superiority were used as justification to deprive indigenous populations in order to meet the European economic interests. Part of the progress colonizers claimed to bring was the transformation of economic life, which in practice entailed the exportation of raw materials and agricultural commodities to supply European industries, setting the juncture for longer economic dependence and vulnerability (Allina-Pisano, 2009).

Based on the idea of 'civilizing the indigenous' and 'modernizing the Third World', Western powers have built their idea of 'development' which has in fact shaped the underdevelopment that Goulet (1973) referred to. As a consequence of the dominant discourse, foreign aid, but in particular development assistance has been dominated by donors (Riddell 2008, Haslam et al 2009, Hjertholm & White 2000) although it has reshaped across time and its main theme remains largely both poverty reduction and development. In effect, the definition of the development assistance has focused principally on the purpose for which the aid is given, but such purpose is still controversial and there is not uniform agreement (Riddell, 2008).

Regardless, international development industry is enormous, so much that it has “grown to become a key part of international relations” (Riddell, 2008). The total amount of assistance in 2012 was almost of USD 140.000 million (OECD, 2014). The group of donors is composed of at least two hundred bilateral and multilateral organizations, including official agencies providing official development assistance (ODA), with different strategies and principles (Haan, 2009).

Aid is mainly provided either bilaterally or multilaterally. Bilateral aid is provided directly by donor country either directly to people or to institutions in the recipient countries. Multilateral aid is, on the other hand, provided to an International Agency such as the UN agencies and the World Bank, which in turn implement it in recipient countries (OECD, 2012). The dominant flow of aid is bilateral but this type of flow remains criticized because it tends to reflect the donor country’s own interest and particular foreign policies. Consequently, multilateral aid is, in general preferred, since it is, to a certain extent, independent of donors’ national interests and pressures. Yet, both the UN system and the World Bank have been criticized for its lack of coordination for which there are numerous calls to strengthen it as a source of global governance (Sachs, 2005). Among multilateral donors, development banks focus mainly on lending to developing countries as well as being a source of expertise and advice (OECD, 2012). Besides, because of the particular governance system of the World Bank, although it is a multilateral institution, the voting is proportional to member countries level of investment in the bank making the US the most influencing country. In this case the term multilateral can be misleading for it is multilateral in its number and diversity of members but not in the level of influence.

As mentioned above, development aid or development assistance definition has reshaped across time. It has focused principally on the purpose for which the aid is given, but such purpose is still controversial and there is not uniform agreement (Riddell, 2008). Yet, it can be said that ODA has mainly two characteristics: first, it is targeted at improving economic development and welfare of developing countries and second, it is either a grant, or a loan at a less rate than market interest rates (OECD, 2012).

3.2 Official Development Assistance to Education

ODA to education refers different types of support, either financial or technical, for education from donor to recipient countries. Although historically such aid was mainly a reflection of colonial and neo-colonial practices, there have been critics that invite to re-evaluate the relationships between North and South to shape a relationship of equals (Power, 1999). In fact many studies deal with the purpose of ODA mainly contrasting donors' interests versus recipients' needs as well as allocation and effectiveness of education ODA in relation to factors such as governance, economic institutions and policies of recipient countries (Dollar & Levin, 2006).

There is extended literature as well concerning different aspects of the processes, goals, policies, nature of educational ODA. As mentioned above the World Bank as the largest provider of multilateral aid to education is one of the most heavily criticized institution due its practices not only in the education sector. Among the most common issues mentioned is the lack of enough financing for education and the overall assistance decline (Benavot, 2010) as well as the insufficient quality and lack of scaling up successful projects (Riddell & Niño-Zarazua, 2016) and evaluation of aid (Riddell, 2008). In terms of ODA impact in education, an interesting example is a

review of UNICEF's evaluations of education activities from 1994 to 2000 that failed to draw conclusions on the impacts on the education programs, "relatively few evaluations actually assess the extent to which education activities achieve their broader goals or objectives" (Champan, 2002 cited in Riddell, 2008). Yet most previous literature focus mainly on education and ODA as two different elements. Education is seen both as tool of economic growth and then analyzed on terms of how educational ODA creates, or fails to create, abundant economic growth (World Bank 2002, Heyneman, 2003, Birchler & Michaelowa 2016). More critical works focus on the negative effects of globalization and neoliberal policies on education which explains the deficiency of results (Klees & Qargha 2013, Heyneman & Lee 2006). Klees & Qargha in particular, review the current debates based on five specific books by Thomas Ditcher, William Easterly, Dembisa Moyo, Roger Riddell and David Ellerman and provide six specific implications to improve aid to education: 1) increasing the amount of aid, 2) disbursing money directly to the poor, 3) strengthening participation in order to improve governance, 4) replacing the IMF and the WB, 5) focusing on human rights and 6) not overusing econometrics analysis and regressions.

In terms of specific subsectors of education, the literature is diverse. On one side, there is a perspective that the highest profit to development comes from primary education (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003) and therefore there should be more efforts to increase its financing. Special attention is given to Education For All (EFA) and the commitment different multilateral and bilateral donor agencies and NGO's have made to achieve at least six years of basic education. Although this excessive focus on EFA has been criticized for reproducing inequalities and creating compliant workers in developing countries to be exploited by more wealthy ones (Philips & Schweisfurth, 2014). Other argument against the excessive focus of EFA in

basic education is that it has been at the expense of the education sector development (Heyneman, 2010) and that it undermines attention of secondary and tertiary education which are also essential for poverty reduction and the achievement of sustainable development (Freeman & Faure, 2003).

In the same way, literature on aid effectiveness shows how education as the most important sector in the social investment a country can make to enhance its human capital as way for poverty reduction (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003). Yet, even though investment in education is profitable from the socioeconomic point of view and it is a prerequisite for economic growth, investment in education under commercial conditions is not attractive because investors cannot ensure profit as they cannot demand payment from users (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003).

Such different perspectives are in accordance with different views of development and the role that education has in it. Many analysis of educational ODA are done from the perspective of both capital and modernization theory which see education as a key social institution capable of shaping citizens and workforce for national development (Philips & Schweisfurth, 2014). Such views are intimately related to how, for example, donor countries and multilateral agencies see education and how ODA assistance is defined and governed. In the International Forum on Education ODA hosted in Busan, South Korea in 2011, although some of the interventions highlighted the role of education as a force of social and political participation, the focus was mainly on education as requirement for labor market, labor productivity and economic growth for developing countries. Undeniably, that is still the dominant view on education.

3.3 World Bank Aid to Education

The World Bank, as the largest multilateral donor to education, was created in 1945. However, the first project related to education was not done until 1963. Since then, and until 2008 the bank had invested \$69 billion globally (World Bank, 2011). Yet most of the investment has been done without having an education policy at all. Initially, the World Bank focused mainly on man power for the creation of human capital, remaining vocational-education oriented until the late 1980's (Psacharopoulos, 2006). Although the first policy paper on education was published in 1980, it was not until the 1990's when it finally produced a general education oriented policy that focused mainly on primary education with the JomTien conference: Education for all, although paradoxically, in 1991, it also published Vocational oriented policy paper (Psacharopoulos, 2006). Reportedly, this shift from tertiary to primary education, and from 'software' to 'hardware' has also translated in a change of the philosophy of education as means, not only as human capital but also of social capital (Heyneman, 1999). Yet, the staff is said to respond more to administrative sector derived from macro-economic priorities rather than actual educational needs (Heyneman, 2003). As a consequence, in spite of the World Bank literature supporting the important role of education, its portion to education remains very small (Heyneman, 2003, 2010).

More recently, in its 2011-2020 education strategy, the World Bank agenda is more comprehensive, focused on learning for all reorienting its priorities to quality of education throughout life, not only during the years of schooling (World Bank, 2011). The stated higher levels goals are enunciated as growth, development and poverty reduction which are said to depend on people's knowledge, hence, the emphasis on metrics that give account of actual

learning (World Bank, 2011). To achieve this, the new strategy discusses the need for education reforms in its client's education systems, which are redefined more openly to allow for more intervention of the Bank to ensure more 'efficient financing', 'better governance' and 'higher accountability' (World Bank, 2011). The new definition of education systems is supposed to be more comprehensive in terms of the scope of education as a source of life learning. By focusing on learning as a measure of education rather than on years of schooling, the World Bank intends to make qualitative improvements. However, it also implies the inclusion of many new actors or 'network of stakeholders' for financing the delivery of education services delinking more and more the education system as right to be provided by the state and effectively transforming it into a private service. In terms of the levels of education, it is to be done according to the country priorities, so for example, a middle-income country where the market needs higher level skills, investments are too prioritized to higher tertiary education while lower income countries would require different approaches (World Bank, 2011).

The World Bank is by far one of the largest single donors of aid to education both by means of grants and loans, as well as by pushing reforms at different levels that end up affecting the education sector. The way in which it affects education can be direct by pushing education reforms, financing particular projects and demanding the country to set to particular sets of standards. It can also affect it indirectly by, for example, demanding countries to pay back debt causing government to cut soft sectors, of which education is part of, thus harming the welfare of people (Heyneman, 2010).

In short, whether aid to education is in itself of any benefit or not is also a contentious subject. The answer largely depends on the view of the world economic and political system. In the liberal view, there are unlimited

possibilities for increasing wealth and knowledge without affecting the rich, who use a small part of their money and their 'know-how' to help the poor (Hurst, 1981). From a Marxist view, as much as aid can be of great help, aid to education can also be used to control and exploit recipients, servicing the needs of multinational bourgeoisies by modelling the consciousness of the exploited into acceptance of their own exploitation thus setting a struggle for power, knowledge and wealth (Hurst, 1981).

Chapter IV. World Bank in Colombian education sector 2000-2015

The World Bank is an organization with more than 180 members composed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA) which together offer lending instruments to poverty reduction and development purposes. The IBRD offer loans and development assistance to middle income countries whereas the IDA provides low-interest loans and other type of services to low income countries. Due to Colombia status as middle income country, the loans and operation with the Bank is through the IBRD. IBRD loans can be below market rates and with longer repayment periods. Among IBRD clients, Colombia is the fourth largest client in Latin America only after Brazil, Mexico and Argentina, and the 8th largest client in the World with commitments as high as USD\$25 billion (WB, 2017). However, although there is a big flow of money, historically education has accounted for only 11% of the total number of projects executed in Colombia. In the selected period of 2000-2015, education only accounted for a 7% of the total amount of projects. Figure 1 shows different sectors across the World Bank loans are divided. Table 4 shows in detail each of the six projects disaggregated by level of education and disbursement by project.

4.1 How much is provided and why?

The World Bank rationale for the education sector is identical in all projects reviewed. In the case of primary and secondary education, its importance lies on the need to acquire basic and general labor force competencies increasing student's potential to pursue higher education or successfully participate in the labor market.

Figure 1 Percentage of Projects by Sector 2000-2015

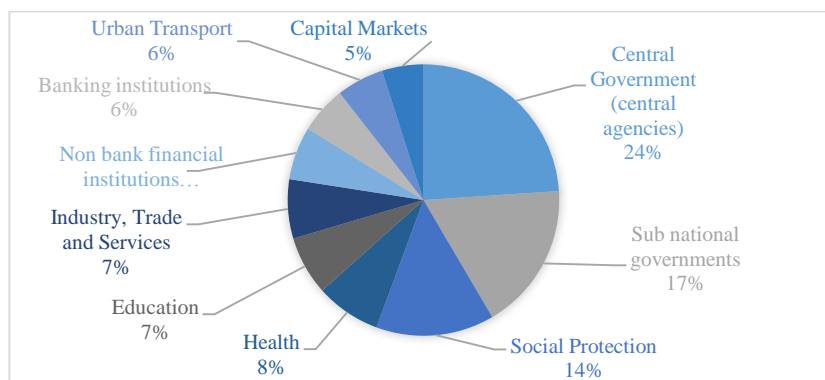


Table 5 Projects by level of education

Project Name	Level (as defined by WB)	Total actual cost (USD million)	Loan amount at appraisal	Disbursed amount (USD million)
Antioquia Upper Secondary Education (2008-2012)	Secondary education (81%); Sub-national government administration (11%); Vocational training (5%); Tertiary education (3%)	42	20	18.88
Cundinamarca Quality Education Improvements (primary and secondary education) Loan balance cancelled	Secondary education (55%) Primary education (23%) Sub-national government administration (22%)	N/A	15	1.8
Higher education-Improving access	Tertiary education (97%) Central government administration (3%)	460	200	200
Rural Education project (general administration sector, primary, vocational)	Primary education (42%) Tertiary education (21%) General public administration sector (17%) Vocational training (11%) Other social services (9%)	42.09	20	20
Rural Education Project APL phase 2	Primary education (25%); Vocational training (25%); General education sector (25%); Secondary education (25%)	50	40	37.39
Second Student Loan Support Project APL phase 1 (higher education)	Tertiary education (100%) (Education for the knowledge economy (67% - P); Improving labor markets (33% - S)	395	300	300

Although it is mentioned that primary education has the highest social return, across the documents there is no allusion of a higher purpose in terms of qualitative improvements in people's lives. Yet, in the case of the Rural Education projects related to primary education, the rationale articulates both social and economic development and refers of it as a way to support not only human but also social capital. However, these projects had the lowest level of financing.

In case of higher education the reasoning is more straightforward. The World Bank rationale for supporting it is to meet the increasing demand of the labor market for technology requiring flexible workers because, as it is mentioned in one of the documents, "trade-liberalization and the introduction of skill-biased technological change have strengthened the value of tertiary education" (PAD – Higher Education Improving Access, p.9). Specifically, the project Higher Education's objective is to improve human capital that enhances Colombia's competitiveness in the global market. This is based on the assumption that increased loans to poorer students to finance higher education increase equity while at the same time, educated workers better multiply growth impact of physical capital (Second Student Loan Support Project APL phase 1).

In the particular case of the Antioquia Upper Secondary Education project, for instance, the explicit goal was to improve the employability of the poorest young people and increase the competitiveness of labor force. In the case of Cundinamarca Quality Education Improvements project, the World Bank acknowledges there is limited participation of the productive sector and civil society in the education project which causes, the documents explain, that schools work is disconnected from societal and labor market needs.

In the case of Cundinamarca project, in the World Bank's opinion there is no need for more public investment but instead focus on efficiency with existing resources taking advantage of decentralization. In fact, a common topic in all projects was the level of decentralization. High level of decentralization is encouraged by the Bank who sees it as an efficient way to speed up the processes and implementation and also as a way to push up for policies directly at local level without going through much of the country's bureaucratic system.

The World Bank analyses to justify particular operations are made from different perspectives i) economic (a cost-benefit analysis), ii) financial (a fiscal impact at different levels), iii) technical, iv) institutional, v) social and vi) environmental. However, econometric cost-benefit analysis have the highest weight since they show the return rates of the investment. Cost-benefit analyses are based on human capital approach and are conducted both at appraisal and at completion. Economic and financial analyses also estimate other positive benefits derived from education projects such as changes in income, poverty or lower crime and unemployment. However those 'other social benefits' are considered externalities.

4.2 What type of education?

As it is not surprise the World Bank view on education is mainly based on a human capital perspective of education as a mere investment for future economic returns.

As mentioned above, the World Bank sees education as an instrument to successfully participate in the labor market so this is why, all projects include a series of analyses where economic return and cost-benefit analysis have the

highest weight in order to measure the country's economy capacity to absorb investment in education and its levels of return at an individual and national level.

Among the six projects considered, all levels of education are covered as table 4 above shows. The Cundinamarca Quality Education Improvements focuses on the Cundinamarca region primary and secondary education. Both Rural Education Project and Rural Education Project APL phase 2 focused on primary, secondary and vocational education in the rural areas at a national level. The Antioquia Upper Secondary Education, as the names indicates, concentrated on upper secondary education and transition to tertiary education. Finally, the two higher education projects, namely, Higher Education-Improving Access and Second Student Loan Support Project APL focused mainly on loans access higher education. In general, the projects did not focus on infrastructure but on technical cooperation aimed to improve also the education policies and administration at different levels and dimensions.

Because one of the important flags of the World Bank strategies is poverty reduction, all of the projects, at least in its proposed forms, are aimed to support poorer populations. Paradoxically, although equity and targeting disadvantaged schools in rural areas was among the development objectives of Cundinamarca project, the Independent Evaluation of the project has no available data nor comments regarding Poverty and Social Development impact.

Nonetheless, the two projects related to rural education, namely the Rural Education project and the Rural Education Project APL phase 2 have a rather distinctive perspective. Because they targeted primary and secondary education in rural areas, they aimed to consolidate a rural education policy

that also contributes to peaceful coexistence as many rural areas in Colombia have suffered from violence. For the Rural Education project, the Objectives stated are:

“a) To improve access to quality basic education services in the eligible municipalities, while supporting, through school-community relationships and classroom methodology, the prevention and resolution of conflict and the development of civic values. b) To strengthen the Borrower’s capacity to manage the implementation of education projects in rural areas. c) To strengthen the Borrower’s capacity to implement a reform of technical education in rural areas (Loan Agreement, Rural Education project)

Yet in case of education for Peaceful Coexistence, there were several activities implemented at the national and local level but there was not any recorded outcome. Moreover, it is acknowledged that Indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities tend to perceive education interventions as culturally and politically insensitive to their community values and therefore more participatory approaches are deemed as necessary. Nonetheless, the independent evaluation shows no evidence that the project reached those vulnerable groups. Besides, because the project scope was expanded to cover over half of the country’s municipalities, there was a risk that the poor rural communities would lose their high priority status. This contrast between the intended role of education to increase equity, reduce poverty and support peaceful coexistence, and the actual implementation of the projects, show a gap that undermines the value of the project.

The other projects particularly those related to upper secondary education and higher education are more straightforward in its connection with education

for the labor markets. In the Antioquia Upper Secondary Education project, the higher level objective is stated as:

“(...) to contribute to the improvement of social and economic inclusion, targeting Antioquia’s poorest youth, by increasing their opportunity to receive quality secondary education and acquire pertinent basic and general labor force competencies, thereby increasing their potential to pursue higher education or successfully participate in the labor market”
(Project Appraisal Document, Antioquia Upper Secondary Education)

For this project, component 1 aimed to provide opportunities for transiting to tertiary education where the activities included the implementation of a vocational, professional, counselling and guidance program for employment prospects and access to tertiary education. Component 2 as well supported strategies to improve the quality and relevance of upper-secondary education. To that, ‘flexible pedagogical models’ are proposed which mainly consist of providing students with skills to meet the market’s demand. They include a competency-based curricula that incorporates ‘basic, general, scientific, and citizenship competencies, as well as training in management and collective leadership strategies’.

In the case of the Higher Education-Improving Access project’s rationale is to improve human capital to foster growth and so it establishes as its objective the improvement of quality and equity of Colombia’s Tertiary education for high quality human capital responsive to demand. To that, the strategy is expanding a student loan to enable poorer students to attend tertiary education. However, because the focus is on meeting market demand, the World Bank promoted specially technical and short cycle-programs. Especial incentives were created so that students who enrolled technical programs would receive

more financial assistance. However, incentives were not as efficient because of the perception about technical and technological studies in Colombia. The documents report a great level of student dissatisfaction to this type of education but it is merely considered as a ‘negative cultural perception’ explained in terms of the perceived low quality. Yet, although quality interventions often cost less, most of the financing went to student loans. Ultimately, this project ended up being an instrument to push for the privatization of higher education, although the project calls it “reforms that make this vehicle of educational financing viable from the perspective of students as well as capital markets” (ICR Review). Nevertheless, while those reforms were not achieved, the documents state that “the most important effects may be obtained through the passage of less comprehensive laws as well as ministerial decrees” (ICR Review). All of this show the focus of the World Bank on privatization rather than on quality.

The Second Student Loan Support Project APL too, aimed to increase coverage and graduation rates especially for poorer families as well as increasing and diversify the sources of alternative funding available to the ICETEX. Similarly, it promotes technical education “to address weaknesses in human capital in a relatively low-cost and time-efficient manner” to “equip more workers with the education and skills (to) thrive in and contribute to a dynamic economy” (Project Appraisal Document, Second Student Loan Support Project APL).

All in all, the projects show that the support of the World Bank was across all levels of educations with particular emphasis in primary and tertiary education (mainly technical education). Projects concerned with secondary education were oriented to create a swift transition to tertiary education so that students can adapt and get the skills necessary to enter programs that meet

the ‘market needs’. It also shows a gap between the stated goals of education in reaching vulnerable communities and social improvements, and the activities undertaken which do not reflect these goals.

4.3 How is it evaluated?

The World Bank projects’ objectives are established in different documents and structured usually in 3 or 4 components with subcomponents divided in indicators and sub indicators. Indicators are quantitatively designed. Project general objectives and components are usually stated in different documents which serve different purposes: in the Loan Agreements (LA), in the Project Development Objectives (PDO), and in Project Appraisal Documents (PAD). In many occasions, the objectives established in the different documents do not match creating problems in terms of evaluation. Besides, because the documents can be amended due to the natural changes in the process or circumstances, changes in the objectives are not uncommon. For instance, in the Rural Education Project APL phase 2, from the original set of 18 intermediate outcome indicators 9 were surpassed or achieved, 2 partially met and 7 of them were dropped principally because of difficulties in measurements. Because the original established goals are in many times not consistent, it gives the impression that they can be manipulated.

In other situations, although there was an objective qualitatively expressed, specific quantitative targets are not defined. For example in the Antioquia Upper Secondary Education one indicator reads:

“Teachers who have participated in Project activities have improved their pedagogical practices”.

However the outcome is said to be ‘Unknown’ followed by the description that

“3,014 teachers and school principals representing 65% of the total number in the 451 schools in the 117 municipalities were trained. It is not clear if this training improved their pedagogical practices.”
(Implementation Completion and Results Report, Antioquia Upper Secondary Education)

The success of projects, then, is usually measured by indicators such as gross enrolment rate, test scores, completion rates, or number, percentages or proportions. Even if quantitative, more than often methodologies for measurement are unclear. For instance, in the Antioquia Upper Secondary Education project, the Performance Evaluation for the Bank was as follows for Quality at Entry:

“Project monitoring was based on key indicators impacting only on a small subset of the 117 municipalities resulting in insufficient monitoring data to inform Project implementation (...) the methodology for calculating baseline and target values of many indicators was unclear, further exacerbating the usefulness of Project monitoring.”
(Implementation Completion and Results Report, Antioquia Upper Secondary Education)

Besides, during the restructuring of the projects the indicators, targets and the methodology to calculate them was in several occasions not revised or clarified. In other cases, the activities undertaken do not correspond to the established goals. For instance, in the Higher education-Improving Access project, the higher-level goal was to make the Colombian tertiary education

system more responsive to demand, and promote greater equity and quality in the preparation of tertiary education graduates. However, the activities consisted mainly in an expanded student loan scheme to enable ‘needy but qualified’ students to attend. For an ambitious goal such as the one stated, the financing was destined mainly for student loans (90.2%). As the ICR Review indicates, it was ‘a student loan rather than a general higher education project’ as there were no specific activities related to quality assurance and other activities undertaken by institutions to improve quality.

In the Rural Education project for example, the PAD established particular goals for the reducing repetition rates at two different levels (primary and secondary) but the ICR provided only one figure, with no explanation as to which level it was.

In other cases, the completion reports focused too much on the outputs and not in the outcomes. For example, the Rural Education project, the objective was related to peaceful coexistence, and correspondingly the outputs show the financing of education for peace activities. However, with reference to outcomes, there is no report on the reduction of violent behavior and the claims of the reduction of internal conflicts were not supported by any evidence (ICR Review, Rural Education Project).

As a matter of rule, even if a project is classified as education sector, the assessments are usually done both from the educational and financial market perspective. A clear and straightforward example is the Second Student Loan Support Project APL phase 1 where the World Bank support was to improve the enrolment and graduation rates in tertiary education by supporting Colombia’s student loan agency, ICETEX. Among the components objectives was to ‘foster a culture of repayment, ‘support collection efforts

after graduation’, strengthen the agency’s loan administration, portfolio management, collection procedures’. Therefore, most of the project was oriented to the financial side and little to the actual strengthening of improving tertiary education coverage. In fact the outcome indicators in terms of coverage were vaguely expressed making it difficult to monitor.

In effect, the ICETEX was transformed (before the project but with the support of the World Bank) into a public financial institution. Maybe because of that, it reoriented its priorities during the time of the project. In the original criteria for selecting beneficiaries, lower socio-economic status was a priority in order to improve coverage among the poorer population but during the project, there were several changes to the weights in the criteria. For the example the weight of the socio economic origin was reduced (from 17% to 12%) while the academic merit weight increased (from 62% to 73%). The goal of the changes was to increase the probability of the beneficiaries to graduate and therefore of repayment. In spite of it, it must be said that student from lower strata (1 and 2 out of 6) remained the largest group of beneficiaries with a percentage of 82% by the completion of the project.

4.4 Through which channels?

As mentioned above, Colombia receives aid mainly in the form of loans due to its current position as middle income country. From the six projects considered, three of them are Specific Investment Loans (SIL) (Antioquia Upper Secondary Education, Cundinamarca Quality Education Improvements and Higher Education Improving Access) while the other three are Adaptable Program Loan (APL) (Rural Education Project, Rural Education Project APL phase 2 and Second Student Loan Support Project

APL phase 1). Moreover, the World Bank also provides ‘knowledge’ in the form of technical assistance.

The World Bank operation in Colombia through the IBRD provided financing and technical cooperation or technical assistance by means of bringing consultants and experts (including World Bank staff, foreign experts and local consultants), and activities for capacity development. In the projects reviewed, there were not new school or facility constructions but only minor civil works for rehabilitation or maintenance when required by the project.

In terms of the knowledge provided, at the higher policy level the World Bank knowledge is aimed at improving governance, transparency, accountability and better pedagogical practices in the education sector. More specifically, it supported the preparation of guidelines and manuals, terms of reference and feasibility studies for project subcomponents, design of new methodologies, and other technical assistance events. In some cases, such as in the rural and higher education related projects, the technical assistance also looked to increasing the national capacity to formulate and implement particular policies. Projects usually included technical specialist not only in education but also consultants in charge of data analysis, procurement specialists and financial experts that worked along with local advisors. On average there were two full supervision missions per year.

In regard to technical assistance, the Bank defends its quality based on its international experience in the education sector, and education and financing reforms around the world. For example, in the Antioquia Upper Secondary Education project, the Bank organized an international seminar on Technical Secondary Education Reforms, where invited guests from South Korea, Australia, Chile, Spain, and Brazil shared approaches and methods for

reforming technical education, all of what was, reportedly, incorporated in the design of the project.

Assistance took place at different levels depending on the project, ranging from national level to strengthen, for example, information systems. Although there is no detailed available information regarding the way in which the specific activities were undertaken, according to the ICRs, in general, the borrower was satisfied with the implementation of the project. In a few circumstances the technical assistance was weak and not timely provided. Besides, as in the Rural Education Project APL Phase 2, capacity building sessions for those in lower levels was reported as lacking enough planning a the design stage (ICR Review).

As the World Bank concedes, technical assistance is essential for empowering partnerships and foster participation of different sectors of the civil society ensuring that projects are consistent with each local community. Participation is mentioned in every project as a central value for the Bank's operations. However a few instances suggest that the Bank did not properly considered all sectors. In the Second Student Loan Support Project APL phase 1, the Bank supported a student loan policy thorough the ICETEX. However, as mentioned in the documents, it faced resistance from student groups demanding free public education and lower interest rates. Yet, the documents analyze this as a risk of sustainability of the project and do not consider it in a broader social perspective indicating a lack of participation from student groups. The Rural Education Project APL phase 2 aimed at the consolidation of rural education policy for which one of the strategies was the mobilization of resources through local governments and private partnerships. This generated reluctance from the private sector to establish partnerships, as well as opposition from teachers' unions to private sector participation. Once again,

this is only seen as a risk and not fully addressed. This shows either a lack of concern or ignorance of the reality on the ground.

In the Antioquia Upper Secondary Education project for example, component 1 and 2 included, respectively:

“1) The development and implementation of flexible pedagogical models that provide students with the skills to meet the current demands of the labor market, and 2) central training program in design and implementation of competency-based curricula respectively.” (Project Appraisal Document, Antioquia Upper Secondary Education)

To complete the activities of the two components, the reports mention consultations with different stakeholders such as employers, graduates, parents, school principals, teachers and communities (Project Appraisal Document). Component 3, as well, consisted of technical assistance for institutional strengthening by building the department’s capacity, which in turn, would provide technical assistance to municipalities and schools. According to the project documents, participatory approaches were designed as part of the implementation in all components of the project.

Participative approaches are, however, not properly reflected in the Cundinamarca Quality Education Improvements project where the loan ended up cancelled. The project’s main objective was to improve the quality of learning in basic (grades 0 to 9) and secondary (grades 10 and 11) education through continuous and comprehensive interventions at the school and classroom levels. In the rationale of the project, one of the reasons for low quality was weak governance and management, due to a lack of participation of the productive sector and civil society in the education process thus having

a disconnected school system. Reportedly, a bottom-up approach was to be used to have a demand-driven system in accordance to social and market needs. However, the implementation of the project was in fact poor thus not meeting the expectations of the stakeholders at local levels, discouraging and destroying their motivation and increasing mistrust (ICR Review). The limited implementation of this project mainly obeys to the deep disagreements between the Bank and the newly elected government of the Department after the project had started. As the project reports explain, the new government did not fully endorse the original project design. Moreover, the CSR shows that there was a lack of hard and reliable data to determine if the Project was moving towards the planned direction. According to another document in Spanish published by the local government, one of the reasons for the poor implementation was not having a coordination unit that had enough technical capacity and exclusive dedication to the project besides having a constant rotation of project coordinators.

4.5 Who is accountable for what?

In close connection to evaluation there is accountability. The Bank ensures its accountability using different mechanisms. In the first place, all projects are done within the framework of the CAS (Country Assistance Strategy) and the CPS (Country Partnership Strategy) which in turn is supposed to be aligned with the National Development Plans and other related local plans. Allegedly, this ensures that the World Bank actions are aligned with the policies of the Colombian government.

However, because the internal process of the World Bank is kept under secrecy, it is not possible to know the real incentives for the consultants that

provide technical assistance. As it was mentioned before in the Evaluation section, what gets evaluated is, naturally, the achievement of the goals and the implementation process under the control of the implementing agency, which is by rule, an agency within the borrowing government. Statements like this are not uncommon:

“The Bank designed simple but effective implementation arrangements, placing accountability in ICETEX, which depends on the Ministry of Education, the other institution implementing the project.” (Colombia Higher Education Improving Access Project, Bank Performance)

What that means is that accountability of the project is placed on the implementing agency so that the staff working for the bank act under a system that does not provide seeming reward for the impact of the projects because they are not directly accountable for the results. Without a reward, World Bank staff are less likely to be accountable of their actions. For example, in projects where the initial design is deficient or the supervision does not properly supervise by providing exhaustive and correct leadership there seems that none is responsible within the Bank system. Because of the nature of the loans and the design of the projects, it gives the impression the government of Colombia needs to be accountable both to the targeted communities and to the Bank, while the Bank has not direct accountability to Colombia, as it is the borrower who has to follow all the indications from the Bank. Even if every project has a component designed for monitoring and evaluation, it is mainly oriented to monitor and evaluate the implementing agency's ability to rightly implement the project.

More importantly, in terms of accountability to people directly affected from the projects, there are also no clear mechanisms that explain it. For instance,

in the case of the higher education projects which consisted of loans, the reports describe the risk as follows:

“Possible deterioration in student ability to repay loans that might arise from macroeconomic shocks affecting higher education completion rates, the return to education and the rate of unemployment, which would have a critical adverse impact on access and/or equity.” (Project Appraisal Document, Higher Education Project, Improving Access)

Yet there are no further considerations on who would be accountable to the affected populations in the event the loans become a burden for the students. Understandably, the World Bank is mainly concerned with the borrowing agency to be able to pay back and it is out of the Bank control to foresee future impacts. Besides the evaluation, which is one of the most important elements to ensure accountability, the World Bank has a very complete information system so that documents related to the projects can be accessed online. However, as one of the reports mention, not all the time the documents are disclosed and in occasions they are disclosed in English making it of hard accessibility to project-affected groups and local NGOs.

The actual impact of the project on the people affected by it should be a priority both of the Government of Colombia and of the Bank. It is important to mention that the Bank presents itself as the ‘supervisor’ in the sense that it gives the agency the ownership of the project. While ideally this should be a good case of agency and empowerment for local actors, because the terms and conditions are established by the Bank, the implementing agency as well as the different local actors have a rather limited ownership thus the impact of the project require accountability both from the Bank and the Implementing agency.

4.6 World Bank – Colombia relation

As mentioned above the World Bank aid to education is mainly through loans. The loans and operation with the Bank is through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Normally, the process to get a loan is as follows:

“The borrower identifies and prepares the project, and the Bank reviews its viability. During loan negotiations, the Bank and borrower agree on development objective, components, outputs, performance indicators, implementation plan, and schedule for disbursing loan funds. Once the Bank approves the loan and it becomes effective, the borrower implements the project or program according to terms agreed upon with the Bank. The Bank supervises implementation and evaluates results. All loans are governed by the World Bank’s Operational Policies, which aim to ensure that Bank-financed operations are economically, financially, socially, and environmentally sound” (WB, 2001, p. 3).

The process is part of a comprehensive lending program set out in the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) “(...) which tailors Bank assistance (both lending and non-lending services) to each borrower’s development needs and the Bank’s comparative advantage” (WB, 2001, p. 3).

Importantly, all activities supported by the World Bank are to be in line with the CAS and CPS. CAS is a document prepared by the World Bank for all current borrowers that outlines the relationship and program of the Bank in a given country. Although this is a ‘negotiated’ document, it is prepared by World Bank staff assessing the macroeconomic and political stability of a country and the risks for the Bank involvement. The assessment of the risks

serves future strategy of the Bank in the country and the scope of the operations and financing. Because of its great importance, if a country needs to secure the Bank's financing, it needs to ensure that its plan is aligned with the World Bank whose Board approves or disapproves the plan. Because in the end it is the bank who approves it, it requires the country to 'demonstrate' how aligned it is with the World Bank agenda and not the opposite.

Because of the above, although the Bank does not involve conditionality in terms of adjustments, for the projects, it has the power to require the borrower to comply with certain criteria. In the Antioquia Upper Secondary Education project, one of the documents validates the assistance due to the region's compliance of following characteristics:

“(i) demonstrated political will to carry out changes to improve its education outcomes; (ii) a well-elaborated Development Plan, with human development as one of the key priorities for improving labor productivity and economic competitiveness; (iii) sound fiscal status, including the demonstrated capacity to manage debt; (iv) good results and performance from the previous project; (v) its continuing efforts to improve education policies during the last two decades; and (vi) full support from the national government for the proposed project.” Project Appraisal Document, Antioquia Upper Secondary Education

Clearly, for a project to be accepted by the World Bank it must comply with certain logics such as willingness to carryout education reforms, formation of human capital, and fiscal capability. Formation of human capital, as will be detailed later in the discussion, is in itself the essence of the World Bank neoliberal core approach and arguably the most controversial side of its interventions in the education sector. Consequently, regardless of the

development impact, the region needs to be able to repay its debt as the following statement illustrates:

“While the ultimate value of the investment depends on the development impact of the project, compared to its cost, the Department must be able to service its debt. The department only directly captures a small part of the loan’s benefits through increased tax revenues, and must rely on its own existing revenues to finance the entirety of the loan.” Project Appraisal Document, Antioquia Upper Secondary Education.

Undeniably the policies related to rural education as well as higher education sought to transform and to create policies that allow new ways of financing and decentralization all in the name of effectiveness. In the case of primary education, it looked for public-private partnerships and policies for contracting private education services. For higher education, the Bank sought to strengthen new financing mechanisms for ICETEX by transforming it into a public financial institution that can access capital markets as well as on students contribution, i.e., privatization (although the word is never used). While analyzing the implications of the different policies pushed by the World Bank through the different projects goes beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth mentioning that the only fact that the Bank has the power to push for important reforms that affect the lives of thousands of students at all levels of education speaks in itself of the importance of having an ethical approach that considers the future social impact those changes may bring.

4.7 Conclusions of the chapter

All in all, from the six projects considered, the data show a consistent approach by the Bank to support of the education system in Colombia as a function to maintain and consolidate a neoliberal market. The findings show

that in Colombia there is a higher emphasis on higher education in accordance with the trends in middle income countries. Although there were more projects related to general education, more funding was destined to higher education. From the USD578.07 million disbursed to the six projects, USD\$500 million (86%) went to two projects related to higher education, namely, student loans. Those two projects, originally aimed at reducing inequality of access to higher education, ended up as ordinary student loans and grants to incentive technical and vocational education.

Primary and secondary education have the highest social return but social returns are only externalities since the main driver of those levels of education is to form students that can join tertiary education. In turn, tertiary education focus is on technical education, as a relatively inexpensive and cost-beneficial investment to produce skilled workers. Seen from a wider perspective, although it is unquestionable that Colombia does need a better workforce capable of bringing economic development to the country, it is also true that the country needs more than economic growth to overcome different problems in other social dimensions.

Table 6 Summary of findings

Category of analysis	Findings
Rationale and amount	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Aid to education justified on the basis of its function as an instrument to the market. · Promotions of reforms to decentralize and privatize education. · No mention of education's social value.
Type of education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · No evidence of groups reaching vulnerable groups. · Disproportionate investment in higher education particularly on student loans. · Secondary education oriented to swift transition to tertiary education.
Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Too much emphasis on quantitative methodologies.

Category of analysis	Findings
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Objectives established in different documents do not match. Activities do not correspond to established goals. Completion reports focused on outputs not outcomes.
Aid channels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Financing via loans and knowledge through technical cooperation. · Local consultants were included. · Inherent assumption of lack of local capacities.
Bank relationship with client	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · All activities supported by WB must be in line with CAS and CPS. · CAS is a negotiated document prepared by the WB that outlines the relationship with client. · CAS heavily influencing on clients' macroeconomics.
Accountability mechanism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Accountability by delegation. · The Bank holds accountable the implementing agencies within client's government. · No clear mechanisms of accountability for the Bank. · No apparent reward for the impact of projects.

Chapter V. Discussion and Implications

In Chapter 2 Development Ethics was explored as a state-of-the-art framework that sees development from a more human perspective, and economic development as a tool to achieve higher social and human development goals that give dignity and freedom. Then, Chapter 3 showed that Official Development Assistance has been donor-dominated, and in particular it was explained that ODA to education has been largely debated in terms of its effectiveness, mainly from a human capital perspective. In the same chapter, it was illustrated how the World Bank as the single largest donor to education has a great influencing power to shape education in developing countries and therefore the view that the Bank has on education is important to understand the connection between education and development, and the role education has in that larger developmental process.

Later Chapter 4 and 5 centered respectively on the methodology and the findings of the World Bank loans to education sector in Colombia. Chapter 5 in particular presents a comprehensive scrutiny of the assistance that took place through loans in six different projects in the education sector in Colombia. The findings show that in Colombia there is more emphasis on higher education with 86% of the total disbursements. The findings illustrate the World Bank focus on the formation of human capital as input for the labor market. This predominant logic was present in all projects at all different levels of education and it was the main rationale to justify the investment on education. The findings of the World Bank projects in Colombia show that although the Bank has a strong view on quantitative methodologies, sometimes, even this quantitative approaches are weak and flawed so they do not capture the reality on the ground. In many cases as well, the evaluation

and accountability schemes do not show what the bank is accountable for, placing most responsibilities in the implementing agencies.

Hence the aim of this last chapter is to discuss the implications of Development Ethics to Official Development Assistance to the education sector taking into account of the findings of the World Bank assistance to education in Colombia.

5.1 Implications of Development Ethics to aid

Before going any further, let us reiterate on the importance of consistency between goals and means. As it has been described before, means are the ends in the making, if we are pursuing genuine human development we should do it humanly and with a genuine concern, not treating education as a marketable commodity. If the purpose of education is to encourage and promote transformation for social justice, the means should reflect so. If development is the nourishment of human existence and the promotion of social justice and well-being, education, as an intrinsic part of development, should be planned and implemented placing enough accountability, respecting local values, encouraging participation and self-agency.

Yet, as it has been said, the World Bank aid to education is seen mainly as an investment with specific economic returns. Education is generally seen as a mean to economic growth. From the World Bank perspective, education is almost entirely subordinated to the job market and therefore, as has been mentioned before, the criteria to judge whether the aid is effective is by measuring the capacity of the economy to absorb the investment and to produce some expected returns. While the bank acknowledges the importance

of education in economic development, in Colombia education remained only at 7% of the lending portfolio.

Thus, not only more investment is needed but a view on education as a goal in itself is required if it ODA is to have a real positive impact on people's lives. Understandably, higher education is more market oriented. However, the market logic extends to primary and secondary education. As one of the projects shows, the World Bank pushed for reforms to bring new partnerships for diversifying resources for education. The problem with this is that greater influence of the private sector means less provision of education as a public good. Patently, and in line with literature that sees education as a human right and, by extension, as a public good, it confirms the danger of trusting education on market forces limiting the extent to which education can be real driver of social changes (Draxler, 2014).

5.2 Goals

5.2.1 Education for liberation and positive freedom

Because conventional economics define a developed society in terms of the size of its GDP, economic growth and development translates in people consuming more. However, high levels of consumption all the time by all people is not sustainable and therefore, making every country developed is unrealizable. While from every corner of the world there is evidence of the growing inequality among and within countries, the issue of redistribution and social justice is ignored and the poor are recommended to study harder to work harder. Education in terms of its capacity to create skillful workers does not address the problems of the developing countries and rather becomes in a factor to maintain a labor capable of meeting the industrial demands of the 'developed'. This goes in the opposite direction of education for liberation

and positive freedom. Therefore one important implication of development ethics is to shift the values that ODA puts on education.

As discussed in earlier chapters, education for liberation and for positive freedom would be a better approach. Although an economic perspective is not bad in its own, it should be one of many purposes of education. The developing World value education as a means for social mobility thus valuing education for the opportunities it offers in terms of self-realization. Education then should provide a space for the enlargement of opportunities not for the reduction of it. However, an economy-tailored education promoted by ODA only allows for limited set of skills. This is reflected in the constant emphasis on making everything quantitative. As the findings of the projects of Colombia show, all goals of education are defined in quantitative terms, and all of those related to quality of education are replaced by proxy indicators mainly with standardized tests. The constant narrowing in a few subjects reduces the possibilities of education becoming an agent of social transformations since those values are considered out of the scope of education (mainly because they can't be measured).

Introducing the market into the education corrupts the intrinsic value of education because it changes the view of who students are, what is the value of education and how it should be treated. A clear instance in the findings is creating incentives for both governments and students to invest on education for the market economy. From an economic stand, it is acceptable because it creates economic benefits at large as well as improved individual income. However, this incentives change the intrinsic value that countries and individuals place on education transforming it only as a source of revenue. Learning and the whole human experience about education gets reduced to a way of making money.

In connection with the goals and ends, ODA should not only be focused on whether a country has the potential to achieve economic growth, but whether that economic growth translates in actual benefits for people and how such benefits realize individually and societally.

Indeed education for liberation means that all the education received at school, and outside of it, is to be relevant for more than getting a job. Thus, the relevance of education should not be decided independently of students and communities actual realities. Although of course, getting a job is basic to ensure an income, societal needs go beyond it and education help students to adapt to the world with dignity. As more and more labor is the driver of education, there are risks that education end up serving the purposes of the market interests usually dominated by private business (Draxler, 2014).

5.2.2 Education for agency and empowerment

Surely, education for liberation that ensures positive freedom should bring agency and empowerment. Education aimed only to equip students with skills for the labor market empowers people to work but disempower them for other relevant social and human dimensions.

As the cases of the higher education projects in Colombia show, incentives were created to attract students to vocational and technical education as those are relatively cheap cost-benefit ways to create human capital for the economy. The focus on satisfying the labor market demands is not surprising as it goes in line with the education strategy designed by the World Bank. Yet the emphasis on the expansion of the market society using education as an instrument is striking because it does not allow for addressing other impediments to development.

Market-based solutions offered through ODA to education are may be detrimental because of the great influence that the World Bank has in the country. As education planning becomes more tangled with the public sector management, it resembles more a bureaucratic system interested in managing resources to evaluate test scores. And because education becomes ‘both a sign of wealth and a source of it’ (Spalletti, 2008), the value of education for agency and empowerment is less realizable. As the evaluation of ODA to education is limited to flawed quantitative indicators, development assistance do not include indicators for disparities in the education system that allow measuring the impact of the aid to marginalized groups. Moreover, as findings in Colombia show, the safeguards include marginalized populations, but the actual activities in the project do not include activities that directly address such populations.

In fact, the gap between ODA established goals and actual activities is not a minor problem. While ODA to the education sector should have education as its main priority, many of the interventions show that education is relegated to economic priorities that do not serve the poorer discouraging the value of education as struggle.

5.3 Strategies of assistance to education

5.3.1 Participation

Participation is a buzz word in the development industry commonly used but not common in practice. As in the case of the World Banks projects in Colombia, every one of the projects is said to include participatory approaches yet the data did not show specifically how people participated in the planning and implementation of the projects. It must be said however that by naming the executing agency within the borrower government, the projects

ensured at least high level of participation. Yet, it is unclear what was their say in the decision making process.

In the same way, many of the 'experts' bringing consulting services were foreign companies and World Bank personnel who worked along with local consulting firms mainly for the economic cost-benefit analysis. Yet, the view that the experts that bring new ideas are foreign is dominant. Almost every document describing the background of the sector starts by describing the lack of capacity. In many senses it could be true that there is less expertise. Entering projects assuming there is a lack of capacity and reduced credibility creates or reinforces an asymmetry of knowledge. Participation therefore, should be issued as an instrument to explore local models, practices and solutions without discrediting local capacity.

Participatory approaches serve as a way to engage and transform participation into concrete and substantive actions that benefit those directly affected by the projects. The findings show that when Bank faced resistance from teacher or student sectors on, for example, reforms for privatization or high interest rates in student loans, complaints were ignored. While in many projects it is normal to have unsatisfied stakeholders, in some cases the resistance was due to the nature itself of projects, for example, higher interest rates in a project that is supposed to provide loans to ensure access to higher education. In connection with the student loans, if the loans are made in US dollars in a country whose currency is unstable, students may face many losses if the local currency depreciates; thus the importance of ODA being more responsive not only to the needs but to the context. Participatory approaches engage stakeholders and avoid negative effects on the communities that are supposed to benefit from the activities of the projects. If the communities that should

benefit from the projects end up negatively affected, how are we to call this development aid?

5.3.2 Power and accountability

Development ethics, to a great extent, spin around the power relationship among and within the different stakeholders in the development network. Power relationships determinate how ODA is implemented and whose interests prevail. In the case of the ODA to the education sector, the views on education reflected in projects show the sphere of influence that the World Bank has in its client countries. As the findings show, the scope of the education interventions are limited by the CAS, a document that outlines the relationship between the client and the Bank.

Because many middle income countries depend on loans as a source of financing, it is the client who has to adapt to the World Bank conditions in order to access financing. These countries are, in one way or another, 'voluntarily required' to accept the World Bank's particular ideology with the implications it has on education functioning in service to that ideology. The World Bank uses the education system to intervene in the deepest of the local social structures to reorient the goals of education in function of the market economy. While it appears to be aligned to local policies, it disguises the fact that many of the borrowers' national economic policies are set by the Bank. This is fundamentally the most acute problem in terms of how aid operates. As long as the relationship between donor and recipient, or lender and borrower is asymmetrical and the donor's interests prevail, the aid will not be able to provide real and substantial developmental improvements expected.

At a different level of analysis, the unbalanced power relationship between the bank and its clients exemplify how the bank uses its loans and assistance

as a means to promote the market capitalist economy throughout the world. By using mechanisms such as the CAS, the Bank can easily take advantage of the countries need for financing to demand particular conditions that are favorable to the introduction of World Bank's preferred economic policies. To this, it uses education as a mean to create the labor force necessary to sustain structural inequalities. The main aim of education therefore, is not to bring social and qualitative improvements in the existence of people but "to educate the emerging proletariat in social terms to accept the 'sound economic and social policies' the Bank promotes" (Carroll, 2010). At some point, the World Bank aid to education should start reorienting its priorities focusing on the contributions aid to education can make to freedom, dignity and well-being. In order to have better aid to education, the paternalistic and dominant relations must be overcome so that the donors' interests do not end up governing education in recipient countries.

In terms of accountability, the projects reflects mainly two sides of the same problem. One is the apparent lack of incentives to aid workers to actually bring substantial development impacts, and the great amount of difficulties related to the measurements and the nature itself of those measures.

As the development literature highlights, accountability is key to ODA effectiveness. However, the findings in Colombia show that there are not clear mechanisms of accountability for the Bank itself. As has been mentioned before, the accountability is relative to its enforceability but there is no mechanism in which aid agencies, for example, can be sanctioned in case they are not fully accountable to their beneficiaries. The World Bank has a rather secretive management system where it is not possible to know the internal process that take place in the implementation of the projects.

Following the two models of accountability proposed by Grant and Keohane (2005), it appears that accountability in the World Bank works under a delegation system where those who entrust the Bank with power are entitled to hold the Bank accountable. In turn, the Bank entitles with power the implementing agency who is then accountable to the Bank. However, there is no clear evidence of the mechanisms through which the Bank is accountable to people affected by the projects. Ideally, a participatory system of accountability would require accountability to the people directly affected by the policies or activities implemented.

The findings indicate there is delegation problem as the industry experts and agency workers are accountable to their superiors, usually the implementing agency. Since delegation is the dominating model, aid industry is not accountable to its beneficiaries (Haan, 2009,) which means there is little or no incentives to be accountable in relation to the development effects that projects, programs and interventions may bring to the communities. In that sense, because the World Bank structure it is not possible to know what their incentives are and whether those incentives are based on performance or not. For example the ICR and ICR reviews do not show what the following actions are when the Bank's performance is rated as unsuccessful. That is to say, whether an incentive is based on the successful impact of the project or on its simple execution. The incentives seem more oriented to simply allocate the money and execute it timely. As the findings suggests, there are many problems with the evaluation, lack of data, clear measurable indicators, units of analysis, etc., as well as numerous examples of incongruities between established goals and implemented activities. Even if a negative impact is reported and acknowledged, there are no clear instruments of how the bank would compensate for the failure of the project. Thus negative impacts in the

education sector only remains anecdotal as part of the memoirs of the projects that a few people read without bringing any type of real consequences.

Moreover, the lack of enough data to measure the results of the stated indicators, or lack of measurable indicators and gaps between projects objectives and the actual implemented activities are not a trivial problem. On the one hand, because the bank tendency to measure everything in quantitative terms, there are activities that due to its nature cannot be quantitatively measured (for example those related to peacebuilding or increased social cohesion). In that sense, quantitative indicators do not seem to be a good option because they anyway cannot be met and therefore the evaluations would show the results as unsuccessful. Qualitative approaches should be included in order to better capture the different dimensions of the interventions in the education sector. Undoubtedly, qualitative evaluation can prove impractical and costly in projects aimed at large populations but ODA in education requires more efforts in order to measure wider dimensions that go beyond numerical values and can capture all the human dimensions that are intrinsic to the education process.

This paradox of the World Bank committed to quantitative measurements when quantitative methodologies fail to measure reality in the ground ought to pose questions for further reflection. There are arguably no reasons to criticize the expertise of the World Bank, instead, failing measurements should make the development experts to question whether the efforts to quantitatively measure everything is being of any use. Because education is intrinsically connected to a human experiences such as learning, dignity, sense of struggle and freedom, quantitative measurements are not enough. Ethical ODA that dignifies and prioritize the education sector needs

quantitative measurements, but it runs the risk that important dimensions that cannot be measured are left out just because they cannot be quantified.

And yet, those areas that can be measured quantitatively should be properly measured. In many instances, as the findings in Colombia reveal, many projects lacked the right indicators and massive lacks of data made the measurements impossible. Aid workers and aid professionals should have a set of ethical standards to know that any technical fail in, for example, initial data collection, have serious consequences that in the end affect negatively the beneficiaries. This as well would require an ethical manual for aid workers, bank staff, consultants, and many other actors across the industry to know that their interventions matter and that their actions have impact on other people's lives.

Evaluations should encourage accountability and accountability should be something else than acknowledging mistakes. It also requires enforceability and actually compensation for it. Certainly, education interventions need to be justified in more than human capital rationales and technical and financial viability. Although those are important for both economic development and for persuading the Bank's contributors, projects need not to be done just for visibility but for real and substantial improvements in the countries. This can happen only if asymmetrical power relations are overcome, to see recipients as more than needy clients or borrowers on whom to impose conditions upon to access aid.

Table 7 Summary of implications

Core values	Implications	
<p>Goals of education ODA</p>	<p>Re-shifting the value of education <i>Education for consciousness, pedagogies and skills for life not for jobs.</i></p> <p><i>Controlling market incentives to education that tend erode agency and empowerment.</i></p>	<p>Education for liberation that ensures positive freedom should bring agency and empowerment. Education aimed only to equip students with skills for the labor market may empower people to work but disempower them for other relevant social and human dimensions.</p> <p>Introducing market mechanisms into education corrupts the intrinsic value of education. It changes the value of education, the view of who students are and how they should be treated.</p> <p>Balance between qualitative and quantitative evaluation methodologies that adapts to education qualitative nature.</p>
<p>Strategies</p>	<p>Re-addressing the strategies to ODA Implementation <i>Participation as a political exercise</i></p> <p><i>Overcoming paternalistic relations and strengthening Participatory Accountability</i></p>	<p>Participatory approaches should serve as a way to engage and transform participation into concrete and substantive actions that benefit those directly affected by the projects and challenge the power relations.</p> <p>Education assistance should not be conditioned or determined by donor structural power on the recipient.</p> <p>Accountability incentives should be connected to development effects that projects, programs and interventions bring to the communities they are intended to benefit.</p>

Chapter VI. Conclusions

Development ethics stresses the importance of education as an instrument of struggle towards the construction of social justice and well-being while encouraging participation and self-agency. In that sense, educational ODA should be both framed by ethical considerations while at the same time it should foster ethical genuine development. Introducing market economies and market logics into the education system both in its planning and in the content of education is harmful for recipient countries. Mainly because recipients, as the appellative indicates, is a passive recipient or receiver of external input and has little authentic control as an equal stakeholder to decide how to better use aid to improve education according to the needs and the context of the country. Aid that encourages education for positive freedom and self-agency would not only provide economic benefits at large but also individual benefits that can consolidate more equal and fair societies.

In the same way, commodifying the problems and the solutions, the donors should not sell its knowledge, making loans to pay for its own consulting services and inviting private education services providers to offer effective solutions to increase standardized test results. Introducing market mechanisms on education removes its intrinsic value and create new norms that disempower individuals. ODA that uses education simply to create a pool of workers for the market economy destroys the role education has on the struggle for social justice, freedom and dignity.

Aid should also integrate local knowledge and local priorities to design solutions that go in accordance with the context. If the planned solutions impose future burdens and damage, they are not really solution because they do not solve the problem, they simply hide it. The word local, however, should be used with care so that it does not become in a simple condescending way to agree with the people on the ground shaking their hands while imposing opposite macroeconomic conditions in the back.

All of those symptoms may be the result of narrow neoliberal perspectives. Institutions such as the World Bank are led by development ‘experts’ ill-prepared to deal with development complex processes and its impact on peoples’ lives (St. Clair, 2007). Therefore, development ethics should be a sort of dialectical process between knowledge and the development practice if it does not want to end up disconnected from realities (St. Clair, 2007, Malavisi 2014). Education must be development itself, a developed society should be an educated society, understanding education in terms of positive freedom, agency and empowerment, and the possibilities it gives to individual and societal improvements that bring social justice.

In that sense, education ODA plays a more fundamental role. It is a vehicle to bring the positive expertise and experience of international experience adapted to local culture, values and context. In that sense, aid workers in the field of education should have, like many other professions, a code of ethics that provides enough understanding that their work, whether successful or not has impact on other people’s lives and that mistakes, omissions or simply lack of care has real impact for beneficiaries on the ground. Conversely, people on the ground cannot easily hold development workers accountable for development ‘experts’ performance. There is little or nothing people on the

ground can do if the performance of a project is not good and no market force can persuade aid workers to deliver the best product or practice.

In the meanwhile, other instruments of accountability such as evaluations should be strengthened. While the neoclassical strong emphasis on quantitative measurements and econometric-based analysis is necessary, as the findings in Colombia suggest, they fail in capturing the complex reality of aid to education and development. While education is be a force to economic development, it is not its final goal and therefore education should not be measured only as a function of growth. Where qualitative methodologies may be appropriate, they should and must be used. Yet, not everything can be measured and put into numbers or words. Then, aid to education is to promote education as a goal in itself using other instruments other than cost-benefits analysis. Improving people's dignity, rights, capacities, freedom goes beyond economic analysis.

In short, this research has aimed to find out implications of development ethics to ODA to the education sector. Although at many instances it seems obvious what the problems are, the solutions are not. This paper has considered the case of the World Bank aid to Colombia in the education sector during the years 2000-2015. Certainly, the data is not rich enough to draw any generalization about the ODA to education as a whole. Yet the results are line with the general findings and trends of the World Bank aid not only to education but to other sectors as well. It would have been of much help if more qualitative data and interviews with the beneficiaries had been available in order to better understand the how deep and effective were the participatory approaches and the reported impact of the aid on beneficiaries' lives. In the same way, development ethics still needs to be improved as a body of knowledge that better explains development impact so that it can be tested

empirically. Yet, by definition, empirical tests may go on opposite directions since precisely, development ethics captures the dissatisfaction of the excessive reliance on those methodologies. Nonetheless, the lack of a shared methodology that can be consistently used creates the risk of development ethics being too abstract to be useful. In this paper, I have tried to draw specific points particularly in terms of the goals and strategies of development assistance to education mainly in relation to the goal of education itself and the type of education that ODA should promote as well as the relevance of participation and accountability and power as conditions that need to be addressed to make assistance to education more ethical so it creates authentic development.

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국문 초록

교육과 개발은 깊게 상호 연결되어 있으며 호혜적인 개념이다. 따라서 모든 국가의 개발 전략과 교육 정책에는 교육의 중요한 역할에 대한 인식이 잘 드러난다. 교육 개선을 위한 재정적 지원이 궁극적으로 정부에 달려있으며, 많은 국가에서 교육을 위한 재정 조달을 공적 개발 원조(ODA)에 크게 의존하고 있다. 그러나 이 새로운 ODA 산업은 꼭 짚고 넘어가야 할 윤리적 문제를 던진다.

이 논문은 ODA 수혜를 통한 사회 변화 과정과 그 목적, 수단에 있어 개발 윤리가 어떻게 반영되고 있는지 자세히 살펴본다. 그리고 사회 정의 건설을 위한 투쟁 수단으로서의 교육을 강조한다. 이에 따라 2000년부터 2015년까지 콜롬비아에서 이루어진 세계 은행의 ODA 사례를 통해, 개발과 교육의 기본 원칙, 그리고 그 수단과 목적을 중점적으로 분석한다. 개발 의제에서 교육의 목표는 긍정적인 자유(positive freedom), 행위자(agency) 및 권한 부여(empowerment)를 촉진하기 위해 그의 본질적인 가치를 고려해야 한다. 이 논문은 또한 개발 산업의 주요 동인으로서 국가의 참여와 권력 관계, 책임성 수준을 고려하여 교육 ODA 수행 전략을 검토한다.

키워드: 개발 윤리, 교육, 목적과 수단, 국제 개발